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# the battler

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—page 2

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# Stuff their 'recovery'....

**THE RECOVERY' is on. Bob Hawke says it is. Big business says it is. The newspapers say it is. And we're all meant to cry "Hallelujah".**

But when you look at what the "recovery" consists of, you discover what a cruel confidence trick it is against the workers and unemployed.

Sure, the millionaires who run this country have every reason to celebrate. The Stock Exchange had a record year in 1983. Industrial stocks rose by more than 50 per cent, and are likely to keep soaring this year.

Profits picked up sharply in the last six months as companies took advantage of staff cuts and "recession-initiated rationalisation" (i.e. buying up their rivals cheap).

Profits are expected to shoot up another 20 to 25 per cent in 1984.

## slashed

Some employers will do even better than that. Take household appliance manufacturer **Email** for example.

They slashed jobs from 8,700 to 6,500 and closed their main Sydney plant at Bankstown. Now they are based mainly in the NSW country town of Orange, where unions are weaker and wages lower.

Email has pushed up their profits by 16 per cent in the last six months, and expect to at least double that profit growth in the next six months.

Other record profit makers look like being car parts maker Repco, ACI International, and building materials giants Boral and James Hardie.

The magazine *Australian Business* is selling its ruling-class readers to make a killing on them on the stock market this year.

\* continued p2



# WHAT ABOUT OUR JOBS!

Defend Australia? No way!—p6







## Open [Slather]

THE AGE of women in the workplace is here.

Women are not only being hired in large numbers, but they are also being promoted. In fact, the number of women in the workforce is expected to increase by 50 percent in the next five years.

★★★★

**CARE** (Community Action Resource Enterprise) is a national program that provides training and support for women in the workforce.

★★★★

Women's empowerment is the key to economic development and social justice.

★★★★

Women's rights are human rights. We must continue to fight for equality in the workplace.

★★★★

Women's voices are being heard in the workplace and in the halls of power.

★★★★

Women's leadership is the future of our nation.

★★★★

Women's strength is our greatest asset.

★★★★

Women's power is unstoppable.

★★★★

Women's spirit is our true strength.

★★★★

Women's courage is our greatest ally.

★★★★

Women's determination is our true power.

★★★★

Women's resilience is our true strength.

★★★★

Women's strength is our true power.

### JOHN LINDSAY queries an institution even more sacred than the dollar...

MUM, DAD, two kids, a home, a car and a dog is the pattern of Western life which the Press would have us believe we all live, have always lived, and always will live.

It is natural, comforting, unchallenged, domestic. Also it has nothing at all to do with the real life. It does not describe the reality of anyone anywhere in the world, it does not describe the way people have always lived at any time or in any place. It is unlikely to describe living patterns of the future.

Even on the 1985 Marx would say that the pattern of Western life was wrong. That they are going to build our women in common. After the Bolshevik revolution the same status was sought.

The only law greater to the mind of the bourgeoisie than the law of their property is that a revolution will break up the family and the family of the owners of capital and give the family of the workers.

Just as a revolution will affect those classes in different ways, so the effects on their family life will be different.

In the Middle Ages women were the merchant class of the owners of Europe were fighting class frontiers, their right was to establish the right to own property in their own names.

They wanted to control that property and spend it against arbitrary seizure by lords and aristocrats.

They also had to establish their right to transmit property from generations to generations.

The family of the lower merchant class emerged as an economic arrangement for consolidating and accumulating capital out of the extended productive organization that had once been.

Increasingly the owner of capital, his wife and children led apart from the people who produced their wealth.

The man and the woman slept in a bedroom. The children had an attendant.

The man went out to the place where he controlled capital. The woman stayed in the house.

There was a division of labour between the man and the woman. There was also a division of their lives into public (where wealth and profit) and private (where wealth was used).

And there was a division between adults and children, who did not work and who had no economic power.



# of women in the workplace

## of women in the workplace

of women in the workplace

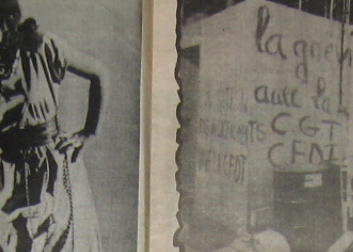
### Catching the killer dust.

ASBESTOS can cause lung cancer and other serious diseases. It is found in many types of insulation, pipe lagging, and building materials. Workers should wear protective clothing and masks to avoid inhaling the dust.

#### Impatient

The workers are beginning to demand more for their health and safety. They want better working conditions and more control over their own health and safety.

by Jane Stone  
ACCA, divergent



MAIN resistance to the sackings came from assembly line workers, whose organisation was strengthened during last year's wage strikes.

## PARIS... Peugeot strikers battle armed scab invasion

**by David Lockwood**

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### ...riots in Tunisia

Workers halt 100% bread price rise

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Workers have halted the production of bread in Tunisia in response to a 100% increase in bread prices. The strike is part of a broader movement against economic hardship and government policies.

The strike has led to shortages of bread in many parts of the country. The government has attempted to impose a price freeze, but the workers have resisted.

The situation has become increasingly volatile, with reports of clashes between protesters and security forces. The government is under pressure to address the workers' demands.

The strike has also led to a loss of confidence in the government. Many people are demanding political reforms and greater transparency in government operations.

The Tunisian government has announced that it will consider the workers' demands. However, the strike is expected to continue until a significant agreement is reached.

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## The brute they secretly admired

**by Paul Foot**

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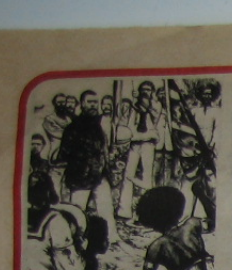
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TRAIL BLAZING for imperialism... the Queensland Government announces the New Guinea in 1957 ten months after the war.

WHEN THE Australian government talks of national defence, it always goes hand in hand with a reaffirmation of the ANZUS alliance.

The assumption is that Australia is threatened by some foreign power, whether it be the "Yellow Peril" or the Russians. And consequently some "Great and Powerful Foe" is needed to bail us out.

This attitude has a long history. Before World War II, Australia like all war Britain's war has the country. Her without some major imperial power as a close ally.

Yet the truth is that these "allies" have proved unimpressive at every turn of the screw. With the onset of World War II, the British proved both incapable and unwilling to commit major forces in the Pacific War.

Add to the "Guano Doctrine" announced in 1963, Richard Nixon affirmed that America has Australia would have to take "primary responsibility" for their own defence except in a nuclear conflict.

This is recognized by experts, and pointed out repeatedly by journalists. And by more recently, a new kind of justification for the American alliance has emerged. It is the "China card".

The "China ground" have offered U.S. to prove importance... they are used as a means to manipulate opinions and thus the quality of the country's policy. Australia benefits from the maintenance of the balance of power rather than from a specific security guarantee.

It is worth noting that the US is known in these circles as part of a worldwide "balance of power". Acting as his main ally, it is expected to ensure the balance of power. The balance by removing the hands.

For this purpose, the US has been decisively debilitated. The superpowers are now developing a "new style" nuclear strategy which could, potentially, enable them to knock out their opponents almost instantaneously.

It is a "nuclear war" is now all that's left of military strategy. Australia's involvement in the arms race, through the presence of the US bases, is contributing to the American "hot war" capability. So it is worthwhile to the danger of "hot war".

Our government, it would seem, is pursuing an alliance with the United States which is based partly on training Washington to stick to its commitments, which are not always met, and accordingly on a "balance of error" concept which is obviously out of date.

And that is what most of their crisis do say. But they are wrong. There is no such thing as the American alliance, a unique logic. To understand it we have to look at the world.

IN HIS book "A New Britainite Ambassador" McQueen has explained how Australian capitalism operated as a local "base" for British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

The Australian mining camps were supported by men who were sent to dig for gold. The British... men who were sent to dig for gold. The British... men who were sent to dig for gold.

**D**URING the first World War, the Industrial Workers of the World had a slogan: "War? What for? In the thirties, leading Communists like Ralph Gibson told the workers that to fight for King and Country meant following your enemies and betraying your friends."

Yet today, most people on the left and even Tom Lincoln express the implications, and explain why revolutionary socialists oppose it.



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This is almost certainly true. So the critics put can't say anything in the government, Liberal or Labor, will involve them in Australia's conventional war capacity, especially with the general.

Since these alternative strategies would probably be rejected by Australia's conventional war capacity, especially with the general. So the critics, such as Max Tuchman and Gary Smith, don't seem to grasp that the American alliance is not about defending these shores. It is to promote the interests of Australian imperialism. And for that a link-up with a big power is required.

The "social defence" alternative is put forward by pacifists. They reject any use of violence. Yet they believe it is necessary to use force to defend their interests. So a pacifist will be a British Marxist recommending "active support for strikes, refusal to obey, demoralisation, and a massive overthrow of the apparatus." The principle of social defence has been demonstrated by the collapse of the Kapp putsch in Germany in 1920 and the 1968 "Social Defence" in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Martin is under the illusion that these tactics are original with pacifists. Actually they have comprised an important part of the methods of the socialist and labour movements for well over a century.

Socialists have always believed that the struggle of the working class are not won primarily by armed force. Without mobilising social power, through demonstration, strikes and the like, no amount of guns will bring radical change.

But this is not the whole story. And Martin's own example prove as much.

The Greeks were beaten. And so for the Kapp putsch, it was not down to only a general strike, but also by armed instructions in many parts of Germany. This included a "Red Army" in the Ruhr area estimated up to 50,000 and armed with rifles.

So the end to win a struggle you do need guns. But there is also a more basic problem. "Social defence" still assumes that it's right to engage in national defence itself.

**SO SHOULD we defend Australia? Certainly there are some things in Australia worth defending. Our rights to dissent, our equality, our democracy and strike for example. But this is not a matter of national defence.**

It may be that one day it will be necessary to defend them against a foreign enemy. What is certain is that these rights are constantly under attack by domestic enemies: government, employers, the police—all of them part of the Australian state.

On the other hand, surely we don't defend just in this country, but international. We defend the right to strike in Poland, the right to dissent in China. And we know that defending them abroad is inseparable in the long run from defending them at home.

As our workers have high living standards, which are worth defending. But once again, this is really an international issue. These living standards are under attack by Australian bosses and governments under the impact of a world crisis.

It is true that there is much talk about Australia being "less than free" by the world's "threat". Surely, however, the best way to remove this "threat" is to support Asian workers in their struggles for a living wage. The threat then, is from buyers, not foreigners.

The things worth defending in Australia are also worth defending abroad, and they have to be defended against common both domestic and foreign. That is why we stand on the class struggle rather than "national defence".

National defence turns out to be a practice in mean defence of the profits of the national capitalist class. It goes hand in hand with imperialist reaction. It means the defence of BP&I, Alan Bond, Ian Hancock, Rupert Murdoch and Lab Mifflin Peterson. And it means defending Australia's imperialist interests.

Given "practical" national defence projects tend to be destroyed by the imperialist class. In the early forties the Communist Party flouted proposals for a people's militia, and for elected committees to the army with authority over the officers. This was broken up as a "people's army" by King O'Byrne.

But only took a little government pressure and the "army" gave up to the "auxiliary" armed at supporting the existing forces. The idea of an elected committee to the powerful services committees. The reason was that the underlying politics had always been national defence, and everything ended up being subordinated to that.

Defence-oriented, living standards, workers' rights? Absolutely. In fact, we are defending them by arming the whole working class population. We're for backing that with a mobilisation of our own forces. That is, we are for fighting with freedom, socialist ideas, and BP&I's hands on their throats.

And if all social power became the dominant one in society—if workers and oppressed people ruled in Australia—we would be favouring our national defence. Except that by its very nature, such a defence would have an international context. Today, however, the boss rule. Therefore national defence is defence of capitalism over non-bosses and pacifist is consequently may be put forward.

**AUSTRALIA'S armed forces have been active numerous times in the last century.**

Far from defending us from foreign invaders or the mythical "yellow peril", Australian troops have fought each time in support of major imperialist interests elsewhere.

Sometimes "government" men had one eye cocked in the rear and another on the "yellow peril" as well. Australian troops have fought each time in support of major imperialist interests elsewhere.

At the Sudan revolted against British rule in 1885, killing General Gordon in Khartoum. Acting Governor W. B. Dalry, promptly sent a contingent of local recruits to help Britain suppress the rebellion.

This was strictly illegal, since Dalry did not consult Parliament, which was in session. It was also in fact, as the Australians were unable to make contact with their elusive guerrilla quetta.

After a fierce storm of public opinion, they returned home within three months. They contained their enthusiasm with burning villages and killing sleep and post-earms earning them the derogatory tag of "bushbangers" from the Bulletin.

Australia's second military adventure was the Boer War in 1899. Britain's Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain lobbied Canada and the Australian colonies heavily for "spontaneous" offers of troops to help keep the rebellious Boers in line.

At the time, the Australian colonies agreed and made their "spontaneous" announcements. Chamberlain then invited the colonial troops for propaganda reasons, to help "open" the northern half of modern (Nugent), Maura and Samson.

Then in October the Afrikaner for Egoli, Calaboo and eventually France, to help on the major front in putting down the Boer rebellion.

Australia returned from New Guinea and Maura as "trial territories" after the war to add to its Paganian colony. The Second World War was widely perceived as the one occasion when Australian troops actually fought to defend their own borders from attack, principally by Japan.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies was initially hostile to committing Australian troops. But External Affairs minister Percy Spender thought he could ingratiate the Government with Washington by being the first to offer troops.

"From Australia's long term point of view, any additional aid we can give the US now, small though it may be, will repay us in the future over half-a-century," Spender's cabinet Member.

Then Australian diplomat Robert Wall warned that within two days, Britain would publicly announce it was sending troops to Korea. Australia's response was published in the Bulletin.

"Two weeks of hectic activity over the room repeatedly recall Menzies, if he gets the 'request' from Spender. It's not going to happen."

Space prevents us from exploring in detail other military adventures—such as the Boer Rebellion in the Beatrix Rebellion in China in 1900, or taking part in the Boer Rebellion in the Beatrix Rebellion in China in 1900, or taking part in the Boer Rebellion in the Beatrix Rebellion in China in 1900.

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AUSTRALIA'S first military adventure—troops embark for the farical Sudan campaign at Sydney Harbour in 1885.

"He must have been going to allow the United Kingdom to cash in on American goods... head of Australia."

Spender persuaded the Government to send troops. He was bitten by an hour in the race to prove loyalty to the US.

Australia's most recent, and controversial, military effort was the Vietnam War in the 60s. The "Freedom of Country" report Australian diplomat Alan Bond points a damning picture of the war.

Randall recalls that the US made it up to his war against the US. On March 15, 1965, it used an Australian troop commitment as a "bait".

On 21 January 1965, the Government told the US it would give full diplomatic support to increased bombing of North Vietnam. Shortly after, President Lyndon Johnson launched Operation Rolling Thunder, a bombing campaign against the North. Australia quickly followed with its "more robust" policy.

**SAVAGE**

Johnson came under savage domestic attack for the escalation. An Australian troop commitment also became important to him.

"The involvement was necessary to avoid ingratiate the Government with Washington by being the first to offer troops."

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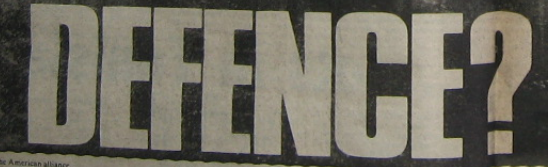
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# Australia's sordid military record



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**MOST ALTERNATIVES to government policy put forward liberates, the left and even the peace movement are couched in terms of alternative national defence.**

The military alternative assumes to arm neutrality without nuclear weapons. Its proponents say Australia is to defend, and to defendable a nation that is to defend with the right kind of conventional weapons is to be undertaken with. They are not a means excepting the light of armageddon... even if it is not a nuclear war.



The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features

# The bankers' nightmare

Several countries on the brink of default have threatened the entire banking system. Chris Harman explains why.

WE HAVE just lived through the ninth year of world economic crisis—the longest period of continual crisis the system has seen for a century. But on a world scale it is not yet the deepest.

The economies of the 1930s, 40-70% of the world economy—Australia, and a fifth in Britain. It was the only class in the world which actually works. It only gives the social investors of war, such as the United States.

Today things are not that bad even in the world of the advanced economies.

But in the last year, the debt crisis has almost everywhere exceeded the crisis in the world. Several countries—most notably Argentina—have defaulted on their banknotes and have come very close to falling the western banks would not pay them back the \$500 million it owes. A score of other countries might have followed Brazil's example.

World's biggest banks would have lost a fortune. None of them would have gone broke. Companies who had had their money would have lost their companies in their debt would have had to pay up immediately, even if this made them go bust.

A bank hole would have appeared in the world system, sucking out gain from after another one. Whole countries could have been destroyed.

A few months ago, the agreement collapsed after three months, and forecasters are now suggesting that new banking crises cannot be far off.

On the left and right, new crises might have been followed by a "recession" or "depression" if only the banks had better accounting procedures or were more patriotic, then everything would be all right.

But in fact, the banking crisis is only part of the more general crisis of capitalism. You cannot solve the banking crisis unless you attack all of capitalism, not just the sharks of the financial system.

Karl Marx pointed out, over a hundred years ago, how the banks fit into capitalism and how the crisis of the banks follows the more general crisis of the system.

Capitalism is driven forward by the attempts of rival firms would erect investments which they were only half finished. Huge plants would stand idle because there was no longer a "demand" for their products. A growing portion of the working class would be unemployed. Ever smaller booms would give way to deeper slumps.

Marx argued that a crisis in banking would be part and parcel of the total crisis. To understand how, you have to see that banks fulfill an essential function for capitalism. Firms do not usually invest their profits the moment they make them. They usually wait for a period and then find that they need greater funds than they profit allows from their own profits alone.

The banks borrow the profits of some capitalists who are not investing, and then lend them to other capitalists who are.



countries like Poland, Hungary and Romania—and so-called "new industrializing countries"—Brazil, Mexico and Argentina—to continue for in the late 1970s while the rest of the world was in a slump.

In the beginning of 1983, international lending by the banks amounted on \$728 billion. That is three times as much as the reserves, 500 top banks kept to cover any bad debts.

Bank profits from such lending have been immense—Citibank gets 20% of its profits from Brazil—to whom it has lent \$4.4 billion—even though that country only accounts for 5% of its total loans.

In virtually every country, banking profits have soared while industrial profits have remained quite low.

This made the bankers forget the most elementary fact: industrial profits are not high, their own property cannot last forever.

They lulled themselves into a false sense of security by believing that Poland, Mexico or Brazil would make levels of profits which could not be obtained in the west.

But in virtually every country, banking profits have soared while industrial profits have remained quite low.

When profits go up, the funds of the banks rise and the rate of interest normally falls. When profits fall, the flow of the funds into the banks falls too, even though there are more firms wanting to borrow from the banks—and so the rate of interest rises.

When capitalism is booming, the banks get a continual flow of interest from those they have lent money, and they use it to pay a lower rate of interest to those from whom they have borrowed. Their own profits boom.

But once the system goes into crisis, things get tough. Industrial concerns lose money—and ask the banks for bigger loans so they can keep operating. But the general fall in profits means that lending to the banks declines.

One senior debt negotiator said: "We are in for a hell of a lot of recession days." The banks have reacted to the crisis by sharply cutting back their new lending. But this will help deepen the recession internationally and increase the possibility of more countries going broke.

Already, the recession has meant serious disruption of the status quo. As the Wall Street Journal reported on November 25: "In Brazil, unemployment and inflation have led to looting of stores and looting of banks. Demonstrations have protested government policies. Most observers agree that it will be hard to impose emergency measures for most several years without risking increasingly serious social unrest."

The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features

# The mural the Rockefellers ground into dust

FIFTY TWO years ago, the great Mexican painter DIEGO RIVERA got his most lucrative commission. The multi-millionaire Rockefeller Center, New York.

by MARTIN ADAMS

This section of the repainted mural is from a wall in the Palazzo de Bellas Artes in Mexico City. Outraged at what the Rockefellers had done to his mural, Rivera made some slight modifications, like the inclusion of John D. Rockefeller (left of centre, wearing glasses) next to some venereal disease germs.

His commission was to depict—as at the crossroads looking with uncertainty but hope and high vision to the choosing of a course leading to a new and better future. He painted it the following year with devastating results.

The Rockefeller Centre was a prestige development containing amongst other things theatre, cinema, music hall, radio stations, and a stock exchange.

Rivera was to paint a key scene of the entrance lobby (one ten feet tall facing the main doors).

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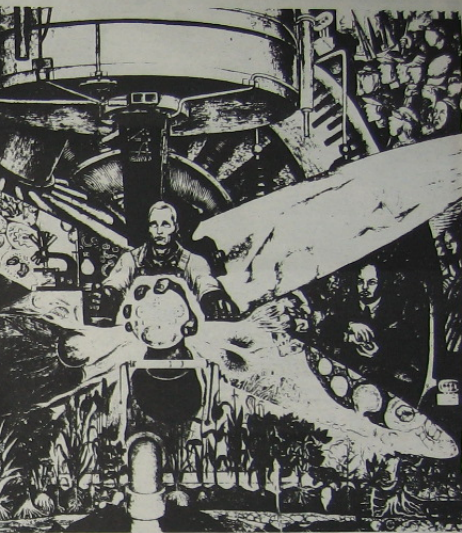
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Rivera was called down from the scaffold, presented with a cheque containing payment for his work, and ordered out of the building.

The building was locked, trapping inside customers in the main hall and theatre. Whilst carpenters covered the mural a large demonstration gathered outside. The mounted police baton-charged the demonstrators, dispersing them before repairing the building.

News of Rivera's work from page news withdrew their comment from an exhibition that the Rockefellers were holding, forcing them to promise not to destroy the mural, only grant it covered.

Without the aid of a single laser my microscope, John (though General Dependent) who plays Danton has his message to your seat for two hours.

Danton is a leader of the French Revolution when the film opens in late 1793. He is down to earth, heavily into the good things of the food, company, sex, and widely popular with the people.

The film is a study in the struggle between enemies on all sides: the aristocrats, the bourgeoisie, the revolution, and in the streets the people stand in food queues, grumbling.

Against Danton and his policies stand Robespierre—Danton's opponent. He is a cold, calculating and completely dedicated to advancing the revolution.

## DANTON

The film follows the struggle between these two from the intimate meetings at which Robespierre tries to win over Danton and his supporters to the great show trial. It ends with Danton's death at the guillotine.

Robespierre represented the wing of the bourgeoisie that still wanted to carry the revolution forward by itself, but distorted non-revolutionary.

The trouble was that support amongst the bourgeoisie for a revolutionary policy was evaporating. The bankers and speculators who had grown wealthy in the revolution now wanted a quiet life, a return to order and calm.

They feared the masses of Paris more than they feared the counter-revolution. They grouped behind Danton and tried to exploit popular hostility to the excesses of the Terror for their own ends.

The only force capable of carrying the revolution forward was the urban masses. Robespierre, true to his class, was not prepared to mobilize them against the reaction—and was doomed. Three months after Danton's execution, he got water to the guillotine.

But very little of the hearing of the massive class struggle at work comes through the film. Instead we get a ballad of personalities between Danton and Robespierre. And in that ballad of personalities, Robespierre is the villain.

Danton is beautifully made and full of insights and ideas. It certainly isn't the kind of industrial revolution film that gives that man's face to the screen. But remember that, while the great thing is, it's his main character, not his too lightly.

by Mark Collett

Some see an ideological attack on General Jaruzelski's Polish military dictatorship by Wladyslaw.

Right-anger. Have been gleaming about how his film "exposes" (revolts) workers against his hood-crowd, power-mad and all the other things that right-wingers admire in their own side.

The truth is that Danton is a brilliantly made film, but distorted non-revolutionary.

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by Mark Collett







## VDU VICTORY

**CERIBAL** workers in the Department of Education and Youth Affairs have lifted a two-month work ban after management agreed to all our demands.

Members of AEAU won't miss a day of work. They've agreed to a four-point work ban which includes no overtime, no shift work, no overtime pay, no overtime allowances and no breaks over 10 minutes.

Management, through a union, agreed to all our demands. Our victory means they have agreed to the following:

## Stop phone call rises

**INTERNATIONAL** telephone exchange operators have been hitting Telecom and OTC night where it hurts—in the balance sheet.

At a recent meeting in January they decided that most operators' contractual obligations will not be met unless operators pay for the cost of operator contracts. They agreed to a four-point work ban which includes no overtime, no overtime allowances and no breaks over 10 minutes.

Management, through a union, agreed to all our demands. Our victory means they have agreed to the following:

## SOUTHERN Cross miners have been stabbed in the back.

After accepting promises that their jobs were safe, the miners have found that they have been the victims of an underhand, cynical election-steering stunt and now face the sack on 3 February.

In October last year, 26 workers occupied number 14 tunnel of the Southern Cross mine on the West Merton coal field near Ipswich, Queensland, in a bid to force the closure of the mine and the sacking of 100 miners.

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# the batterer

# Reagan

# Andropov

By Ian Rintoul

## GOOD RIDDANCE!

One of the chief butchers of the world is dead. While Ronald Reagan is unfortunately still around, Yuri Andropov has departed this earth. The two-headed monster of superpower imperialism now sports the new face of Kremlin huck Konstantin Chernenko.

Few Russian workers are shedding any tears for Andropov. In fact, the Russian government closed liquor stores for four days on his death, doubtless afraid that too many workers would toast Yuri's departure till the wee hours and turn up on the job the next day like a little worse for wear.

By Ken Stevens

Andropov's passing will be mourned by few. He was a hard-nosed statist, a ruthless machine man. His personal history can be summed up in two incidents that took place in 1956, when he was ambassador to Poland.

During the upheaval of that year, he invited General Pal Malter, chief of the Hungarian army, to the Soviet embassy for talks about a Russian withdrawal. During the visit Malter was accused by KGB functionaries, taken out and shot.

Soon after this, Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy was hard out of the Yugoslav embassy by Andropov's guarantee of safe conduct. He was shot.

At head of the KGB from 1967 to 1982, Andropov presided over the suppression of the dissident movement, sending many to the notorious psychiatric hospitals. He was a



A new face on the two-headed monster of imperialism—Chernenko replaces Andropov (bottom left).

RONALD Reagan is running for re-election. The announcement was met by wild parades among America's rich.

For most of his term in office Reagan has presided over welfare cuts, attacks on the unemployed and

union-bashing. At the same time he has pushed up arms spending to terrifying levels.

The military spending has now finally helped to pull a shallow upturn in the economy. But the resulting budget deficits are likely to threaten the recovery within a year, causing renewed hardship.

By that time, Reagan hopes to be safely re-elected. Of course his hopes may be premature. But if he leaves, never fear. His main rival is Walter Mondale, recently of the Carter administration. Carter's policies paved the way for Reagan's.

Whoever is elected in America's political system, the bosses always win.

# Smash imperialism East and West!

## Nursing a ban



BRISBANE NURSES vote to slap bans on non-nursing duties as a warm up to their campaign.

## QUEENSLAND NURSES have stepped up their campaign for an extra 1800 staff.

Meetings at Brisbane Metropolitan hospitals voted overwhelmingly to start limiting the number of beds per ward, claim first all overtime worked and to reimplement the old clerical and domestic non-nursing duty bans.

The nurses kicked off their campaign last November with 2000 striking rallies outside Brisbane Town Hall. This was backed up with banners and a pocket of Parliament House during the budget session. Extra bans such as limited bed numbers were to be in force on 7 December.

This action was halted by the union officials except at Townsville, where nurses voted to maintain the ban, until there were negotiations so that there would be no obstacles in the way of Health Minister Austin opening negotiations or even meeting the unions.

This gesture by the unions was with contempt by Austin. So, all the bans are back on and the nurses are more determined than ever.

So far negotiations have only been with the Hospital Boards, who have next to no say anyway on the number of staff. As well, State Cabinet has authorised a new investigation into reducing overtime payments and streamlining services and is making moves about slapping the free hospital system. All an effort to intimidate the nurses.

The nurses meet again on 31 January to plan their next move in the campaign.

By Mark Gillespie

## Sorting out the boss

A 24-HOUR strike by mail sorters at the State Mail Centre, Melbourne, on 10 January has forced Australia Post to get rid of the acting manager.

The 10 mail sorters, the first were on holidays, have been guaranteed that Australia Post will find a new manager within 3 months.

Mail sorters were bitter about the acting manager's contempt for our working conditions and our union—the APTU. Indeed the first stop work on 1 January took just 18 minutes to unanimously decide to strike.

Angry about the acting manager's behaviour has been over the last 6 months, in June, we had 24 stop work meetings to defend our five-week holiday, to get training of staff for various jobs and more staff. Only the holidays were sanctioned.

When a mail sorters' union drove a fortnight stop work strike, we had a deal with Australia Post. They promised the acting manager wouldn't do it again and there was no stop work for us to decide what action we could take.

Also, the acting manager had harassed a worker for reporting him for doing the fortnight.

At our first stop work the shop steward brought up other incidents. Like the acting manager revealing a

mail sorters' confidential medical history to other staff and harassing pregnant women who were on light duties.

The last straw was the acting manager's decision on overtime after the New Year holiday. He increased the minimum overtime needed to get the mail allowance and refused to negotiate with the shop steward.

So the shop steward, the same one who cocked up the deal over the fortnight incident, talked a stopwork meeting. This credit he didn't call the APTU officials till less than an hour before the meeting. He didn't want them to cook up a deal.

As at 2.30 on a Friday no union official was available. However, they promised to support any action we took.

The second stop work on 9 January rejected an Australia Post offer. As the union officials didn't turn up, the strike the next day was unauthorised.

At the fourth and last stop work on 16 January, the acting manager, who was how quickly we could get rid of the acting manager, we accepted Australia Post offer of three months to find a new manager.

In the meantime the acting manager is a leech, under control of senior management but more importantly he has blacked out all staff who are if he talks to any staff. If he gets the manager's job in 3 months time, we'll have a stop work to decide further action.

By Julian Borchard



When fighting an offensive boss, you need an even more offensive weapon. Subscribe!

Make sure you get your copy of The Batterer every issue. Just \$10 a year, or \$25 for a supporting subscription.

Or take out an introductory sub for just \$4 for 10 issues.



# Yes Virginia, there's a ruling class.

point of a company with \$5 million annual sales and at least fifty employees by the time you are forty. And you must resign from the YPO at 60.

Not surprising, about eighty per cent of the YPO's 4000 members worldwide are millionaires. Quite a few are billionaires.

Half are presidents of family-owned businesses. The other half are executives of large corporations.

The Young Presidents' Organization was founded in America in the 1920's by a group of young millionaires who took over H.K. Behl and Leather from him to form the YPO.

Originally, he found his underage members in the YPO. He wanted to see if young whippersnappers who knew nothing about the world of business could run his business. "Thank you," he said to the young millionaires, "I will support and hand-choose you."

The idea caught on, and now the Young Presidents' Organization has chapters in fifty countries and a full-time staff of 250 in New York.

In that franchise as Melbourne, Sydney, Perth and Adelaide. The 118 Australian members include Alan Bond, YPO president Alan Bond, Donald Treadwell of Swan Investments, trucking boss Gordon Wirth, the party boss Richard Pratt of Ray-Bead and Jack Smolton of Smolton media.

Paul Allen, who has been elected YPO Australia's president.

What do YPO members get for the \$1000 it costs them to attend last week's five-day "University of the World" in London? Calling themselves "millionaires with salaries at Government House, the National Maritime Museum, Masonic, and private luxury hotels.

But the main purpose was to be the gathered bosses a solid

speaker looking armory as ever.

**JIMMY CARTER and avowings—the Young Presidents' Organization in Western imperialism and business strategies and outlook.**

Seminar topics are kept a well-guarded secret, but past ones have included "Development of Eastern Europe," "Western Spies in Communist Asia." This year included usual sessions on Computer Fraud and Nuclear Energy.

Some of the topics reveal the obsession of the wealthy. A plastic surgeon talked on face-lifts, a specialist talked on heart disease and another spoke on fat diets and pre-menstrual tension (presumably for the ladies).

There were aerobic classes every morning and Herb Elliott led

10000 parades through the suburbs. The wealthy have trouble jogging with a celebrity whose name they can drop later.

But as might be expected, the main concern of the Young Presidents' Organization is getting rich quick.

Some businessmen even criticized in disgust of well-observed in the "And they have a party high many" rule "says one wealthy non-member."

Which must be some consolation for the 12 per cent unemployed in the other fourteen million of us who don't qualify for the self-congratulating little group of elites.

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# WORKING CLASS HEROES KEPT HAIRED IN ASIA

## Bob's "gamman" to save the asses



BOB and Hazel inspect a South Korean steel works—Hawke hopes to "enmesh" Australia into Asia's growth. Workers pay, of course.

**BOB HAWKE** received most unprecedented accolasm on his Asian tour. Conservative Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone hailed our Bob as a "very real hero" and complimented him "for his realism and continuity."

To the Chinese, Hawke was a "working class hero" styled by the "crisis of capitalism," who fought "the fierce struggle" with the bosses. He was the political leader "demanded by the people."

The truth is that Hawke's trip had one goal only—to solve the problems of Australia's employing class.

Bob Hawke went to Asia with a grand illusion of arresting Australia's relative economic decline.

He declared before he left that Australia had to "renew" itself in the pattern of economic growth in the region. "The crucial word was just the residual beneficiaries of the growth."

The Asian region has averaged almost 7 percent growth over the last five years, compared to Australia's annual post-war growth rate of 2.5%. The Asian governments have prospered by launching into the regional economic competition. Australia will be able to pull itself out of recession. However, this is a lot easier said than done.

To start with, it will only be possible to expand and substantial restructuring of Australian industry—something Hawke has been pushing for a long time.

At the Melbourne Ase, a strong supporter of free trade, put it in a nutshell: "You cannot indefinitely, yet seldom, yield any great benefit while before re-establishing the job security that those whose jobs have been snuffed and quotas do not want."

The other feature of Hawke's trip was a grand plan to sell pig iron to China.

The man who built Bourke's ACTU stores, ACTU's greatest friend, worker insurance and holiday home and other failed schemes, suddenly held out the vision of new jobs and money for the unemployed.

Don't hold your breath though. Austrial steel is not particularly competitive on world markets, and BHP has been running down its steel reserves.

Local production methods aren't all that sound to economists of scale, and producing more won't mean producing anything cheaper.

The only way Hawke can win the Chinese market is by cutting other production costs—jobs or wages. That might suit BHP, but it does not suit the rest of us.

What should be the socialist response to the debate about restructuring the economy?

Limited access to Australian steel remains a bonus to protection and protected manufacturing with limited export potential. But it poses a major problem for Australia's capitalists.

There are powerful vested interests in the car, textile, clothing, footwear and electronics industries, which are hostile to any reduction in protection. The national employer group, the Confederation of Australian Industry, has wanted against taking on steel and protection levels until the economy is firmly fixed.

The union officials argue that reducing tariffs conflicts with the Economic Summit commitments and the Price and Income Accord. The Accord is what is saving "There is no economic sense in reducing protection levels in the middle of high unemployment."

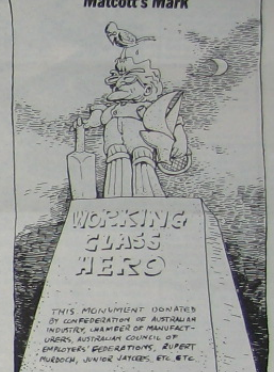
Even Andrew Peacock, despite his links with the anti-protectionists in the Liberal Party, attacked Hawke for his anti-protection policy plan while abroad.

The ALP left has traditionally opposed any attempts to reduce protection and 20% of the ALP left has been a balance of trade changing.

All the anti-protectionists to preserve the Japanese consumption of Australian iron ore and coal has declined.

How far Hawke will go in cutting back Australian industries? The ALP left has been in the car with the protectionists.

The high level of protection in the



THIS MOVEMENT DEMANDS BY CONCENTRATION OF FACTORIES, MANUFACTURE OF CONSUMER GOODS, ALBERT MELBOURNE, JAMES JACOBS, ETC. ETC.

the man who brought us Bourke's ACTU stores now has a new vision for jobs and markets . . .

They've made it clear that both sides in the debate about the economic rationalists and the protectionists are in order. It is particularly in order, especially as opinion polls show that most Americans think Reagan's bellicose behavior is a threat to peace.

**strategy**

Reagan's real strategy is not conciliatory at all. For a long time he has given his ear to the faction within the American ruling class who believe in stepping up the arms race.

This group points out that the Russians have to expand their military to match the American one.

We've had to see Yuri Andropov snuff it, and we would be even plainer if Ronald Reagan followed his example. But the real problem is the system they both represent—capitalism and imperialism, East and West.

**DROP THE MELBOURNE UTB CHARGES!**

MELBOURNE in November 1982 saw one of the largest and most militant demonstrations against employment for years.

Two thousand people marched down the all-vital Melbourne City. Not bothering to stop at the door, they filled the cars and walked up to fifty marchers forced their way in before the cops could throw them out. Twelve people had their names taken, but were not charged.

Months later, plainclothes cops began to harass several of these people, but they threatened to sue.

Now, almost fifteen months later, these charges of riot and wild damage worth \$20,000 are to go to a criminal hearing. Despite the serious nature of the hearing and the prospect of the hearing lasting five months, the cops are demanding pay costs. The reason? People are threatening to sue the cops if they shouldn't control the cops' evidence.

Just why is the state Labor government allowing the police to create ahead with charges after five months' interlude? John Cain seems more concerned with averting the Melbourne City's loss than with defending unemployed militants.

John Grogan

**YES Virginia, there is a ruling class.**

How do we know? Because twice a year, the youngest and brightest members—in the form of the Young Presidents' Organization—gather in some lucky location of the eastern of the tribe.

Last week, I was Melbourne's turn to play host. Eleven hundred elite millionaires, their spouses and assorted hangers-on gathered at the Hilton and the Rombus.

Luminaries such as Jimmy Carter, America's UN ambassador, Jeanne Rosenberg, Israel's former Ministry director-general David Kimchik, Foster Grenville and Andrew Peacock free to address them.

Just like the Young Presidents' Organization, they admit they're all about themselves. Plans are kept well away from their eyes. They are not to discuss their work, their salaries, their holiday resorts in the tropical islands like the Virginis, Madag, Hong Kong, or a small villa near the top of a very high hill can join to

10000 parades through the suburbs. The wealthy have trouble jogging with a celebrity whose name they can drop later.

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# THE RACISTS

**Racists rear their ugly heads**

**THE RACIST GROUP** in Australia is making its public profile.

"National Action League" is a white supremacist organization, headed by Michael Birt, which is spreading its message through a network of racist clubs and groups.

The main thrust of National Action League is to spread its message through a network of racist clubs and groups.

They say that Australia is a "white man's country" and that any non-white person who enters Australia is a threat to the white race.

They also say that the "white race" is the only race that has the ability to create a civilization.

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**JOH Bjelke Petersen** has raised his truncheon against civil liberties once more. This time, prison reformers are the target.

Last month, an anonymous person threatened to release foot-and-mouth disease into Australia unless the Queensland prison system was reformed.

At an outbreak on the morning after the threat was made, heavy police made simultaneous dawn raids on the homes of five members of the Prisoners' Action Group (PAG).

"It was just an exercise to look up the Special Branch files on these people," commented Mike Kennedy from PAG.

PAG organized industrial strikes and protests at Boggy Ridge last year.

Prisoners staged widespread hunger strikes, followed by four days of rioting in late November that resulted in over one million dollars damage to the prison.

Since then, there has been continued low-level agitation involving further hunger strikes. Job Bjelke Petersen is now threatening to strip the Queensland government of its right to hand out the Boggy Ridge.

Prisoners charged with offences from the November riots are having their cases heard in the Brisbane supreme court, where the public and media are barred. Sentences of three to twelve months will be handed. The prisoners are to be confined in a "solitary" cell, with no contact with other prisoners.

Prisoners are also to be denied access to the media or the internet.

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**Harassment follows foot-and-mouth threat**

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Even the editor of the "Queensland Mail" protested that "convicted prisoners are in jail as punishment, not as punishment."

The Queensland government is going to extraordinary lengths to keep up the Boggy Ridge.

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This is the same Reagan who announced a while back that the USSR was not a super power, but has pushed the arms race ahead with a rate a bandwagon during most of his presidency.

But now it's election year. A certain amount of rhetorical talk about peace is in order, particularly as opinion polls show that most Americans think Reagan's bellicose behavior is a threat to peace.

strategy

Reagan's real strategy is not conciliatory at all. For a long time he has given his ear to the faction within the American ruling class who believe in stepping up the arms race.

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### Open Slather

WORDS about the President last January after seeing the film *The Day After* about the possible effects of nuclear war. He said the government was acting for selfish reasons and that he would be a nuclear war breaker.

WOMEN'S ROLE in society has been discussed in the *Working Women's Committee* report on the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment.

THEir role in the economy has been discussed in the *Women's Economic Committee* report on the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment.

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SCARCITY? Not for some! At the dedication of a Mobil Oil refinery at Jiddah, guests sample delicacies decorated with the Mobil symbol.

FROM the days of Malthus to the greens of today, there are those who argue that socialism is both impossible and unattractive because of natural limits.

As socialism is a society where everyone, not just the privileged few, would live in luxury and affluence, they argue that it is impossible because of limited scarce resources, and unattractive because of the damage it would do to the ecology.

Where, they ask, would the oil, coal, tin, iron etc come from to make it all possible?

Such views have led the Greens in Germany and the Ecology Party in Britain to advocate a return to small-scale production. A return to a semi-rural existence, and to low productivity, in such with nature, will replace today's exploitation of the ecosystem.

These views are based on wrong assumptions and a limited understanding of the workings of capitalism.

Let's take the most fundamental error first and look at the idea of limited scarce resources. This assumes that the industrial needs of both capitalism and socialism are the same and are dependent on, or rather limited by the food amount of energy and wealth that can be created, and this limit rules out socialism.

But a resource is only a resource if knowledge of its exists and there is technology to use it and a social system which can plan and regulate it. A resource is only a constant over time if from modern technology.

For example, oil was not a resource till the 19th century and so an important energy source till the 20th. That is, until there was technology able to harness and oil into a useable fuel and there was a social and industry geared to use and organized on the basis of oil-powered machines.

This has then demonstrated quite dramatically how knowledge and technology, and the social system which can plan and regulate it, are not natural but social and political.

Even with all the limitations and handicaps that hierarchically organized industry, it has developed a vast expansion of human knowledge and capacity.

Most of that knowledge would not be used for the making of profit but for the benefit of people, not even for the benefit of the population level of the 19th century. Though limits to production are imposed, they are not due to the use of the system's technology and benefits.

"America burns millions of tons of wheat each year..."

# The might of scarce resources

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# Generals struck by a General Strike

By Graham Willett

found themselves with no wages or made. A growing mood of defiance amongst Uruguayan led to the strike.

The army gradually took over the country between 1973 and 1974—a coup in instalment plan, Uruguayan called it.

The military wanted to squash a wave of working class militancy and the popular and the Tupamaros guerrilla movement.

Trade unions and left parties were gradually banned. Parliaments were dissolved. Democratic rights 'suspended'.

thorved and never seen again. Real wages were driven down to their lowest level since the 1960s.

But the Uruguayan working class has a long history of refusal, and the middle classes rallied too. The upsurge last year in Chile and Argentina bore out the general.

In August 1983, the first demonstration was held. It featured a stinging of police—resourced through the army.

In October 1984 thousands of districts, marched to demand a return to democracy. In working class suburbs, charts and slogans called for a workers' government.

The demonstration was brutally fired to coincide with Argentina's first free elections in 1982.



URUGUAYANs bang pots during the first protests last August.

# BERSE LEFT FOR S

## LEFFIST MOSLEM militia have dealt a body blow to Ronald Reagan's plans for Lebanon.

When fighters of the Shiite Amal militia in alliance with the Sunni Muslim Murabitans of the western part of Beirut, it meant the end of Reagan's hopes to establish a fascist government in Lebanon.

In the aftermath of the siege of Beirut in 82, Israeli forces entered the capital and drove the left underground.

Shortly after, they allowed the formation of the Amal militia to carry out the appalling massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

The Amalians "peace-keeping" forces arrived next, supposedly to play a neutral role and protect helpless civilians.

But the real intention was to build up Amin Gemayel, prominent member of the fighting Phalange party, as the dominant figure in Lebanon.

When the fighters of the Druze sect of the nearby Shuf Mountains sought to drive the Phalangians out of the area, US navy gunboats intervened.

The Israelis occupied the southern part of the country and appear to want to keep hold to the area.

The Syrians tightened their grip on the north and east. Druze and Maronite forces regional and managed to establish control over the north.

By the beginning of February, Muslim leaders had begun to renounce US patronage. Nakhb Bar, leader of Amal, called for Muslim ministers to leave the government and to join the government and to join the government and to join the government.

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LEFT: Amin Gemayel meets with his mentor Ronald Reagan at the White House in 1982. RIGHT: Israeli soldiers search a car at the Awali River roadblock on the northern edge of the territory they have seized in South Lebanon.



# THE UTOPIAN SOCIALISTS

# "The socialists turn to the Utopian mode"

**JUST imagine it. A world free of poverty and war. A job market back-stabbing supervisors and ruthless bosses. A daily routine consisting of more than just going to work, checking out, coming home and going to bed.**

Socialists often get on about such things as answering the oft-asked question, "What will Socialism look like?"

But mostly, we're wary of proposing any great detailed blue-print beyond that. Not because we're afraid of committing ourselves to something we may not achieve. But because Marxists have always held that socialism is to be run on the basis of what actually exists in our needs and desires.

So any changes will obviously depend on the conditions of the time. Lenin's famous quote that socialism in Russia required "bourgeoisification plus a revolution in Germany" was a lot more sensible than any ideal schemes (devised up beforehand about what people would do with their own hands).

However, there is still an influential tradition on the left which represents the opposite. It is a tradition that argues that people need to be shown new ways that socialism had co-operatives as work.

The tradition is known as Utopianism, and socialism has stretched from Paris to Hungary from the 18th century rationalist dream to sections of today's neo-conservative movement. Various of its followers started the first co-operative societies that lasted as long as 11 years... and argued that we could turn the best of ourselves if we put our minds to it!

The first two best-known Utopian Socialists were Robert Owen, a British industrialist, and Charles Fourier, a French aristocrat. Both were disciples of the Swiss-Catholic Henri de Saint-Simon.

Each believed in a society of rationally-designed co-operatives and communities. They could teach socialism by example.

Their efforts were wide attention in the early socialist movement. Marx and Engels devoted a special section of the Communist Manifesto to pointing out the ultimate regression of trying to make human society fit a blueprint in one person's head.

At the same time, both admired the strong vision and the flaming criticism of the capitalist society propounded by Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon.

What better way to write an important critique of the Utopians, he was impressed by Robert Owen's *History of New Harmony in Indiana, USA in 1844*.

As it was set up from the start as a perfect model for the sake of society, considerable capital was

And as the members of the experiment were not paid, each member of the establishment, but governed by the director of the Society of the Establishment, in whom the establishment holds, understanding and identification from its members.

On the day after all this, members per or exceedingly well with each other and their own work, and the relations of the establishment is never less than perfect.

English went to his five apprentices, and when he was with his apprentices, he concluded that such a "summary of goods" was definitely the best form of the future.

From infancy, you... have been made to believe and have those who differ from you in manners, language, and sentiments... Their feelings of anger must be withdrawn before any thing who has your real interest at heart can place power in your hands... It is the only way to achieve a significant working class position.

It is the only way to achieve a significant working class position. It is the only way to achieve a significant working class position. It is the only way to achieve a significant working class position.



Robert Owen



Saint-Simon



Charles Fourier



The working class had become the only possible audience for Owen's ideas, though he was hoped to win over other social classes by propaganda and example. Nine hundred people answered Owen's call to the industrial and well-disposed of all nations in 1824 for New Harmony.

"The workers and vast coast are who, he has tried, and the music, victor blue. What is the colour of love, and that of labour, that that of life. Most important is the water, cut, but not of the way to the bank. It is the symbol of humanity, you can't do up without being helped by one of your brothers. Owen has remarked that the resemblance, this has to a utopian society is not entirely coincidental. In 1819 Saint-Simon was brought to trial for saying:

"Let us suppose that France suddenly lost her 3000 leading scholars, artists and artisans... she would be a national catastrophe which it would take generations to repair... But if France had the wife from the law on the same day, Monsieur, the King's brother... all the great officers of the crown, all her tribunals, archbishops and bishops... all the employees of the monarchy and in addition the 10,000 richest landowners... and all the 30,000 individuals regarded as the most important in the state, the French would feel only a purely sentimental grief for it would result in no political loss for the state."

Saint-Simon wanted to take power from the *filles* and give it to the *Industrialists*, those who did useful work.

This didn't mean rule by the workers and by the heads of industry and banks. The most important and poorest class.

Partly this was because he attacked the *filles* for their materialism and moral misery of the bourgeoisie world, mostly because he thought for the future was positively happy.

Saint-Simon's ideas involved a high level of state intervention in the workings of the economy. They are arguably the origins of the 19th century Marxists' theory, the 18th century Saint-Simonists, that socialism simply means state control.

Fourier's ideas were a little more complex, but just as mystical. He briefly attacked industrialization, and drew up plans in meticulous detail for his ideal society, which resembled an embryonic Nimitz.

Anticipating the collapse of a century later, Fourier envisaged industrial armies who would plant forests, fertilise the Sahara and transform the poles. The "Phalanx" was to be a unit of 1600 members, who had the option to choose their occupations when they liked.

Children, Fourier argued, were best treated to unpleasant jobs because their

Fourier also advocated free love, and believed everyone was entitled to a "sexual minimum". But these were subject to complex arrays of moral courts sitting in judgement. He briefly attacked industrialization, and drew up plans in meticulous detail for his ideal society, which resembled an embryonic Nimitz.

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FOURIER and (left) a plan for his "phalanxes", a commune of exactly 1620 people. Above left: Australia's most famous Utopian settlers set sail for South America in July 1838.

Mystical and grounded as some of Fourier's ideas were, though, they did inspire one of the most successful Utopian projects.

The Familist of Guise in France lasted over one hundred years, from 1817 to 1988. Andre Godin was an ironworker made good who owned a stove factory at Guise. He built a Social Palace for his 1800 workers to live in, with gardens so beautiful that the whole population of Guise used to walk there.

Godin tried to make labour attractive by organising it in groups and series. He started the first mad primary school in France. Finally, he gave the factory to the workers.

"There is more here than bricks piled one on top of the other," Godin said. "There is the practical realisation of the eternal law of the love of humanity."

Australian attempts at Utopian colonies were less successful. After seeing the defeat of the maritime and aboriginal strikes of the early 1930s, William Lane—author of the draft plan for progressive investors to meet him in a cafe at a particular time.

After hearing little more than his coffee consumption, Fourier was to witness the collapse of his first commune and joint venture. On seeing its design, he became convinced the architect was not the man for the job.

Fourier theorised that in his Utopia, it would be possible to turn the sea into land and develop anti-air, anti-atomic, anti-cancer and anti-evil, and to be a "new creation".

In Britain for example (and to a lesser

extent level, it is a popular argument on the left that the solution to unemployment lies in the establishment of work co-operatives. The minus two points. Firstly, such a solution represents no threat to the power of business. In Spain, the co-operative movement survived the entire period of Franco's fascist rule.

Secondly, because co-operatives have to work within capitalism, they have to compete on the same basis. That is why the Triumph co-op in Britain recently collapsed and why in those which are still afloat, wage cuts and redundancies are not unusual.

Overall, Utopianism still survives in the form of idealism and "socialism" in the name—the belief that society can be changed simply by convincing individuals to alter the way they look at the world. Gone is the idea that workers' self-activity is the driving force behind socialism.

Yet even first-hand success of a workers' revolution, he is the Paris Commune, Russia in 1917 or Barcelona in 1936, cannot help but describe the incredible spontaneity, the flood of new ideas and the mass creativity as in practice, the walls of the old order are less down.

Well, will the sea turn to land? Fourier thought that it could.

But a century later at the 1954 Olympic, the Russian and Hungarian water polo teams could only fill the swimming pool with blood in a terrible testimony to the pseudo-socialism of the Iron Curtain countries.

Defeating Fourier's dream is infinitely preferable to defining that nightmare.



## In search of New Australia

AUSTRALIA'S most famous Utopian experiment was started by William Lane, founding editor of the *Worker* and author of the draft plan for the Australian Labour Federation.

Lane formed the Society in 1930, claimed to be the first socialist group in Queensland. Edwards Bellamy was a Utopian author whose description of Boston in the year 2000, "Looking Backwards", was a phenomenal success.

In Bellamy's vision, capitalism's trend to monopolise finally and peacefully results in the concentration of all capital in the hands of the state. The state becomes one gigantic industrial army in which everyone works. All are drilled and regimented, there is a strict hierarchy in production, and an enormous bureaucracy.

But whatever job they hold, everyone gets an equal share of the annual product of the nation in the form of a credit card which can be used as follows:

People have no private lives and don't care about possessions. Their main pleasure is listening to piped music in their homes, an innovation that Bellamy regarded as a supreme technological achievement.

Arrived with this vision, and convinced that those he could not win to socialism, Lane of argument he would win by force of example, Lane took to "preaching his New Australia".

Five hundred people, described at the time as the "cream" of the Australian labour movement, set out on the doomed expedition in 1938. The Russian anarchist Kropotkin remarked indignantly:

"The fact that men and women, who have made Australia what it is, are compelled to migrate from it, speaks volumes for itself. Make the land be the dung that renders it productive, build the machine that produces it, which renders it valuable—and go away! This is the true picture of modern capitalist management."

If New Australia succeeds, it would marily become a refuge for those who have abandoned the battle which had to be fought in order to face with the future.

New Australia was not to succeed. Salt spilled over drinking and over Lane's high-handed leadership. Lane left with 57 followers to establish a new island called Coome.

Despite the acres of right-wing criticism, the New Australia adventurers were deeply committed and humanitarian people. They worked kindly on their children, and they had a high level of culture. At Coome, for example, they held readings, ran a daily newspaper, and discussed problems communally. Editor of the newspaper at one stage was Mary Gilmore, later to become Dame Mary Gilmore, the noted writer and poet.

Staunchly of the Coome settlers was William Lane's brother John. He came back to Australia to work on the railways. Once he found the country by push-back, sluffing his tyres with dried mud. When the tubes were cut, to spread the message.

But individual dedication was not enough. Coome failed in 1942. William Lane returned to Australia disillusioned in 1950, and finished his career writing for a conservative New Zealand journal.

ENGLISH conservative Sirarid Graham presented his "Humble Confession" that socialism had nothing to offer, in his book "When Socialism Failed".



The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . .

ROMANTIC?

THERE IS A myth that revolutions are somehow un-English, and so, of course, un-Australian too.

Yet everyone is taught in school that in the seventeenth century state power in England was seized by violence. There was a bitter Civil War. King Charles was executed, and monarchy was replaced by a Republic.

WE'VE JUST received a new pamphlet on the English Civil War by Norah Corline. Tony Horn takes a look at it.



A CONTEMPORARY portrait of the pillaging of Basing House, the last Royalist stronghold.

pamphlet

Norah Corline's pamphlet "The First English Revolution" (181 pp, 55p) sketches above the exciting class struggles as they really were, and goes on to show that the next King Charles of England might go the same way as his genetic ancestor.

The revolutionary crisis began when Charles, hounded by an unpopular war against the Scots, was forced to summon a hostile Parliament made up of rich landowners.

The dispute between these landowners and the King was basically about how to strain power. Both sides wanted to radically transform the country.

But Charles soon made it clear he would not be treated as a puppet king who ruled the landowners.

Merchants and capitalist landowners against the King. But these people had themselves brought into being a new class of landless laborers, desperately poor, bitter and angry.

England had been made safe for capitalism. And the world was to be plundered, beginning with the butchery of the Irish rebels. England was to be used for the industrial revolution.

OLIVER CROMWELL

Cromwell, Lord of the Army, conquering the Landowners of the Commonwealth. He was a great man, a great man.

That was when the old man returned inside the subjectively opinionated masses that defend Norah. He had a lot to say about the English Civil War.

It is reinforced by numerous references throughout the film to the New York Yacht Club "abdication" in changing the wind rule.

DEMONSTRATIONS in London against royal authority and Popery were all first quickly put down.

AUSSIE ASSAULT



ALAN BOND, John Bertrand and the America's Cup, the principal players in a nationalistic orgy.

THE DISSEISES

YES, I know it's only February. But I'm already prepared to nominate "Aussie Assault" as the Worst Film of 1984.

"Aussie Assault" tells how Australia won the America's Cup last September. When I came out after awards, I didn't know whether to laugh or cry.

Laugh, because if there's one thing "Aussie Assault" won't do, it's exclude the numerous ways of nationalist fervor that swept Australia during and after the event.

"Aussie Assault" is about as visually exciting as Alan Bond's home movie. Scenes of yachts ploughing through water. Cut to a section facing on Bond's viewing box. Cut to placards at press conference.

That was when the old man returned inside the subjectively opinionated masses that defend Norah. He had a lot to say about the English Civil War.

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The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . .

TOM O'LINCOLN reviews "Over Our Dead Bodies", another boost to the publishing bonanza around the marriage of the issues . . .

WOMEN & PEACE

Perhaps not, but neither have all women. Not a lot of the young single women who demonstrate, and not the Angela Carter crowd who wear their mud, bangs, prosts, dreads, all kinds of things.

Further, there is considerable evidence to suggest women are not conditioned not to strike out violently. This is part of their oppression.

But as they move into struggle they can be violent enough, when necessary. Melbourne disarmament movement has seen women have always been prominent. Graham Common is self, which began as a "non-violent" protest, has long ceased to be that.

Even some of the contributors to the book bear the theory. Angela Carter, for example, recommends the tactics of Japanese farmers who used "systematic sabotage" and "attacked construction teams with rock walls".

But there remains another issue which is really decisive. What are the practical conclusions of disarmament feminism? What strategy flows from the analysis?

This is an important question, for our lives are at stake. We need realistic.

the reason is simple. For the moment, the force is society which would be the creator of a viable strategy is rather inactive.

Women enclaves Greenham Common.

SINCE GREENHAM Common a new current has emerged in the disarmament movement.

It's a combination of disarmament and feminism. Some women now claim they have a special role to play in the struggle against nuclear war.

I call this current "disarmament feminism." It seems to be increasingly trendy, and it has sparked a new publishing boom.

The new book is called "Over Our Dead Bodies," and it has sparked a new publishing boom.

Since it offers such a cross-section, the book is an excellent opportunity to examine the ideas of disarmament feminism, and see where they lead.

These points are crucial. If women's role makes them best

qualified to lead the fight, then certainly they should do so. If they're more peaceful by nature, then men as a sex deserve the blame for war. On the other hand, if this logic is wrong, then the feminist case—as put in this book, at least—is wrong too.

The passage suggests that women's role in society makes their views particularly important. Some of the contributors go on to say that women's social roles make them more powerful by nature.

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THIS FILM has plenty of horror . . . all the horror of a daytime soap.

Just imagine watching "Days of Our Lives" for two hours. Take away the possibility of nuclear war and "The Day After" is just that.

See we no working class in Lawrence or Kansas City, no poor blacks, no unemployed. There are none of the economic problems which face capitalism today or even the more severe ones in the future which pressure the ruling class, of either side, to seriously contemplate using "the Bomb."

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# the battler



PARENTS and kids at the entrance to the Primary School at Glebe on Friday 10. Glebe is just one of Sydney's inner city schools suffering departmental neglect and deprivation.

## Medicare won't heal these cuts!

MEDICARE may be here, but what's happening to the health services we're paying for?

The Labor government's continuing record of health services even when Labor's in power in Canberra.

But all that national health care in Sydney was in fighting against the cuts.

On Friday 10 February negotiations began and negotiating their stance with on at home.

On Wednesday 10 February negotiations between Nurses Association officials and the Department of Health ended in the Department refusing to increase any levels.

Nurses then passed a resolution to begin a 24-hour strike on Friday 10 February. Health Department officials immediately responded.

But their decisions still go against staff demands, the strike will go ahead sometime within the next two weeks.

Healthworkers have also taken action at Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. An intensive care ward 45 is having extra duties as a result of staff cuts. The jobs at various health and research employees who used to do some non-nursing work have been abolished and nurses are refusing to take on the extra. Rates were renegotiated 10 February.

Sydney Hospital has seen its education programs slashed. **Wynson Lodge**, which is the educational center is being sold.

A large number of educational staff received notices that they were to resume normal staffing duties and to consider their current allocation as temporary.

Confusion reigned as it was discovered that the notices had been incorrectly sent out. Within hours, they were withdrawn but Sydney Hospital remains on edge for prospects for the next month.

The national Richmond Report, which commends hospital closures and reallocation as a cure for problems this year. It will lead to upheavals in the already run-down psychiatric division. Time and again negotiations determine compromises that only give the place.

Demands for staff in the health system is widespread, with negotiations teaching recent news. Strike action is now the only alternative to seeing public health services a shrunken shell.

**You may be insured under Medicare. But unless you fight, don't expect services to be there.**

—By Kim Johnston



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—John Pasianni

# PARENTS BATTLE FOR EDUCATION SERVICES

PARENTS AT Glebe Primary School in Sydney have had enough.

On Friday 10 February, we pulled every kid out of the school in protest at the continual run-down of the school's facilities and in particular, the Education Department directive to abolish rear classes.

By Linda Woodland, Parent.

of the teacher from Glebe Primary School. Negotiations are continuing.

## Footnote to a phoney accord

WHILE THE Labor government's accord keeps workers wages down, the Hospital Employees Federation, one of the few unions who refused to sign the agreement, has given in.

In November 1983, many HEF members, both in Private and Public hospitals were striking over the conditions and implementation of the 18-hour week. During these meetings, the workers' demand was to sign the agreement, binding them to no extra claims over a two year period, in return for six monthly Consumer Price Index wage increases.

At the time the union's State Secretary Les Butler, said up to us the fact that the union's members should make this decision. He said it was outrageous for the Labor government to expect workers to sign such an agreement, because it stripped them from making claims as they came up.

But HEF members were recently informed that the union had signed the agreement. It seems the union bureaucrats have forgotten about the union's members. And Les Butler has forgotten his speeches about democracy in unions and exactly what decisions should be made.

By typical union bureaucrats Les Butler to hide roughness over union members. Without a strong rank and file to support the bureaucrats this type of thing will just be allowed to continue.

—Bernadette Fallon, HEF

## Severance pay sackings

OVER 700 workers have been sacked at the new Parliament House construction site in Canberra in a dispute over severance pay.

The site is now completely shut down. Workers have set up a 24-hour picket at both entrances. The plumbers and electricians have a swiched off all water and electricity supplies. Only a few administrative staff remain at work.

The unions involve are demanding six weeks severance pay for every year of service on the job for the site.

The Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Ralph Willis, agrees with the MBA. It called on the union to cease their campaign and pursue their claims within the centralised wage system.

At a recent demonstration of over 400 workers outside the Arbitration Commission, they demanded, "What do we want? Severance pay! When do we want it? Now! How do we want it? Now!"

The workers are still very angry and very concerned about their job security.

The mood at the picket line is one of anger and defiance. Support is coming in from other unions all around Australia. And the workers are prepared to stay on the picket line until their demands are met.

—John Pasianni

## Clyde Engineering sinking the boot in

WORKERS AT Clyde Engineering (Brisbane) are out the gate for redoubt **pay**. The action was taken after their workers were sacked. To add insult to injury, all they got was money sack days they'd accumulated.

Management's response has been to threaten more sackings if the strike continues. As any they'd no longer pay the sick leave and troublemakers and strikers would get lost references. There was a union agreement on management can sack the troublemakers.

Clyde once employed a couple of hundred workers. The 40 who are left have had a handful of being kicked around by the company. Unfortunately, the workers have been exempted from the Butler. "The fight back" have begun long ago when we had more strength.

Over the last few years, thousands of jobs have been lost in the metal industry. The union officials have responded as much the same way and refused to lead

any fight against the sackings.

In Queensland, the officials have pushed BUL QUD campaign. This amounts to a passive media campaign against the state government and forcing contracts to stabilize firms. It ignores the fight for jobs in the here and now.

The business lies squarely on the bosses who sack workers when they can't make any more profits out of us.

The bosses also fail a solution that workers would strike against the state government and forcing contracts to stabilize firms. It ignores the fight for jobs in the here and now.

Before the strike action they urged the workers to fight for jobs in the here and now.

Liberal non-National Party Minister of Transport, Leslie (Les) Gaither (Leslie Gordon (paraphrase) Chalk, one of the directors of the company, says that the company contracts from the Queensland Railways could be replaced.

This was just another diversion from where workers have real power—the job.

—Paul Donley

# BURNED IN A BIN

## the battler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No. 157 March 10, 1984 30¢ (20¢ advance, postage) Registered by Australia Post Publication 98 522

## How the system killed John Newbury



The burnt-out bin in which John Newbury died—up to four hundred homeless people are sleeping in bins, parks and doorways each night in Melbourne.

## John Newbury

LAST Thursday week, the capitalist system killed John Newbury.

John Newbury died when the rubbish bin he was sleeping in caught fire and incinerated him. When firemen found him screaming for help after the flames set off an automatic fire alarm, he had burns to over fifty per cent of his body. He died in hospital an hour later.

John, 56, was one of Melbourne's down-and-outs. When he could afford it, he would stay in a Fitzroy boarding house with his brother.

When he couldn't, he would spend the night in the bin, in an alley in the heart of Melbourne's business district.

Last Thursday week, the business house that used the bin had a clean-out. Cigarette butts were among the rubbish. Possibly one was still alive when John settled in the bin. Or

possibly he just fell asleep while having a smoke.

Either way, it doesn't really matter. What really killed John Newbury was the system that forces human beings to sleep in bins in the first place.

But because hotels and motels, like everything else under capitalism, are run for profit rather than need, the beds remain unused. And people like John Newbury continue to die.

There has been a spate of evictions of homeless "squatters" from unused government houses in Victoria recently—some controlled by John Cain's state government and some by Bob Hawke's in Canberra.

The real crime is that while people are building inside bins for a bit of warmth and shelter, 13,000 hotel and motel beds lie vacant around Melbourne every night.

That is more than enough to house the city's homeless problem twenty times over.

Every night, three to four hundred homeless people in Melbourne have to sleep in bins, parks or doorways. The situation in Sydney is even worse.

—Ken Stevens



## NSW ELECTION: Yuk, what a choice! —3







**Open Slather**

MEMBERS Steve Parnes, 36, in the 34-year-old executive who, without incident, was arrested for plotting the 1981 power seizure in Brisbane.

...his job. So he set up an additional control firm, but said that it goes back years. Now, Parnes, 36, could have been a ...

Parnes says, "Had I known about the fact, I would have to go through ... I never would have ... away from him and then ..."

THE Chinese Government wants to make a deal with the Gobi desert to give European governments the right to make nuclear power plants to be sited on. China has a nuclear power plant in Guangdong. That means it may use the technology to build other nuclear power plants in the Gobi desert. ...

THE Public Service has already recently looked after its own. Last year a union member was transferred after completing a ...

MAY will quote you a local union who is ...

**Broken Easter**

**BL's bite back**

One of the main charges against revolutionary socialists is that we want to use violence to change the world. Parnes has the need to reject violence as a means to political ends as the commonplace of arguments against revolution.

Most of the time these arguments are the result of hypocrisy. When they come from supporters of the present system, Labour or Liberal, they cannot be taken too seriously.

Take the case of the propagandists of official Labour Party. When MPs announce the use of supporting violence, unless then they are either willfully ignorant or deeply dishonest. There are very few Labour members who have ever been willing to accept violence in order to end the existing system.

During World War I, Labor MP Andrew Fisher voted to defend the British empire to the "last man and the last shilling". Ben Chifley used troops to smash the 1960 coal strike.

More recently Neville Wren has used his troops against miners and gay 60s on a strike. Bob Hawke backs the US war effort in Central America.

Most of the time, the real argument is about whether you are in favour of using violence for political ends, but what political ends will you be prepared to use violence for. For the reasons we hold this position is not at all because we are bloodthirsty monsters, but because we recognize that the world is changing. We believe that it is most unlikely that the current ruling class will ever give up their control of society without a fight. Perhaps they will, but both history and theory make it more likely they will not.

What one class's most serious political violence is another class's most serious class violence, and so too with violence. The ruling class defines certain sorts of violence as legitimate and certain sorts as wrong. Since a knife is a brutal weapon and you go to prison, neglect a safety regulation and kill half a dozen workers and you get a pitting amount. Shoot a policeman in a scuffle and you get 25 years; shoot an unarmed civilian five times and the judge makes sure you get off scot-free.

And that holds good for political violence too. Shoot a policeman in a scuffle and you get 25 years; shoot an unarmed civilian five times and the judge makes sure you get off scot-free.

**PORTUGUESE soldiers supported the revolution in 1975.**

**BL's bite back**

**ELIAS, a wage claim, union submit...**

**Colin Sparks discusses revolutionary violence**

We therefore have our strategy, that is possible. We know that the world is going to continue until capitalism is ended and we think it is likely that at some point in the future the ruling class of the state in a concerted attempt to smash the organizations of the working class. We do not intend to be down and let them drive right over us.

If they surround without a fight, well and good. There will be no need to use violence. If they start shooting, then workers must be prepared to shoot back. To make out that possibility from the start to surrender the war before even lighting the first battle.

It is at this point that we meet our genuine critics, the real pacifists. They will say that everything we are just about the official party is a quite true. It is not a bad thing to be a bit of a pacifist. It is not a bad thing to be a bit of a pacifist. It is not a bad thing to be a bit of a pacifist.

of some circumstances in which violence is justified. But when the need is presently held it has to be recognized as a profoundly human response to the horror of organized murder. Unfortunately it is also profoundly reactionary.

It is essentially an abstract moral argument—it says that there is a single absolute rule for human conduct which everybody ought to obey. We reject that notion.

All in all, humanity all rules of conduct and all laws have to be seen in a class context. As Aristotle wrote once put it: "The laws of France, with its justice, its impartiality, forbid both the beggar and the millionaire to sleep under the hedges of Paris."

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**Independent stand**

**AN ANGLICAN meeting of teachers working in Sydney's Catholic schools...**



ABOVE: South African troops on the move. Below: an Angolan freedom fighter, 1976. The new nation trow under heavy pressure.



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**Southern Africa: THE PRICE OF PEACE**

WITH DROUGHT, flood and famine from the north, and hostile guerrillas backed by the South African army from the south, it's not surprising that the once radical regimes of Angola and Mozambique have used for peace.

Peace settlements were announced between two black African nations and white-ruled South Africa in late January and early February. The deal is that South Africa will leave them alone—along with stop any hostile activity towards either the apartheid state or its liberal occupation (Namibia/South West Africa).

Naturally, the big losers in this are those who are still fighting for their independence—the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia, and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa itself.

For the success of their guerrilla operations, the two organisations depended on bases in Mozambique and Angola. Those bases are about to be taken away. South Africa is the economic power-house of the southern African region. In terms of resources, output and trade, it dominates the economies of the countries around it. One by one, the African regimes that opposed it—Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe—have succumbed to its economic strangle-hold.

In this situation, the two regimes extend a very limited olive branch, the South Africa extend themselves to grant it.

On 1 February, it was announced in Mozambique that Jose Silva, a leading member of the ANC was to be expelled. In fact, South Africa had presented Mozambique with a list of ANC leaders it wanted out of the country.

ANC bases are to be closed, and their offices scaled down to minor diplomatic outposts. Not to worry though, Mozambique's "moral and political support" for the ANC will continue.

In Angola, the SWAPO guerrillas are not to be allowed into the border area with Namibia. This means that they will no longer be able to carry out guerrilla operations against the South African occupation force.

But if South Africa is so powerful, why should it want peace at all? One of the reasons is that the war in Namibia has been bleeding on it, and it is running out of resources, fuel and prestige.

African backed guerrilla organisation, the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) has worked havoc across the country. After three years of drought, peasants are fighting against their landlord class.

What little red dirt there is, is cut off by the MNR. There has been severe flooding. The regime has published figures showing that Mozambique has lost more than four billion dollars through over-rain and South Africa.

But if South Africa is so powerful, why should it want peace at all? One of the reasons is that the war in Namibia has been bleeding on it, and it is running out of resources, fuel and prestige.

South Africa is also under pressure from the US to clean up its act in the region. The US administration wants the "Namibian situation resolved"—that is, Namibia independent, but not under the SWAPO.

The situation in Southern Africa underlines the weakness of the black African region—the matter how militant their opposition to apartheid. Those who are not to be allowed into the border area with Namibia. This means that they will no longer be able to carry out guerrilla operations against the South African occupation force.

But in fact today it is not possible to separate the economy from the political. To take up the question of the curbing the South African economy is to take on the question of the whole industrial system of Israel. The Israeli working class is not yet prepared to do this.

Continued aid will be conditional on the Shamir government "taking steps to curb the Israeli economy". The economic crisis has been profound—a fall in the price of oil, a drop in the price of industrial products, particularly in the oil sector. These are all part of a program for recovery.

Construction work on the West Bank. THE BATTLE 10 MARCH, 1984—5



LEFT to right: demonstration against inflation, strikers fight police of Tel Aviv airport, antiwar march.

**ISRAEL'S CRISIS: there's no way out**

EVERY TWO weeks in Israel the cost of petrol, gas, electricity and water goes up 10%.

Many people get paid monthly. To ensure their money holds its value for that time they have to invest in the short term money market.



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# COMMUNISM

by CHRIS HARMAN

## Andropov: sick ruler of a sick society

**YURI ANDROPOV'S** death last month highlighted the problems of the regime over which he ruled.

He came to power 16 months ago determined to revamp and modernize Russia. Although the popular press in the West depicted him as a wiry, energetic and a fully, the attitude of some of the columnists in the press papers was rather different.

They saw him as a new sort of ruler, intelligent, cultured, interested in modern art and modern jazz, a break from the mould of leaders who had reigned since the Brezhnev years.

Even his name as the butcher of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the signator of the treaty that took the 1960s was not held against him. This was regarded as giving him the necessary flexibility to carry through deep-seated reform.

He certainly set out as if this was the path he intended to follow. He accumulated total authority into his hands much more quickly than had his predecessors, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, making himself not only general secretary of the ruling party, but also president of the state.

He lambasted inefficiency and ordered spectacular arrests of the more openly corrupt friends of the Brezhnev family.

### stagnate

Yet a year after his assumption of power, little or nothing had changed in Russia. Industry continued to stagnate. Agriculture continued to provide too little food. For every bureaucrat imprisoned, a hundred per file, then continued to flourish.

These things had been imposed upon the rest of society by private capitalism in the West. In Russia the state played the same role. State capitalism arose at the expense of the mass of workers and peasants.

### RUSSIAN tanks and military resources—bogged down in Afghanistan.

The American army drew continued to expose the technological weakness of much of the Russian economy. And Andropov himself was no longer a power-house

preaching efficiency, but a bed-ridden old man, awaiting his turn to die.

Some commentators give the impression things would have worked out differently if only Andropov had not been taken ill, or if he had been able to take over from Brezhnev a few years earlier.

On this reckoning the Russian regime could solve its problems if only someone with a better sense of power in their hands. But Andropov's failure was not because his tenure of office was so short or because his health gave in. It was because the problems he was trying to deal with could not be solved by the method of reform, however thorough, or however energetically carried through.

The hard truth that faces his successors is that Russia is in a crisis very like the crisis of the West.

This does not involve an immediate and complete collapse of the existing economic and social system. But it does mean continual economic stagnation, an inability to satisfy the most elementary needs of wide sections of the population, cynicism and corruption in the ruling circles, periodic strikes, riots or even uprisings from those at the bottom of society.

## Stalin and the rise of the state

**THE NATURE** of the crisis can be seen if you compare the two decades in which Brezhnev and then Andropov ruled with the earlier periods of rule of Stalin and Khrushchev.

Stalin came to power over the corpse of the Russian revolution. The early promise of a free and harmonious society rose on the basis of workers' power had already been struck a mortal blow by foreign intervention, civil war and economic devastation.

The working class which had made the revolution had virtually disappeared by the early 1920s, and power was left in the hands of privileged bureaucrats who were a law unto themselves. Stalin organized these people to wipe out the last traces of the revolution, whether workers' control in the factory or a commitment to international revolution.

But important underlying problems grew back continued to decline, until it was no higher than that of the major Western countries. The failure of agriculture meant it was necessary to import huge quantities of food from abroad. And the highest Stalinist state, China, broke completely with Russia.

All the methods used to build up industry in the West were imitated inside Russia—the lengthening of the working day, the slaying of the living standards of the mass of people, the imposition of harsh piece work systems, child labour, the driving of peasants from their land at the expense of the establishment of slave camps, massive overworking in rapidly growing urban plants.

These things had been imposed upon the rest of society by private capitalism in the West. In Russia the state played the same role. State capitalism arose at the expense of the mass of workers and peasants.

It was this which explained the horrors of the Stalin period. All the barbarities which had occurred over hundreds of



## Khrushchev and the velvet glove

**THE KHRUSHCHEV** period was a period of achievement as well, although of a different sort.

The enforced industrialization of the Stalin era had created a massed pool of bitterness at the bottom of society both in Russia and in the East European satellites. This threatened a split into revolutionary upheaval in the period immediately after Stalin's death in 1953.

There was an uprising in East Germany, riots in Czechoslovakia, strikes in the largest of the Russian labour camps, Yuzovka, riots in Poznan in Poland and then an uprising involving the formation of workers' councils in Hungary.

At the same time it became clear the massive economic growth could not be sustained. Areas of wasteful inefficiency which could be ignored before now needed urgent attention. This was especially true of agriculture which had been so robbed of resources to build up industry that it could no longer be relied upon to feed the country's population.

Khrushchev pushed reform after reform in an effort to deal with these problems. He emptied the labour camps of most of the slaves, found a new source of wage labour for industry.

He allowed workers' living standards to rise a little. He reduced the brutality of the secret police to a shadow of their former self. He allowed his critics of Eastern Europe a new degree of autonomy from Russia. He tried to reexamine management in industry and provide more resources for agriculture.

### relaxed

He enjoyed a limited respite. The revolts of 1953-56 were crushed and new revolts did not break out. But economic life became more relaxed and Russia's society enjoyed a new stability.

But the important underlying problems remained unsolved. The economic growth rate continued to decline and it was no higher than that of the major Western



## Brezhnev: a new wave of rebellion

**THE BREZHNEV** years were marked by periodic attempts to reform industry, periodic drives to increase food output, periodic attempts to deal with China, periodic attempts to crush all dissent within the Russian bloc. All were to no avail.

The early 1980s have seen the lowest rates of economic growth since the 1920s. Russia's technology is vastly falling behind that of its major competitor, the US. The harvest is disastrously flat at two years out of every five. And dissent throughout the Russian bloc on a wide scale has never before.

Stalin was able to crush any glimmer of opposition to his rule completely. Khrushchev had greater difficulty, but did succeed in smashing the rebellion of 1953-56, so that even the memory of them was virtually erased.

But Brezhnev's last years saw a new wave of rebellion. In 1980-81 there were strikes in Russia's huge auto factories of Togliatti, Kama River and Gorki, strikes and riots in Estonia, near mistakes

by revolution in the Ukraine, riots in Ordzhonikidze in the Caucasus. Above all, one of the biggest workers' movements the world has ever seen rapidly grew just a few hundred miles from Moscow, in Poland.

The imposition of military rule in Poland has stopped open rebellion, but for the time being only. The fact that Solidarnosc continues to operate as a massive underground organisation is proof that police methods alone cannot halt the rot eating at the roots of state capitalist rule.

### rapid

Karl Marx noted, in writing about Western capitalism, that the rapid expansion of production of its youth led, inevitably, to stagnation and crisis in its old age. The same applies to state capitalism in the Eastern bloc.

Andropov dreamed of restoring the system to the vigour and sense of purpose it knew a few decades ago. He failed because the whole system was as sick as his own body. His successors will be just as unsuccessful.



**SUMMARY** executions in Peking—over a thousand have died since August in a crack-down on 'criminals' aimed at the working class.

## From Peking to Pt Nembla: no troublemakers!

**IT SEEMS** that our bosses have a common interest with the Chinese ruling class. On his trip to China last month, Bob Hawke got together with Premier Zhao and came up with the idea of boosting Australian steel exports to China.

This is just part of a larger vision of Bob's. It is a very specific illustration of the sort of thing I've been talking about—the annexing of Australian economic development into the development of the region.

How, you may ask, could Australia, a capitalist democracy, and China, a centralised communist empire, embrace their economies?

When you look behind the labels the answer is simple. As long as the workers keep quiet and keep working, then the profits of the ruling class will keep growing. This is the same under state-controlled capitalism in China as it is under private capitalism in Australia.

In Australia, China is trying to become a successful competitor on a stagnant world market. To make any inroads into this market China must significantly improve the quality of its goods and the productivity of its labour force.

New economic reforms have been introduced which move away from centralised planning, but the central state collective enterprises have been made solely responsible for their own profit and loss. Central authorities have recently been reducing the subsidies constant makers, who are now forced to borrow from 'factory banks'.

To provide a strong arm back for the program of modernisation, a set of severe repressal policies has been introduced. These campaigns are being conducted simultaneously to keep the working class in order, the crackdown on criminals, the reformation of the Party, and the campaign to wipe out mental pollution.

### broke

If a Chinese worker opposes the current regime or is unemployed and makes a fuss about it, it chances are five or six he will be arrested and sentenced to a period of re-education in the labour camps of China's remote western provinces. Since August 1, over 100,000 people have been executed and a further 200,000 sentenced to the camps.

The second method of getting rid of those who won't toe the line is through mental pollution. Over the next few years a purge is to be carried out against the members who disagree with the China is lagging.

And for those who have been over-exposed to Western ideas and values, the campaign against mental pollution has commenced. But the Party is not just concerned about sex and drugs and rock.

The big worry is that as the economy grows and contact with the West increases, Chinese workers will realise their potential power and demand better wages and conditions. This would not only shake away China's main advantage in world market competition, its cheap and stable workforce, but would threaten the stability of the whole country.

The Chinese government also supports the support to any liberation movements which would counteract with the acceptance of immediate to the Thai Communist Party. We can't have revolution getting in the way of regional trade, can we?

So if the Australian and Chinese governments can work smoothly on the new steel deal, years, but workers of either country will get anything out of it.

Even if you're one of the thousands sacked by BHP at Newcastle or Port Kembla, don't start jumping on me. You won't ever get your job back. To fill these contracts BHP will need a large-scale new investment in the plant. This newly equipped steelworks will need fewer workers than ever before to operate them.

—Carol Moore



STALIN wiped out the last traces of the 1917 revolution.

years of capitalist development in the West were concentrated into two or three decades in Russia.

There were hard times for the individual members of the bureaucracy. Tens of thousands went to their deaths in the execution chambers of the secret police, and hundreds of thousands were consigned to the living deaths of the labour camps. People lived in fear of a police presence that seemed to permeate the whole society.

Yet at the end of that period the bureaucracy as a whole felt a sense of achievement. Industry had grown many times over. Where before three million workers had been exploited, now tens of millions were.

What had been a backward country was now the world's second industrial power. And the country had managed to emerge victorious from the second world war, although at enormous cost.

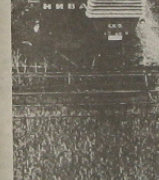
countries. The failure of agriculture meant it was necessary to import huge quantities of food from abroad. And the biggest Communist state, China, broke completely with Russia.

It was these problems which led to a Khrushchev coup in 1954, with Khrushchev ousting Khrushchev. Yet none of them have been solved in the 20 years since. If this did not lead to the ousting of the leadership, it was because no-one else could see a way to solve the problems either.

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THE harvest is disastrous at least two out of every five years.



UPRISING in East Berlin in 1953—the Khrushchev reforms of 1955 stabilised Eastem Europe for almost two decades.

by revolution in the Ukraine, riots in Ordzhonikidze in the Caucasus. Above all, one of the biggest workers' movements the world has ever seen rapidly grew just a few hundred miles from Moscow, in Poland.

The imposition of military rule in Poland has stopped open rebellion, but for the time being only. The fact that Solidarnosc continues to operate as a massive underground organisation is proof that police methods alone cannot halt the rot eating at the roots of state capitalist rule.

The early 1980s have seen the lowest rates of economic growth since the 1920s. Russia's technology is vastly falling behind that of its major competitor, the US. The harvest is disastrously flat at two years out of every five. And dissent throughout the Russian bloc on a wide scale has never before.

Stalin was able to crush any glimmer of opposition to his rule completely. Khrushchev had greater difficulty, but did succeed in smashing the rebellion of 1953-56, so that even the memory of them was virtually erased.

But Brezhnev's last years saw a new wave of rebellion. In 1980-81 there were strikes in Russia's huge auto factories of Togliatti, Kama River and Gorki, strikes and riots in Estonia, near mistakes



SOLIDARNOSC still operates as a massive underground organisation.



SOLIDARNOSC still operates as a massive underground organisation.











# the battler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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# Asians are OK



**EVER SINCE Asians started arriving in Australia in significant numbers in the late seventies, they've had to put up with racist insults and slurs.**

Intellectual giants like the RSL's Bruce Ruxton and the pimplly Haters of National Association Jeffrey Blainey has added his voice to the miserable chorus demanding a cut in Asian immigration.

Blainey says he is concerned about the backlash Asian immigration might cause. The only answer he can see is to cut the intake.  
 "Just thank about Blainey's 'hater' for a moment.  
 Asians mostly arrive here as refugees from the devastation we helped cause in Indo-China, and to reject broken families. As soon as they get here, they are

victimised by the system and employers with the worst unemployment rates (20% on average) and the lowest jobs. Then they are victimised again by racism like the RSL, who want to expatriate Asians for unemployment or hold a following for their disgusting White Australia ideas.  
 So what does Blainey want to do about all this? Get rid of the system that causes unemployment? Kick out the houses?

Turn to p.2

RACISM in Perth



# the battler

Gains from Hostess picket

**HOSTESS WORKERS** at Hawthorn (Vic) voted to return to work on 24 February after winning two weeks redundancy pay for each year of service. The plastics company had offered one week per year of service.

After six weeks of strike action, the company was forced to increase their meagre offer when nationwide bans, led by the union officials, were added to include Hosiery, TAA, Hooker rear ends, a wine company and the new owners, Bepco, in South Australia.

On the other hand, the workers could have won much more if not for the general practices which the union officials showed on the picket line itself.

The officials, from the Green and Packers and the Rubber makers, first promised to fight for six weeks per year, then said the lowest they would go was three weeks. But this broke down didn't last long.  
 They argued at the last mass meeting: "It's only a few days to go before Babco takes over. You won't win any more, and the picket line will be broken."  
 This wasn't true. The nationwide bans had forced the bosses to back down. The picket line was still strong. The union officials were under pressure. The bans affecting Ford, Broomfield and others a fortnight earlier had done the trick. In other words, the picket line was a success. It got the return to work!

The offer had been contemptuously snubbed by the pickets, one of whom said: "We wouldn't return even if they offer us \$1000 each."

dancing

Picketing involved many workers. The Greeks on night shift had music and dancing in the areas. There was nothing like having a good time on the picket line to upset management.

Rubbermakers who showed Peter Athanasopoulos remarked: "The cops are dogs. One day one thing another something totally different. Lower management knows more than the directors and it's the directors who make the decisions."

The union officials were not much smarter at times. When it was learned the company would move goods on the weekend, they had the picket line on the weekend. This thing like a picket line, in the Pope Dam? After pickets had got out of the building at the back of the building, near the main road, one of them noticed the big white vans and thought it might be a good idea to go to work. The officials said not to do it. It might offend the company.

This is the same company which sacked a man who had worked there nearly 40 years, and for whom the shock of being retrenched led to a nervous breakdown.

Go down right to left, said SPJ who showed Malcolm Gladby. He could teach the officials a few things.

**EVERYONE KNOWS** that bosses will push you around whenever they get the chance. But size mail officers at Waterloo MSO in Sydney walked out and shut the place down for 24 hours our local houses there might be a bit more careful.

The strike was in response to the last of numerous attempts by management to break our job. The other

resists jobs between everyone on a shift so that people get a fairly regular



IT SEEMS the cost of the new parliamentary palace doesn't include severance pay for the ones who put it together. Above: B.L.'s picket line, Canberra site.

# B's blockade Bob's Accord

By Linda Garner

**700 SACKED!** But building workers at the new Parliament House site in Canberra aren't taking it in the spirit of accord with the bosses' interests. They've closed down the site and are backing a solid and enduring (it's been over a month now) 24 hour picket.

The B.L.'s severance pay campaign represents a real threat to the Wages and Prices Accord. So, naturally, the Hawke cabinet has expressed strong opposition in principle to the workers' demands.

The Labor government is to hold out for as long as it now showing its opposition in principle. As one takes to win. As one takes to win. As one takes to win.

work basis and are demanding job security. If successful, the severance pay claim will be a new ground for the industry by bringing building workers into line with other industries, like public servants who have guaranteed employment and a superannuation scheme.

**Important**  
 The campaign is especially important now that the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) have backed down from their \$9 national

# NURSES STRIKE SIDE TRACKED INTO STATISTICS

WHEN 800 Queensland nurses voted overwhelmingly for their first ever strike, they showed just what a fair Health Minister, Brian Stair is.

Only the night before the nurses' decision, on March 28, Stair said, "We (the State Government) haven't got a dispute with Queensland's nurses, we've got a dispute with Queensland's Nurses Union officials."

But at the mass meeting, nurse after nurse spoke for a 24 hour strike, the next day, despite an official union recommendation to delay the action as the hospital boards could make up their minds to negotiate.

All new nurses put it: "We're the only union in Australia that gives four days notice that we're going to strike. How you want us to give them another 24 hours notice?"

continues

Also carried at the meeting was a motion to continue implementing their existing bans and pickets at the Royal Brisbane and Prince Charles hospitals.

The nurses have been campaigning for an \$1600 staff since September last year. In November they banned routine and domestic duties and in January started limiting the numbers of

—Paul Doherty

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—John Minns



















# GMP PICKET GETS FASTER RESULTS

WALTER PROBABLY didn't imagine when he turned up for work at the Melbourne GMP plant at Fisherman's Bend on Friday, 24 March, that he'd be kicked out and reinstated again within a week.

But solidarity action throughout the plant and support of other unions, when Walter's job was taken over by other GMP's men, meant that he was not the first to be sacked. He was not the first to be reinstated. He was not the first to be reinstated. He was not the first to be reinstated.

Walter's reinstatement was a triumph for the GMP's men. It was a triumph for the GMP's men. It was a triumph for the GMP's men. It was a triumph for the GMP's men.

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# PS clerks want action

ALMOST 1600 Federal public servants are moving over to the PS's anomalous claim. While other clerks gain small increases in 1983-83, we topped Fraser's wage freeze. So now we're the lowest paid public servants in Australia.

When the union agreed to the PS's anomalous claim, it was a triumph for the PS's men. It was a triumph for the PS's men. It was a triumph for the PS's men. It was a triumph for the PS's men.

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# British comrade on tour

RECENT EVENTS have shown that NSW state level executive APTU (post) union officers at the Melbourne Mail Centre were granted no breaks on picket lines.

After learning about this, APTU members at other metropolitan mail centres agreed to work on this arrangement for their centres. NSW officials informed local reps that they were unwilling to take the issue on a state level because the Leighford Reps were advised to sack the material.

The significance of the current Melbourne struggle in Britain is that it is a triumph for the PS's men. It is a triumph for the PS's men. It is a triumph for the PS's men. It is a triumph for the PS's men.

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# THE AGIT-PROPS

What the U.S. is doing in your city

LEADING member of our sister organisation in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party, Pat Stack, is currently touring Australia. A member of the editorial board of the SWP magazine, Socialist Review, Pat has written extensively on Ireland, southern, anti-semitism the national Front and the Labour Party.

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# International Socialists

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power

Revolution, not Reformism

Internationalism

Full Equality and Liberation

Rank and File Organisation

Join the Party

Join the Party

ON THE picket line at GMP

Letter Rip

WHY ARE MURDOCH?

Dear Battlers,

TOO MUCH like the Murdoch press? One reader thinks so.

Wrong on Andropov

Dear Battlers,

Dear Battlers,

Marianne Michael, Brisbane.

Feminist example

Dear Battler,

Dear Battlers,

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA

CANBERRA















## MIKE GREWCOCK asks the age-old question...

**NOT SO long ago, the Battler produced a front page which declared: 'Awk, It's Malcolm Hawke!'**

We went on to list just some of the Hawke government's policies which would do the Liberal general-election mission. Fast Times, wage cuts, unemployment.

Very little has changed since then. Unemployment continues to rise. BHP and the manufacturers continue to derive "nationalist" programs and mass sackings for their industries.

Further cuts are being made in public spending with hospitals and schools suffering as a result. The public sector is being slashed at any where else.

Real wages continue to fall. The 9% indexation anti-inflation has disappeared from the sight of just about every union official in the country. Further, in the last couple of weeks, threats of de-escalation have been made against the BLP during negotiations for their precursors.

For most Australian workers, Mike Hawke has got hard. And the minor economic upturn aside, things don't look like getting much better.

In NSW an decision has just been fought largely in the question of government corruption. Neither side offered an alternative other than more wages and spending cuts. The basically anti-working class policies of the Wron government were exposed by the trade union members who they declared.

**"We expect to see the game over in the next month. It's not so much by taking industrial action now."**

Despite its supposed commitment to socialism and equality, the Labor Party is firmly wedded to the maintenance of capitalism and to working with it in institutions. For all ALP governments, this has meant anti-union rhetoric, book ASIO (much to David Campbell's chagrin) and the smash of the 1949 miners' strike with armed troops.

It is the relationship between the union bureaucracy and the ALP which is of particular interest to workers.

Its mutual social base lies in the official of the trade-union movement. Not only can they play an important role in formulating policy, they also have a lot to say from policies such as industrial action and processes which take decision making and direct action away from their rank and file.

The relative comfort and privileges which come from being permanent negotiators rather than leaders of struggle push the union bureaucracy in the direction of defending the status as it currently exists.

It is the relationship between the union bureaucracy and the ALP which is of particular interest to workers.

Even so, by October 1977, the first moves were being made for the introduction of indexation. The pressure increased as the date of strike activity kept being put off. It was introduced in 1979, indexation had already had the effect of erasing the trend of increases down by 19%

However, despite the pretty disgusting record and its inability to restore any real social change, the ALP is still a slightly different creature from the Liberal.

Firstly, it claims to be a party of reform. It is founded in the 1900s to bring down measures through parliament.

Such reforms ranged from the abolition of anti-union laws to the nationalisation of public services. Little of this has been achieved, speaks largely for itself.

Secondly, and more importantly, the ALP has a different social base. It obviously is the open representative of big business in the Liberal and not the other way round. But neither does it really represent the

though someone had assumed the coach of Hawthorn Football Club).

The Whitlam government was radically different to any other Labor government. It came to power with the backing of significant business leaders such as Rupert Murdoch and Ken Menzies.

It was clearly hoped that the expected boom conditions of 1973-4 that it would keep the unions under its thumb more effectively than McMahon looked capable of doing.

Initially, it was successful. Despite significant wage increases, the number of workers engaged in strike activity in 1973 was 20,000 less than it was in 1970.

accord is a similar anomaly. Hawke managed to come up with the Accord at a time when workers were beginning to show confidence. In addition, he had collapsed and Fraser, who elects the real decision that it needs to be the board of BHP or the heads of the armed forces and police? You can bet it's not those who suffer the most from unemployment, brutality and war.

The point about parliament is that it is a luxury allowed to when the ruling class is firmly in control. But if a Labor Party looks like using it as a genuinely radical fashion such as in Chile in 1973, parliament will be dissolved and the tanks will roll.

Many ALP supporters recognise all this, but will argue that it's the best that can be done under the circumstances. Even left

parliament and the idea of bringing change from above is sacred. They argue that in a democracy such as ours, we can only gradually convince the bourgeoisie that it needs to change it or they will elect the board of BHP or the heads of the armed forces and police? You can bet it's not those who suffer the most from unemployment, brutality and war.

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## Is the disarmament movement on the right track? MARIA GIOLITTI argues for a change of strategy...

**IN THE** last couple of years, the disarmament movement in Australia has settled on three major theatres of action.

Huge peace marches are held each year. Pickets and demonstrations occur wherever nuclear warships visit capital cities.

And in the last six months or so, inspired by the Frank in Dam blockade and Greenham Common, week-long anti-nuclear camps have harassed the Rocky Downs uranium site and the US military base at Pine Gap.

Are these actions worth the effort they entail? Or are they just a costly distraction from the real struggle? In terms of their fairly limited goals, all the actions mentioned have been successes.

But are these actions enough to actually get rid of the US bases?

One of the very first actions against the Vietnam War came from the Seaman's Union in 1966, when it refused to crew the boomers which were carrying arms to Saigon.

So did the bans placed by Melbourne wharves and tug last month. Melbourne wharves even had their own "first strike" during the Rocky Downs blockade. They went inside the site and argued with the workers there.

Thousands of other Australian unionists became war-ware working class. Soon after, mass industrial action by British workers prevented Britain invading the fledgling Soviet state.

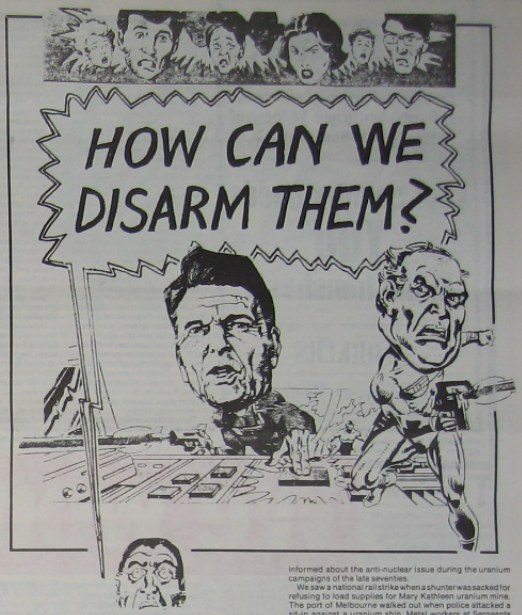
Here in Australia, the trade union movement defeated two referendums for conscription for the First World War. So far, the disarmament movement has mainly sought support from the middle classes and built local and student groups. Many activists believe these people are easiest to mobilise.

But Australian trade unions have a much better history of anti-war action, particularly on the docks.

Yet if there is to be any real change in the working class in the cities that we must look to the workers in the economic and social power that can take the movement beyond mere protest politics and give it genuine muscle and leverage. It is the working class that can stop the movement of goods and in the bases and mines. And the working class that can shut production throughout the country and threaten the bosses' livelihood of profit.

**A BRIEF look at the history books confirms that this can happen.**

In 1918, Germany was dragged out of World War I by the first upsurge of what became a full-scale revolution by its



## HOW CAN WE DISARM THEM?

So there are several ways to take the movement into the workplaces. The task is not yet hampered, however, if the action is centred on remote places like Rocky and Pine Gap.

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informed about the anti-nuclear issue during the uranium campaigns of the late sixties.

We saw a national rail strike when a shunter was sacked for refusing to load supplies for Mary Kathleen uranium mine. The port of Melbourne was struck when a ship was attacked at sea against a uranium ship. Metal workers at Sargeants ANI in Brisbane banned equipment for uranium mines.

**HOW CAN WE DISARM THEM?** As the anti-nuclear movement found, it is not enough to get good policies adopted by union officials.

We need to do two things. Take the movement into the workplaces. And bring the middle class down to Rocky and Pine Gap back to the cities, where we can get ordinary workers involved.

The anti-nuclear experience gives us a few clues on how we can establish workplace support.

Using lunch-time speakers and film shows, sympathetic workers at the Naval Cookery and Melbourne built an impressive workplace anti-nuclear group. Then they organised activities in the local area to involve families and friends.

The Macomban MAMU group built and leading line with workers at Melbourne's Philip Morris tobacco factory by helping them picket during an industrial dispute. Its factory organisation was largely responsible for John and Weygott metal workers in the area forcing their firms to release a contract for a uranium mine.

In 1980, a tiny group of anti-nuclear activists built a network of job sites that contributed to the MAMU Trade Union Health Bulletin. Unions distributed 10,000 copies of leaflets. Through their work, they were able to organize a petition of 50,000 stewards when 10,000 workers to scrap AGTU anti-nuclear policy.

So there are several ways to take the movement into the workplaces. The task is not yet hampered, however, if the action is centred on remote places like Rocky and Pine Gap.

# What are our Laborers in for?

AWK... IT'S MALCOLM HAWKE!



**THE GOVERNOR-Generals's secretary announces Whitlam's dismissal. A lesson to those who place their faith in parliament.**

**A DEMONSTRATOR confronts Neville Wran. Workers can only expect a "kick in the pants" from Labor, say trade unionists.**

**PS strike call**  
A NATIONAL stoppage on the cards if clerks don't get satisfaction from the Public Service Board.

**PS strike call**  
The PSB is refusing to do a survey to help establish what the workers' pay claim is all about.

**PS strike call**  
Even if we get the survey, however, many clerks feel that we need a serious industrial campaign for much.

**PS strike call**  
Members in Social Service in Victoria, the battle over the new industrial conditions continues. The Department is trying to use forcible redeployments to solve a deadly competition rages.

**What we think**  
The ARMS race is the ultimate in destructive competition. No wonder that it's in the modern world, under capitalism.

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**Take the movement into the workplaces...**



# To Arms!

Capitalists, Parsons, Politicians,  
Landlords, Newspaper Editors and  
Other Stay-At-Home Patriots.

your country needs  
**YOU**  
in the trenches!!

**WORKERS**  
Follow your Masters

IWW LEADER Tom Barker, was charged with publishing this poster, said to be "propaganda for recruiting." He was later deported to Chile.

## THE FIRST World War was a grim slaughter.

Millions were butchered, the youth of all Europe decimated. And for what? It was nothing but a predatory struggle for colonies, resources and territory.

No wonder that as the war dragged on, workers everywhere began to turn against it. The revolt took on the dimensions of mass agitation in Britain, revolution in Germany and the establishment of a workers republic in Russia.

And despite the fact that this country never entered the war, Europe did, the Australian labour movement still spearheaded one of the greatest anti-militarist campaigns in our history.

Labour PM Billy Hughes attempted to conscript young men to join the war machine.

Today as we face another desperate struggle against war we need to know how we fit in!

No doubt there are many factors to consider. Historians like to point to the Irish immigrants' hostility to Britain, to farmers who feared their labour supply would be cut off, even to the German vote in the Barossa Valley.

What they seldom pay enough attention to is that the campaign against conscription occurred against a background of rapidly intensifying industrial militancy. It was rank and file workers who beat Billy Hughes.

As the boys marched onto the troop ships in 1914 there was inevitably a wave of patriotism. Yet

even at the very start, the trade unions were less than enthusiastic. The Worker paper of the Australian Workers Union, declared that "this is not a war for which a socialist or a communist system can be given" and we said:

"We have no wave of impo members will sweep over the land, unleashing the judgement of its leaders, and setting its population wide free, in which war is only an increase of circulation, and every corpse a conqueror."

Nevertheless the union went along with the war. One reason was that only volunteers were being sent to the front. Another was that the economy was moving into recession, and unions were in a weak position. The climate was not right for anti-war agitation in 1914.

A year later this began to change. Wages had been frozen throughout the first months of the war, while prices rose. As workers became more militant, the Hughes Labor government promised a referendum to secure the power to control prices. Labor supporters were delighted. But suddenly the government capitulated to the rightwing pressure and cancelled the referendum.

This caused an uproar inside the ALP and led workers to begin seeking redress through their own strength. Unofficial stoppages began on the wharves, and it was not long before North Queensland and Sydney ports were tied up in disputes over wages.

Then, as the economy began to revive in 1916, industrial militancy grew dramatically.

union (the AMA) spoke for most if not all members when he declared, "Labor politicians have been so long in parliament that they have learnt to be nothing unless they are forced to do it."

He added that many of the full-time union officials were better fed than the rank and file workers.

Billy Hughes based the strike on a "German sympathizer who was industrially active in forwarding disturbances." But at the same time he desperately needed metal from Broken Hill for munitions.

Eventually the Hughes government and BHP had to cave in. The miners won the 44-hour week.

In the same year 115,000 coal miners struck nationwide for the eight-hour day. The impact was so powerful that one Sydney paper reported:

"Over 100 steamers are laid up. Tens and tens will stop if all coal is declared 'black' for eight days. Sydney will be in darkness."

Once again the federal government was embarrassed and the unionists won their demands.

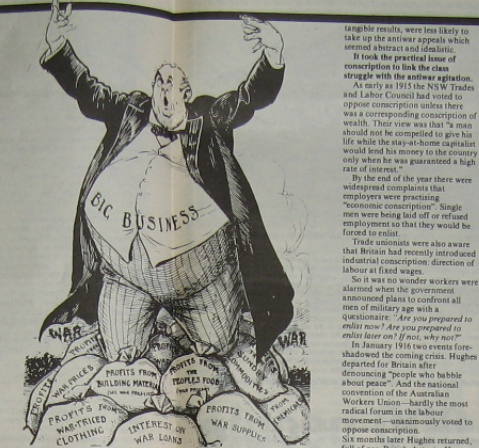
Mainwailie strikers in Queensland and Western NSW were fighting for better pay. Shearers' camps and outback towns were plagued with the fortnight slogan: "Give the warm weather and the blow for a change." This industrial campaign, too, was largely successful.

All in all, 1916 was the highest level of industrial disputes of any year up to then. The successes were largely due to rank and file pressure

from below. Workers were discovering that direct action at the grassroots could defeat employers and governments.

This was not the only revolt had important repercussions inside the ALP. As early as 1910 some of the big industrial unions had become disillusioned with the party leadership, both in state and federal level. Small, fighting craft unions were also beginning to break away from the party.

The "industrialists" wanted to redress the balance. As the industrial unions fought for power within the ALP, their leaderships were also coming under



laughable terms, were less likely to take up the antiwar appeals which seemed abstract and idealistic. It took the practical issues of conscription to link the class struggle with the antiwar agitation.

As early as 1913 the NSW Trades and Labor Council had voted to oppose conscription unless there was a corresponding conscription of wealth. Their view was that "a man should not be compelled to give his life while the stay-at-home capitalist would lend his money to the country only when he was guaranteed a high rate of interest."

By the end of the year there were widespread complaints that employers were practicing "economic conscription". Single men were being laid off or refused employment so that they would be forced to enlist.

Trade unionists were also aware that Britain had recently introduced industrial conscription, direction of labour at fixed wages.

So it was no wonder workers were alarmed when the government announced plans to confront all men of military age with a questionnaire: "Are you prepared to enlist now? Are you prepared to enlist later on? If not, why not?"

In January 1916 two events foreshadowed the coming crisis. Hughes departed for Britain after denouncing "people who huddle about peace." And the national convention of the Australian Workers Union—hardly the most radical forum in the labour movement—unanimously voted to oppose conscription.

Six months later Hughes returned, full of pro-British rhetoric. He



STRIKERS' WIVES march from the Domain to Parliament House in Sydney to confront the Labor Premier. He treated them to a tirade on the virtues of alshair patriotism.

found the ALP clearly divided on the conscription issue, and the press openly speculating about a split. Yet he was determined to press on, in the teeth of mounting opposition. In August the NSW branch of the ALP rallied 100,000 anti-conscriptionists in the Sydney Domain. But Hughes forced through cabinet, by one vote, the decision to hold a referendum on it.

The Labor Party was plunged into turmoil. And it was turning more and more against Hughes, there was little doubt that the impetus came from rank and file

of unionist marchers." And Broken Hill was gripped by a powerful stoppage. This was no real surprise, however, in a town where 2000 men had joined "Labor's Volunteer Army" which pledged men of military age to resist conscription.

The referendum was defeated, and Hughes did no better when he tried again later on. Historians have pointed out that the roughly 75 per cent "no" were by no means enough to decide the vote by themselves.

This is certainly true, but it misses the point. The link between this class struggle and the anti-war agitation was provided by a concrete issue: conscription. The mass appeal was not to abstract anti-war idealism, but to something that was going to affect workers directly.

The connection could be made, however, only because there were people to make it who had previously been involved in the economic struggle and were credible in the workers' eyes. Such people ranged from the IWW to Labor Party activists.

Historian Ian Turner summarized it this way: "The anti-conscription campaign, as far as very much the effect of the isolated and unpopular minority, coincided with growing working-class discontent, and anti-conscription became one virtually of the economic struggle and were credible in the workers' eyes. Such people ranged from the IWW to Labor Party activists."

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# New York fight their war!

## Tom O'Lincoln recounts how workers won the conscription battles of the first World War.

trade unionists. Why else did NSW Labor Premier WA Holman bemoan the way in which the ALP organization had "succumbed to the pressure brought by the workers?"

And those workers now swung into action. A stopwork meeting by NSW wharves denounced the referendum almost unanimously.

And on 4 October there were numerous stoppages in that state, including wharves, metal tradesmen, railway employees and miners. 3000 of the strikers rallied in the Sydney Town Hall. 70,000 unionists protested in Melbourne. In Brisbane "thousands

In the normal course of events, Hughes could have counted on winning easily. He was a Labor Prime Minister, and his proposal was backed by the conservative parties. Opponents of the referendum were subjected to repression and vilification. And in wartime it is normal for most of the population to rally round proposals which appear patriotic.

This normal consensus was shattered by the revolt in labor ranks. And with militant trade unionists rejecting the logic of pro-war patriotism, the war was open for others to follow. The workers

increasing left-wing pressure from the militant rank and file. Under the impact of a sharpening class struggle the Labor Party was polarizing before conscription became a major issue.

Hughes and his fellow right-wingers failed to blame the growing unrest on the Industrial Workers of the World, the main revolutionary organization in Australia. Needless to say, this was a wild exaggeration.

The growth of the IWW was as much a symptom as a cause of working class radicalism.

Even so, the "Wobblies" and the ideas they stood for were by no means insignificant. They called for militant direct action, and militancy a general strike. And they got a hearing. In 1916 the Sydney Morning Herald was complaining, with little exaggeration:

"It is like to drive the force and rapid spread of the doctrine of the I.W.W. They are spreading a rate and the stamp that may follow, are being and will give them an increased impetus."

"The organization may seem insignificant, but it is more or less militant followers in Sydney alone number between 20,000 and 30,000, and they are in many of all the unions—the most dangerous

because the IWW man is everywhere the most energetic as a disseminator, and the most enthusiastic."

The IWW influence could be gauged by the strong showing its candidate for president of the AWU made against the union's legendary leader W.C. Spence.

Radical ideas were also fighting against war. In 1915 the Victoria Socialist Party and other groups had established the Anti-Conscription and Anti-Conscription League and shortly after the IWW took the lead in launching a similar body—the Wobblies. The Wobblies were extremely forthright about opposing the war.

"Oh Those Who Own Australia Do the Fighting. Put the workman in the front ranks the middle class next, follow them the politicians, lawyers, busy boys and judges. Answer the declaration of war with the call for a general strike... Don't go to Hell in order to give personal, plutocratic patriots a bigger slice of Heaven."

"Workers of the World, Unite! Don't Become Hired Murderers! Don't Join the Army or the Navy!"

But while the IWW had won a certain influence in industry, it was most noticeable in the war zone. Workers who responded to the Wobblies' militant industrial tactics because they brought



A demonstration in Melbourne. The IWW was a major force in the anti-war movement.



THE DEATH BALLOT.

Polling Day, December 20.

Vote "NO"

THE BATTLE 14 APRIL 1964

PASSENGERS reward NSW railway scabs. Meanwhile the government is warrening the strike leaders.



# The wars we support

The First World War was called "The War to End All Wars". It was a cruel illusion. It was not the last slaughter. It is a cruel illusion, new era of industrial slaughter. It is a new war, a new war with a nuclear that could destroy it all.

All the innocent young kids being sent to their deaths in the line of war. Thousands of people are suffering the horror of poison gas attacks.

by Tony Horne

Millions of people feel revulsion at the very idea of war. They detest all wars without exception. Yet socialists are not pacifists. At least not the same as us. We do not equate the struggle of the Westworkers or the Seafarers with the massacres of Bosnia, Reagan, Margaret Thatcher or the Kremlin. For us an inevitable feature of the world divided into competing capitalist states, armed to the teeth. Many wars—like racing in the World Wars or any nuclear showdown between Washington and Moscow—are just so-called battles for mastery between competing groups of oppressors.

But the struggle of an oppressed people against a mighty imperial power can extend the military grip of the world's ruling classes. The internationalist Socialist must consider the Vietnam War to be a fight for socialism, for we support the Viet Cong.

The war set to massive industrialization throughout the West. The ideas that came to inspire many demonstrators were not just hope for peace, but more and more a call for the defeat of our own rulers, for "Victory to the

Vict Con!" The military defeat inflicted on the US by the Viet Cong has seriously tested the American imperialism for a decade since November, 1973. Cambodia, Angola and Mozambique have all managed to throw the yoke of imperialism without suffering the fate of Vietnam. Even today, Ronald Reagan backs an invading task force to the north. But in the long run national liberation is not enough. Vietnam is forced to bow to South Africa. Zimbabwe is forced to bow to South Africa. Millions starve in the shadow of nuclear annihilation.

We can only survive by striking the essential core of the hands of ruling classes everywhere. And that means revolution. Civil wars. Time and again the capitalist class has shown that it will hang on to its privileges and power by using its military might.

In Cuba the people have led off mass struggle, by leading in 1912. The Army Officers refused to allow Home Rule, despite the objection of the British Liberal Government. The

## FREEDOM fighter in El Salvador—would pacifists tell her to lay down her gun?

result was 70 years of fighting. Sophisticated pacifists will agree that we do not wish to win the race and find ourselves of the military. But why they say, do we need violence? The chances of winning over the counter-productive, it will turn the soldiers against us. What's more, it can win over all the soldiers there will not be civil war. In more, all soldiers face death if they refuse to obey orders, let alone go over to the enemy. It is true that winning them over is a

matter of persuasion. But it is never brought about by persuasion after the 1900 revolution in Russia. It was only when workers showed that they were prepared to fight the army that rank and file soldiers took the courage to change sides. As George Orwell said about those times: "There is no peaceful road to a peaceful world, no pacifists who oppose revolution are usually saying 'Down with rats, and down with rat poison'."

There is no peaceful road to a peaceful world, no pacifists who oppose revolution are usually saying "Down with rats, and down with rat poison."

# "There are only 90,000 people out there. No nukes as I am?"

EVER SINCE the end of World War II, the United States has used the island chains that comprise Micronesia in the Pacific Ocean for atomic and missile testing.

Henry Kissinger once answered objections to these tests. "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

Now some of the 90,000 are standing up for themselves. Since mid-1982, the people of the Marshall Islands have been waging Operation Homecoming against the US tests.

ABON UADIR has been heavily involved in the struggle for a nuclear-free and Independent Pacific. He recently toured Australia trying to gain support. He describes conditions on the Marshall Islands to the Battler.

### The Marshall Islands comprise a thousand low coral islands and atolls. They are home to 33,000 people—a vital US military base.

Abon Uadiri was one of the islanders living on Kwajalein Atoll who were taken by the US military and sent to military bases in the US to be trained in the use of nuclear weapons. They were sent to the island where they were trained in the use of nuclear weapons. They were sent to the island where they were trained in the use of nuclear weapons.

### By Denis Penrose

These men. There are no playground or recreation facilities, no swimming, and minimal health facilities. Because the bays in the area are so badly contaminated, children who were in direct contact with the water were taken to the island where they were trained in the use of nuclear weapons. They were sent to the island where they were trained in the use of nuclear weapons.

After World War II, the search for a testing ground for US nuclear weapons began in earnest.

In January 1946, the US Navy announced they had found the perfect place, the Bikini Atoll, not far from Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The next year, the United Nations handed over Micronesia to the US as a "trust territory."

From then until 1958, the US staged an atmospheric nuclear test on the atoll of Bikini and Eniwetok which by the end of March 1954 were contaminated by the radioactive fallout from these tests.

There was the " Bravo " test in 1954, which by hydrogen bomb was dropped over a wide area in the United States. The test was a failure, but it was a success for the US. The test was a failure, but it was a success for the US.

### lives

On Ebey, where Abon lives, there is a small, one-story hospital. The US military base on Kwajalein is a modern three-story hospital. The test site at Bikini is a modern three-story hospital. The test site at Bikini is a modern three-story hospital.

Abon told us that children have been taken to the hospital because of the radiation. Abon told us that children have been taken to the hospital because of the radiation.

In 1982, a Compact of Free Marshall Islands government was signed with the US. The Compact of Free Marshall Islands government was signed with the US.

The Compact gives the US the right to use the Bikini Atoll for nuclear testing. The Compact gives the US the right to use the Bikini Atoll for nuclear testing.

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# BIG UNIONISTS ON THE MARCH

BATTLES under Melbourne's building sites got an unusual response on 6 April.

"I was", said building workers, "we were battling yesterday". And to they were.

A thousand red activists marched through the city to protest against attempts by the Liberal Party to get the go-ahead for new legislation for safety on the job.

The protesters included Builders, Laborers, electricians, metal workers and housing workers.

At first the police were not very concerned. After all, the march was being led by the Liberal Party. And they have kept things pretty tame in previous demonstrations.

This time it was different. A long line of up to 100 workers fought their way into Liberal Party headquarters in Exhibition Street.

One made it past themselves comfortably, pushing their feet on desks and making cups of tea and coffee. When the marchers reached Parliament House they surged through police lines and the steps, then held rally inside the doors of parliament itself.

Disruptive attempts have been made by the media to make the demonstration look like a small pot. Presumably the only "damage" they could do was to the cop who had received auto and bruise in the fracas.

Police Commissioner Mick Miller said that the idea of new gun gear for Melbourne Police. Labor Premier John Cain was set out to "demolish" the "what happens?"

Workers are labeled as industrial accidents all the time. Recently, several building workers have died from work-related accidents. Recently, several building workers have died from work-related accidents.

The ACTU campaigned for jobs. Jobs not done and "Fighter for the night".

Stephen Lusher MP. He was off to work. He was off to work. He was off to work.

Andrew Fitzherbert, Brisbane. He was off to work. He was off to work. He was off to work.

## Vic. Parlt. under siege

BLAME IT ON US: UNIONS. The unions march on the parliament building in place like Fitzroy soldiers. If a few reporters have to get a cut up and workers eye the protection of basic safety legislation, who's the seriously object? Certainly no doors took interest.

MEANWHILE The Trades Hall bureaucrats crawl to the bosses. The unions march on the parliament building in place like Fitzroy soldiers. If a few reporters have to get a cut up and workers eye the protection of basic safety legislation, who's the seriously object? Certainly no doors took interest.

## Dole fiasco

STEPHEN Lusher has had a "change of heart". Or so he says. The Labor Minister has been out to spend a week on the dole, with the usual "I was off to work" and "I was off to work" and "I was off to work".

Lusher would have us think his 180 days were spent from the perspective of the unemployed. He was off to work. He was off to work. He was off to work.

Stephen Lusher MP. He was off to work. He was off to work. He was off to work.

Andrew Fitzherbert, Brisbane. He was off to work. He was off to work. He was off to work.

## Suicide Lusher!

Dear Battler, I've heard that you've decided to go to the ACTU for some time. I've heard that you've decided to go to the ACTU for some time. I've heard that you've decided to go to the ACTU for some time.

## China's labour scheme

THE CHINESE government recently announced that it wants to export labourers to Australia and bid for construction contracts. Chinese officials say they can provide thousands of hard working workers who will not be paid wages, but they will be paid for their food and shelter. They will be paid for their food and shelter. They will be paid for their food and shelter.

China already has 40,000 "guest workers" on short term construction sites. For this about \$2 per worker it will pay them to work in Australia. For this about \$2 per worker it will pay them to work in Australia.

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the  
battler

# Yellowcake Bob, at it again!



## Labor's "defence plans" laid bare

THERE WAS once a lodge which read: "Uranium—play it safe, vote ALP". What a joke!

In opposition Labor pretended to be anti-uranium. But now in power, Bob Hawke gave Rocky Dornin the green light. Now leaked policy documents prove that Labor endorses the American alliance, the US warbases in Australia, and all

the dangers that go with them.

Hawke endorses the provision of facilities for US war planes and nuclear ships. The documents say that making our cities nuclear targets is an acceptable risk, and even argue we won't suffer much from long-term radiation when Armageddon arrives.

It's no accident. Labor is committed to managing the capitalist system, and it's capitalism that gives rise to the arms race.

To end the arms race, we have to get rid of capitalism. The need for a socialist alternative to the nuclear Hawkes of the ALP was never clearer than today.

For the socialist alternative see p.7-10

Maralinga

the  
battler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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# MENZIES THE NUCLEAR VANDAL

SO FORMER Prime Minister Robert Menzies wasn't just a racist, red-baiting, pro-imperialist warmonger. He was Australia's first nuclear vandal as well.

That's the only conclusion you can draw from the Maralinga revelations of the last fortnight. Because it was Menzies' Liberal government which allowed the British nuclear authorities open slather to run their atomic-testing program in South Australia between 1952 and 1963—well past the publicised end of testing in 1957.

By his "generosity", Menzies was performing a valuable political service for his imperialist cronies in London. There was strong public opinion in Britain against atomic testing.

As George Katnikowski, President Eisenhower's science advisor, noted after a meeting about plutonium tests with British atomic weapons boss Sir William Penney in 1960, "Penney said that the British aimed to use this technique extensively on their proving ground in Australia, because of hysterical fear of fission products by the British public here."

The last two weeks have proved that the "hysterical fear" was fully justified. Thanks to Menzies, we're now enjoying the consequences.

The Maralinga revelations show:

- that four Aborigines were killed in one series of shabbed-up atom tests in 1963;
- that extremely toxic radioactive waste, including plutonium, was left untraced on the ground for up to ten years, where it was free to blow across South Australia in dust-storms.

• continued page 3

IN YOUR BATTLER

Is the  
Communist  
Party  
sunk?

PAGE 4

Gaddafi's  
kingdom  
under  
siege

PAGE 5

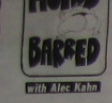
Ruining  
the  
RSL's  
big day

PAGE 2





# Wages: The RSL's big demand



**With Alex Kahn**

**ANOTHER ANZAC Day** has come and gone. And wasn't it great that several hundred women had the guts to demonstrate against this holiest of Christian institutions?

But what I agreed with everything they said was not so much. The RSL historian argued ANZAC Day has gone on for too long, is high time something happened.

Obviously, ANZAC Day commemorates three things. The birth of our nation, the defence of our freedoms, in various overseas wars and the soldiers who died fighting in them. Each of these deserves a comment.

The birth of our nation: First let's state the obvious, abolitionist that Alan Bond, Rupert Murdoch and their ilk have far more reason to celebrate this event than our ordinary citizen.

What was really born at Gallipoli was not a nation (Australia already existed as an independent political entity) but a national idea.

Until Gallipoli, Australia had a very easy, rural identity. The major economic interventions on the side of defence expenditure in the 1910s, the Boer War, the First World War, and the very active role of the Australian legions.

At Gallipoli, the Australian legions were to the world—and we had gone on for too long in the defence of imperialist interests.

Obviously, women are oppressed by the system that succeeded during the ANZAC Day. But men had just as much responsibility to fight against it.

Given the rarity of right-wing opposition to ANZAC Day, having the potential numbers by excluding men would be a tactical error in Melbourne, just 100 women were present. It would be better to be as small as soon as it moved within sight of the RSL's headquarters.

It is true that the ANZAC Day Adelaide feminists continued last year's fight of presenting themselves as mourning for women raped and killed in war.

Obviously, this offers the RSL to some degree, since it challenges their ownership of ANZAC Day and suggests that men like Bob Diggins might have been raped.

But joining the RSL to challenge clearly leaves them open to co-optation into the ANZAC Day tradition by Adelaide. Formerly, the RSL was a political party.

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Given the rarity of right-wing opposition to ANZAC Day, having the potential numbers by excluding men would be a tactical error in Melbourne, just 100 women were present. It would be better to be as small as soon as it moved within sight of the RSL's headquarters.

It is true that the ANZAC Day Adelaide feminists continued last year's fight of presenting themselves as mourning for women raped and killed in war.

Obviously, this offers the RSL to some degree, since it challenges their ownership of ANZAC Day and suggests that men like Bob Diggins might have been raped.

But joining the RSL to challenge clearly leaves them open to co-optation into the ANZAC Day tradition by Adelaide. Formerly, the RSL was a political party.

What was really born at Gallipoli was not a nation (Australia already existed as an independent political entity) but a national idea.

Until Gallipoli, Australia had a very easy, rural identity. The major economic interventions on the side of defence expenditure in the 1910s, the Boer War, the First World War, and the very active role of the Australian legions.

At Gallipoli, the Australian legions were to the world—and we had gone on for too long in the defence of imperialist interests.

## THE BATTLE FOR STEEL

**"LORRAINE was an island. For seven hours, not a bolt, not a plate, not a car, not a train was able to cross its hermetically sealed shores."**

**A new war zone? Well, in a sense. That was how a French worker reported one of the high points of a French war zone waged over the fate of the French industrial.**

Workshops, public services and shops had shut their doors and were under constant threat of the frustration and bitterness felt so many French workers, towards what they had done to their own people to be their government.

Then Premier Mitterand, newly elected as the first Socialist Party president in France for more than 20 years, had made an historic and moving tour of the depressed and recession-ridden Lorraine.

On the steps of the town hall at Longwy a steel mill worker, 40 years old, had been given a solemn pledge by the thousands of workers who had vowed for and had turned out to support the government.

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## Blacks to defy job

**ABORIGINES aim to march illegally in Brisbane this month to fight new Queensland laws on reserves and land rights.**

The Services Legislation for the Deed of Grant in Trust became operational on 31 May. Bertie Button from Cherbourg Country describes the Act as "worse than the old one. And under that we only had power over rubbish bins and dogs."

A third of Queensland's 50,000 Aborigines are reserves which real those who in Brisbane from the Foundation Aboriginal and Islander Research Association. "Under the new system still, there have been virtually no jobs created for them than were ten or twenty years ago."

Message to the wage-earners of Hawke can only be seen as a real victory, being workers start to have a few victories when workers begin to feel confident they can win.

Many Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders who longer live in local government areas, but are controlled by the Aboriginal Land Commission. Many blacks starting to work on the basis of holding the working party which would swap wage restraint for improved working conditions.



**THANK GOD THEY'RE NOT CANNIBALS SAVAGES...**







# The International Socialists in Conference 1984

**WHAT ARE the main reasons of the past year or so?**  
 A classic year in 1982, the Australian economy has stagnated with government with the signs of "recovery" beginning to appear.  
 The Italian government has found a way to finance cuts in real wages through the ALP/ACTU Accord. Unemployment has stayed around 12 per cent, almost growing, and it is said it may decline marginally in the coming months. There has been a continuing decline in industrial production.

A mild economic upturn is now underway following the trend internationally. But there is not much doubt that this "recovery" will be very slow indeed.  
 In December the Sydney Morning Herald said the economic upturn would be patchy, modest and in some areas non-existent. Firm production and housing, two of the brighter areas, would only average back to the levels of 1980.  
 Exports started unemployment to decline around 9 per cent.  
 So what is going to benefit? There is a clear class distinction.

In 1983 industry share rose 50 per cent and is still going up. Through asset cuts and share ownership company profits improved in the second half of the year. One survey showed a rise in production in the December quarter, and the widespread expectation of further orders. But workers will get little out of it. After seeing how the unions managed to make gains during the "recession boom", the bosses are going to fight tooth and nail against workers' attempts to get even modest gains out of the recovery.

The true role of the ALP/ACTU Accord will now become clear. Having broken it a few months during the recession, the bosses and the government intend to use the Accord to start in wage increases over the next period.  
 We are already seeing how they intend to use the Accord to do up our real Inflation rate. There will be more of this to come.  
 Meanwhile, when the tight discipline in unemployment is relaxing, Hardcore unemployment is gaining. Some in 1983, one in four found work after looking for four weeks or

more.  
 DIANE FIELDS looks at the industrial and economic scene for the next 12 months.  
 In 1983 only one in six found work in the same period. There is little hope the recovery will last. Despite profits going up, the investment declined in 1983. The bosses want to invest the resulting profits. They have no confidence in their own system.  
 No wonder Hawke is lobbying for more investment, and meanwhile planning a new election for late 1984, before the recovery checks up.  
 Hawke and the Bosses can get away with their outrageous behaviour as the class struggle is in decline. From around 4 million strike days in 1981, industrial militancy has fallen to 2 million in 1982 and is still yielding.

The cowardice of the union officials (backed by the Accord) and the depressed state of working class confidence mean the employers have the whip hand.  
 The recovery has not been a "recession boom" for the workers. It has been a "recession boom" for the bosses. It has been a "recession boom" for the capitalists. It has been a "recession boom" for the government. It has been a "recession boom" for the rich.

On the other hand the employers' prospects are probably also a sign of what the coming months hold. Despite production losses which have virtually wiped out half a year's profits, EZ returns are still high.  
 There has, as yet, been no serious dip in the price of shares. Preservers have defied it, and have predictably been rewarded by a rise in the price of their shares. But the FTU is a small union and actions have not inspired other workers to do

the same.  
 The ILO has been caught unprepared for the new conditions, and has been overwhelmed by them. It is not that there is nothing going on, but that the international and political understanding is lacking.  
 The level of struggle needed to save jobs, occupations, prolonged and generalised action, political struggle, is outside the recent traditions of the Australian working class.

However with the somewhat better conditions the recovery brings, there may well be some increase in struggle.  
 As the threat of the debt recedes temporarily, and workers see profits rising, unions will be encouraged to act.  
 The 38 hour disputes at EZ industries mines at Riddell and Cobarr are the sort of thing we can expect. They represent a narrow struggle to improve conditions, based on impressive rises in zinc prices.

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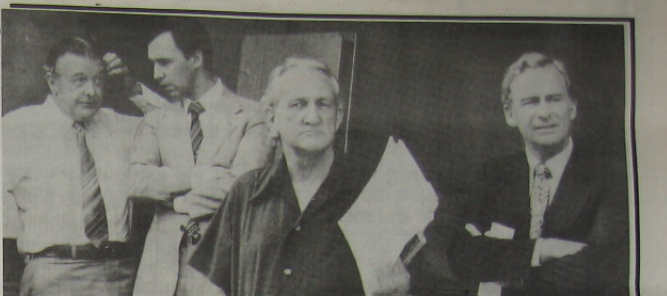
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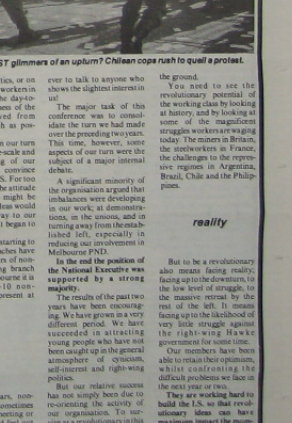
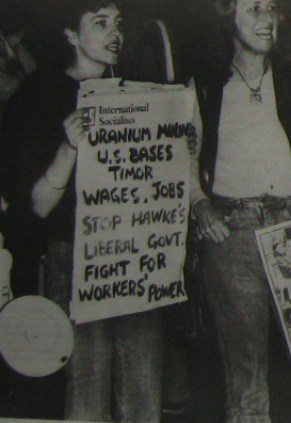
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FOUR of Labor's wisest monkeys contemplate the crisis—ACTU president Cliff Deane, treasurer Paul Keating, left-wing guru Tom Uren and ex-socialist Will Hayden.

# ... I.C. STRIKE





The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features

CHARLES DARWIN



"It is probable that Africa was formerly inhabited by extinct apes closely allied to the gorilla and chimpanzee; and as these two species are now man's nearest allies, it is somewhat more probable that our early progenitors lived on the African continent than elsewhere."  
—Charles Darwin

evolutionary,  
revolutionary,  
revolutionary

CHARLES DARWIN was the very epitome of what you would normally think of as a revolutionary. He was a brilliant, retiring middle-class Victorian gentleman, who had to have his arm twisted before he would publish *The Origin of Species*.

Darwin the scientist, Darwin the thinker, on the other hand, was profoundly revolutionary, and he knew it. When Darwin was a young man, in the early years of the 19th century, the established intellectual orthodoxy of the time was that of the Anglican Church as interpreted by the Church of England. Not only was it taught that the world had existed for a mere few thousand years but that during that time nothing fundamental had changed. Indeed, in the early 19th century, when Darwin was a young man, the prevailing social views were more reactionary than they had been in the previous century, when the thinkers of the Enlightenment had challenged the religious world-view.

Then came, partly inspired by the Enlightenment, the French revolution, the classic bourgeois revolution, whose outcome terrified the bourgeoisie. They hadn't expected the Jacobin dictatorship and the reign of terror to unfold.

There followed a massive intellectual reaction against the Enlightenment, which lasted for a century. Absurdities like Archbishop Lieber's calculation that the words of the Bible, the world was created in 4004 BC, were seriously advocated and taught.

To dissent from them was positively dangerous. It was one thing that in 1829, a bombshell was thrown *The Origin of Species*. There had been people back in the 16th century, including Darwin's own grandfather, who had advanced theories of evolution, but these were not backed up by evidence, and were cast in a religious form of thought, explaining things in terms of the purposes for which they were designed.

The truly revolutionary thing about Darwin's book is that it was an expression of pure scientific materialism. Not only does species evolve, but so does some extinct, and new ones appear, but this process is purposeless. *It is not to be understood in terms of some end, or design, but of a chain of causes.*

Darwin's theory was based on three simple propositions that can be established empirically. First, the members of the same species may be found in different locations, these variations are not inherited. Hardly, if at all, are the various kinds of plants and animals produced from offspring that can possibly survive.

Darwin concluded that, because not all can survive, those more perfectly adapted to their environment, will do so. Because differences constantly occur, species will be modified as a result of this competition, and of changes in the environment. In time, the changes so produced can be enormous.

universe

Not only does this theory do away with the God of the Bible, it does away with the whole business of design in the universe. There is no supernatural power that has produced all the variety of nature. It has been produced as a result of a natural selection process.

Like any scientific theory Darwin was capable of improvement—for example, he took what we now know to be wrong views of how changes of genes occur. But that doesn't diminish his achievement, or make the theory less revolutionary.

The idea of change in nature enormously strengthened the idea of change in society. That is why Marx wrote that Darwin's book is enormously important and serves us with a naturalistic basis for the class struggle.

The Marxist conception of society rests on the absolute certainty that no society survives forever, and most of them do not survive for very long. Historical speaking, *Why is capitalism so doomed.*

Charles Darwin, the great biologist and author of the theory of evolution, died on 19 April 1882.

The theories he set out 125 years ago, and which resulted in two decades of personal abuse and vilification, still remain the cornerstones of natural science.

DUNCAN HALLAM celebrates Darwin's achievements and assesses his significance for socialists today.



CONDITIONS IN A Filipino prison camp simulated during a human rights demonstration.

Get The Asian Connection

AUSTRALIA Asia Worker Links (AAWL) have produced a really useful pamphlet A1!

"The A1 Connection" is a bargain—like the Asian workers who slave for the Australian companies listed in the publication.

But it's not just for your education. Under the heading *What you can do...* AAWL have set out ways to question management about their activities in Asia along with advice on forming stop steward networks.

And looked away inconspicuously is the suggestion that Asian workers in your industry should be included in your list of claims. If it takes up, it could lend some relevance to the old admission for workers of the World to Union.

The pamphlet goes on to demystify the hated Asian workers with news of industrial struggles in the manufacturing centres—as diverse as Europe. This is spiced with snippets of ruling class publicity leading to a list of investigations and demands. A few facts pointing up the realities of workers' oppression and the behaviour of Australia's offshore employers help to smash the racist and sexist stereotypes that keep us divided—and tired.

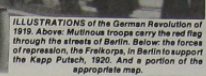
The fact that most Asian workers earn only 10% of an Australian doing the same job is the basic bosses' interests. You can get the A1 Connection from: Asian Asia Worker Links, P.O. Box 264, Fitzroy, VIC 3065.

By Chris Rose

The Battler features . . . The Battler features . . . The Battler features

Nice maps ...

share a bit of the text



ILLUSTRATIONS of the German Revolution of 1918. Above: Mutinous troops carry the red flag through the streets of Berlin. Below: the forces of repression, the Freikorps, in a Berlin to support the Kapp Putsch, 1920. And in partition to the appropriate map.

I HAVE been a map and atlas freak for as long as I can remember. While the other boys were playing football or doing whatever it was they did behind the shelter sheds, I was usually to be found in the library poring over maps of Nassau, Middle-earth, Atlantis and the like.

I spent half my first pay cheque on the *Times Atlas of World History* and in the years since have dutifully and joyfully found hard earned dollars for the various Platts Press political atlases.

Imagine then my squeals of delight when I first discovered the *World Atlas of Revolutions* tastefully displayed on a friend's coffee table. Two hundred pages of maps and pointed histories of the world's great revolutions from 1776 to 1976.

There are one or two unbelievers around who doubt the need for such a book. After all, they argue, if you really want to know where somewhere is then you can look it up in any old atlas. That's obviously silly and ignores several points.

In the first place it ignores the sheer joy that comes into the world with the appearance of each new map book. There is no point in dwelling on this, but I will say a few words about it. You can't have a feel for it or you don't. But I will say that within the limitations of its two colour covers (green and black) this atlas does quite nicely.

Lenin in Petrograd at the Finland railway station. Have you ever wondered where the Finland Station was (it's I have. Often. And now I know. It's in the heart of the existing chain of streets of the city of Viborg where the Communist had their main office and support.

If you know your history you can spend hours doing this sort of thing. There are a couple of problems with this book. The first is the text. On the American War of Independence it is excellent. On the Paris Commune it is awful.

And Karl Marx, among others, has always been rather fond of the Commune and now this tiny little jumped-up academic comes along and starts spouting off with his silly theories about how to win a bit of a joke really is lame about the massacres, and that that.

The author's problem is that it is a puzzle. The footprints of the atlas is Goya's painting of the Roman god Saturn because, as the author says, "the Saturn is the revolution devourer of children, and tramples the rest of mankind to death in the process." Who's to think like that? It comes as no surprise that it doesn't really understand any of the revolutions he writes about.

It's worth mentioning at this point (if not somewhat earlier) that revolution in this book means only social upheaval and not necessarily war. The author's problem is that it is a puzzle. The footprints of the atlas is Goya's painting of the Roman god Saturn because, as the author says, "the Saturn is the revolution devourer of children, and tramples the rest of mankind to death in the process." Who's to think like that? It comes as no surprise that it doesn't really understand any of the revolutions he writes about.

The other crucial failure of this book is the omission of all the post World War II upheavals in Eastern Europe—East Germany 1953, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968, Poland 1980. All of these were revolutions by its definition and all of them are perfectly mapable.

But being the quibbles aside and ignoring the text, this is a very interesting and useful atlas. It is one of the best by a way of conclusion I could not find any fault with it and so you will find it probably as well as reading that probably as well.

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Winter '84

AT ONLY \$4.50 you should not miss out on a copy of International Socialism. Available from your local I.S. branch (see page 10) or write to: Editor, International Socialism, PO Box 264, Fitzroy, VIC 3065.

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By Mick Armstrong

class questions

There isn't the fact that a map and its symbols can give instant information. For example, a list of cities in Afghanistan that organised strikes and demonstrations against the Russian invasion in December 1979 would require a whole paragraph—and then there's the scurrying around for an atlas and to find them.

On the other hand a check of pages 184 and 185 of this atlas will give you all the information and more, if not a glance, then certainly with a minimum of fuss.

But by my mind the most exciting thing about this atlas is not the national maps but the cities. Paris during the Great Revolution of 1789. Paris during the Commune of 1871 (and there's an interesting comparison in itself). Moscow in 1905. Petrograd during the Russian Revolution of 1917.

I assume if you've got this far with this interesting and useful atlas, you are at least a bit interesting so I will indicate myself and let you what I mean. It is one of the best by a way of conclusion I could not find any fault with it and so you will find it probably as well as reading that probably as well.

It was only after the experience of the Russian revolution that revolutionaries, like Rosa Luxemburg, in western Europe saw the need to learn the soviet model and to root socialist organisation in the workplace. Unfortunately the lesson was learnt too late for socialists to take advantage of the revolutionary upsurge that followed the war. The revolutions that did occur in the West were defeated and the Russian revolution was left isolated and was eventually defeated by the rise of Stalinism.

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When a decision is taken with the outbreak of war, the Socialist Democratic parties totally capitulated to the bourgeoisie.

The Social Democratic and Labor parties built a sizeable electoral and trade union machines in the years leading up to the First World War. However because they were not rooted in the self activity of workers in the workplace, they were built on top of the bourgeoisie.

By Mick Armstrong

. . . S. answers

THE LIFE OF REILLY

I'VE ALWAYS been a bit of a sucker for spy shows. As a child, I was enthralled by the three fantasy programs like *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* and *Mission: Impossible*. The idea of mysterious organizations using all sort of high-tech equipment, weapons and disguise, rushing around to save the unsuspecting world from the evil machinations of the Commies or a sinister doctor is irresistibly hilarious and reached its peak with *Gal Smart*. (Our very own ASIS obviously watched these shows too—but took them seriously.)

Whereas American TV networks heavily pushed the image of the spy as the dedicated and glamorous patriot with the possible exception of *Max Smart* the Brit has been a bit more ambivalent, possibly due to the embarrassment of such characters as *Philly Blugans* and *Mason*, and more recently, *Anthony Byrne*.

The attitude has toughed through such metaphors of behaviour as *Callan* and *The Sandbaggers*. In these programs, the spies themselves may or may not be the likable, but their motives are definitely laudable. Which brings me to the latest offering, *Reilly*.



New Zealand actor Sam Neill, as Sidney Reilly.

Reilly really existed and he is hard to see been the first of the modern professional spies. He worked for the British, although he himself was a patriotic Russian and Jewish origin. The fact which sticks in the throat of his Australian and therefore British masters.

So far, we've seen Reilly in action in Russia, Manchuria, Germany, and France, in the years 1910 to 1926, with a certain amount of regularity. In *Reilly* we see a complete lack of spycraft, he has performed valuable services and obtained vital information for the British or their allies.

Reilly works for the British against the espionage-peddling and spy games of the emperors of the world. He is a spy who works for the British, but he is not a spy who works for the British. He is a spy who works for the British, but he is not a spy who works for the British.

A recent episode, for example, Reilly is chosen between receiving a follow agent or procuring the plans for the German gas. Reilly's twisted agent brought out, but he and Reilly got the plans by sacrificing the young spy. This is how we see that Reilly is a real professional.

Reilly also takes orders from a shady character called Zaharov, a man of

By Tess Lee



# So some less serious real

**THE recent fight against compulsory roadblocks in the Victorian Department of Social Security seemed to have everything going for it.**

It was based on deep anger and resentment at the regional office level. It was built up from official letters and memos, and a strike. Most of the time, the ACCO (workers union) officials took a back seat. The dispute was run by meetings of workplace delegates.

But this was the first time the Department managed to get the remaining roadblocks removed against them. It was a matter of union strength and the support of the government.

But the Social Security Department has intervened, and it is not clear what the workers had secured. It is not clear what the government has secured. It is not clear what the workers had secured. It is not clear what the government has secured.

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that we should save our strength for the great battle. The introduction of Social Security was a big, difficult job.

**In the class struggle today, defeat is more common than victory.** The Commonwealth Public Service, where many International Socialists members and Party readers are employed, is no exception.

**David Lockwood, ACCO delegate at Moonee Ponds DSS in Melbourne looks at one recent fight that might have turned out differently.**

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**Official May date**

**WHAT WE STAND FOR**

**Workers' Power**

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## Revolution, not Reform

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## Internationalism

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## Full Equality and Liberation

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## A call to stop the racists

**OUR PEOPLE** who attended Melbourne's 'One the One' are facing the racist reaction of the police and criminal damage.

## MELBOURNE

**FOUR PEOPLE** who attended Melbourne's 'One the One' are facing the racist reaction of the police and criminal damage.

## Peasants unlimited

**Dear Battlers,** I read an article in the Age on March 20 which said the Chinese Government have declared there is no limit on how rich China's peasants can get.

## Party Time

**ON FRIDAY 11 May,** the Melbourne I.S. has a party. It is a party to celebrate our 10th anniversary.

## On separatism

**Dear Battlers,** Bob Scher's letter (page 18) about women's liberation is a good one. It is a good one because it is a good one.

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**Letter Rip**

Send your letters to the Letter Rip and we will send you a copy of the letter.

**World's laziest?**

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**Canon**

Canon cameras and printers.

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**Contact us**

PO Box 4, Fitzroy, Vic 3061

**MELBOURNE** PO Box 14728, Melbourne 3001  
**BRISBANE** PO Box 328, Woolloomooloo 4001

**SYDNEY** PO Box 1362, St Leonards 1585  
**PERTH** PO Box 1362, St Leonards 1585

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**Join the I.S.**

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# Take cover... it's the "recovery"

From the Accord is the best way to hold down wages in the long term.

The problem with all this happening over the next few years is that it ignores the real problem. The reason this country's not meeting the targets is not the amount of government spending.

It's the level of profit rates that has the bosses hanging back. A lot of companies have huge profits, by 30, 40 or even 50 percent over the last 18 months. But profits overall are still below the level of four years ago, and we know what they were in the boom years of the sixties.

So what's the answer? To abandon the Accord is to abandon the wage controls that have kept the economy "recovery" can be kept going.

Later years the economy will grow at 4 percent. That's not enough. But a lot of that will be due to the recovery of rural industry, brought through (one-off) asset and income tax concessions.

Manufacturing industry has gone through a period of restructuring. A third of bosses reported that they were suffering from "toxicology." That's existing machinery and equipment that isn't being utilized at anything like its potential.

In fact private investment outside the housing sector made a negative contribution to the economy, growth fell year. Indicators are that investment in manufacturing and engineering will fall off even further in the coming year.

That's why the "recovery" has to be the one queue really as long as they were a year ago.

And what makes the job market outlook even bleaker is that most of the investment that does occur is in relatively non- or low-tech products. Workers are simply replaced by new efficient machines. Levels of output are simply being maintained—there's no recovery.

Only radical expansion production in manufacturing are promising could decelerate reduce unemployment. To take the "side" of the coin, we need to go back to the labour force.

In order to build what's going there's Buckley's chance of it.

Some of our buyers want more government. They want to see a new government. You will hear this from Kevin Donohue, Economics Editor of the Age. He called the man change of the cabinet the man change of the cabinet for Employment and Industrial Relations in Melbourne.

They are wary of proposals to prune back the budget deficit, because they think that only more government spending can make up for corporate investment.

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short sharp boom followed by an even deeper recession in 18 months.

The only real alternative for the workers is to work under better conditions. The combination of speed-ups and high wages and long hours has always worked. And this time around it's not the amount of government spending that's the problem. It's the level of profit rates that has the bosses hanging back. A lot of companies have huge profits, by 30, 40 or even 50 percent over the last 18 months. But profits overall are still below the level of four years ago, and we know what they were in the boom years of the sixties.

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Treasurer Paul Keating: "How can I rob them? Let me count the ways."

## ARE VICTORIA'S HOSPITALS IN TROUBLE? JANEY STONE LOOKS AT

# The grey crisis... of the real one

ONE OF the remarkable things about the current immigration is watching supposedly respectable people emerge as racists. And others giving in to them.

Andrew Peacock leads the anti-Asian attack in Parliament. And Bob Hawke soon began to date to a suspiciously similar tune.

Geoffrey Blainey himself once had a reputation as a vaguely progressive sort of chap. When he was first considered a candidate for Dean of Arts, most of the "left" academics supported him.

New Bathers has emerged as the head of the anti-immigration movement in Queensland. Labor leader Keith Wright begins to attack Aboriginal services.

Why is this happening now? There used to be an orthodoxy of respectable opinion about racism. It wasn't based on much analysis of what racial prejudice was or where it came from. It consisted of certain beliefs that every educated person would be expected to share.

What we could talk about was a good thing, that we were a more tolerant society, that we could and should be.

Time changes. The Blainey's of the world are now priding new nations as respectable as anti-racism. They are doing so they give a lead to the open bigots who are now coming out of the woodwork.

It's urgent that we develop a new idea. Let's think the workers and attempt to make with the disingenuous front-page reported a Gallup poll on Asian migrants.

The Sun-Herald, a Sunday newspaper, reported a Gallup poll on Asian migrants. It was too much for one main critic, who wrote a short reply in the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines.

He was addressed by a speaker from the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines. He was addressed by a speaker from the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines.

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## STUDENTS FIRE UP THE FIGHT AGAINST BIGOTRY



Students at NSW Uni fired up the fight against racism on May 10. After a big rally on the library lawn, 400 of us marched on the chancellor. There was a huge sign that said "White Australia", complete with a KKK hood.

It was very angry at the racial developments under the new chancellor, and also at the contempt of the administration for showing no interest in the problem of racism on the campus.

Quicker an overseas student about what was in the Medical Faculty. The new chancellor, who has already admitted the administration had shown no interest in the problem of racism on the campus.

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## THE LIBERALS, and the Melbourne Herald, say there's a "crisis" in Victoria's hospitals. The Premier laughs at the idea. Efficient insist there is, hospital administrators insist there isn't

Is there a crisis? The answer actually is... yes and no. It depends on the "side" of the coin, we need to go back to the labour force.

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ing shortages the hospitals have been facing for some time. But there is no crisis in the sense of a looming disaster. The shortage, these are not priorities. The waiting lists are not that much different in fact. The basic problem lies in the way beds are paid. Instead, it creates highly specialised units which require more nurses.

Another factor has been technological change. In some industries, this might reduce the workload. But new technology on hospitals doesn't change beds, or ward-patients. Instead, it creates highly specialised units which require more nurses.

Health care in capitalist society consists of basic care given in the government sector. And doctors take their place among the affluent minority of society. Of course we must defend hospitals against attacks by the right jargon of Liberal and Labor governments. At the same time we must recognise their limitations. They do nothing to prevent ill health from occurring. What we could talk about was a good thing, that we were a more tolerant society, that we could and should be.

Time changes. The Blainey's of the world are now priding new nations as respectable as anti-racism. They are doing so they give a lead to the open bigots who are now coming out of the woodwork.

It's urgent that we develop a new idea. Let's think the workers and attempt to make with the disingenuous front-page reported a Gallup poll on Asian migrants.

The Sun-Herald, a Sunday newspaper, reported a Gallup poll on Asian migrants. It was too much for one main critic, who wrote a short reply in the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines.

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**Health's in on brink Kenneth**

"Sometimes... they cry on the phone"

**THE HERALD**

Can you afford to be sick?

3 anti-racist rally

5 pm, Bourke St Mall, Adelaide Ave

How Awful News Are We

MAIL SORTERS BACK ASIANAS

THE Anti-Asian racists are getting little sympathy at Ruckworts Bay Mail Centre in Sydney.

The Sun-Herald, a Sunday newspaper, reported a Gallup poll on Asian migrants. It was too much for one main critic, who wrote a short reply in the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines. He was addressed by a speaker from the Sun-Herald for its inflammatory headlines.

## ... LABOR JUST CAVES IN TO THEM

23 percent of votes go to British applicants, even though they comprise less than 16 percent of total applicants. By contrast, visas granted to Asians clearly match their proportion of total applicants.

But even since introduced a majority of Asian came more trouble than a majority of any other group? Did they have fewer visas? Are they not a "majority"?

And even if they do, what of it? Why should a majority of Asian cause more trouble than a majority of any other group? Did they have fewer visas? Are they not a "majority"?

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## Wright wrong about black rights

While Federal Labor has been leading down a path of... Keith Wright wants... called on Hawke to intervene against Job.

Wright's comment on this, the National Aboriginal Conference's High Court case, was that he was wrong. He said that when Aborigines are not coming round to the light, they should be hit.

Wright's attitude is national and black are very angry about a national Aboriginal Conference delegate Ray Robinson comments. "How can we say that when Aborigines are not coming round to the light, they should be hit?"

Wright has called for a job test on assistance to Aborigines. And Job has congratulated him on coming round to the light. He said that when Aborigines are not coming round to the light, they should be hit.

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# THE GUINIA-BISSAU STRIKERS BARRICADE

## 10,000 women march for the miners

### But only burning oil tankers worry the West

**THE SIGHT OF burning oil tankers has catapulted the war in the Gulf back into the news. Iran and Iraq send vast numbers of young men to die. But what if all about? Who are in Baghdad, and what has happened to the once hopeful revolution in Iran?**

The present leadership of Iraq came to power in 1968, ten years after a nationalist coup that toppled the pro-British government of King Faisal. Iraq was one of the first Arab countries to develop an industrial sector. There were important strikes in the late 1940s and again in 1953.

But the workers' organization grew to did the influence of the Communist Party, which played a key role among the largest concentration of workers on the state railway, at Basra port and on the oilfields. When the movement broke off in July 1958, huge demonstrations filled the streets of Baghdad. The Communist Party opposed the new military government and grew rapidly. Some Iraqis thought it was strong enough to make a serious bid for power, but in a sudden turn-around it moved to a position of support for the Kasim government.

It was they who gave credibility to the "national war effort" and the abstract exercises of nationalism. Bakharin quotes one French magazine that proved how he barbed Germans were by showing that Gertrude was one hundred more poisonous than that of the French and their allies.

Writing in the midst of the war, some of Bakharin's analysis exaggerated the degree to which state capitalism had already taken over from private capital. At the end of the war, there was a swing back to private capitalism. But the long-term tendencies have borne out his prediction that "the future lies with forms close to state capitalism."

An increase in the role of the state has been common tendency in world capitalism throughout the century. But in no country has it proved possible to break the links with the world economy. The pervasiveness of the current crisis is sign of this. But the myth of the "national solution" persists, and not least on the left. The tragedy is that not only do these myths play into the hands of the right, but they play into the hands of those forces moving toward war in our time. Capitalism has had too long a reign, economy and the military in such similar number may well have killed. And, of course, the debt of the left to the right is being paid.

In two world wars, some 55 million were killed. And in the various "local wars" of capitalism this century a similar number may well have been killed. And, of course, the debt of the left to the right is being paid.

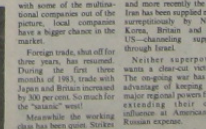
Appeals to rationality will not stop the system from totally exterminating us. The reason, as Bakharin says, is that the terrifying logic of war flows directly from the logic of modern capitalism itself. This is why the threat can only be lifted when capitalism itself is destroyed.



**THE IRAN STRIKE** forced the world to face the fact that the revolution is now a reality. The Iranian workers' movement has never recovered.



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TEN THOUSAND women marched in Bamnash, Yorkshire, on May 12 to support the strikers. They included miners' wives from Kent, Durham, Wales and Nottingham. Women wanting to join the pickets got a poor reaction at first from union officials. They picked any way, and got a welcome from miners' wives and union stewards all wives in join.



**LONGEST COAL STRIKE SINCE '26**

THE BRITISH MINERS' strike has settled into a grim war of attrition, the longest coal strike since 1926. Recent negotiations between the bosses and the union have collapsed. Miners' leader Arthur Scargill called them a "fiasco".

The strike began in March when the Tories announced the start-up of 20,000 jobs. Strikers began mainly in Scotland and Yorkshire, and flying pickets spread it nation-wide. Under powerful rank and file pressure, the union leadership resisted media demands for a secret ballot. And solidarity has grown slowly but surely among other trade unions.

This strike has proved equally determined. The strike is beginning to hurt production, but the Tories believe they can starve the miners into submission. The struggle has remained feverishly balanced for weeks. Each time the government seems to be gaining the upper hand, some new action by the miners, or some new sign of solidarity from other workers, reverses the situation.

The strike's origins lie in the last Labour government. Labour came to power after the miners had fought the heaviest Tory leaders in power. Labour's first action was to give the miners a 10% pay rise. The new government's first action was to give the miners a 10% pay rise. The new government's first action was to give the miners a 10% pay rise.

### Open Slather

## A GUARDSMAN SPOTES ARMS TO SALVADOR

BRITAIN'S right-wing press, the Sun, made headlines last month with a story about a British soldier who had been spotted in El Salvador. The soldier was seen in a military uniform, and was carrying a rifle. The story was widely reported, and caused a great deal of concern.

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### NIKOLAI BAKHARIN

## Booklet writer, plays crucial role in developing the theory of imperialism

Book is better and more lasting value. This was recognized after the Russian revolution when the newly formed Communist Academy gave Bakharin a belated "Socialist Doctor" for his work. Throughout the 1920s, the book was held in just as much esteem as "Imperialism" by Lenin.

It was only with Stalin's victory and his attempt to distort the thought and finally the lives of any living independent marxists that Lenin's work was raised, mistakes and all, to the level of undisputed holy writ. It was only with Stalin's victory and his attempt to distort the thought and finally the lives of any living independent marxists that Lenin's work was raised, mistakes and all, to the level of undisputed holy writ.

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### Defend these jobs!

The Hanks government is making the best use of its power to create jobs. It is doing this by creating jobs in the public sector. This is a good thing, and it is something that we should all support.

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### Saddam feared the spread of Iraq's revolution

Saddam's fear of the revolution in Iraq was a major factor in his decision to invade Kuwait. He was worried that the revolution would spread to his own country, and that he would lose his power.

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### To fight it we need to understand it

THE COMMONWEALTH Employment Service needs extra staff. And CES workers around Australia are reacting to loans and rolling stoppages to get something done.

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# his sordid century f... WHITE AUSTRALIA

**AGITATION AGAINST Asian immigrants is nothing new. Racism has been central to Australian society since the First Fleet arrived in 1788.**

Australia's first period of economic growth, based on the wool industry, led to a race war against the Aboriginal people that nearly resulted in genocide. In the 1850s and 1860s, there were dozens of race riots against Chinese miners on the goldfields. Late on, around 1877, the racist movement revived again with the aim of preventing any further Chinese immigration and driving the indigenous race "out of Australia."

It was this campaign that laid the basis for the White Australia policy, which came into effect with Federation in 1901 and dominated Australian society for the next 60 years. In Queensland, Pacific Islanders (or Kanakas) had been recruited, often forcibly, to work on the sugar plantations of CSR. When the White Australia policy came into effect, they were driven out of the industry and to the most sordid corners of the country.

When the Depression hit Australia in the 1930s, racist agitation focused on two new groups of European immigrants. There was a riot in Kalgoorlie aimed at Yugoslavs and Italians, and a young Yugoslav miner was shot dead.

The White Australia policy continued in full force until the early 1960s when the Liberal government began to slowly change it. In 1965, the Labor Party dropped it from its platform and under Whitlam, allowed the first trickle of Asian immigrants to enter.

This was done because the policy was getting in the way of Australia's growing economic and military interests in Asia, where independent governments had replaced the colonial administration of the past.

The roots of Australian racism lie in the origins of Australia as a white settler state in Asia.

The British government that originally set convicts here was racist enough, but once a community has been established, such a life of its own.

The limits of the early settlements were continually pushed back as the wool industry expanded, looking for new land. And to graze their flocks, the pastoralists had to smash the resistance of the Aboriginal people.

This was done against the opposition of the British government and led to wipeout of the Tasmanian Aborigines and large-scale massacres all over South-East Australia.

At the same time, traders and merchants based in Australia began scouring the Pacific islands for trade and plunder.

In competing both the Australian continent and the South Pacific, Australian bosses were in the front line of British imperialism. As a result, they were more pro-imperialist and more racist than the imperialist power itself.

There was a constant fear of an Asian invasion. No less a person than Sir Henry Parkes worried that "on the coast of a few years the Chinese could drive every white man, woman and child now in the country into the sea, and take possession



of the mine continues."

Racism became the most important part of an emerging Australian nationalism. The radical magazine, *The Bulletin* put it this way:

*To England, the Chinese question is a matter of profits and loss... But in Australia the problem is one of life or living death, and her sons have to choose between the establishment of a great nation and a new life, or the founding of a mongrel community.*

Working class support for this racist nationalism was won by linking the economic fear of competition for jobs with a racial fear and hatred of Asians.

The Seaman's strike of 1878 illustrated this perfectly. A shipping company, the ASN, had sacked some crews and imported Chinese seamen from Hong Kong to take their place at less than half the wages.

The response of the union officials was not to call a strike, but start a campaign against Chinese immigration. They received widespread support from urban capitalists and the press.

The illustrated *Sydney News* ran the following article in the middle of the dispute, when a strike had finally been called. It may be a foolish prejudice that neither reason nor religious principle can justify, but we cannot get over our repugnance to the race, whose lewens, parchment coloured skin, black hair, lank and coarse, no beard, oblique eyes

and high cheek bones distinguish them so widely from ourselves, and place them in far beneath our recognized standard of manhood and beauty.

The racist campaign was so successful among the working class that a riot at Newcastle was hawed down when he suggested that ASN ought to provide the Chinese with the same room and food as Europeans.

It was the trade union officials, labor politicians and a vast array of "labour" newspapers that relentlessly pushed racism to the working class.

Henry Lawson, the famous poet and author, gave this warning in the *Australian Star*:

*If you come across any niggers, learn to sleep calmly notwithstanding the fact that English, every black nigger for a without knowing, through a skin in the tent, any minute, during the small hours, rip out your innards with a ready knife, and leave without explaining.*

William Lane was a fanatic about it. He wrote a novel about a revolutionary race war that would break out when the white working class rebelled against a "yellow" dictatorship.

He wrote that he would rather see his "daughter" die in her coffin than living one of them on the mouth or nursing a little off-coloured brood that she was mother to.

Racism was important in bolstering the class collaborationist views of the trade union officials and the labour

politicians. It emphasized that white workers and white bosses opposedly had enemies. It encouraged workers to identify with the white Australian nation rather than the workers of other countries and races.

The very first Objective of the Federal Labor Party, written in 1902, summed this up perfectly. Labor's first aim was:

*"The advancement of Australian sentiment based on the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of a self-reliant and self-respecting community."*

Such was racism became the central component of Australian nationalism. It was decisive in building up the momentum for Federation and one of the first acts of the new Federal Parliament was to pass legislation restricting immigration.

Racism fit neatly with the view of the union officials that workers should be parliament to try to change things, and that they should settle disputes peacefully with the bosses through arbitration rather than costly strikes.

Finally, it laid the working class up behind the demands of their bosses for "protection" from cheap foreign imports.

But the white didn't run there. Australian racism was the racism of a size, enter community as the front line of imperialism.

The essential white racism identified with Britain and British power did ultimately depend on it for their own

success. This is how J.T. McGowen, the Labor Premier of N.S.W. put it:

*"White Britain is behind us and while her naval power is supreme, Australia will be what Australians want to be—white, pure and industrially good."*

It was this kind of thinking that dragged Australia into military support for Britain's war first in the Sudan, then the Boer War of 1899 and finally, the immense carnage of the First World War.

The first socialist organization to forthrightly campaign against racism was the I.W.W., the Industrial Workers of the World, which was founded in Australia in 1907.

They clearly saw the White Australia policy as an attempt by the capitalist class to weaken the hostility of the workers they exploited.

The Whobles attacked the AWI and other unions for their refusal to allow Asian and Kanaka workers to join the unions, pointing out that this forced the workers to form their own separate unions.

It was union policies like this that assisted the employers in their desire to use Asian as scabs and keep their wages low. Thus, in 1911 in Victoria, where the Chinese formed around 20% of the male work force in 16 different trades, their wages were an average of 50% less than those of white workers.

This was not because the Asians were "darker" or any other

By Phil Griffiths

Below right: HARSH PENALTIES for minor offences and genocide for the crime of being white. That was the critic of the day for the first inhabitants. Below: A CHINESE gambling house is raided late last century. Chinese were often the victims of slander and moral outrage.



A PATRIOTIC meeting, 1886. (above) Pro-imperialist (linguist was a fervent racist) of the ruling class. Below left: A POS-WAR Asian reaction to Calver's Immigration policy is reflected in this cartoon from the Singapore Free Press.



KANAKAS in the Queensland plantations formed unions long before the white, and were so successful in pushing up their wages that the white bosses tried to get legislation stopping them. There was a major strike by Chinese furniture workers in 1922 over the employer's wage cut ordered on them by their Chinese employers. They got only contempt from the white unions and their labour politicians.

such racist rubbish. In fact, they often went on strike. The Kanakas on the Queensland sugar plantations formed unions long before the white, and were so successful in pushing up their wages that the white bosses tried to get legislation stopping them.

There was a major strike by Chinese furniture workers in 1922 over the employer's wage cut ordered on them by their Chinese employers. They got only contempt from the white unions and their labour politicians.

And at least two strikes by Kanakas in Bundaberg 1898 and Chinese furniture workers in 1885, white workers proved willing to scab on Asians.

White racism not only made it easier for the bosses to use different races to scab on each other, it also undermined the struggle of white workers themselves.

Despite all the racist filth, despite being excluded from the unions, despite all the disgusting harassment, when the strike of the 1890s took place, Chinese workers made a donation to the union strike fund.

When the trade union officials running the shearer's strike found out, they demanded that the money be refunded.

When white sugar workers went on strike, one of the few remaining groups of Kanakas working at Monoman responded to the strike call and came out. They were then refused admission to the union strike camp.

The early Communist Party followed the revolutionary traditions of the I.W.W. and adopted a hard anti-White Australia line. In the Labor Party and the unions, this was seen as their greatest crime. *"The Reds were not on the Yellow and the Brown."*

The Communist position proved its value in the Queensland sugar industry during the Depression. Although most of the Kanakas had been expelled, they had been replaced by migrants from Italy and other European countries.

The AWU's racism encompassed these workers as well, and there were regulations limiting the number of "non-British" workers that could be employed.

The Communist Party attacked this racism and linked it to the class struggle of the AWU officials to organize industrial action to improve wages or conditions.

When the sugar workers went on industrial strike in 1934 and 1935 against the threat of World's Duesman, the Communists were able to counter the attempts of the AWU officials to use racism to divide the strikers. As a result, the strikes were reasonably successful.

It was only in the period leading up to the Second World War, when the Communist Party finally became an explicitly nationalist and class collaborationist organization that it did so much to support for the Asians, and this including publishing racial diatribes against the Japanese.



KIDS FROM Melbourne's Chinatown at the turn of the century.

## A new rasi of racism

AUSTRALIAN racial bigotry has a long and ignominious history. But why is it rearing its ugly head again now?

Everyone from professors like Geoffrey Blainey to mining company chairmen like Hugh Morgan is egging on the bigots. And a hearing by public opinion polls, they are getting quite a response.

Why is our supposedly relaxed, modern "multicultural" society suddenly reverting to type?

Because the economy, and the society based on it, are in crisis.

Hundreds of thousands of people are out of work. Many more workers are worried about their own future and the future for their children. When you are vulnerable it is tempting to look for a scapegoat.

A hundreds years of extreme white racism provide many Australians with an obvious target. To fight this menace we have to begin where the Industrial Workers of the World did: by making a full frontal assault on every racist idea. We have to say loud and clear that Asians are welcome.

But that is not enough. To fight racism, we also have to take on the capitalist system, we have to take up the fight for jobs, and explain that it is capitalism that causes unemployment, not Asians. We have to take up the fight for more money for education, because it is the cost that deny people a piece at university, not Asian students.

Capitalism is a system that institutionalises economic insecurity to force people to compete and it is this insecurity that opens the door to racism. The riots of the goldrush period began when the gold began to run out. The riots against mining in Kalgoorlie took place during the Depression.

Getting rid of racism good means building a revolutionary movement to get rid of capitalism. No matter how many times Bob Hawke tells us that "Asians are people too", ordinary workers will look around and worry about their jobs, jobs the Hawke government cannot make safe.

None of the established leaders of our society have any solution to the crisis. Our of economic growth means to access higher levels of exploitation out of us, and sack us when that not possible.

The ALP Trade union leaders accept capitalist society. So they offer no solution either.

For the bosses, and like for the leaders of the Labor movement, racism is an immigration issue.

It might seem at first that the Asian immigration issue should have blown up a few years ago, when unemployment was soaring, rather than now with a slight recovery underway. But, ironically it is another way round. During the depths of depression, the bosses

and the government could hold out the hope of the coming recovery. Sacrifice now, they said, and you'll get your reward when the economy picks up.

Now we see the grim truth: even with the "recovery" unemployment is not going to fall below 6 percent. Someone has to get the blame. The Asians are the perfect scapegoat.

A CHINESE digger on the goldfields. 6—THE BATTLE 2 JUNE, 1964



















# Trotsky's theory of

# PROLETARIAN

## Open Slather

MICHAEL Bamber, the recently jailed British Marxist, is being considered for his views on the "new" socialists. He writes that they are not only a threat to the working class but also to the state itself. He says that they are a "new" form of terrorism and that they are a threat to the state itself. He says that they are a "new" form of terrorism and that they are a threat to the state itself.

## CHRIS BAMBER looks at the ideas contained in a book Trotsky wrote in 1906, 'Results and Prospects'.

By TESS LEE ACK

Today capitalism dominates the world. From Sao Paulo to Seoul, from Warsaw to the Philippines, modern industry has taken root.

This was something that Karl Marx, writing in the middle years of last century, could only foresee. Even at the beginning of this century the view of the vast majority of those socialists dating from Marx was that socialism could only come about in those few countries where the working class already formed a majority.

Such socialists quoted Marx to justify their view. He had written that socialism had to be achieved by the working class. In order to create a revolution in a country, the working class had to be a majority.

In those countries where democracy didn't exist it was the task of socialism to help create it. They had to assist in the overthrow of the various semi-feudal or colonial regimes which blocked it.

All these arguments were decisively rejected by a young Marxist intellectual, Leon Trotsky. During the 1905 Revolution Trotsky had been chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet—the directly elected committee of workers' representatives. From his direct involvement with the working class in Russia he reached a new conclusion, that workers' power was the only road along which backward Russia could advance.

He arrived at this conclusion by looking beyond Russia's borders. Within Russia it was true that the working class was tiny. So was Russia ripe for socialism. As he later wrote: "To that I always answered, 'No.' But the world economy as a whole, and the European economy in the first place, is fully ripe for socialism."

Capitalism was an international system—dependent upon investment and trade on a world scale. And, however backward, Russia was part of that system.

In Czarist Russia there existed then an amazing contradiction. On the one hand there were massive new factories employing thousands, owned by Western firms and far more modern than their counterparts in Manchester or Berlin. But on the other hand a Russia existed which had changed little since the Middle Ages.

If a phenomenon was so common in every country, even in the most backward Third World countries capitalism has been previously only used to promote growth and to develop themselves within an imperialist framework.

Capitalism as an international system is essential to hold down the working class wherever they threaten to get out of hand. To this end it has been prepared to use any method, whether a Car, a Pope or a Stalin. Russia's workers were as brutally as any.

Russia's capitalist owners (Dobry Goren, as he wrote the problems of the Czarist backwardness. But as Trotsky had pointed out neither could the peasantry.

Some held large land holdings, some small patches of land holdings, but they could not improve against the landlord or the bourgeoisie. Lacking any class identity they were divided among themselves.

As Lenin would later point out: "The peasant follows the wealthy but they dislike the Czar and the bourgeois."

After the revolution had failed the Mensheviks blamed the workers for turning the capitalist against a and heing too weak for their actions.

THE OTHER major socialist grouping, Lenin's Bolshevik Party, opposed the work of class being an alliance with the bourgeoisie for the bourgeoisie's own ends. But even they rejected the idea that in Russia, where the working class was tiny, that workers' power was feasible.

Finally, another view had much favour on the Russian left. That was the possibility of building peasant socialism. The Narodniks or Populists saw the peasantry overthrowing the Czar to build a new society based round peasant co-operatives.

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## THE ISRAELI government has finally been forced to act against right wing extremists.

Following the attempt to blow up the Arab bus in Jerusalem in April, people associated with anti-Palestinian terrorist groups. Despite a news report that the facts are being filled out.

Twenty-five people have been arrested for involvement in the underground organisation which has now been implicated in a wide range of terrorist actions.

These include the maiming of two Arab mayors from the occupied West Bank four years ago, the gunning down of four Arab students at the Islamic University in Hebron, and plans for bomb attacks on Islamic religious sites in Jerusalem earlier this year.

There are also two former high military officials and other military officers with expertise in the manufacture and planting of high explosives.

This is only the most spectacular of arrests for terrorist activities. It also includes four ultra-religious Jewish youths and four Arab students at Moslem and Christian targets. And four others are being held for an ambush attack on the West Bank to kill workers.

Another senior official, Khalil, is also implicated in these terrorist organisations. He is also implicated in these terrorist organisations. He is also implicated in these terrorist organisations.

Prime Minister Shamir was himself involved in an underground terrorist organisation in the 30's and 40's. General Sharon's role in the massacre in Lebanon is well known. Professor Aneesh, current Minister of Science, recently commented that the Likud's foreign policy was the Palestinian mayors had a positive impact on the economy.

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## ISRAELI TERRORISTS UNMASKED

By Janey Stone

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## PALESTINIAN bus hijacker Subhi Abu-Gumra is taken into custody in April by Israeli security forces.

He died shortly after from a blow dealt to the back of the head by a blunt instrument in an official inquiry revealed. The soldiers' faces have been obscured by Israeli censors.

The Israeli government has of course publicly condemned the terrorism.

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## drive

Hence the drive toward a 'greater Israel'.

In any case it's only unofficial violence that the government of Israel is prepared to use. When a bus was hijacked by four Palestinians in April two of the hijackers were taken away alive by security forces and later clubbed to death.

Defence Minister Ayalon ordered an inquiry into the events, but it now appears that Ayalon was himself present at the time.

The trial produced an outcry. But it has been no outcry over the fact that the crimes of the families of the four Palestinians have been traced to the ground under orders from Ayalon.

This sort of collective punishment is so normal as to pass unnoticed in Israel. The latest representative response to the West Bank massacre that political protesters who show stones will now face sentences of up to twenty years.

The government continues with the very policies which cause the violence of the families of the four Palestinians have been traced to the ground under orders from Ayalon.

And despite the protestations of liberals in the opposition parties, the settlements are entirely consistent with the basic dynamic of the Zionist state.

Israel is an artificial state. It was formed by displacing the Arabs.

settlement movements, whose aim is to expand Palestinian from their homes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It is surprising that the most extreme elements find their way into the settlements. It is surprising that the most extreme elements find their way into the settlements.

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## argument

All this might have remained an academic argument but for the concrete experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The great explosion of workers' mass strikes, backed by peasant uprisings, reduced the empire of the Czar to a shambles in the defeat of a 'Most Russian socialist, particularly the Mensheviks, had to be like the great French Revolution, and be the Russian capitalist. This democratic revolution would open the way to industrial development, the creation of a bourgeois ruling class and a parliamentary system.

The role of the workers was to pressurise the capitalist into overthrowing Czarism.

Such a programme didn't seem outrageous. The capitalists had called for a parliament, elections and press freedom, religious holidays and meetings to protest for peace.

But when the revolution broke, the capitalists, however liberal, refused to the Czar and his agents. Fear of the workers' power greater than their dislike of the Czar and the bourgeois.

After the revolution had failed the Mensheviks blamed the workers for turning the capitalist against a and heing too weak for their actions.

## capitalists

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## military

Russia's capitalists, far from initiating a democracy attempted to smash the working class a military coup.

But none of the Bolsheviks (Trotsky) would support a successful insurrection with little opposition.

But the revolutionary wave was defeated. And the workers of St. Petersburg were ordered by the workers' socialist could not be built in Russia alone—especially in Russia.

The Russian Revolution did not set in motion the workers' socialist revolution in Germany, Italy and Hungary. In both 1918 and 1919 Germany suffered a break of a successful socialist revolution. In Italy however the workers were ordered by the workers' socialist could not be built in Russia alone—especially in Russia.

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## THE INDIAN army's massacre of the Sikhs in Amritsar came hard on the heels of a week of communal rioting in Bombay.

Both events left hundreds dead, thousands homeless and the usual aftermath of smoking ex-slaves and refugee camps.

It is all too easy to label it all 'religious'—something we cannot possibly understand, and therefore that nothing can be done about. That's the media's reaction to such events, from Ireland to the Lebanon.

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## INDIAN PM Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi is a woman who has been a central figure in Indian politics for many years. She has been a member of the Congress party since her childhood and has held several important positions in the government. She is known for her strong leadership and her commitment to the welfare of the Indian people.

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# A: the real roots

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# OPEN THE



# BORDERERS!

by Tom O'Lincoln

**A LONG WITH nature, human labour is the source of all wealth.** Human beings with their hands and brains have created the modern industrial society we live in. Organized in a rational manner, they can build a world free from hunger, insecurity and oppression. This is the very core of the socialist perspective.

Yet most workers in Australia and elsewhere, and even some socialists have a deep-seated fear of an influx of additional workers into this country.

Throughout Australian history, it has been the labour movement and the ALP which have been the strongest supporters of immigration controls. The Whitlam government, coming to power when capitalism was still prosperous, cut the migrant intake in half despite the protests of the Liberal opposition.

Even in today's racist "debate" over the subject, the Libs are actually proposing an increase overall in the migrant intake. They want to use it to change the racial mixture and in doing so to appeal to the racist prejudices of Australian workers, but they still are for a larger intake than Labor.

Meanwhile the Communist Party defends the ALP's smaller quota as "rational economic planning." And probably a majority of people calling themselves socialists would defend immigration controls in some sense.

After all, they argue, you can't let everyone in. They'd swing us.

Sound logic! But wait a minute. Who is this "us" everyone is talking about?

Traditionally there have been two assumptions behind labour movement support for immigration control.

One is the idea that all Australians have something in common. Bosses, workers and middle class people all share in the privilege of a "lucky country." And foreigners, especially dark-skinned foreigners, are just itching to take it all away from us.

The other is the more specific fear that a big influx of immigrants will cause unemployment. Usually this has a racist side to it, in the belief that Asians will work for a pittance and undermine the wages and conditions we have fought for over many years.

But even sincere anti-racists may still believe that there are "only so many jobs to go around" and the arrival of large numbers of people of whatever ethnic background will mean lengthening the dole queue.

The first notion will not stand up to serious examination. In reality it is not such a great privilege to be a worker in Australia. We are treated to cuts in real wages, thrown onto the dole queues whenever our employer decides it's no longer profitable to keep us on, and hit over the head by police when we fight back.

Meanwhile Alan Bond can spend millions of dollars just to sail a yacht. Rupert Murdoch can afford to buy up half the world's newspapers, and profits have risen dramatically in the last year or two.

Quite obviously "we" — the bosses and the workers — have nothing much in common at all. So little, in fact, that contrary to myth it is quite hard at the moment to get people to migrate here even from crisis-ridden Britain.

# The Case Against Immigration Controls

Migrants do not normally arrive penniless and starving. They are not droids they bring some savings with them to tide them over until they find work. So they add to consumer demand, and thus create jobs, before they join the labour force and compete for employment.

When they do go to work, they are not likely to "take jobs away from Australians", because they face tremendous disadvantages. They have language problems, their trade qualifications may not be recognized, and they aren't familiar with the place they are now living in.

A great many of them simply move into jobs Australians would not want to do anyway, such as low-paid assembly-line work.

When they do go to work, they provide a major boost to the economy both immediately and over time.

For one thing, an exceptionally large

scheme might never have happened, and the expansion of the iron and steel industries would have been much slower.

And the greater loss of all is that, far from causing unemployment, increased migration might well cause a shortage of labour power and conditions.

Because migrants start spending their savings the moment they arrive, which creates demand. But they don't move into the workforce for a while. While capitalism is trying to find the right workers to fit the expanded demand, there will be a labour shortage in the growth areas. Workers in those areas will find their bargaining power increased, and will find a career to win better wages and conditions.

The Population Council's report concludes that "claims about migration adding to unemployment cannot be supported. There is little evidence to suggest that recent migrants have added to the level of unemployment."



**IMMIGRATION CONTROL** 19th century style—the masses at Lambing Flat. While NSW miners, incited by the local press, went on a multifarious rampage against Chinese. The response of the NSW Parliament was to pass the Chinese Immigration Restriction Act, which made life even harder for Chinese by imposing a punitive residence fee.

population of migrants are of working age. Between 1962 and 1977, 84 percent were between 15 and 39 years old. In a society that is beginning to age, and to wonder where the money is going to come from to pay all those old-age pensions, the arrival of a lot of young workers should be grounds for celebration rather than fear.

For another, they mostly come as adults and often with training in one skill or another. The Australian economy is saved the extra cost of child-rearing and education for these workers.

This effect is also due to the impact of a larger consumer population and larger workforce. Industry operates on a bigger scale, which allows for more efficient operation and increased technological innovation.

"But the possibilities of migration having stimulated technological progress do not rest upon the general point alone," the report states. "International communication of new ideas would have been accelerated by migration of technical and administrative personnel to Australia."

It adds that "the running down of the immigration program since 1970 has probably contributed to the declining growth in consumer demand in recent years as well as confounding expectations about longer term economic possibilities."

In other words, cuts in immigration made the recession years of the seventies worse.

No wonder that John Elliott, head of the dowry's financial and finance group Elders IXL and a senior executive in the Liberal party, commented on June that "if we are going to get any growth in our industrial sector, I believe we have to rebuild our immigration."

But surely, some people might object, you can't be absolutely unlimited immigration. Elliot only calls for doubling the intake. Yet the barrier to opening the door altogether. Surely there must be some limits. What about "rational economic planning"?

Firstly, it is simply not true that most of the world's population would up and move to Australia at the first opportunity.

Only about 120,000 people have applied for immigration visas in the first nine months of the current financial year.

Of course, there are a great many people literally starving in the third world, and many more in extreme poverty. They would probably move anywhere to escape the misery to which capitalism has condemned them.

But their tragedy is precisely that capitalism has trapped them where they are. They are not in a position to look out thousands of dollars for a place far to Australia.

In between those extremes there are still millions of people whose living standards would rise if they came to Australia and worked here. But this would mean leaving their homes, a culture they are familiar with and a language they can understand to try a new and foreign country. They would have no guarantee of work.

Most people would not migrate in such a situation.

The fear of being "swamped" is irrational. During the fifties, Britain had absolutely open immigration for all Commonwealth citizens. The country was not swamped with immigrants from India, or Australia, or anywhere else.

And as Australia moves deeper into crisis, it is not clear there will be many people wanting to come here at all.

In the thirties, there was a net migration out of Australia, just as in the recession of 1977 more West Indians left Britain than entered it.

In times of crisis, Australia is not such a wonderful place to live in. The idea that it is, is simply fostered by our rulers to keep us from doing something drastic to change the society we live in.

But what about "rational economic planning"?

It is true that our rulers have decided a rate of immigration of about one percent of population is optimum. And if our concerns were to run capitalism efficiently, we should have to follow their advice.

But then if we went out to run capitalism more efficiently, we would also be for striking workers, curbing wages and running down working conditions. All these are "rational economic planning" from the point of view of the existing system.

The longer we accept the logic of that system, the worse off we will be.

It is the logic of the system to keep workers of one nationality divided from the others. It is the logic of capitalism to make us hate other people because of the colour of their skin.

To hell with that sort of logic! We look at the world from the point of view of the working class. And this is an international class.

Workers from Sydney to Singapore face the same exploitation, the same oppression, the same employers. Our freedom to go anywhere in the world where conditions are better, or jobs more plentiful, is part of our struggle to survive in a world dominated by that exploiting class.

Free movement across the globe enables workers as a whole to extract the best price for their labour power. To accept immigration controls is to make this struggle just that much harder for our fellow workers.

As long as the employing class holds power, we will face unemployment whether there is one immigrant a year, or many millions. If we unite to take power over them, and create socialism, we can build a world where everyone is economically secure.

Democracy, socialism planning instead of capitalism profit-grabbing anarchy would ensure the "supply and demand" for jobs worked out without repressing people's freedom.

In such a world, free immigration between countries would be no more a problem than it is today between Australian states.



The Battler features... The Battler features... The Battler features

# BARBARA DANE: German revolutionary

**SOCIALIST WOMEN are often asked: "Are you a feminist?" If you answer "no," you sometimes meet with surprise, and even hostility.**

Feminists see gender rather than class as the fundamental division in human society, and that is why we reject the label although we fight for women's liberation. There is nothing new in the debate between the two separate nearly 100-year camps.

As a Marxist, she defined a class analysis of society to be the way for working class women to organize separately from bourgeois feminists and to reject the idea of women's liberation as a precondition for women's liberation. Class Zetkin was born in Saxony in 1893. She became a socialist at the same time the socialist party was made illegal. For a time she did some underground work that then her Russian emigre lover was arrested and exiled, she left Germany to go to Paris in 1911, where they were involved with emigre socialist groups. During this time she was in contact with young leading European leftists and internationalist revolutionary languages as well as developing her political ideas, especially on women.

In 1919 Zetkin addressed the founding conference of the Second International as the organization of working women. In 1920 she returned to Germany as a member of the now-legal Social Democratic Party (SPD), which was to become the strongest socialist party in Europe.

by Tess Lee Ack

Zetkin was elected secretary of the International Socialist Commission and founded *Die Arbeiterin* (The Worker) publication. At the second conference in 1908, Zetkin proposed that March 8 be made International Women's Day. She was elected vice president when an IWD demonstration launched the Russian Revolution. Zetkin had class ideas about the role of *Glückliche*, which was aimed at women who already supported the politics of the SPD.

*Glückliche* is directed especially to the most progressive proletarians, whether they are slaves to exploit with their hands or their heads. It serves to enlighten them theoretically... not only to work consciously in the battle for the liberation of the proletariat, but also to be effective in enlightening and teaching their class comrades.

It was written "for the women whose spokesperson" there were regular complaints at Party congresses that *Glückliche* was "too difficult" and that it was "too abstract" (in other words, too left wing). But the paper was successful. Its circulation rose from 2000 in 1911 to 11,000 in 1923.

In 1904 Zetkin agreed to give the paper a wider appeal, widening the audience to include housewives and mothers. She did not intend to water down its politics. However, in the years that followed, party pressure forced her to include articles or supplements on fashion and cooking. And by 1911 the paper began to be oriented more to the "entire household."

Zetkin's revolutionary politics were being ground in the SPD and the changes in *Glückliche* reflected the fact. Her relations with the party leadership reached crisis point in 1914, when the leaders supported the German war effort at the start of World War I.

Zetkin used *Glückliche* to push a revolutionary anti-war line, and joined Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in agitating a quiet war. She spent some time in jail as a result.

collaborate

As the party swung behind the war, it also began to collaborate with the bourgeois feminists. In 1915 Zetkin was expelled from the executive of the SPD and lost the editorship of *Glückliche* which began to provide "simple teaching and valuable enlightenment." By 1917 it was saying "in practical matters we can form many things from bourgeois women" and its name was soon changed to *Die Arbeiterin* (Workers' Voice).

By the time Zetkin had left the SPD, spending a short time with the Independent Socialists after joining Rosa Luxemburg and the Communist Party. She became a Communist MP.

The crisis in the SPD, the bloody suppression of the German revolution in early 1919 and differences with the Communist leadership in early 1920s contributed to a serious decline in Zetkin's health. She found the situation in Germany so appalling that she moved and more she turned to Russia. Doing Communists work and developing an analysis for Lenin.

Her political act came shortly before her death. As the oldest member of parliament she found herself taking in sessions just before the Nazis took power. She used the occasion to denounce fascism.



SPARTAKISTS battle Reichswehr troops, 1919.

## A timid sort

### NEW DIRECTIONS for Victoria?

The value in reading the Cain government's pamphlets about its economic program is the insight they give into the thinking of a modern Labor government. Gone are any pretensions of idealism, or even idealistic phrases about inequality. The aim is economic recovery within the existing social order.

This means attacking costs in industry. "Clear attention to business costs must be an integral part of any strategy to improve competitiveness."

On closer examination, much of this amounts to attacks on the working class.

The pamphlet is a useful reminder that when we talk about Labor Party politics we are talking about one particular kind of ruling class politics.

Which is not to say this strategy could have been written by the Liberals. There are differences, reflecting the different social base of the two parties.

The Liberals are based directly on the top bosses, and the self-employed and managerial middle class. The Labor Party is based on a different section of the middle class: the trade union bureaucracy and state-employed "professionals." And it relies on working class votes and support.

So when the Liberals talk about reducing business costs, they launch lead-in into trades about wages, whereas Labor has to be more careful.

business

The pamphlets call for reducing "business costs" including all-up overhead costs, but they cannot be explicit about cutting wages and jobs, so they talk about the Prices and Incomes Accord, which most intelligent employers understand to be there to contain wages.

When they talk about public service employees, they hint at Labor's intention to slash jobs and hold wages down. They talk about "the creation of a public sector of industry and commerce to ensure that long-term jobs are not lost."

They boast about another Cain initiative: the negotiation of "industry contracts" covering the "industries."

Both so, the Victorian governments

The Battler features... The Battler features... The Battler features



BARBARA DANE has a gross song called "I hate the capitalist system," which goes like this:

*I hate the capitalist system, and I fill the reason why. It has caused me much suffering and my dear friends. With greed and might capital goes out in jewels and silk.*

*My darling loved-ones they had for want of milk and bread. If the pharmaceutical company had anything to do with it, the child would have died from the lack of drugs, or from contaminated oravenous fluids. Barbara Dane finishes her song by telling the capitalists that we're going to fight and smash their system. And this book will make you want to join the battle.*

*In Corporate Crime in the Pharmaceutical Industry, John Braithwaite details one scandal after another about company operations. Bribery, inadequate or faulty laboratory safety tests, unsafe manufacturing methods. Massive profiteering, drug pushing and third world swindling.*

Here's one example from a health worker in Bangladesh:

*The drug rep was trying to persuade this rather young doctor that for 10 rupees, I was a very good drug to use for children who had measles or malaria. This was a deficiency disease... which produce swelling all over the body and the legs was suggesting that this drug was very good at reducing the heat.*

*When it was pointed out that the swelling might go down but the child would be killed... the drug representative said, "Well, the child is going to die anyway." The kids he is telling us the pharmaceutical industry. Braithwaite tells us that he has seen first or second in profitability among all industries in most years since 1955.*

*In one case, Roussel, a French firm sold a drug for 16 to 20 years. That gives them exclusive rights. Schering did nothing except put the product into market before they sold their own label. The bottles which contained 11.7 cents worth were sold for \$8.40, a mark up of 709%.*

*When drugs first discovered, the company patents it for 16 to 20 years. That gives them exclusive rights. In the US, 97 percent of drug marketed between October, 1975 and December 1977 were of the "me-too" type. Less than one percent of drugs in that same period provided important therapeutic gains for patients.*

*Braithwaite's investigations are enlightening. But what are his solutions to these problems? On the drug racket, Ralph Nader says this book will "expose the black ways through the executive suites of pharmaceutical companies around the world." Perhaps, but the executives will not stop competing when they read the author's strategies for ending the corporate crime.*

*And of tinkering with this law, introduce that law there, a bit of making self regulation work everywhere. A weak need show from consumer group, this is a stronger Freedom of Information Act. And that's it.*

*Braithwaite sees the corporate structure as the culprit. He loses out with these structures as part of a social system, capitalism. So he imagines the individual markets as reformer.*

*In fact the employing class's such had people all ready. "We often lose sight of the fact that business people don't like to pay bribes," he writes. Bribes are a "disasterous last resort."*

*The criminals you can get what you want for nothing. As in Guatemala where the military junta says what's good for foreign business is good for Guatemala. Or in England where many industry regulations are written in the offices of the houses' sanctuaries."*

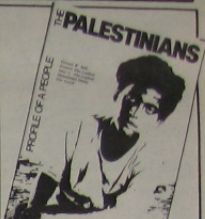
*Workers play no role in Braithwaite's strategy. Neither do the oppressed people of the third world. Yet until the corporate structure are placed under strict democratic control, the firms, reform schemes in the world will fail.*

*That of his own examples makes this clear. In 1973 So Lanka established a State Pharmaceutical Company (SPC) to eliminate the buying of drug imports. "Imports" was stopped by drug agents as therapeutically irrelevant, too expensive or economically "inefficient." The number of imported drugs fell from 2100 to 600.*

*Worldwide competitive tendering reduced the drug bill by 40 percent. The transnationalist fondness strong opposition to that.*

*When the SPC, with the Minister for Industries, moved to nationalise Pfizer so that they could manufacture cheap antibiotics, the US Ambassador personally intervened with the Prime Minister.*

*As the final analysis, the country proved no match for the multinational. Already reforms were breaking down when the election of a non-socialist government in 1977 saw the almost total dismantling of the SPC.*



THE PALESTINIANS

## Profile of genocide

THERE WAS a time when many people didn't know the Palestinians existed. Today that has changed. Which is not to say the Palestinian case gets a fair hearing. The media remains biased against them.

So this new pamphlet is handy. The *Palestinians* provides a summary of the history and brings it up to date.

One Australian comparison is particularly striking. "Except for the extermination of the Tasmanian modern history knows no case in which the virtually complete extermination of the indigenous population of a country by an alien stock has been achieved in as little as two generations. Yet this, in fact, is what has been attempted in Palestine since the beginning of the twentieth century."

The culprits are the Zionist movement, which has rebuilt a social state on land stolen from Arabs. After relying on their coast to the existing Arab regimes to come to their aid, the Palestinians launched their own liberation movement after 1967. The PLO has since become famous worldwide.

Unfortunately, they were defeated in Lebanon in 1982 by army superior forces, which brought to the weakness in the pamphlet.

For the reader inevitably wants to know what the pamphlet has to say on 1982. It ends with a rather vague appeal to world public opinion. That is hardly enough.

The *Palestinians* have one of the greatest military machines in the world, bankrolled by US imperialists. The Palestinians have the truth on their side, but as Trotsky once remarked, the truth cannot withstand the onset of heavy artillery.

The PLO relied for years on a combination of armed struggle and diplomacy. But least has too much firepower. And diplomacy is only leading Yasser Arafat to a dead end. This is because the PLO has never considered socialism and the struggle as a way forward. This is because its leaders resist to risk alienating rich and powerful.

But surely, now, a Palestinian who wants to change the right must consider it. At the very least, it beats appealing to the "international community" to do the right thing.

—Richard Emerson

## of Caining

### PHIL GRIFFITHS flips through the Cain government's new paper on its economic strategy for Victoria

pamphlet is timid and shallow. Often. There is some rhetoric about boosting the "trade exposed sector" and "biotechnology" about more efficient government and rational electricity tariffs, but really today's economic problems are much more severe for such tinkering.

Economic "recovery" of a sort on a way largely independent of the politicians. But when it comes to the deep underlying problems of the society we live in, Labor has no real solutions for Victoria.

The ALPs approach is to give the ruling class a little more confidence to encourage it to be patient and to encourage it to invest. For Labor's hopes rest overwhelmingly on the ruling class pitching in to revive their own system.

But chance. Industry is no longer profitable enough to attract the kind of massive investments which could restore prosperity. The bosses know their system is bankrupt, even if many people in the ALP imagine otherwise. There are real solutions, of course. If workers ran industry, we could plan it democratically to meet people's needs.

But that is furthest from the minds of this party called "Labor".



Malcott

ROSA LUXEMBURG and Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin's allies in the early German Communist movement.





**THE RELATIONSHIP between the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association and the ALP was hotly debated at the union's general meeting on 2-3 June.**

There were two motions: one supporting Labor in the next State election, and the other relating to affiliation.

On the first, the union's Central Committee argued we should support the ALP with funds, propaganda and personnel although that would depend on certain guarantees from the government.

The motion referred to the "generally positive record" of the Government. But there was some opposition from the left, who argued that while we can possibly support the ALP, we shouldn't give the ALP such a "big role" and the reference to Labor's "generally positive record" should be scrapped.

The motion was then put to a vote and the majority affirmed the ALP was more controversial. It has been reported before when the ALP was in opposition. But it was the vote on election that caused the greatest concern.

With most elections coming up, the leadership decided to play it safe. Most of them favour affiliation but they argued there were other, more immediate concerns.

The State's three teacher unions are about to form a Federation, and to affiliate one might choose a common role. So we successfully moved to defer the decision. But the motion did not have long term interests of teachers (let) served by teacher union affiliation with the ALP.

Speakers supporting affiliation pointed out the benefits teachers have got from Labor: a rise in the Liberal penal powers, wage rises, and the staffing conditions agreement.

They say the existence of an agreement as good as itself, depends on contents which are far from satisfactory.

The fact being on the party would be to ensure that when a cause is being allocated, though there is not much support for this, when you single out (the ALP) but that's not how it has worked out. The ALP has been driven to counter to the left.

Finally, one speaker pointed to the likely affiliation of four other unions, and we should get in there to counter them.

But speakers from the left pointed out the less impressive side of Labor's record on education and other issues, particularly unions, and that there was no guarantee that policies being implemented.

Whether or not the union should be political was not an issue. Teachers recognize that unions and politics are closely connected, especially when the government is in power. The question was making the union's political independence.

Some critics fear conflicts of interest will arise, with the union being forced to subordinate its own interests to those of the Government. This is the increasing incorporation of the union into the state machine.

Teacher unions have become less militant in recent years. Partly this is a result of trade unionism. But there is an additional factor: the case of the VST & A. This year

## HOW CLOSE can Vic. teachers afford to get to the Cain gov't?

As Tess Lee ACK reports, some of the dangers are becoming more obvious.

It is close to the left with the Labor government.

Those who differ with the Libs. We know where we stood. We formed a health union government that was always out to get us. The VSTA leaders' most common complaint was that there was "no consultation."

Now we have Labor, who do nothing without consultation. There has been a restructuring of the Education and the Unions were invited to get in on the ground floor. Committees covering every aspect of education, school and education movements, each with union representation.

It sounded good at first. But what has it meant in practice? The union, or at least its leaders, have been drawn into the state bureaucracy. Next union has had disappeared, and in its place we have negotiations, "consensus" and compromise.

Participation in the committee is seen as the way to get things done. "Consultation" means the officials and the government get together to work out a deal, which the officials then sell to the members.

The VSTA's job of claims is a classic example. The leg was initially proposed by militants as a way of forcing the union to demand and fighting for the lot. (At the time, the most serious anger and militancy was being directed at the union's single trade union.) But that's not how it has worked out. The ALP has been driven to counter to the left.

After parting down our claims as much as possible, they sit back and let the union leaders police the agreement.

Then, despite advice, along came the Agreement Implementation Committee (composed of union and Department representatives). They had to rely on the ALP to get us out of the "no strike" clause, which the union officials had pushed at us.

Rank and file teachers who find aspects of the government satisfactory, or who have to deal with hostile principals, tend to be more conservative. They're not relying on the ALP to sort things out, or wait for their own day to come.

So they've become more dependent on the officials, and less on the union. This is the increasing incorporation of the union into the state machine.

The left's opposition to Labor party affiliation is argued from two grounds, and they are absolutely right. A vote for affiliation at this stage would effectively be a vote for deeper into the smothering embrace of the government.

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## Your Battler... TACKLING THE BIG ISSUES

**PLEASED to visit sunny Queensland in June, I've delegates from southern Victoria back to Brisbane for the recent annual committee meeting.**

Major changes in the ALP were discussed in some detail.

Times have changed dramatically since the Battle was launched in 1974. The level of class struggle was historic high. And in the years that followed, even such as the Constitutional Crisis, Melbourne and the Atrocity Valley dispute meant that the Battle had a significant audience among worker militants.

We saw ourselves as building a "workers' paper". Probably that was overambitious even then. Certainly it is unrealistic now.

We use our role as agitators: interesting in day-to-day struggles around topical issues. And one day we will be doing so again. But in the present period opportunities for that are few.

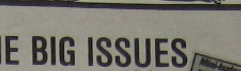
Instead of political interventions we find ourselves arguing political issues in more detail with small numbers of individuals, and winning them to revolutionary politics in the course of that discussion.

So the Battle is changing. We will be publishing more propaganda-in-depth articles taking up the big issues: the nature of the capitalist system, the great struggle against it and their lessons, and the meaning of socialism in 1984.

Of course, we will retain our unique style of open journalism and irreverent commentary. But it will be put to rest.

Inevitably this will involve some experimentation, some trial-and-error. We are convinced it will also mean the creation of a newspaper suited to the tasks of 1984 and that our readers will like the change.

In the time, the struggle will pick up again. Perhaps then the Battle will look a bit like it did in the old days. But perhaps some entirely new style will be needed.



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## WHAT WE STAND FOR

**Workers' Power**  
Workers' control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only this organised working class has the power to give a society free of exploitation, oppression and war. Only workers are not classless because they are the class of the exploitation of workers by a bureaucratic ruling class.

**Revolution, not Reformism**  
Believe in overthrowing the capitalist system not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. We are building an international movement that can start a workers' party, the military, the League, a workers' class rule and can never be used to cover the interests of the working class.

**Internationalism**  
A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It will help build revolutions in other countries or will be defeated like the Russian revolution in 1917. We are building an international movement that can start a workers' party, the military, the League, a workers' class rule and can never be used to cover the interests of the working class.

**Full Equality and Liberation**  
For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups, racism, sexism and discrimination against migrant peoples are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the social organisation of households.

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

**Rank and File Organisation**  
Workers need their own rank and file organisations, to fight the bosses when their past efforts are fruitless. We fight to bring the unions under rank and file control.

**Contact us...**  
BATTLE EDITORIAL  
PO Box 48, Hawthorn, Vic 3122 (03) 374 3327  
IS. NATIONAL OFFICE  
LPO Box 4270, Melbourne 3001 (03) 683 3330  
MELBOURNE BRISBANE  
LPO Box 14726, Melbourne (03) 424 5000  
181 Centre Street, 2nd Floor, 388 George St, Sydney (02) 389 9833  
683 3300  
SYDNEY PERTH  
LPO Box 46, Annandale 2159 (02) 854 1010  
Office, Floor 1, 382 Pitt St, Sydney (02) 443 3400  
CANTONMENT  
LPO Box 189, Perth (08) 921 1100

## Join the I.S. SMASH

**1975 - The Storm Before the Lull** Thursday 12 July 1975 was a good start for our first program as Storm Before the Lull explains. But the lull is not over. The storm is still with us. We are building an international movement that can start a workers' party, the military, the League, a workers' class rule and can never be used to cover the interests of the working class.

**BRISBANE**  
Brisbane Branch meets every Wednesday 7pm, Room 6, Floor 1, 382 Pitt St, Sydney (02) 443 3400

**Perth**  
Perth Branch meets every Wednesday 7pm, Room 6, Floor 1, 382 Pitt St, Sydney (02) 443 3400

**Sydney**  
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**BATTLE MAIL**

**Letter Rip**

**BATTLE MAIL**

**HOSPITAL CRISIS**

**Dear Battler,**

As you see, the doctors aren't using any technology at all. The only level of health care that is being used is the level of health care that is available in the hospital. This is a real crisis in health care in Australia, but it is not that shocking because the reasons of it are not actually surprising.

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**One sacrifice leads to another**

**ONE GROUP of metal workers in Queensland has found out just exactly what the price and incomes are in all about - wage cuts.**

**Dear Battlers,**

The Federal government is making a deal. It's the deal that the labour unions are making. It's the deal that the labour unions are making. It's the deal that the labour unions are making.

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# the battler

## Firemen fight false economy

**FIREFIGHTERS** in Queensland have lifted their while negotiations continue with the state government over their plan to introduce part-time firemen. In response to the announcement by the state government, firefighters have refused to work with an "alien" substitution of firefighters at any of the fire stations now visited by permanent employees. As well, equipment used by substitutes will be declared black.

The government plan is to increase the use of part-time firefighters to cut spending on fixed jobs. National Party member Tennant has said that some fire brigades are "unmanned", but has refused to reveal which ones.

Cutting jobs is nothing new to the state government. Many areas, such as Brisbane and the Gold Coast, already lodged submissions for extra workers. Three new fire stations were built in 1983-84 and one extra firefighter employed to staff them. They have been operating at a cost price, as well as being fire-fighters' own members of the United Firefighters Union told the Battler.

For the government, axing a number of advantages. They are cheaper. Most have full-time jobs and are firefighters in their spare time. They are only paid when they are called out. As well, they are unable to join the union.

It is a familiar story. The government is looking away at social services so it can keep subsidising the likes of the mining bosses who have been given a 10% reduction in fringe benefits among other things. And Queensland Treasurer and Premier, Billie Rennie, has long been keen on making Queensland a tax haven for business firms.



**BRISBANE blacks** and their supporters march on 30 May against Bjelke Petersen's Services Legislation for the Dead or Goin' in Trust. Aboriginal leaders have described the new Act as a cruel move from government legislation. Blacks will have no real control over their land nor the security of future.

## Stand by 38 hour ban

**LOGAN CITY** council workers have torn up Queensland State Industrial Commission orders to lift all bans and limitations.

The bans are part of a state-wide campaign by Queensland Labor union council workers to force the state government to lift all bans and limitations.

At Logan City, the bans were stopped up to include all repairs to street and water breakers after a referendum was held and a guard bottled water mains after hours.

The state industrial commission called a compulsory conference and ordered the workers to return to work. The union to lift their bans and for talks to begin.

But by this stage talks were not possible, and the workers supported their status by demanding starting dates for the shorter week.

The union has the support of the trade union officials, though it has only been forced on them by the action of the Logan City Council. The Council has been getting full backing from the Local Government Association who called on its members not to negotiate and from the State government which has threatened any council that negotiates with it on funding.

The initial approach of the industrial officials was to crack in the houses dealing their own-estate deals. The AWU vice-president, Barry Menzies, said: "The IFC has considered a 38 hour week could be introduced without cost to the council."

AWU state secretary, Lerol Holder has been ordered to negotiate with the council in the populating talks by saying that the council could actually benefit from the introduction of the 38 hour week.

As a case in point, the AWU proudly announced that the Ipswich City Council had improved productivity. Workers put in longer days without afternoon smoko in part of the 38 hour week.

The latest move by the Logan City Council has been to start using contractors to get around the ban on overtime work.

The only reaction to this was for the state to put the stress on even harder and not discount it.

—Mark Gillespie

# the battler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No. 153 July 14, 1984 30c (20c within post) Published by National Post Distribution VAF 922

# CELEBRATE THE 38 HOUR WEEK

**ASIO is at it again!**

The "intelligence organization" that last year destroyed the career, reputation and family of former ALP secretary David Combe, has now driven Anne Pico, a member of the International Socialists, from her job on the grounds that she is a "subversive".

Anne Pico has worked as an archivist in the Australian Archives for six years. In 1982, her job was reclassified to require security clearance. Despite her five years of satisfactory performance, ASIO grilled her and in May 1983 declared her to be a member of a "subversive organization".

Now after a lengthy appeal and an 18-page judgement from the Security Appeals Tribunal, Anne Pico has lost her job in the Archives. She has been compulsorily transferred to the Commonwealth Archives.

The case, which has attracted foreign attention in the Sydney Morning Herald, is a clear threat to political rights in Australia.

George Petersen, Labor MIA for New South Wales, has already written to Bob Hawke protesting that ASIO's judgment means that anyone who agrees with the Marxist theory of the state can now be classified as a subversive and denied normal citizenship rights.

The ASIO Act defines subversion as activities which involve or are "likely to ultimately lead to" the use of force or violence to overthrow the Constitutional Government.

Anne Pico, as a member of the International Socialists, believes in revolution. She believes that capitalism will sooner or later sink into a crisis where

**INDUSTRIAL Commission orders torn up.**

**LOGAN CITY COUNCIL**  
ADMINISTRATION CENTRE

12—THE BATTLER 23 JUNE, 1984

# ASIO brands 'subversive'



"DAVID COMBE—destroyed by ASIO last year."

## I.S. member victimized



"ANNE PICO—declared a "subversive" by ASIO because of I.S. membership and removed from her job despite six years' service."

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Blainey baloney & free speech  
PAGE 2

**ALP**  
Conference capers  
PAGE 3

**Banks down the drain?**  
PAGE 6

## "Who are the real subversives?"

parliament and the ruling class lose the ability to govern by popular consent.

"Workers will set up democratic workers' councils to run the factories and suburbs, like they've done in crisis situations in Russia, Germany, Spain, Hungary and numerous other countries already this century," says Anne.

"A situation of dual power will exist. The Constitutional government will attack the Constitution or use its most repressive legal powers and the army to restore its authority. The workers' councils will step in first and take power with a workers' army to establish a genuinely democratic workers' state."

Turn to page 3

# CELEBRATE THE 38 HOUR WEEK

**CELS WORKERS** have ended their staffing campaign with mixed results.

By Janey Stone

Melbourne banned the payment of overtime to support the ban on working overtime. When management scabbed on their ban they walked off the job for the day.

The fact is that this staffing dispute was a lot like other previous ones in the public service. It exemplified what's wrong with the way the ACOA approaches these campaigns.

While it may at times be necessary to start out with bans, on their own they can't win. In the current industrial situation, with most unions bending over backward not to rock the Good Ship Accord, only serious struggle can expect to win. The public service is as much the front line of this government's economic policy as it was of the previous regime.

It means that any strike is political. And any struggle is going to need a action.

Now it's true there was a strong rank and file push over this issue, at least initially. But as often happens in industrial situations, feeling develops during the course of the dispute. But that is where leadership comes in.

You put the car in gear, press the accelerator, and start to let the clutch. Then just as the car is about to move off—the leadership tell you to turn off the ignition.

Is it any wonder then that it's difficult to get industrial action going in the public service?

ACOA members in Social Service have just taken action over their own staffing issues. It's more time to build on the momentum gained in their campaign and the CES dispute. Our next big issue is wages, one which has been bogged down in Arbitration for months already. Seems like it needs a push!

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## robbing

Curing jobs and robbing workers is the method of choice for keeping profits up and Tennant has had his job cutting exercise to the introduction of fire-levies on Queensland taxpayers. They will be phased in over the months following year.

Tennant has used the new levy together with shabby budget figures to make out the fire levies are essential and hypocritically claim that cuts are necessary to save Queensland taxpayers money. In fact, Queensland firefighters are the lowest paid in Australia and the highest paid for the last three years show that costs have always fallen below the allocated funds.

But what is a job or two or a life or two when it comes to cutting back budget figures even further. Just this month, a cement silo collapsed killing three men and wounding a fourth. Three others. The local fire team went to the accident and called on the levies assistance rendered for that area. Of these, only one was available. This is what will be going for if the Queensland government gets its way.

—Leslie Penrose

A WORD FROM PROF. BLAINEY AND FRIEND ANDREW:—

WE MUST PROTECT OUR AUSTRALIAN CULTURE FROM ALIEN SUBVERSION...!

DO YOU HAVE ALIEN IDEAS... LIKE (SHUDDER) SOCIALIST IDEAS FOR EXAMPLE...?

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With Alec Kahn

**PATHEIC, NOT?**  
Geoffrey Blainey spends three months promoting racism in Queensland against immigration policy. Then a few newspapers take against him. And he gets attacked by the Press for not respecting the rights of others.

Of course, the notion that the demonstrators in Melbourne and elsewhere against Blainey last month "insulted" his freedom of speech is freedom of speech—like every other freedom in the society—open to question. Geoffrey Blainey, Director of the Institution of Engineers, chairman of the Australian Council of the Mining Industry, Order of Australia, is very much of our class.

Geoffrey Blainey goes to the front page of the paper. He has had numerous radio interviews, to quote his own words.

By contrast, when the organisers of the Melbourne anti-Blainey demon-

# Bane, baloney and free speech

strous asks for the right to reply to his radio and TV interviews, he is told that he has the right to reply to the Press. The *Age* responded and only allowed a brief reply. The *Age* and the *Age* are agreed to allow a brief reply to the Press.

And it is to be quite clear that Blainey is promoting racism. Since Blainey's immigration, a few newspapers have taken against him. And he gets attacked by the Press for not respecting the rights of others.

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For small liberal, none of the rights of his neighbours. He has the right to promote discrimination, to have the right to write him. He has the right to have his name in the papers. He has the right to have his name in the papers. He has the right to have his name in the papers.

**WILD DEMO IN ASIA ROW**  
A group of demonstrators in Asia Row, Melbourne, are protesting against the proposed uranium mine at Ranger.

Some liberal liberals aren't even convinced that Blainey is racist. Yet in the past four months...

has described Asians as "inferior people". Looking into newspapers of his neighbours, he has the right to promote discrimination, to have the right to write him. He has the right to have his name in the papers. He has the right to have his name in the papers.

Blainey has defended many people because he drops only one or two of these stars into any interview. Most of his supporters are people who have adapted a phrase from the South African government's approach for apartheid.

Blainey talks of "national", "cultural differences", "worst and worst"—all what racist terms. He has the right to promote discrimination, to have the right to write him. He has the right to have his name in the papers. He has the right to have his name in the papers.

This evasion is essential for Blainey. By avoiding racism from

he also removes the need to fight racism and to defend Asians from their persecutors. Instead he can argue to have Asians out, and it is obviously interference that must be the cause of the "inferior".

This whole approach is nonsense. If cutting back Asian immigration prevented migration, then 40 years of White Australia should have created a suitable paradise of tolerance. In fact, when British governments made concessions to the anti-colonial movement, they were not so generous as Blainey.

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# URANIUM What Labor is letting us in for

# THE ALP CONFERENCE Pragmatism Left, Right and Centre

## THE LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE has dealt a savage blow to the thousands of people who look to Labor for progressive social change.

Gone is the commitment to phase out uranium mining. Gone is the commitment to support independence for East Timor. Gone is every criticism of the capitalist system in Labor's economic platform.

Not that this will alter the course of the Hawk Government. All the sell-outs were decided by the sell-outs in government. For the first time since the 1931 Special Conference, not the rank and file making policy for the Conference, but the other way round.

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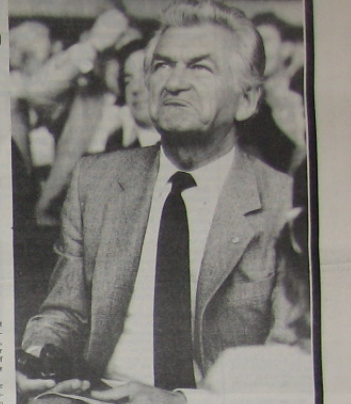
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Hawke came to get his Liberal-style government endorsed. With minor modifications, he got it.

Left back-scher. And... They have no real differences with Hawk and have effectively acted as one of his major props. They must differ only in style.

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# Queensland...

# OFFICIALS ASK THE DISTRICT STORES TO PICKET

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This culminated last week-end with the cancellation of the rich Rotherham's 100,000 race meeting.

A storm hit AWU's racetrack members backed up by solidarity from jockeys, stewards, and other non-union labour was all flood for thousands of dollars in Queensland government TAB revenue etc. to go down.

The AWU officials are demanding that the state government pull out of the local government dispute and drop its opposition to the 38-hour week.

At the moment the government is starting to state funding to support the 38-hour week. But the AWU is demanding that the state government pull out of the local government dispute and drop its opposition to the 38-hour week.

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# ASIAN CONTROL

# THE LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE has dealt a savage blow to the thousands of people who look to Labor for progressive social change.

Gone is the commitment to phase out uranium mining. Gone is the commitment to support independence for East Timor. Gone is every criticism of the capitalist system in Labor's economic platform.

Not that this will alter the course of the Hawk Government. All the sell-outs were decided by the sell-outs in government. For the first time since the 1931 Special Conference, not the rank and file making policy for the Conference, but the other way round.

As uranium ore is mined, it gives off a radioactive-ash called "mine workers' disease". At Ranger in the Northern Territory, the mine workers' disease has been found in the lungs of the miners.

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# Washing. Here are a wage cut

By Mike Grewcock

**MENTION** the word **offset** and most people think of a printing press. But put the word in the mouth of an ALP minister or union official, and it means something quite different.

NSW nurses and healthworkers are discovering that this simple word means the cuts in wages and conditions the state government wants them to top to return for a 36-hour week. And after 8,000 nurses struck for 24 hours on June 29 and 7,000 more imposed bans, the Labor government is finding out that a 36-hour week might be so easy to do.

NSW nurses began campaigning for a 36-hour week 19 days ago in 1982. However, the campaign has only really started to get moving this year. Until then, it mainly consisted of a working party incorporating the Health Department, the Public Service Board and the hospital unions.

In April this year, the working party released its preliminary report and the officials of the Health and Research Employees Association (HAREA) keen to avoid mobilising their members, pressed an "offset" arrangement. Hospital workers would lose each salary payment and nurses' remuneration and real wages would be dragged.

In June, the NSW Nurses' Association Council found what were the acceptable offers and endorsed the abolition of cash payments, but rejected the increases which have been estimated to lose \$184 per month.

There are two glaring problems with this offer. Firstly, they make healthworkers actually pay out, in some cases, for a wage increase in return for the day off. Secondly, it turns the emphasis of the campaign into negotiations between the unions and the state government.

THE **parliamentary** Health Committee voted in favour of a majority of one. A Commission also voted in favour of 121 million per month, severely needed for other purposes to **barriers**. The issue is needed to help **difficult** circumstances, **distress** and **unemployment**.

AN **EVERY** better, **more** **economic**, **quicker** **to** **the** **government**, **getting** **in** **the** **middle** **of** **a** **great** **battle** **for** **democratic** **principles**, **the** **Parliament** **is** **needed** **to** **help** **difficult** **circumstances**, **distress** **and** **unemployment**.

**GOADING** their local politicians comes easy to nurses these days. While the demonstrator above found an easy mark in fifty New 350 nurses were marching through Hobart to protest the pig-headedness of their state government. **"Be aware the fury of a patient nurse,"** read one of the placards. The march preceded a 24-hour strike for higher pay which they say is within the national wage guidelines. Another placard read: "Nurses are forced to work the streets to get a living wage, then the minister pamp." The government won't negotiate.

FOR YEARS Victoria Liberal governments restricted hospitals. With the election of the Cain Labor government, new health workers hoped for change, only to find that what they had expected the government with a 1.5 percent budget cut.

## Nursing bans get results

Nurses have taken matters into their own hands, banning some of their own staff as part of a campaign for more staff.



NSW NURSES call on the Wran government for a shorter working week during their 24 hour strike

True to form, the Wran government's position has been unambiguous. It only was the 36-hour week was rejected, but the offers weren't significant enough. The Health Department has now provided its own list of 7 offers which include the abolition of the 15% part-time loading and the 16% casual loading.

In late May, HAREA members imposed a strike (mostly on linen services) and, with the Nurses' Association, proposed to strike for 24 hours on June 1. The strike action was called off after Wran promised a conference for June 4 and on June 13, Industrial Relations Minister Pat Hills, established separate discussions before an impartial commissioner with the officials of the union.

From the bureaucratic maze emerged an agreement between HAREA and the government accepting HAREA's two main proposals.

# N.S.W. Teachers can expect TAKE GAINS FROM TAKE ACTION

THE STATE government is pursuing a cavalier approach towards NSW teachers. Its Education Minister Rod Cavalier has proclaimed a new era of toughness in industrial relations. In response, teachers are planning to take state-wide strike action.

This is a welcome sign in a union which has participated in the industrial relations in the past few years. In 1983 a right wing member of the ALP, Ian Payne, was elected president on the basis of conciliation rather than confrontation. In reality, it was the abstract process of deciding between two obscure quarantines that determined the result. The previous leadership's inactivity had been mainly severe.

Now, there has been two major absences. Early in June, 3,000 Liverpool teachers stopped work for a day, and 1,600 metropolitan teachers did the same on July 6. The basis for the current dispute is clear cut. Thirty nine teachers from four intensive language units in relation to school students in each class above an acceptable level. The teachers were a reduction from the official 20:12 ratio to one of 15:10. That is, a cutting of three students for normal language classes, and ten in special classes.

These arguments are always taken up by health workers when they take industrial action. But the reality is that the health care was already suffering. Nurses knew that would not change unless they acted.

When the Labor government arrived being hit with effective industrial action, it was a particularly offensive to a recent 100 hospital domestic staff, a force of 21 million a year. That was so, it would only exist had a number of staff been laid off. It is said that management unions in the state's health care system. All the staff are additional staff.

## sinister

On top of all this there is a sinister aura to the whole dispute. The overwhelming majority of students involved are illiterate in their own language.

The government's ability to discipline recalcitrant teachers could be added, forming an already disadvantaged minority. This is why some teachers at the meeting carried placards equating Cavalier with the racist Geoffrey Blainey.

So far the union officials have managed to contain industrial militancy by selective action, which runs the risk of isolating and demoralising the members involved. Any feeling of collective strength is virtually neutralised by this form of action. Assuming the statewide stoppage eventually, it is likely to be taken one day event.

# Piggy skids to the polls

You know it!  
You know the other bit!  
So what's the problem?



THE LAST 17 years have seen markedly similar parliamentary shifts in New Zealand and Australia: a post-war Labor government in London to Cold-War Tories, twenty years of conservative rule in New Zealand for a brief period of depression, a short-lived Labor Government with a Moses to the fore intent upon leading the Chosen People to the Promised Land—and then back to the dry old desert with the Tories.

The parallels continue. New Zealand's Prime Minister Piggy Muldoon has pulled a Malcolm Fraser and called a snap election for July 14. Muldoon's excuse for calling the election four months early was that his one-seat majority was under threat from an occasion ally weak MP.

The reason in fact was that the polls were indicating an ebb in support for opposition parties, an election-year budget was proving difficult to draw up and the economy was expected to be hotly and obviously on the skids by November. It was also no accident that Muldoon called the snap election immediately after the National Government had successfully struck workers' claims at one of the biggest industrial sites to return to work without any opposition being voiced by Labour.

The Muldoon Government has now been in office for nine years. Its last term has seen a sudden intensifying of attacks on living standards and trade union organisation. Wages have been frozen, real income eroded, unemployment deepened. Trade union organisation has been under particularly severe attack from parliamentary legislation, court action and government-supported employer assaults. The social welfare system has been run down, savings clubs have been in health and education spending.

## repeat

The Labour Party has promised to repeal all repressive and prospective industrial legislation and ensure that all workers obtain a minimum living wage. This would make an astonishing change from the last Labour government which has been run down, savings clubs have been in health and education spending.

However it's not so much a response to the demands of Labour that it is concerned to the union movement as an initiative just announced by the party which will win the election. National intends promoting just Zealand, Labour would like to see the vote Labour with a sinking feeling in the heart, particularly when you open the financial pages of your evening newspaper and read, "As far as the economic policies of National and Labour are concerned, there appears to be very little difference, therefore we conclude that the election of the last Labour government will not have significantly different impact on company profits."

Two parties, vying to show who's going to lead Zealand into the future, are vying by being more like a visiting Barry Humphries. I will write looks like the end of the Nats (for next time, please, anyway) and lead the deal of Muldoon will give us all a boost for over a year as workers' victories, no matter how hollow, haven't exactly been thick on the ground for a while.

# Muldoon wants plant-banned unions. Labour promises a "living wage".

NEW ZEALAND'S Prime Minister Piggy Muldoon ruminates anti-memorabilia in his Wellington office. Not for long?

# WHY THE FASCIS'S SCORE OFF MITTERRAND

By Maria Gialitti

A MASS vote for fascism in France?

In mid-June the French National Front polled over 2 million votes in the European elections. Yet just three years ago these Nazis were unable to get enough signatures to stand as a candidate in the presidential contest.

The Front's success has been all the more dramatic because of its previous obscurity. Its leader Jean-Marie Le Pen got a derogatory 0.4 per cent in the 1974 presidential elections. And just police marched towards the extreme right were confined to the political wilderness, divided and arguing amongst themselves about "direct action" versus "respectability".

The Front's change in political fortunes had little to do with its own activities. The advent of the Socialist Communist Party coalition government proved its saviour.

It was a three that the government and management were only too pleased to take up. After a virulent hate campaign against the occupying workers and a series of bloody battles between strikers and non-strikers, the government and union leaders cobbled together a deal. A major element in the deal was paying immigrant workers a lump sum to return to their country of origin.

In such an atmosphere it was little wonder that the racism of the National Front should find a fertile soil. Indeed the Communist Party itself was not its playing a racist card when it seemed to suit its interests. In northern Paris a Communist mayor led a mob in bulldozing down an immigrant workers' hostel. He was neither condemned nor disciplined by the party leadership.

Support for the National Front has shown a dramatic increase in a series of by-elections and local elections. The Communist and Socialist Parties on the other hand have been steadily losing ground.

There has not been a massive vote of voters from the left to the extreme right. Rather it seems that thousands of CP supporters are simply staying home.

The failure of the Socialists and Communists to be any effective response to the anger and bitterness of millions of workers has simply led the way for the likes of Jean-Marie Le Pen to straggle ahead as the most militant opposition party.

A meanwhile in Portugal, the Socialist Party government has arrested 35 officials, among them Detente Carvalho, a hero of the 1974 rebellion which ended 50 years of fascist rule. The Socialist Party regime severe austerity measures have been introduced in the name of internationalism. The Socialist Party's real wages fell by 12 percent last year, and many workers have not been paid for months.

SLING-shooting rocks at the cops. Fascists had the running on the streets.



LAWYERS on the march in Paris... one of a series of middle class demonstrations last summer venting a growing frustration with the government.



**ALASTAIR WALLACE EXPLAINS HOW BANKS HAVE BEEN BAILED OUT... FOR NOW.**



MEXICO's debts were pumped into huge petrochemical plants like this, the LacAgros complex.

**THESE DAYS** the worlds financial markets are producing more doom-and-gloom stories than Revelations and Nostradamus combined.

Nothing illustrates this better than the saga of Continental Illinois, eighth largest bank in the US. Robert Novak, a panelist on a TV public affairs show, commented off-handedly that it would take a calamity like the collapse of Continental to force the Federal Reserve to loosen its monetary policy.

His unorthodox prophecy was rapidly fulfilled. Within a week, \$8 million a day was being withdrawn. Government agencies had to throw normal funds out the window and inject \$2 billion into Continental. Private banks stepped in with another \$1 billion.

This might seem an liberation, product of excessive greed and unwise loans. But Continental is not unique. Already 32 US banks have gone to the wall so far this year. And the world is facing a much bigger malaise facing capitalism as a whole.

Industrial capital is in trouble too. Canada's Dome Petroleum went built with \$4 billion in debts. International Harvester with \$4.2 million. Despite all the talk of economic recovery, our rates are very jittery. As a Continental Vice-President put it, Capital is the world's most covetly commodity. It cuts and runs at the barest sign.

The problems have been building since 1974. In 1975 North Korea refused to pay its debts, and in 1977 both Peru and Zaire had to be rescued by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Turkey and Zaire rescheduled debts in 1979. This began to make the banks vulnerable, as we learned when Penn Square, a small Oklahoma bank, went built in 1982. Continental ended up with a lot of bad debts out of that one.

Meanwhile the Polish crisis had banking circles scurrying, and only the military coup saved their bacon.

Mexico threatened to default on an \$80 billion debt. Brazil and Argentina demanded that their debts be rescheduled when they saw Mexico being bailed out.

As the economist Keynes once put it, "If you owe the bank a thousand dollars you have a problem. If you owe the bank a million dollars, the bank has a problem."

Around this time, many people on the left began anticipating a spectacular collapse of the system. It has not happened. The IMF, the Bank of International Settlements and the World Bank appeared like the proverbial good fairy.

Massive loans, rescheduled debts and austerity programs became the vogue. The workers paid for the disasters, in wage and welfare cuts and as taxpayers. Capitalism proved it could outlast the situation. The banks could be propped up if governments chose to do so. With Continental, they are doing so again.

But the measures have not solved the underlying problems. The day of reckoning has only been postponed.

For the problems to be solved, one of two things must happen. One would be a sustained recovery in the world economy. But the debt crisis itself is prolonging the current slump, reducing the level of world trade and limiting the scope of even the mild cyclical upsurge we see at the moment.

The other would be to drastically increase the exploitation of workers in the debtor countries. But the debt crisis is also undermining the stability of the authoritarian regimes in many of these countries, who promised so much in the 1970s when they borrowed the money with an eye to financing economic expansion.

You can only really understand the problems of the banks by seeing them as part of a broader economic picture. Banks make their profits by lending out money at a higher interest rate than they pay to depositors. But the profit on interest doesn't spring from nowhere. It is part of the profits extracted from the workers by industrial capitalists who have deposited their profits in the banks.

The industrialists tolerate this seemingly parasitic operation because the banks pool together the money on the scale needed for investment in modern industry. They also speed up the circulation of money. Through the credit they distribute funds between firms in the most efficient possible way.

This gives the banks a certain power, based on their speed up the process of withdrawing money from declining or profitable industries and injecting it into healthier ones.

But they also withdraw income, since in the end they depend on industry to generate profits in the first place. And in times of economic instability,

**DOWN THE DRAIN**

they risk seeing depositors make a "run on the bank," withdrawing all their money at once. That's what nearly destroyed Continental Illinois.

Banks also make the normal business cycle of boom and slump more drastic. Plan it would otherwise produce even when profits are declining. When the slump arrives, the firms find themselves over-extended and the crash is worsened.

In the nineteenth century, these periodic slumps—while painful—also served a purpose for capitalism. Weaker firms were wiped out, and were disbursed by the stronger ones. The system was able to survive and was able to grow once again.

But over time the effects began to create a system of created a problem. Crisis now meant bankruptcies of significant proportions of national economies. So the state had to step in and stave off the most severe effects of the depression.

By the 1970s when the most recent period of depression began, the economies of the world were dominated by giant corporations. They could not be allowed to collapse, or they would bring the system down with them. National states stepped in to prop up debt-ridden firms such as British Airways and Chrysler. And the central banks pumped money into the banking system to hold down interest rates.

In the late seventies, there was a tentative upturn. Borrowing was slow to recover, but the banks were flush with cash deposited by the oil producing countries. They had money to burn, and no one to lend it to.

Enter the third world countries. Facing large balance of payments deficits, and planning ambitious industrialisation schemes, they borrowed money to build export industries.

Of course the banks set certain conditions. You had to either have substantial mineral resources, or a social and industrial infrastructure which would allow for rapid development. Some countries, like Mexico and Brazil, had both.

And you needed a repressive government capable of maintaining a high level of exploitation of the working class. As one banker put it, "We like Algeria because it's totalitarian and if the government says they will have to cut back consumption, they will do it."

The Eastern bloc states also met the latter requirement. But none of these criteria could guarantee the banks would get their money back. That depended on the world economy.

Unfortunately, many governments were pessimistic about the world economy. They began building tariff walls in an attempt to protect their industries. This meant the debtor countries found it hard to sell the goods their new industries began producing.

Governments began to tighten up monetary policies with the aim of protecting national currencies. But one result was to increase interest rates, making it hard for the debtor countries to get additional credit.

They found themselves in a double bind: they couldn't get those export revenues, and they couldn't get more loans to keep their heads above water.

And the other source of money, increased exploitation of the working class, proved harder to put into practice as workers became restive about bearing the burden for their rulers' incompetence.

So the debtor countries can't pay, and the banks are running scared. But the very size of their problem ensures governments will come to their aid. The system can afford to bail them out, so long as they don't Continental.

Instead of sudden collapse, the banks face a long drawn-out process of stagnation and decline, part of the agony of a capitalist system that has outlived its usefulness.

They built the Unemployed Workers' Movement, and women were among the activists. For instance at a demonstration on the NSW South Coast during the 1935 relief strike, women packed the local council chambers.

When the mayor threatened to jail them, they they would be led. And they would take their children along too, and they could feed them too.

When police analysed an unemployed meeting in Sydney, the women took a prominent part in the defence, one was knocked over and trampled on by the policemen, but she did not leave her from still carrying on her protest against brutality.

The Fort Adelaide women's unemployed committee had 150 attending meetings. When a teacher kept kids at Fort Adelaide Central School for using the work sack, several hundred women marched on the school in protest, and had to be stopped by police.

The most inspiring action during the thirties was the formation, by miners' wives of the Mines' Unions Women's Auxiliary. This began during the 1934 Wonshagge strike, and the Auxiliary soon spread to become a national organisation.

It had a lasting effect on the wives' consciousness: "I want our kids to be just as empowered now... I want our own survival we're fighting for... Somehow... when you're in your own little family... everything just goes along and you can settle in... I've been everything in it an upheaval it's different... everyone is together."



METALWORKERS of the World War II shops were usually women.

**Working women... a not so passive part**

**IN THE early 1970s** with the rise of women's liberation, we learned just how strong and militant women can be. And we've had many more lessons in recent years, the nurses' industrial action in three states being the latest case.

But we often forget that this is nothing new. Even feminist historians sometimes create the impression that in past decades Australian women have been passive victims of circumstance.

With the Women and Labour conference about to meet in Brisbane, it's important to remind ourselves of the true history.

As a footnote after International Women's Day was first celebrated in 1908, a battle over contraception erupted.

Vida Goldstein, militant socialist, was in the thick of it, leading the Women's Peace Army. The WPA were constantly attacked by soldiers and pelted with eggs and "rude abuse". When soldiers tried to remove the WPA's flag from their office, the "Army's" members turned a firm nose on them.

At the same time, Adela Pankhurst was organising marches against rationing and unemployment. She was a member of the Victorian Socialist Party at that time. At one demonstration she led the unemployed to break the windows of a large Melbourne store and her husband was injured.

The twenties were quieter years, but even then many women activists moved leftward and joined the Communist Party. The Communists were to become the main militant fighters of the depression years.

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World War I brought a large section of the female

population into the workforce for the first time. They faced discrimination, having to fight even to get the lower wages promised them by the Women's Employment Board.

And fight they did. When they went on strike at Melbourne munitions factory, the ironworkers union official tried to tell them that striking was only a last resort. "Remember the boys in the trenches... At the time the women became even more angry and shouted, 'We know all about the boys in the trenches, they're our husbands and sons.'"

There were prolonged strikes of ten weeks at Dully and Handford in Sydney and four months at Simons' Ammunition in Melbourne.

In the clothing trade, women were much more militant than men. A union report stated:

At no stage during the war was there a disruption even of a minor nature involving males... Such circumstances in regard to female employment are usually in contrast to those surrounding employment of males and the result has been somewhat disastrous.

By Jane Stonor

textile

Similarly in 1941, up to 9000 textile workers went on strike in defiance of their union officials.

The fifties was a period of reaction, but even then organisations like the Union of Australian Women staged demonstrations for equal pay for the fact of police repression.

In the late student rebellion, the movement against the Vietnam war and growing worker militancy once again brought large numbers of women into struggle. By the early 1970s women had won wages much closer to men's, equal pay was formally introduced, and the Women's Liberation Movement was a full blown.

Teachers, police officers and health workers waged major industrial struggles and thousands of women participated each time, often in leading roles. One of the episodes among blue collar workers was at Melbourne's Koorits factory, where women of many different migrant backgrounds united to win a swapshop house the shack of their lives.

In the past six or seven years women's liberation has given us its narrow "business" taking on the increasingly reformist character. More and more the aim is seen as being minor reforms largely benefiting middle class women. The struggles of workers are taken less and less seriously by the unions.

But the banks of this century as a whole, women workers will not allow themselves to be discriminated against. This past month, the nurses have reminded us what power they have.

And each time workers' struggles reveal the prospects for a movement of liberation bring one more.











# the battler

James Larkin:

# THE BATTLE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED!

"And God sent Larkin in 1913, a mighty man with a mighty tongue. He raised the workers, he gave them courage, he was their leader, a worker's son."

James Larkin was widely regarded in the early years of this century as the single greatest threat to the British and Irish ruling classes. Lord Northcliffe said in 1913:

Larkinism is more than a strike, it is a revolution. *Either you crush it now, or prepare to be crushed.*

Larkin inspired and even provoked the English and Irish workers movement during those years. And that movement was preparing to build itself against the capitalist system. "I have got a divine mission," said Larkin, "to make men and women discontented. I am out for revolution."

That's not to say he was perfect. He was naive, and dictatorial. He once led a demonstration against Chinese labour. On another occasion he refused to chair a meeting, when he found out that the speaker was a divorcee.

But he was one of the revolutionary and socialist. And most of the time he managed to be, against the pressures of bureaucracy, religion, and narrow nationalism.

Larkin was General Organizer of the British-based National Union of Dock Labourers. He had organized the dock workers in the north of England, in Scotland and in Liverpool.

He came at last to organize the dock workers in Belfast, where he precipitated a major strike in 1907.

It was in that strike that Larkin first came up against the division between Protestants and Catholics.

The whipper began to go around that Larkin was Catholic. What was he doing leading Belfast's (mainly Protestant) workers? Was he a stage of Rome, sent to ruin Ireland?

Larkin lacked the star handout. As a man meeting, he offered to resign. He told the workers that if he had any doubts, they should get a Protestant leader. The workers refused to sign his resignation.

To underline the point, Catholic and Protestant workers roared and stood

By David Lockwood

together fighting the British army.

In 1909 Larkin was in Dublin, a city which boasted the British Isles for support, speaking at most meetings in Manchester, Glasgow and London. The support was there. The best element of the suffragette movement pledged solidarity. Funds poured in from Britain, Australia and the US. French workers prepared to close their ports to goods from Dublin.

Larkin was no militant nationalist. The mark that could be used was that he thought home rule for Ireland was quite a nice idea. But he didn't think that a home ruled Ireland would inevitably flourish.

And he knew that it would not settle the score between capital and labour. He distrusted the motives of the Nationalist politicians.

The ideal of the *Sinn Féin* party to make cheap goods under sweating conditions by cheap Irish labour, such goods to be sold to any and every nation except England.

William Martin Murphy owned property from Ramsgate to Buenos Aires. He owned Dublin's largest paper, its biggest store, its most prominent hotel and its tramway.

One thing stood in Murphy's way—the increasing power of Larkin's union. Murphy was determined to use that the tram workers remained unorganized.

Finally, after Murphy had tried to extract from each tram worker a pledge not to strike, Larkin called them out. They refused. Fighting between striking and non-striking tram workers broke out in a demonstration of strikers that night.

"If one of our class falls, then two of the others must fall for his one. If he goes we can have it."

The Dublin employers moved to a general lock-out, and by September 1911,



JIM LARKIN in full cry, Dublin 1913.

25,000 workers were out on strike. Larkin stamped the British Isles for support, speaking at most meetings in Manchester, Glasgow and London.

The support was there. The best element of the suffragette movement pledged solidarity. Funds poured in from Britain, Australia and the US. French workers prepared to close their ports to goods from Dublin.

It was at this point that some of the contradictions within Irish society began to affect the strike.

The first was that which Larkin had already faced in Belfast—the sectarian division between Protestants and Catholics. The blame for its appearance in Dublin rested with the Catholic church.

By the middle of the strike, conditions were worse than usual in Dublin. A couple of strikers were planned to evacuate strikers' children to foster homes in England. Larkin and the union gave them their full support.

Enter the Catholic hierarchy, who pointed out privately that the homes the children were going to might not be Catholic homes. Priests began picking out the docks and the scheme had to be scrapped.

Larkin told the strikers:

"I am not frightened by the Archbishop or the priests. I have tried to kill insurance whether in Catholic or Protestants. Those who want to divide the workers have resorted to the fabled method."

Secondly, in the midst of the strike, the division between the workers' and nationalist movements widened. For as the strike wore on, the only newspaper apart from Murphy's own that had anything good to say about the Dublin strikers was that of the *Sinn Féin*.

When British trade unions sent food ships to Dublin to relieve the strikers, *Sinn Féin* denounced it as "a plot to advance British exports over Irish Trade."

The final, and eventually crippling, problem that the strike faced was the contradiction between the strikers and the trade union officials—not in Ireland, but in England.

Dock workers and railway workers wanted to help. Dock workers and railway workers struck in solidarity. But on each occasion they were sent back to work by their officials. Larkin appealed to the British mark and failed. "It is your leaders that they may stand for trade unionism, that they are not there to help you," he said. "They are not there to assist the employers."

But the united leaders of Britain's trade unions decided that they would not extend further support to the Dublin strikers. "It was the end. Larkin told a meeting at the beginning of 1914.

"We are beaten, we will make no bones about it; but we are not too badly beaten out to fight. The day will come when the workers will break their bonds and give back hope for hire."

Almost everywhere the struggle on the south, the nationalist politicians were busy doing a deal with the British government over home rule. Unwavering with loyalist reveals and mutiny in the north, the British offered the compromise of leaving six counties in the north-east out of any home rule arrangement. To their shame, the nationalist politician accepted.

It was left to Larkin, the non-nationalist, to lead the attack on the "Irishland, one and indivisible," he wrote. "If the workers of Ireland stand idly by while they are being betrayed, they get what they deserve."

Larkin's interest in the national question arose from the 1913 strike. He had learnt that the two struggles, for socialism and for national independence, were closely tied up. After all, behind the Dublin employers stood the police.

Behind them stood a British army, which served a British state. To fight for workers power in Ireland meant fighting that state.

Larkin now saw that if independence was not to be a sham, simply replacing British Tories with Green Tories, it could only be won by the working class. For the rest of his life Larkin supported Irish national liberation from a working class and international perspective. When the first World War broke out, he said:

"I am not for the Kaiser any more than I am for George of England. I am for the working class of every country. The English working class is at least to me as that of my own country. But the government of England is the vilest thing on the face of the earth."

In 1914 Larkin's union was defeated, its organization smashed, and its coffers empty. Legally sectarianism was on the rise in the north. In two years' time, the tragedy of the Easter rising would be played out.

Yet none of those things stopped Larkin fighting. He went to America, and joined the Industrial Workers of the World. He went to help found the Communist Party of the US, and travelled to Moscow for a Congress of the Communist International.

"Nothing could stop the 'mighty man with a mighty tongue', or his unshakeable faith in the power of the working class. As he had written in 1911:

"Many times have we had to pause and consider what anything come of our labourers' lives there, when things seem blackest and dark night envelops all about. The day, an overcast rain, with wrath and hope and wonder, and the worker comes marching on."



# THE TRUE STORY OF THE KOREAN JET

—page 3

**the battler**  
PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS  
No. 164 August 4, 1984 30¢ (20¢ strikers jobs)

Let them eat yellowcake!

**BUDGET**

**WILL MAKE**

**THE POOR**

**POORER**

**LABOR'S** second budget will contain no surprises. And it will bring little joy to the millions of Australians suffering poverty amidst the glitter of the economic "recovery".

Treasurer Paul Keating has successfully beaten off attempts by other Ministers to include even a few cosmetic measures to improve unemployment benefits and allowances for the needy.

Senator Don Greig has proposed that the base rate of the pension go up by a paltry \$1 with a similar rise in the dole. Keating knuckled this on the head.

Yet the budget will be brought down a time when poverty is becoming an increasingly serious problem. In the past decade, the per-

Hardcore unemployment is on the rise, too. Over the past five years, the number of people out of work for more than 65 weeks has risen by 150 percent.

Meanwhile the economic giant GDP, recipient of \$60 million in government subsidies, has just declared record profits.

BHP's after tax profits have tripled this year to a cool \$62 million.

The plight of the poor has not gone entirely unnoticed. The Melbourne Age ran a long letter from the Brotherhood of St. James to Bob Hawke, pointing out the state of the credit crisis.

LABOR ministers Keating (left) and Greig—Greig voted for nearly 83 percent rise, but Keating squashed even that.

Originate of children dependent on pensioners and welfare beneficiaries has risen from 4.4 percent to a staggering 18.2 percent.

And just about all pensions and benefits are below the poverty line.

Turn to p3

... and if you too have a mission to free men and women discontented... the Battler is for you!!

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12—THE BATTLE 14 JULY, 1984











# Coal strike, month 5

# THATCHER IS THE ENEMY OF THE MINERS

**T**HE BRITISH miners' strike, now in its fifth month, has become a make-or-break battle for Margaret Thatcher.

Her government's policy consistently provoked the strike after years of preparation. In her first term in office, Thatcher avoided confronting the powerful dockers and miners, concentrating instead on the traditionally less militant unions.

Back to office for a second time, the Tories have turned on one section of the working class. The leading British business magazine, the *Financial Times*, estimates that a 20% wage cut is needed to restore the profitability of the country's industry.

In active wage cuts of that order, Margaret Thatcher has to teach the miners a bloody lesson to cure the rest of the working class into submission.

No power stations and steel-works built in massive steel pipes of coal. The police use plain force for a major contribution to deal off the coalfields and smelt-works pits.

The Tories hand-picked a tough new boss, Ian MacGregor, to head the Coal Board and take on the miners. MacGregor out to teach scabbing jobs in the steel industry.

MacGregor's appointment of 20 per cent closure and 20,000 sackings was carefully timed for industrial relations between the miners are in their weakest bargaining position.

Thatcher thought she could defeat the miners in a few weeks, with a massive show of force by the police. Things did not work out quite as planned.

**S**TILL, a month ago it appeared the miners were headed for defeat. Bill Sims, head of the steel workers' union, was openly encouraging scabs to break miners' pickets to get coal and iron into the steel mills. The transport workers' union did nothing to stop scab firms running pickets.

"Let's wiggle" union officials in Scotland, South Wales and Yorkshire refused to organize serious mass pickets to close the steel industry. They even sabotaged a mass picket called by NUM (National Union of Mine) president Arthur Scargill to tie in to close the Opreve coking works in York-

## From MICK ARMSTRONG in Britain

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Next, Thatcher was hit with economic statistics showing fall in the growth rate because of the miners' strike. Removals of power rationing of the strike dragged on into autumn began to circulate.

A section of the ruling class started to get cold feet with Thatcher's strike strategy. Some Fleet Street newspapers began to call for a compromise. (Though true to form, Rupert Murdoch's *Times* still welcomed the miners ground into the dust.)

Discussion spread inside the Tory party, and not just amongst the traditional "west". Thatcher



Suddenly the miners looked as though they could inflict a major defeat on Thatcher. All their months of sacrifice seemed worthwhile.

The transport union officials negotiated a separate settlement to get the dockers back to work. The miners were again left isolated.

The chance of a quick victory has evaporated and the strike will again settle into a grinding, drawn-out struggle.



**B**OBBLI bashes at a strike of Cortwood in South Yorkshire. The men of Cortwood had been told that their pit would stay open for at least five years. Three weeks later they were told it would shut in five weeks. There would be no negotiations, no consultations.

So they went on strike. That strike spread through Yorkshire. Scotland came out in support, and other areas followed. Within a week about 85 percent of members were on strike.

"Because of the regional nature of the strike, and also a very long time for the Coal Board to isolate the pits by lock-downs, we've got a problem in Nottinghamshire."

Between 5-7000 Nottinghamshire miners are on strike, though, and taking quite a bad battering, harassment of themselves and their families.

The government has thrown in the full force of the state. The police force, supposedly a county force, is being directed from an office in Scotland Yard, which is directly responsible to the Home Office.

"In Nottinghamshire, they estimate there's about 10,000 pickets. They've up roadblocks, they've got only one way in and pickets are being stopped but ordinary members of the district, including clergymen."

"In Blispheth a whole street was cordoned off, people told to stay in their houses, the houses searched and any person found in there from another mining area was ejected."



## "Armoured cars, dogs and cavalry charges"

MALCOLM PITT is a representative of the striking British miners who has been touring Australia collecting funds for the strike and organizing solidarity here.

Malkin Pitt told the *Aurifer* how the miners themselves see the strike.

"THE EVENT which sparked off the strike was the closure of Cortwood in South Yorkshire. The men of Cortwood had been told that their pit would stay open for at least five years. Three weeks later they were told it would shut in five weeks. There would be no negotiations, no consultations."

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uninterested in trade unionism, come out militantly in support of the union. And when they've been called "Red Guards", they have been proud to accept the title.

"We've seen the women of the British coalfields take the initiative and reject any auxiliary role, saying they have a right to be in the front line. They've taken their place on the picket line, and also organised huge demonstrations in support of the union."

"The government have now recognized there's been a miscalculation about our ability to maintain the strike, and large divisions are developing within the cabinet and the Conservative Party."

Sections of the Conservative Party are afraid of the radicalisation which is taking place because of the strike. A whole new generation of young people are now seeing that you can fight for jobs, and there is a possibility of winning.

"A victory for the miners would radically shift the balance of class power in Britain, and it's not out of the question to see a general election and the election of a Labour government."

"But we've learned since 1974 that the election of a Labour government is only the beginning of the process of shifting class power. It made the mistake in '74 of believing that once you had a Labour government, the problem was partly solved. In fact it only opened up the way for the schemes we introduced which divided the union."

"I've been impressed by the solidarity shown here in Australia. Capital is now international and the only way the trade union movement can respond to the multinationals is by international trade unionism on a regular basis."



MALCOLM PITT—Army personnel are being used in police uniforms.

"We've seen armoured cars, helicopters, dogs, and mounted police in cavalry charges. We know the police have plastic bullets, CS gas and water cannon available. We know phone tapping is taking place."

"We've also had people held in custody for up to three weeks. There is evidence that my personal are being used in police uniforms. A Yorkshire miner saw his son on television, who was in the army in northern Ireland. Another met his brother, who was supposed to be in West Germany. Both were in police uniforms on the picket line."

Plastic policemen have also operated as agent provocateurs on the pickets.

"We've found that young miners, who the media have described as



MINERS' leader Arthur Scargill



COAL Board boss Ian MacGregor

# Build the strike, build the revolution

**H**OW IS Britain's largest revolutionary group treating the miners' strike?

from Sandra Bloodworth

The 4000-strong Socialist Workers' Party, Britain's equivalent of the International Socialist, is taking it very seriously indeed.

"Outside the pits we have to be involved in all solidarity action," says Chris Harman, editor of the SWP's Socialist Worker, "but we're hard against any kind of 'solidarity' which is not based on the miners' own struggle."

"Cut through all the hubbub about how wonderful these miners' leaders are. We have to see in the people really interested in turning sympathy into solidarity."

No SWP has been making money from the strike, helping out on the picket lines, publishing lists of strike-breaking

companies. In the first weeks of the strike, it argued for electing strike committees and mass picketing.

Once more pits were out, the SWP raised the question of liberating down the steel plants.

The SWP's hard solidarity work and slogan-propaganda has done to win the strike in many districts.

With only 4000 members, very few of whom are miners, its ability to influence the course of such a massive struggle or even recruit more than a handful of miners to revolutionary politics is small.

But it has recruited several hundred class politics has been aroused by the

mighty strike. For combined with pointing out the way to win the strike, the SWP has been arguing the case for socialist revolution—no workers ever again have to go five months without pay to win job security.

### salos

"Sales of Socialist Worker are 4000 a week so people never draw to socialist work for explanation of the events behind the strike."

Explanations, for example, of the performance of the union officials, Arthur Scargill, the left-wing leader of the miners' union, asked for pickets of steel plants and Opreve coking works in Yorkshire under pressure from the rank

and file. But when local union officials sabotaged the Opreve strike, Scargill refused to go over their heads to organize the necessary picketing.

"It's fantastically important that we differentiate ourselves from the various notions of the bourgeoisie," Chris Harman says about such backdoors.

The SWP has been making the hard struggle against the revisionists and solidly on the union leaders. July 14 at the East London SWP conference, for example, was bound and close hand-drawn by a meeting of SWP Labour Party faithful assembled to hear Tony Benn, when the attacked the sabotage of the Opreve pickets.

"The SWP is putting pressure on union leaders who won't back down on a paper and draw people towards the organization, then actually our intervention will not make a great deal"

chaired "Sing all out to Longbridge" when their Communist Party union comrade, who refused to support their strike, rose to speak in hypocritical support of the miners.

Winning the strike is crucial for the British working class. But equally crucial is ensuring that as many workers as possible are won to revolutionary politics, and that the division that produces such cracks can be swept away once and for all.

And while the SWP is too small to cover the former, it can certainly play a role in the latter. A collection book in one hand, Socialist Worker in the other, it has Chris Harman recapitulating the SWP's approach.

"It's when we recruit, when we sell our paper, and draw people towards the organization, then actually our intervention will not make a great deal"



MINERS' wives on the march in Barnsley, Yorkshire











# the battler 'Fight the hell till

## you get to heaven' ... Mother Jones

MARY HARRIS Jones was not a stereotypical trade union militant.

One reporter described her as a "blue-eyed, pink-skinned, white-haired woman, in the mid-Victorian dress of black, with its fussy touches, and her bonnet of black lace, with its violets and lavender ribbons."

But the appearance was deceptive. Behind it there was an indomitable spirit, and a determination to fight for the working class.

She was born in Ireland in 1830 and came to the USA in her youth. She married and had four children, but in 1867 her husband and children died in an epidemic of yellow fever. Six years later she lost her flourishing dressmaking business in the great Chicago fire.

Never again did she try to accumulate any possessions or make a home for herself. Years later, when asked for her address at a Congressional hearing, she answered:

"Sometimes I'm in Washington, then in Pennsylvania, Texas, Alabama, Colorado. My address is at my shoes. It travels with me. I abide where there is a fight against wrong."

By Janey Stone

baby while you work?"

"Oh, the boss is good and lets me have a little box with a pillow in it beside the work. The baby sleeps there and when it cries, I nurse it."

Wages were a bymal. Mother Jones describes the "day before yesterday with feet of oil, who did an hour shift for ten cents a day." The mining families lived "in company owned shacks that were not fit for pigs."

In addition to the terrible conditions, the dangerous mining work claimed many lives. But Mother Jones never wavered in pity:

"I sat through long nights with sobbing babies, watching the candles about the corpse of the husband burn down to their socks. Yet out and light, I told them: 'Don't cry. Fight like hell, you get to heaven.' That was the only way I knew to comfort them."

"I told the men to stay home with the children and let the women attend to the scabs, I selected an leader among the women... I looked at her and felt that she could raise a company."

"I said: 'You take that ten dollars you have with you as your hammer and when the scabs and the strike come up, begin to hammer and howl, be ready to chase the scabs with your ropes and benches...'"

"Up the mountain side led the women, yelling and hollering, and then the mules came up with the scabs and the coal, she began beating on the dulcans and hollering and all the army moved in with her."

"The mules began to rebel against scabbing. They bucked and kicked the scab drivers and started for the barn. The scabs started running down the hill, followed by the army of women with their ropes and pulis and brooms."

"A party in a nearby shack screamed at the superintendent, 'You both did you! God hell!'"

Once she organized the miners to physically drive the scabs out of the mines. When they were driven to the surface they were grabbed by the women and carried to their wives.

"An old woman had two sons who were scabs. The women drove them out of their over the house to her mother. He lies there still. His mother thought he was dead but the men sent the house for a bottle of holy water and shook it over him."

"Oh for God's sake, come back to life," he hollered. "Come and join the mine!"

"Sure, I'll go hell before I'll see again," said he.

scab

Mother Jones was the only woman to organize in the mining towns. Each town had a mother. As she said, "an army of strong mining women make a wonderfully spectacular picture."

In the spring of 1903, Mother Jones went to Kensington, Pennsylvania where 75,000 miners were on strike. At least ten thousand of them were children.

The newspapers wouldn't publish the hardship the children faced because the mill owners held stock in them. So

One reason Mother Jones was not just another union organizer was the importance she placed on organizing women to fight. She took striking where "no strike has ever been won that didn't have the support of the women." And she knew how to build that support. Wherever she appeared, the masses would groan: "God, it's the old mother with her old women."

On one occasion, she organized an army of women house-keepers armed with brooms and mops, to deal with scabs.

scabs

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she organized a public march of the children, and the papers were forced to publish her statement that Philadelphia mansions were built on the broken bones and quivering hearts of children.

Encouraged by this success, she decided to march from Philadelphia to New York with the kids. They marched into Manhattan and addressed a huge crowd in Twentieth Street.

That company had been responsible for a terrible massacre at Ludlow, Colorado when state soldiers machine gunned a tent colony of striking workers and then set fire to it. The strike was defeated, but not before Mother Jones had given the company a hall of a fight, forcing them to resort to deporting and jailing her.

She was put into a cellar under the courthouse. It was cold, damp and dark. She slept in her clothes by day and at night she fought great sewer rats and a beer bottle. She conspired herself with the thought that if she were out of jail, she would be fighting the human sewer rat anyway.

She died in 1910 at the age of 100. Her last great struggle was her role in the huge national steel strike of 1919. In the course of the strike for the defense of the new Russian workers' republic against those who wanted to confine the steel workers' attention to their own problems.

The strike was defeated. It was a bitter war for the American working class. But Mother Jones was indomitable. "Oh the bourgeoisie men swept I swept with them. A young man put his hands on my shoulders. Mother, he sobbed: 'This one's a beer bottle.' " "Lad," said I. "It is not over. There's a fiercer fight than this hell fire over wonder (on the mill). It is the white light of freedom burning in men's hearts."

### Mother Jones' message to the suffragists, 'You don't need a vote to raise hell!'

"How can we 'piped a woman,' when we haven't got a vote?"

"I have never had a vote, said I, and have raised hell all over this country! You don't need a vote to raise hell! You need convictions and a voice!"

"The women of Colorado have had the vote for two generations and the working men and women are in slavery. The state is in slavery, saying to the Colorado Iron and Fuel Company."

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New terror in Sri Lanka PAGE 5

Keating's 'tax cuts' sleight of hand PAGE 3

the battler PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No 165 August 25, 1984 30 cents

Registered at Australia Post as a newspaper (GPO 1982)



PM Bob Hawke and Australia's wealthiest boss, Rupert Murdoch. Backdrop supplied by Rolls Royce, currently enjoying a sales boom amongst the rich.

THE FILTHY RICH are getting filthy richer under Labor.

So glatts the bosses' Business Review Weekly, which has published its second annual survey of Australia's richest millionaires.

While one in six kids live in poverty, the survey reveals that the top 200 millionaires are 10% richer than ten years ago. They now own \$5.3 million each on average.

Meanwhile workers can't get a lousy couple of dollars pay rise because Labor has brought in the Accord and rigged the Consumer Price Index.

"I don't know what I'm saying—but it's much more than last year," says Sydney shoe tycoon Leo Fines (personal fortune \$15m). And his unemployed are supposed to clap their hands over a miserable \$2 rise in Budget.

Labor's role in office has always been to maximize the profits of the super rich. No wonder some, like Warren Anderson (\$50m), Peter Abeles (\$15m) and Eddie Kornhauser (\$30m), see personal friends of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating.

Whichever biggest parasite? KERRY PACKER (\$200m)—got a media empire from Daddy. "I use scabs," he says, and his fortune in dollar cuisine would fill three Olympic-size swimming pools. They would

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# Labor is milking for the rich

Turn to p2

# TOP DOGS TAKE IT



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# ES-UPBUILDING CRISIS

## Are we all the same now?

"SUPPORT your local employer... is the sort of suggestion you expect from the Chamber of Commerce or Rotary Club. So you'll get it from the Communist Party of Australia, one has to ask what is the CPA's reason for releasing pamphlet *Build the Fleet* in the midst of a crisis in the shipbuilding industry, is all of such lines in various forms, or is it a genuine attempt at consultation—all methods of gathering in and solving workers' problems and all get a genuine in-built response. If job losses are the most pressing problem faced by workers, the CPA's Bob Taylor's election has not silenced them about it. Sydney's Dockyard Island dockyard workers have demonstrated rowdily under Parliament, while Seafarers' Union members have picketed Queensland's Overseas office for more than a year now. But their demands for government investment and the removal of foreign crews respectively, only shake like the interests of local employers. *Build the Fleet* never gets beyond this system. Workers actively endorse it.

Taking a somewhat conspiratorial view, *Build the Fleet* argues that Australia's maritime needs are being sacrificed by "ruthless business interests." It goes on to claim that "Australia really fits into the Third World or developing world category in its shipping fleet and the character of its industry." It is directed to the first pitfall immediately follows. "Backward" Australian industry must be developed by Government and "broader community support" is needed.

**strategy**

*Build the Fleet* points out that employers have told the Waterford Workers that another 542 redundancies are required "this year." What is needed is a strategy for all groups of workers to unite around it. Fair enough. But instead of suggesting one-like strikes, or sympathy strikes, or occupations, or even the latter, lane workers the Communist Party once favoured—*Build the Fleet* calls for an expansion of Australian shipping and concessions to Australian employers. It guarantees more jobs in present technology. It could well mean more jobs. *Build the Fleet* is very critical of the CPA's CPA paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. It is a leading of the 1983 "Don't Buy Amport" campaign by the Seafarers' Union is typical.

"Amport" products are listed as Australian, yet is also regarded as a "developing country" and "foreign crew" is the way link in the CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The established Miles family enterprise is one of the few Australian public campaigns really exposed in the CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. This is not able to link up with the CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital.

Having passed this campaign against "Amport" goods, *Build the Fleet* then has the gall to argue for the CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital.

"The CPA is eager to link up with truly patriotic capitalists"



**SUBSIDIES or struggle?** A shipwright working on an iron ore carrier at Whyalla.

## MIKE GREWCOCK gets a sinking feeling as he finds the CPA's 'Build the Fleet' awash with pro-boss ideas.

UNUS 40 to 20, 20% (40% of trade) to be carried by Australian ships, 40% by ships from the trading partner, 20% by others) on the basis of solidarity with Third World governments. At one level, *Build the Fleet's* argument is appealing. Many crews-of-conscience come from countries with right-wing military dictatorships where unions are illegal or are used to control workers. So they provide pressure for low wages. Seafarers' Union members were perfectly justified in 1978 when they demanded that Irish pay its Spanish crews award rates.

**argument**

But the argument has been taken one step further—that Australian seamen should get jobs at the expense of other nationalities. This decreases the chances of overseas seamen improving their lot and portrays them as the enemy rather than the employers. If the Australian government ratified the 40-40-20 agreement, rather than adopting the cautious rationalisation proposed by the Crawford committee, *Build the Fleet's* estimates 135 new vessels would be needed. Some 100,000 jobs would be created. As the pamphlet says, "As the Australian flag ships, it would have the most sensitive to the needs of Australian capitalists than the CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital."

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**Class struggle: the motor of history**

KARL MARX opens the Communist Manifesto with blunt assertion. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. What does he mean? Marx saw the struggle between classes as the motor of history, driving society to change. In capitalism, a tiny minority owns and controls all the factories, mines, office, large farms—the means of production. They defend this property through their control of parliament, the police force, the armed services, the courts and so on at the institutions he had made up the state. It is for about 100 years before capitalism and the industrial revolution of the human race grabbed a precarious and laborious living from the land. But that all was surplus they produced to a tiny minority of people—merchants, aristocrats, landlords etc—who controlled the wealth and had the authority to control and the leisure to enjoy it. It is all recorded history major shipping areas.

The earliest human communities, before written records began, were organized collectively with no privileged class on top. But that all was surplus they produced to a tiny minority of people—merchants, aristocrats, landlords etc—who controlled the wealth and had the authority to control and the leisure to enjoy it. It is all recorded history major shipping areas.

## Shipping: Lights, camera direct action.

IN JUNE 1979, Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza fled the country. The victorious forces of the FSLN (Sandinistas) have governed the country ever since. The film *Mo Pasaran* (They shall not enter) provides an illuminating study of Nicaragua under the rule of the Sandinistas.

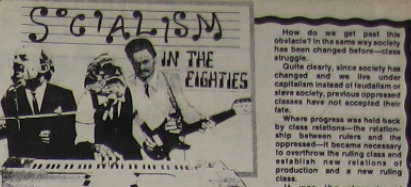
**By Phillip Whitefield**

No Pasaran being an international cartoon. From the early '50s, Somoza enjoyed a healthy relationship with the USA and recently mining and oil concessions. Somoza's president sanctioned Somoza's brutal internal repression. The tycoon from an early time. Film conveniently ignores the country's open unemployment, widespread poverty and ill health. *Mo Pasaran* is a beautiful love. You can buy a *Mo Pasaran* (They shall not enter) from a few news shops. *Mo Pasaran* is a beautiful love. You can buy a *Mo Pasaran* (They shall not enter) from a few news shops. *Mo Pasaran* is a beautiful love. You can buy a *Mo Pasaran* (They shall not enter) from a few news shops.

**WOMEN in the Sandinistas civil militia train in a paddock.**

All the great revolutionary societies have been associated with some form of newspaper. Marx with the *Communist Manifesto*, Lenin with *Pravda* and later *Luzemburg with Rosa Luxemburg*. That is no accident. The paper is a bridge to the masses—a crucial tool for those who believe in mass action to change society. Mass papers, from Lenin's *Pravda* produced by the radical republican Marx during the French revolution to Lenin's *Pravda*, first published in 1917, have played the role. Such newspapers related to the struggles and experiences of the masses and put forward the ideas of the revolutionaries. In 1917, for example, combined three things in the paper—the ideas of revolutionary Marxists, thousands of workers' letters and short reports of chapters (see Lenin called the "chronicle of workers' life") and conclusions that the paper drew about the way forward for the workers' movement, the "what is to be done" of the masses. This was the Bolshevik party to grow steadily, and increasingly strengthened its base in the working class. More than half of *Pravda's* space was devoted to the workers' letters. This was intended to increase the experiences of workers in struggle, you generate them and give them a political significance. *Pravda* was a paper designed for an urban workers' struggle. The contributions from workers' letters and their aggressiveness and growing class consciousness were the main reason why the paper was so successful. In today's era of workers more likely to express workers' dissatisfaction through the mass media, it is a pity that the newspaper is also important in building a group of workers, whose ideas can be expressed and developed in its pages. In the early development of revolutionary organisations, the newspaper was a key role. Long before *Pravda* came into existence, in which many of the members of the Bolshevik Party were active in their politics, in our British socialist organisation, the Socialist Review, a newspaper was produced between 1900 and 1902, which played the same role. The newspaper is also important in recruiting and educating socialists. The paper is also important in recruiting and educating socialists. The paper is also important in recruiting and educating socialists.

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How do we get past this obstacle? In the same way society has been changed before—class struggle. Quite clearly, since society has changed and we live under capitalism instead of feudalism or slave society, previous oppressor classes have not accepted their fate. Where progress was held back by class relations—the relationship between rulers and the oppressed—it became necessary to overthrow the ruling class and establish new relations of production and a new ruling class. It was the bourgeoisie—the city merchant class—led by the peasants and workers which swept away the monarchial feudal state and made capitalism possible. The transition from capitalism to socialism will require the revolution of the exploited class, the workers leading all other oppressed groups to destroy the power of the capitalists and establish new social relations. —Ann Pico

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**HOT-TO-GOLLY** hockey sticks—the Australian women's team crash out of the medal the press had them down for.

## Impassable heights of chauvinism

by Alec Kahn

THE UK nationalism and the Hollywood hype gave me the jitters. But I must confess the Olympics made good television. I guess the fact that you only see skating displays of Olympic gymnastics and volleyball displays of the frantic efforts of everyone from Ronald Reagan down to Linda Ronstadt's singing meant has to extract publicly from them, should be recognizing about what, I'm not sure. The inability of the system to resist, via display, the human virtuosity, I guess. Most satisfactory moment of the Games was undoubtedly when Kaprielian's reading that Zola Budd, bought by the Daily Mail, to win gold for Britain, brought down America's top competitor while runner, Mary Decker, in the 3000 metres. It was a delightful afternoon, I should like the entire Western athletic world come apart as Decker headed, periodic American hatred, and official disqualification. *Build the Fleet* is very critical of the CPA's CPA paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital. The CPA's paper to link up with truly patriotic Australian capital.

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## Press on with the socialist press . . .

enthusiasm to be revolutionary, to hold together its small forces and to recruit more. A revolutionary organisation has to be ready to education about Marxist theory—to campaign for socialist revolution. Members can no longer be recruited on the basis of a single strike or campaign and then be gradually introduced to Marxist politics. Of course, a very small organisation of one or two hundred members has a tiny audience, and can never recruit and hold members on the basis of involvement in a single struggle. So its paper, whether it is Lenin's *Pravda*, in 1902 or the *Battle* in 1984, must always be closer to that required for a Communist Party. The newspaper is also important in building a group of workers, whose ideas can be expressed and developed in its pages. In the early development of revolutionary organisations, the newspaper was a key role. Long before *Pravda* came into existence, in which many of the members of the Bolshevik Party were active in their politics, in our British socialist organisation, the Socialist Review, a newspaper was produced between 1900 and 1902, which played the same role. The newspaper is also important in recruiting and educating socialists. The paper is also important in recruiting and educating socialists.



by Diane Fields

# Time workers into the fore

**EVERYONE** seems to be making a show about the Price and Income Accord of the moment. First there's the *Frank's* government. They predict that only 10% of the population has heard of and understood the Accord. And most of those are probably lower and middle-class types who need little convincing about a wage-cutting "economic" miracle.

The government has made it clear that it will do the ugly work as assigned to benefit from a victory over *Hayden*. The *Frank's* media campaign showing the Accord "voluntarily" signed by parliamentarians under the new constitution of the Federal ALP government.

But only the government is having trouble with the Accord. Trade union leaders have problems too. Leading left officials like Cameron Pridmore and Laurie Cameron have been instrumental in drawing up the wage-cutting package. But the idea of workers accepting a 24 month wage "freeze" has the workers' groups who are to allow the implementation of the agreement who get out of the Accord.

The *Frank's* approach from the start has been to emphasize the "positive" aspects of the Accord. In return for wage cuts, workers were supposed to get a productivity bonus such as "the right to pay for their own share of the cost of government expenditure to assist industry in the periodical search for sales.

The National Wage Case, the small size there was a, also formed part of the package. There was another National Wage Case, there was a new *Frank's* approach to the Accord for a whole year. The new *Frank's* approach to the Accord was to say rather than wage rises at the moment.

Obviously apparent in the minds of AMMSU officials at the moment. They would not consider going to the back of the 9.1% cut in Fraser's 1982-83 wage freeze if they reviewed the Budget.

But because the trade union officials, whatever their rhetoric, are along with the idea that there is some sort of common interest among all those in the Accord—public economy—workers and bosses—they will fight as hard to avoid a wage rise as they will to accept it.

particularly those employing and what their interests are. As a result of the *Frank's* and Income Accord. And what that means for the budget will mean a way for what higher tax brackets have been raised.

Assistance to manufacturing industry means assistance to the banks. BHP's \$70 million annual investment plan to create steelworkers jobs. BHP plans to continue investing in new plants by 1980. The Accord promised the right to outstrip wages but under the *Frank's* wage freeze, but only "at the appropriate time."

For while the Accord has held wage rises to the rigid CPI, other factors like the continuing recession and high unemployment might bosses would have improved their position in any case. Now the recovery—punch, slight and probably short-lived in any case—has been seriously tested. For it, bring actual productivity revealing wisdom that the economy "can afford" wage rises.

It was time to say and partly because of a decline in most of the major party managing Australian capitalism. For that reason all must accept that the Accord is required to keep the Accord going. The Labor left is forced to follow their own party's agenda.

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hard-hitting

And when it's hard hitting. NSW Secretary of the public service unions AUSA, says "The implications in the Accord for the public service are enormous. We must see to the government that we're not having a AUSA's archaic conservatism. The AUSA's line of BHP full page ads in the daily papers. And that's the full 1/3 perhaps. But so it is."

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## MELBOURNE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE AGIT-PROP COLUMN

What the I.B. is in your city

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## International Socialists

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only the organized working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation, oppression and racism, and China are not socialists because they are based on the exploitation of workers and peasants by a ruling class.

Revolution, not Reformism

Internationalism

Revolutionary Party

Rank and File Organisation

Contact us . . .

Join the I.S. ROCK THE BOAT

Join the I.S. I want more information

**BATTLE IN THE MAIL**

**Letter Rip**

**LETTER RIPS**

**BATTLE IN THE MAIL**

**ALP link**

**One man's meat**

**Dear Batters**

**BATTLE IN THE MAIL**

**Join us**

**A dog's life**

**Dear Batters**

Dear Batters, Betty's policy documents are a left turn. Mick Armstrong, Melbourne

Phil Griffiths attack on the ALP left in the last Bulletin contains a couple of points. Phil explains how the objectives of the Labor left depends on the level of the vote it gets. The more the left inside the ALP, the more the left outside the ALP. The more the left inside the ALP, the more the left outside the ALP.

Dear Batters, Phil Griffiths' comments about the Labor left are a bit of a mess. One of the reasons is that he is not talking about the Labor left in the context of the whole party. Another side is that he is not talking about the Labor left in the context of the whole party.

Join us, Lyn Carson

A dog's life, Lyn Carson

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**HOW TO RED THIS SUMMER**

**1. FORGET THE BURNING ISSUE**

**2. SUMMER WITH THE SOCIALISTS AT CAMP**

**3. FORGET THE BURNING ISSUE**

**SYDNEY**

**MEMBER MAP**

**BRISBANE**

**ROUND UP**

**SYDNEY**

**Red letter days**

**SYDNEY**

**MELBOURNE**

**BRISBANE**

interest of the underprivileged

not wanting to let one go

not wanting to let one go

demand and to today's

around 100 people

around 100 people

struggles since Hungary, Chile, Portugal

explains why he has

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**BATTLE EDITORIAL**

**I.S. NATIONAL OFFICE**

**MELBOURNE**

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**SYDNEY**

**PERTH**

**CANTBERRA**

as the passed our picket

the way was the meeting

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# the battler

## Portugal 1974:

### WHEN WORKERS TOOK OVER

In 1974 and 1975 Portugal was buzzing with revolutionary activity.

The battlers were not the only ones. The workers' committees. The workers' control. The workers' control. The workers' control. The workers' control.

How did it happen? In 1974 Portugal had been under fascist control for 54 years. Economically Portugal was backward. It was just beginning to become an industrial country through the injection of foreign capital from America, Germany and Britain. 70% of all new investments came from overseas. The multinational were there to exploit the cheap labor.

Life was hard for the workers. Wages were low. Life expectancy was the lowest in Europe. Infant mortality was 10%.

Portugal was a besieged imperial power with colonies in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. In each there were national liberation movements fighting the Portuguese army for independence. The wars had lasted for 13 years, estimated in Mozambique and Angola, and facing defeat in Guinea. They had drained half of the government budget. But the colonies were a declining asset and many people argued that they should be given political independence.

There were a number of demonstrations, even at the military academy. Discussed were in the army. The soldiers were conscripted for four years and were badly paid. There were 100,000 draft dodgers.

If you were a student, you automatically became a voter officer or conscription. Many of these students had political experience and they reacted the African was waged on one year.



THE CORAME Workers Commission met to take decisions on the running of the factory as well as those based on wide ranging political discussion.

By Patricia Langenkahr

The coup led to a dramatic outbreak of action by the masses. Overnight everyone was talking politics. Maria and Lucas were translated into Portuguese, radical book-stalls, newspapers and radio stations sprung up.

Cynics often dismiss revolutionary ideas, saying "Oh but people are too apathetic. They are not interested in politics". But Portugal is a perfect example of how quickly people can change in a struggle.

The Portuguese, after 54 years of being unable to speak freely or to form unions because of fascism, could now say what they wanted and actually influence events.

And they were actively doing so. Houses, hotels and other buildings were occupied and turned into nurseries, social centres, clinics etc. One exclusive sports club was turned into a day nursery.

The people living in the shanty town of Bairro da Ravarra had the stocks of Libanos, took over a housing estate that had stood empty for three years. An arm company went in to force the families back. The office-

charge, a member of the MFA, packed up who he thought to be the worker link, an old widow with six sons in a two bedroom flat. She replied:

"You better shove me right here. All my life I have had the earth for a floor. At least I will die on a proper floor."

CP in the government accepted \$10. Still, the introduction of even this minimum wage diminished Portugal's attractiveness to foreign investors. The bosses started their own strike. They began to take their money out of the country and to close or hide the factories.

Many workers became unemployed, but often they fought back. All over Portugal workers occupied and ran the factories, demanding rationalisation under workers' control. The workers held power in about 300 factories.

At the Corame metalworking factory, the employees found out that their boss was going to fire with the money. If the boss took away all of the company funds, 300 jobs would be lost. At a mass meeting the workers voted unanimously to take over the factory. They got the bank workers to freeze the accounts.

The factory was run by the workers' committee, which was elected by mass meetings. For example, they decided to take sandblasting off the floor, and to build an insulated hood for it. Just about every evening there was a meeting at Corame, checking what had been decided to be taken in the factory, but also issues such as transport, housing, education and the problems of the district.

As Engels said "Revolution is the most democratic

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PORTUGUESE soldiers in the streets bear the symbol of the revolution, the red carnation.

As Lenin pointed out: "For a revolution to take place it is 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."

On 25 April 1974 the MFA overthrew the fascist regime and appointed General Spínola as President. They promised free elections within one year.

Outside people were saying to the soldiers: "This could be your shanty town! Remember that you too are the people. Turn the arms on the speculators and sit on your brothers and sisters." The army left.

A wave of strikes broke out demanding the dismissal of fascist managers, more wages and less hours.

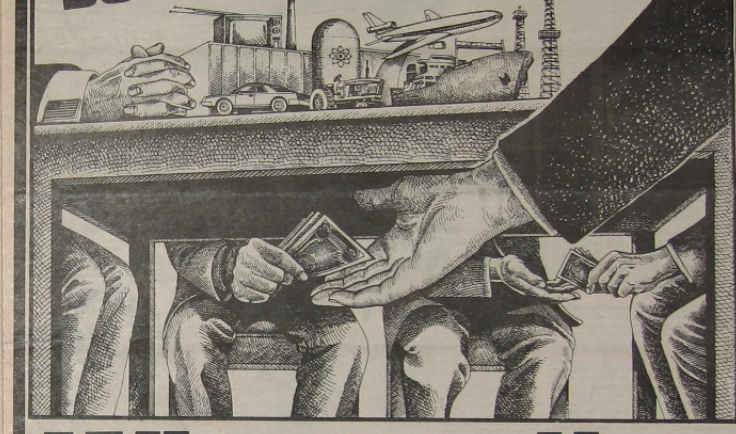
In May of 1974 the first Provisional Government arose. It included the Communist Party who controlled the Ministry of Labour. The CP were a reformist party. They argued that nothing should be done to upset Portuguese capitalism. In government, the CP supported restrictive labour and press laws. Outside they supported some struggles, but it opposed others. In some cases they called strikers factories and organised counter-demonstrations. When the workers demanded a \$30 a month minimum wage, the

CP in the government accepted \$10. Still, the introduction of even this minimum wage diminished Portugal's attractiveness to foreign investors. The bosses started their own strike. They began to take their money out of the country and to close or hide the factories.

Many workers became unemployed, but often they fought back. All over Portugal workers occupied and ran the factories, demanding rationalisation under workers' control. The workers held power in about 300 factories.

At the Corame metalworking factory, the employees found out that their boss was going to fire with the money. If the boss took away all of the company funds, 300 jobs would be lost. At a mass meeting the workers voted unanimously to take over the factory. They got the bank workers to freeze the accounts.

The factory was run by the workers' committee, which was elected by mass meetings. For example, they decided to take sandblasting off the floor, and to build an insulated hood for it. Just about every evening there was a meeting at Corame, checking what had been decided to be taken in the factory, but also issues such as transport, housing, education and the problems of the district.



# Who are the real profiteers?

IT SEEMS the age of crime has arrived. A former Special Prosecutor warns of "omnibus signs" that the police and courts are failing to cope with professional gangsters.

Drug addiction is growing, bikers shoot it out in public places, and the front pages of the daily press present an unceasing parade of scandals, from Mick Young to Fife Cotton to the woes of Lionel Murphy.

It's an obvious sign of a society in crisis. And as always, when society moves into crisis, our rulers divide their time between pressing for reactionary solutions and trying to focus our attention on the symptoms rather than the causes of the problem.

Take the report from Special Prosecutor Robert Redlich, which demands more action by the government against crime. It sounds like a good idea until you look more closely at what he proposes. A beefed up Federal Police force, police access to Telecom details of phone calls, greater police access to tax records, and more surveillance of Social Security recipients.

These measures are supposed to crack down on SF betting, tax dodges by crime figures, and large scale social security fraud. But they will also mean far greater police power to harass and snuff into the lives of ordinary citizens and political activists.

Meanwhile the media are fixated with the side issues, and the more trivial the better. No wonder do we get Mick Young's "misbehaviour" by the defenders of tax evasion.

• Continued—Page 3  
• The politics of gang warfare—Page 4

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# KAHANE'S RACIST MOVEMENT IS ON THE BEGINNING

## A new Israel 'fascist'

ISRAELI authorities in action against Palestinians. Below right: Meir Kahane, who wants them driven out.



## Chile's fighting back.

FOR A decade Chile was synonymous with fear and loathing. The country trembled under the rule of one of the most vicious military dictators in postwar history. But over the past year or so, people have begun to fight back.

The month mark the 11th anniversary of the coup that crushed the elected government of Salvador Allende and brought the generals to power. And in Chile, it has been marked by a resurgence of protest.

Thousands of people pour through the streets. When individual protesters are killed by police, their funerals are turned into new demonstrations.

It was once thought too soon the grip of the military can finally be broken. But it is clear the long night of total repression is over.

Allende's Popular Unity government was a coalition of socialists, communists and smaller parties. Contrary to myth, it made no attempt to introduce socialism.

But Allende did attempt reforms. And his election in 1970 was the signal for mass mobilization.

Thousands of workers seized factories and demanded nationalization of production. Peasants began to seize land. In some cities, popular committees took the government to maintain order in areas where law had broken down.

## "I WILL drive Israeli crazy" declares Meir Kahane.

As soon as he was elected to parliament, he and his followers marched through Arab sections of Jerusalem shouting "Arabs out" and assaulting shopkeepers and bystanders.

During the elections his TV spots showed him atop the Temple Mount with the Muslim Dome of the Rock behind him. "Give me the rock and I'll give you the Temple Mount," he bragged.

His message was that Kahane's Aark movement contradicted everything the west in the third world in this way automatically implies a racist logic.

But Kahane's message is racist. But then Israel is based on racism: it is an ethnically Jewish state, built by driving the Arabs out of Palestine.

The military of Arabs who remained have never stated equal rights not can they. For example, since the Zionists deny a purely Jewish state, the desire to drive out the Arabs once again has become compelling.

Meir Kahane simply a more forthright about it than most. Israel's ruling circles don't think so differently, but they face certain constraints.

Among them would prefer to give the West Bank some limited autonomy. Washington dislikes such extreme measures, and Washington is paying the bill.

So some of the politicians have cold feet. The minority of the "doves" among them would prefer to give the West Bank some limited autonomy.

But this option is increasingly unrealistic. A more Jewish settlement are built on the West Bank. The majority of the Israeli ruling class are set their sights on keeping the West Bank for good.

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## South Africa's electoral window dressing smashed

AT LEAST 14 people have died as rioting spreads across South Africa's black townships.

The riots came at a time when the apartheid regime is trying to improve its image with a new constitution, which includes a few concessions to blacks.

Armed police used ammunition cars, tear gas and rubber bullets in an unsuccessful attempt to crush the riots.

Early, millions of television viewers had seen police use whips on peaceful demonstrators.

The centre of the unrest was Sharpeville, outside Johannesburg. In 1960 it was the scene of a massacre when 152 anti-apartheid demonstrators were gunned down by police.

The deputy mayor of Sharpeville was hacked to death on Monday. He was a key figure in puppet councils set up by the apartheid regime to prop up their rule following the uprisings in Soweto in 1976.

These councils are made up of a few jobless blacks. They have no power to change living conditions in the townships. Their job is simply to enforce apartheid rule.

In recent weeks they presided over black riot rises in the townships where blacks are forced to live. This comes at a time of rising unemployment and inflation.

The new constitution was an important step by South Africa's white rulers to prop up apartheid rule. The country's economy has been hit by a severe recession. In addition guerrillas belonging to the banned African National Congress have stepped up their attacks.

On 3 September guerrillas were able to carry out a bomb attack on a government building in the centre of Johannesburg.

The new constitution gave votes for the first time to Asian and coloured voters. The black population is still denied any voting rights.

White MPs are guaranteed a majority. South Africa's white rulers hope to win the support of Asian and coloured voters and improve their international standing in the process.

They tried their hopes came unmet with a huge 80 percent boycott among Asian and coloured voters.

The present rising started after police unleashed on protesters outside polling stations. The Liberal and National Parties have been selling their policies toward South Africa, claiming that the country is changing.

## Open Slather

MOVE OVER, Quakers. America's topers are now the most powerful in the land. Thanks to a new drug which has caused an "open slather" in the bloodstream.

It's not just the new drug which has caused an "open slather" in the bloodstream. It's also the fact that the drug is being used in such a way that it is causing a "slather" in the bloodstream.

They can break into your bloodstream without a warrant. They can break into your bloodstream without a warrant. They can break into your bloodstream without a warrant.

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## TONY SULLIVAN

TONY SULLIVAN in Sydney with Patrick White (dark glasses) and a dark-skinned Tom Uren up front. It's not just the mass rallies which have less than expected.

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## Tony Sullivan looks at the peace movement's current malaise, and considers perspectives for socialists.

THIS YEAR brought the highest rallies yet for nuclear disarmament. Yet we are no closer to removing US bases in Australia. Nor has the peace movement produced any of the radicalism which freed the anti-war protests of the Vietnam era.

Not facts, but important ones that who want to change the world. For by pointing to the limitations of movement politics, especially in the current period of political conservatism and declining struggle in the West.

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## millantry

The Robby and Pine Gap systems did have an element of military. Proletarian breaks through fences. But the Watson camp is an enemy more than a friend.

No wonder there is a general sense of malaise and disenchantment about the disarmament movement. One of course, getting rid of the bomb and getting Australia out of the ANZUS alliance is a desirable goal. But the alliance and the bases are absolutely central to the strategic interests of the business class that runs this country.

For the peace movement to actually win on this question, it will be possible in the context of a vast social upheaval which challenges capitalist rule.

But social movements can, and have in the past, done much better than this peace movement at achieving more immediate yet important goals. By leading masses of people into strategic movements, they can help to challenge the traditional class in society.

The power of the disarmament movement depends on the general political climate and the balance of forces, especially the balance of forces between the working class and the employers.

## FAILS FOR SALE!

PRIVATE Enterprise! It's happening in the United States.

Several states have started privatising their jails. The former, Johnson and Ford, offer the services of Correction Corporation of America.

They are hoping to continue to sell their services to other states. The former, Johnson and Ford, offer the services of Correction Corporation of America.

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## SEXUAL

Kahane would alter sexual relations between races, as in Nazi Germany and today's South Africa. But an Arab's sexual extension is not a Jewish's sexual extension.

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## TOM O'LINCOLN

look at the roots of the Kach phenomenon

apparently to defend what had been Israel's racist machine. But the big that the domestic economy can't report it. So far leaders to collaborate with the United States.

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# The Latrobe Valley strike of 1977

**THE LUSH Latrobe Valley, 100 miles east of Melbourne, seems an unlikely setting for class war.**

Yet seven years ago, 2300 maintenance workers in its electricity stations waged one of Australia's most remarkable strikes. A strike that showed the awesome power of the working class — and the disastrous results of subordinating that class's interests to the electronic machinations of labour bureaucrats.

September 1977 saw Australia sinking deeper into recession. Unemployment was 150,000 and rising. Malcolm Fraser was using Labor's indication scheme to quash pay claims and gradually cut real wages.

Shattered by its 1975 election rout, Labor had all but vanished as an opposition. Unionists looked to turn Fraser back on the job instead. Prime target was the hated "indication guidelines", by which Fraser disciplined employers to resist all wage claims.

So when the Latrobe Valley workers went out for \$40 a day, they were going into battle for the entire working class.

Their claim, although steep, was undeniably just. They were \$20 behind their NSW and Queensland counterparts. And they were \$40 — \$60 behind the same workers in private enterprise.

**Wages of mine the trade's anatomy. Some took home just \$100 a week—70c dollars below the poverty line for a two-child family.**

The Latrobe Valley strikers had three big strengths.

They produced the great bulk of Victoria's electricity. So the SAC had the strikers would get cold feet. But once the first six weeks were up, the strike started to take. And the strikers had passed the point of no return.

And the Valley's workers were intensely class conscious. Valerian North, for example, was Australia's strongest Labor subdivision—around 85% ALP voters.

The strikers had vast resources. They were geographically isolated. And the State Electricity Commission had split the vital dredge operation in three ranks over the year.

The dredge operation in the Valerian open cut could stop electricity immediately, simply by stopping brown coal to the power station. The SAC had cultivated a National Civic Council leadership among them, by automatically handing the dredge operation to other workers had to fight for. Without the dredge operators, the maintenance workers had to stay out.

**IN WEEK SEVEN, the strike exploded into action. The SAC tried to very blacked out for the Valerian open cut to Morwell power station, but fell every.**

The strikers set up a lookout on Herons Oak Hill, which commands a view of the entire Valley. Using Canon flash rifles, they sent flying pickets to blockade the made used by the SAC to get the coal trucks.

Several hundred workers, wives and children, gathered to picket at key points like the Valerian Number Two pit.

The sack trucks got through during the daylight hours under heavy police guard. At night, it was a different story.

Under cover of darkness, pickets made gunshots trade. Sack trucks by a

**By Alec Kahn**

**PREMIER Dick Hamer—knew strikers would call his bluff.**

**compound had painted dozens over their wind screens. Kicks were lobbed at the sack trucks, shattering at least one window.**

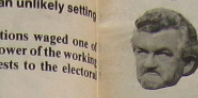
**Demoralized, the 20 Transport Workers Union members who drives the sack trucks met and voted to end the strike.**

**But even as the strikers won the battle, the first need of ultimate defeat were being won.**

**Next morning, Halperny raised it again. Only one voice supported him. But that voice was a vital one—Sam Armstrong, Armstrong was secretary of the Valerian and the Halperny, a CPA member.**

**Still, the strike was gaining strength. Power restrictions were now serious in Melbourne and workers had to stand down. In Week Nine, Hamer began to show he had the state's industry such day.**

**The stand downs produced little back-up against the strike. The SAC advertised for sacks, and got a spillover response. James Dobby an escort agency owner and son of a Transmex, electricity wharfed pointed in support of the strike. It got dramatic attention, as the Vehicle Builders, held the sack against the stand down. But their anger was aimed at the Government**



# HOW TO WIN FOR A HALLIFRUY



**AN IMPROMPTU picket persuades SEC plumbers to join the strike.**



**PICKETERS against the scab coal trucks and behind them, Yallourn power complex.**

**workings class support.**

In Week Nine, Hawke and Halperny came up with a legal manoeuvre: a return to work to allow an "amnesty" hearing to take place. Sam Armstrong sold it as a stormy stewards' meeting, and then to the rank-and-file.

The strikers went back for three days while their \$30,000 a year budget contemplated whether their pay rates were "acceptable" or not.

Disillusioned Hawke and Halperny hoped for a \$10 or \$15 rise. The judges took the return to work for the sign of weakness it was, and went for blood. They granted no return.

**FOR Hawke, it was a step on the road to the Lodge. For Halperny's CPA, one of a series of historic self-outs.**

**Now a major crisis was brewing. Hamer moved police on mass into the Valley. A whole motel was booked to accommodate them.**

**Malcolm Fraser offered the strikers a deal: if they returned to work, he would guarantee a 10% wage increase.**

**But this strike had become a watershed. Only one of a series of historic self-outs.**

**For Malcolm Valley shop stewards, though, the phrase "no return to work" was a legal manoeuvre: a return to work to allow an "amnesty" hearing to take place. Sam Armstrong sold it as a stormy stewards' meeting, and then to the rank-and-file.**



**STRIKERS blockade a road against the scab coal conveyer. The night-time guerrilla actions soon put the trucks off the road.**

**First came the Newport Power Station. After the Latrobe Valley, they helped nose down the 1978 Harrow Budget strike wave. Then it was on to greivelling Nationalistic protestism and today's wage-cutting.**

**The fact that the strike would win Labor votes was quickly disproved. A by-election in middle-class Greenough, where the strike was a big issue, saw a 17% swing against the Labor Party.**

**The CPA's historic contribution that makes the strike would show Fraser backed completely. In the aftermath, the Liberals looked stronger than ever and romped home in the December elections.**

**The working class was the only rank-and-file to not be crushed by the other side. The strike followed that could carry on the fight without the aid of unions that must another "serious challenge."**

**If we are to avoid Fraser's Labour Valley, it is the problem, socialist union activists. Until we have a large militant socialist current in the unions, we are going to be led by the hand when the Hawke and Halperny go weak. But will continue to survive working class interests to Labor's electoral schemes.**

**Now a major crisis was brewing. Hamer moved police on mass into the Valley. A whole motel was booked to accommodate them.**

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**STRIKERS blockade a road against the scab coal conveyer. The night-time guerrilla actions soon put the trucks off the road.**

## Can the bureaucrats be beaten?

**TRADE union officials have a long and dismal history. They often oppose industrial action, they usually resist it if modern tactics, and they invariably take flight when a strike starts to threaten the union's stability.**

The Latrobe Valley strike showed the differing in union officials are fundamentally no different in this regard. But their social position and working lives are fundamentally different from their members on the shop floor.

The officials are usually much better paid. They enjoy various perks, including the common practice of spending Friday afternoons in the pub. These alone make them less inclined to radicalism.

More important, union full-timers do not depend on industrial struggle to safeguard their wages and jobs. In fact, strikes usually just mean more work for them.

Most important of all, union bureaucrats are the mediators between bosses and workers. True, they represent their members, often with some energy and competence. But even as they do, they spend hours in the company of the employers and under constant pressure from them.

Once an agreement is reached, the officials have to sell it to the ranks and then enforce it. An iron-fist between capital and labour, the officials have a vested interest in preserving capitalism. Socialism, with its abolition of class differences, would remove the need for such brokers.

So socialist consciousness and self-interest in conflict with the union bureaucrats. To build a powerful socialist movement, we need to win workers away from their allegiance to the officials.

**A strategy for doing this has two elements:**

First, we believe in building a militant rank and file, continuous in activity. An organized rank and file is the continuous in activity when the officials get cold feet.

**Second, and most importantly, we must give this direction by a party, the vanguard socialist party. The socialist forces were aimed and led by the Ministry Movement of the 1930s. Today, the powerful place must be taken by the vanguard socialist party.**

**It is the Ministry Movement was only possible, however, because of the energetic work of the Communist Party, who then are completely independent of the system, and they defend that system. To defend them, we need an organization that believes in overthrowing capitalism.**

**WHARFIES reacted to the strike—\$150,000 was donated to the strike.**



# STRIKEBOUNDS TO INSPIRE

IF YOU'RE sick of the usual pulp on TV, there's a movie for you. "Strikebound" is the dramatization of a miners' strike in Victoria in 1937. It's the story of a group of ordinary working men and women, the story of their strength and courage, their initiative and their victory.

Suburban Colliery management at Koroiterra in Gippsland ran one of the nastiest operations in the country. Wages were low and working conditions foul. Attempts at organizing were met with the usual Under the influence of the Communist Party, the miners built up their union and won a legal claim on the house. They demanded 40 shillings a day and adequate ventilation. On 2 September, they were locked out and made unemployed. The film shows how the miners fight. Strike ac-

the mine. The chief characters are Wainie and Agnes. Dog Wainie is the rank and file victory of the local miners union and a member of the Communist Party. By contrast, Agnes is in the Salvation Army. She runs their Sunday school, and they live in a house behind the Salvation Army Hall. At the beginning of the strike, Agnes is unemployed. She is appalled when she sees menagers when the Communist Party branch has its first meeting in the Christian Soldiers'. When the local police sergeant picks her up for questioning, she gives him a tongue-lashing. She gets by the chance to stop a walk-out who is being abetted by another

## BOB HAWKE: THE MODERN LABOR-LIBERAL

Tune: The very model of a Modern Labor-General from Gilbert & Sullivan.

Am I the very model of a Modern Labor-General?  
I never am for evil, while I am for good, in general.  
I love to be on fire, so I'm expert on things tactical.  
And while ideas are nice, I know that they're not very practical.

I'm very well acquainted, too, with matters geographical,  
I talk about the Royals in a manner biographical.  
I've shed my years for Israel, but not the poor old Timorese,  
For I ain't just a pacifist, it's the bloody petty-bourgeoisie's.

And so in things electoral, financial and political  
I am the very model of a modern Labor-Liberal.

To make the workers happy in our new social democracy,  
I have to help the bosses (though that could be called hypocrisy).  
And mining our uranium is really very sensible,  
It helps me stay in office even though it's indigestible.

I've been to see the President, and proved I was no radical,  
I backed him on El Salvador, he taught me some theatricals.  
We've built up quite a good rapport, of nature unspecified,  
And now I do his errands, both New Zealand and Pacific.

My worldview is "consensus", and my booming popularity  
is based on doing nothing till I know the bosses agree.  
I'm sure that party policy was never meant as liberal,  
I am the very model of a Modern Labor-Liberal.

## AGNES AND WATTIE: Dog, the characters around who the story of strikebound Koroiterra, 1937, is woven.

group of miners, and clearly relishes it. She helps creative a Women's Auxiliary, and the women play a vital role in building a rally and in organizing the successful strike.

The occupation is the high point of the film. The first step is to sabotage the mine's pumping equipment. When the water rises in the mine, the scabs get more and more restless about their working conditions and after a few hours, they leave the mine, refusing to work in rapidly rising water. In the middle of the night, the miners move in to set up their occupation. They build barricades in the mine itself, somewhat similar to the scene inside Melbourne's unemployed workers' headquarters last year.

The police come down to arrest them, and there is a point-to-point battle. When the cops look like break-through, one of the miners takes a lighter and ignites it to discourage the police. The film ends with the miners breaking through the doors to stop a walk-out who is being abetted by another

party meeting next door broke into a powerful rendition of "The Red Flag," disrupting the police and the Communist Party. But she is just as angry at management and sees how the scabs are being used to defile the mine. As she gets drawn into the struggle, she becomes a militant.

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thought that they were taking the revolution. For the film-maker, the formation of the party organization is just another "national event" during the strike. For Kim, the formation of a party organization is separate from the activity of the rank and file rather than its highest expression.

The beginning and ending of the film are both very clumsy. At the end, Wainie Dog leads the miners out after a token action of only three days. The rest of the film, and the highest expression of their successful occupation after a token action of only three days. The rest of the film, and the highest expression of their successful occupation after a token action of only three days. The rest of the film, and the highest expression of their successful occupation after a token action of only three days.

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### Exploitation: motive of the system

with Laurie Martin

other commodity... by the amount of labor time socially has to spend to produce it. When we apply this to a commodity labor power, we can see that by value it is determined by what it takes to feed, clothe, house, educate, etc. the worker.

It is for the money to do this that a worker sells his or her labor power to the capitalist. In that sense, the exchange is a fair one—the labor power (labor) is sold for its value. But "fair exchange" where does the robbery? That is what the motive of exploitation come in? But we have looked at labor power as a commodity like any other. But there is something about the role

### DAUGHTER of a Charlist, Emma Miller was a leading activist in Australia's suffrage, anti-conscription and trade union movements.

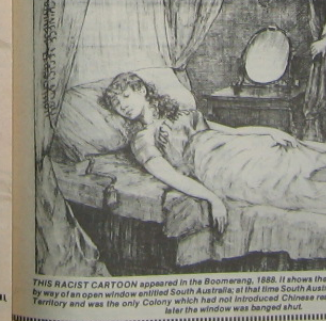
During the 1913 Brisbane General Strike, she led a group of women with devastating effect. Emma Miller and her championing of the strike demonstrated the tremendous value of winning women to the cause of the strikers. One of the scabs complained that the worst thing he had to face were the women. On one occasion the tram he was driving was seized by women on picketers to the terminus where they gave him a verbal whacking and there was nothing he could do about it.

Australian women workers France in 1789, when Cliff was the first revolution to involve broad masses of people in activity." Cliff's scabbe said that the revolution was a male one for equal pay, and more than that, it was a social class one. Feminism flourished among bourgeois women. They demanded the vote, divorce and other marriage rights. They demanded the vote, divorce and other marriage rights. They demanded the vote, divorce and other marriage rights.

## Women against racism

against racism has to be based on a socialist perspective. For racism arises out of the logic of capitalism, and it is growing today because of the economic and social crisis that capitalism's system. Only revolutionary social change will get rid of it for good.

If you want to fight racism, the pamphlet concludes, you need to be a socialist. And that's the real point of class: Asians Are Welcome Here!"



THIS RACIST CARTOON appeared in the Boomberg, 1888. It shows the Chinese invading Australia Territory and was the only Colony which had not introduced Chinese restriction acts. A few months later the Chinese were banded shut.

### teach yourself marxism

of labour power in the production process that makes it unique. Labour power produces additional value, beyond that needed to keep the worker alive and bring up the next generation of workers.

From the capitalist's point of view, the amount of wealth needed to keep workers fit for work is considerably less than the amount of wealth they can produce while working. The value of their labour power is considerably less than the value created by their labour. This surplus value is what we mean by exploitation. The workers own the bosses. This is what we mean by exploitation. The workers own the bosses. This is what we mean by exploitation.

### WOMEN'S CLASS CONFLICT

hostility from the society into the inner class struggle. This is Cliff's theory: the class and gender struggle of women's rights. He draws upon socialist theory to explain women's liberation, socialist theory to explain women's liberation, socialist theory to explain women's liberation.

By Ly Ross

the demand for broad union of women and men, the poor and propertyless, during the revolution. (They did not talk of union with bourgeois women. Women only wanted the final root that turned into political demonstration or war, not to use arms.

## CLASS STRUGGLE & WOMEN'S LIBERATION

of its minority of revolutionaries. Like Zerkin, we were expelled on August 19, 1918. We had founded a new Communist Party, but too late to build a strong base. The main reason for the German work class after the war was largely left without revolutionary leadership and deflected. In the aftermath, the SPD leaders turned to policies of "sacking women to solve unemployment."

It is to those women who are wage earners, not workers, that I wish to appeal. We see no basis for feminist class conflict. The question is the party's work class after the war was largely left without revolutionary leadership and deflected. In the aftermath, the SPD leaders turned to policies of "sacking women to solve unemployment."

Get your copy of Class Struggle & Women's Liberation from your local SPD office (see p. 11) for \$8 or post paid from LSPC, 1455 Linn, Melbourne for \$9.

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**T**HE YEARS 1969-75 saw the class struggle in Australia reach its highest level since the War. The smashing of the penal powers, the anti-Vietnam movement, the election of a Labor government, record strike figures—all reflected a new mood of militancy after the long torpor of the postwar boom.

Yet, under the brief "recession boom" ended in 1981, the Australian working class has decidedly on the defensive.

It has endured a wave of sackings and a sustained on employer offensive to "rationalize" production and cut real wages. Workers' confidence and shop-floor organization have plummeted, strike levels have plunged dramatically.

What has changed since the early 1970s? Why, with an economic recovery under way, are workers less willing to fight than during the 1974 and 1980 strikes?

What are the prospects for the industrial struggle in the 1980s?

Why should we be quite clear just how deep the downturn in industrial struggle is. The figure makes rather bleak reading.

In the financial year 1983-84, days on strike fell to just 1.3 million, a sharp decline from the 1982 level. This is the lowest strike activity in the 60-year series since the Carmichael general strike effectively abolished fines and penalties for non-production. It is a mere shadow of the 7 million days struck in the lead-up to the 1974-75 wage push of 1974.

Today's strikes are mostly defensive, provoked by sackings, speed-ups, victimizations and wage cuts. Even the mild economic recovery of the last year, which has seen unemployment slip from 10.6 to 9%, has not halted the slide in industrial struggle. Strike days have fallen every month since March this year.

**E**CONOMIC recovery normally revives class struggle. As production picks up and workers are taken on, their bargaining position improves.

Boomers are less prepared to risk a strike while demand for their products is growing. For their products to grow, different trades and sections on the one factory compound the process. Maybe the electronics world was 55. Then the firms went in for their chop. Next the bulldozers walked out for \$7 to return their rivalry. Then the process workers, the streamers and on.

Struggles were frequent, brief and relatively easy to win. Most were led by shop stewards and works committees. Union officials had little control. Some occurred during the 70s, some in the public service unions—legally entrenched right-wing leaders.

The metal trades and other traditional areas of militancy in manufacturing industry were hounded but by sackings. Tens of thousands of jobs were lost at ANI, International Harvester, BHP, Oils, Davyback, Kuehn, GMH, Sargeants and Vickers. Union membership slumped.

Strike action in the metal trades declined by almost ninety percent, three times more than the rest of industry. From 1,222,600 days lost in 1981, metal strikes fell to 241,800 days in 1982, then 15,500 in 1983 and are still falling.

New technology, further cut jobs and speed up labour, rank-and-file groups. In two years, BHP increased

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# Who is winning the CLASS WAR

Mick Armstrong looks at shop floor struggle in Australia today.



productivity 80%, all at its workers' expense.

Some militants were sacked. Others could no longer get demoted. Workers were forced to defend jobs. At some stages for higher pay. Victories, like the coming recognition to save jobs, were few and far between.

Shop stewards tended to pull their heads in or more to the right. An extreme case is Rod Kelly, once a militant shop steward at Kraft, who is now challenging John Hallgravn on behalf of the ALP right and NCC.

But many more were simply pulled into the union machine. They depended on union officials rather than membership strength to maintain their tenuous negotiating position with management.

Bargaining shifted away from the shop-floor where workers could have a direct say, and back to the Arbitration Commission. Wage induction confined negotiations more and more to just an union, employer and government tripartite in the rered of ANU House.

Rank-and-file workers were reduced to a wage army, at best occasionally wheeled out by the officials.

**L**ABOUR'S accord has weakened this a step further. A few top ACTU bureaucrats now bargain over wages, tax cuts and

so on, individual unions have little say.

More and more, union officials just sell and police the Accord for the ACTU and the government.

Remember the glitters at D'Arville? Australia's bitter strike for a pay rise outside the Accord earlier this year. The ironworkers at the plant demanded a flow—

The Melbourne Press summed it up: "The ACTU and the Hawke government to protect the Accord. The ACTU stopped any flow to the ironworkers, then intimidated the glazers into giving up their hard won pay increase. This was unimaginable in the heyday of militancy in 1969-74."

Let's look at the mining industry in the boom years of the 1970s. The miners were no longer adequately protected in the cross-tortification.

Rising production and profits in the boom convinced workers they were entitled to a bit more. You did not need to be a socialist to demand a greater share of an expanding cake.

Today, the cake is contracting. The employment plan that a wage rise will break them can seem quite reasonable to many. To see beyond the capitalist logic requires a socialist outlook.

You need to understand the union officials' grip. If like the Dunlop metal workers last year, you need the support of another plan or action like the rubber workers to fight sackings, you need the officials' move to get rid of their cross-industry system.

The ruling class has used shop-floor demoralization to

advance to the benefit of class.

Some workers, at some level, accept that wage rises cause unemployment. That we must put together and sacrifice to restore the economy. That we must go along with Bob Hawke's occupation.

Since their press, the ALP and union officials of all shades are pushing it, this victory by the boss is not surprising. It was Communist Party figure Laurie Carrack who, at the last food processors at Hume for breaching the Accord to win a wage rise.

White socialism in every workplace to argue against accepting cuts in living standards, even many militants have swallowed the union official argument.

The idea that sustained militancy in the boom years of the 1970s is no longer adequate in the cross-tortification.

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The ruling class has used shop-floor demoralization to

Employment in manufacturing has not grown, despite a 0.1% rise in output in the last year. Manufacturing output is still below the peak reached in December 1981. Most of heavy engineering continues to stagnate.

So the bargaining strength of key sections of the working class is far from restored. More bargaining space will need to be needed before we go back on the offensive.

A couple of years of limited economic recovery could well be needed before the working class recovers from its recent setbacks. Yet the Australian economy in a year's time could well be engulfed by another bout of world recession—before the working class advances again.

*At present, the class struggle is in a stand-off. Workers are not yet sufficiently revived to launch an offensive. But the bosses are reading only.*

Employers know that the economic recovery places some workers better to resist their attacks. But wage militancy is far from restored.

So with industrial expansion some workers better to resist their attacks. But wage militancy is far from restored.

The stand-off in struggle could well last another year, the early election, the News, back on the April national wage rise could keep the lid on sectional wage militancy till mid-1985.

So the Accord could hold till the recovery starts out. I will have served the bosses

with keeping wages in check through a slow process.

**W**HICH THE next employers will go back on the offensive. They will no longer accept indexation of wages. Another round of mass sackings will further undermine working class organization and living standards.

Hawke may well impose an Accord. Most will only partial wage indexation. Meanwhile, the Liberals will take a harder line, with John Howard probably replacing Andrew Peacock to speed path policies of industry with backing from the houses

pres.

The Accord's legacy will remain, though—union-led closure of the state union leaders trained to police our wages, and shop-floor militancy undermined. A renewal attack from the bosses will be harder to resist.

Strong shop-floor organization will have to be rebuilt from below. It will need socialist politics that reject the "consensus" of sacrifice for the bosses, and that stress rank-and-file action rather than reliance on union bureaucrats.

Can't be! The forces of revolutionary socialism are desperately small at present—only a scattering of workers' activists and sympathetic individuals to

It will take a revolutionary organization of some thousands to begin to re-establish rank-and-file organization on a secure foundation.

In the meantime, we will have to hope for workers against the tide of retreat—like the British miners—to hold back the employer's ravages.



Alternative Action

# BS THE GIRLS?

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. It sounds like a program for mass action to achieve positive results. But is it?**

The idea is to do something about the very obvious results of centuries of oppression and discrimination against women, which resulted in them being concentrated in a very small number of jobs and then in the lowest paying areas.

By Jane Stone

Statistics which are equal pay areas. It is argued that areas of equal pay receive under 10% of men's wages. 8% of secondary teachers are women, but only 12% of principals. There are very few women trades or mining and an...

What can be done about that? One answer is to do what women in Wellington have done and start a women's political and industrial campaign for jobs in the mines.

Affirmative Action (AA) provides a very different solution. It means a program controlled by management to encourage more women to apply for jobs and promotion in areas where they are underrepresented.

There has been a lot of hand-wringing about the great benefits to women, the risks of discrimination against men, racism, from the right and the extra costs to industry.

But a closer examination shows two things—AA is very much in the interests of business. And only a very small group of women will benefit.

The arguments made by the advocates of AA are very much addressed to the concerns of business. They talk about increased economic effectiveness, reduced turnover and absenteeism, "equal employment opportunities." They say, "to simply differentiate between management."

This fits in with the emphasis over the last 10 years on "modern management"—the more principal, more people with new technology, sophisticated communication.

stay

At the same time it is a quote often at the workforce are now. They participate in work even during the recession. Affirmative action is really an accommodation of these trends.

A whole series of companies have agreed to participate in the government's voluntary pilot program for the introduction of AA. They read like a A-Z of Australian top companies including Ansett, BHP, class, Ford, IBM, etc.

makers

Bruce announced a revolutionary, unfortunately, that in practice that was drawn into the obvious new signs of bureaucratic Marxism, that is to say, to arrange their attention about the atom's death being a "policy."

Roger by contrast demanded disclosure about something as simple as the Peking regime, as to Moscow. "You can tell people what to do to read and think," he said to his father.

"A good impulse. But what did I take him? How do we achieve a

It will be of little use to blue collar women

cent's" or feminist activities, now finding themselves well paid jobs in the blue collar women. Some more girls might get apprenticeships in non traditional areas, but this is not where there has been a real gain.

The women who are truly benefiting from management courses, both in the public sector and in private industry, are those with the increasing number of Equal Employment Opportunity suits, but these have been an increasing number of jobs for what are called "feminine" jobs.

The idea originally grew

demanded

Affirmative action programs demanded by them

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## THE IDEA for Affirmative Action comes out of the black civil rights struggles in the USA. Here

Nashville students take their books and sit-in at local lunch counters, February, 1960.

not of the struggles in the USA for black civil rights in the mid-60s. Those mass struggles demanded not only an end to legal discrimination, but recompense for the hundreds of years of oppression.

But the gains didn't come as a result of the affirmative action programs. The main improvements occurred in the late 1960s, before their implementation. The reforms were a result of the affirmative action programs.

mean they should be given preference in hiring and promotion.

And real gains were made by blacks—they did move into new areas of work and improve their wages.

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WASTE PRODUCTS of advanced capitalism—misiles and a mountain of surplus sugar beets.

cost, inflation lowered, company costs reduced, inefficient industries needed to be closed.

The Hawke government was able to promise to implement this. The vehicle was the Prices and Incomes Control Act.

Eventually, for reasons the Crisis pamphlet outlines, this cabinet/mediation labored. The Post War Boom gave way to stagnation.

In the mid of rising living standards and unrelenting economic expansion, talk of poverty and hunger seemed ridiculous.

Even in those parts of the world where things were still hard, everyone believed that it was just a matter of time until the Post War Boom was the longest in capitalist history.

This is because the boom-slump cycle is not an improvement in the system as a whole. It is the system.

At Trotsky one said, "the capitalist system by boom and slump, just as people survive by inhaling and exhaling." Each boom has the groundwork for the following slump.

The Depression and World War II destroyed untold amounts of capital and after the war investment took off again. But investment also had to be profitable.

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teach yourself marxism

CHANGES FROM WITHIN

with John Maynard

**MARXISM is a general theory of society from the point of view of the working class. It includes and integrates into a single whole theories of history, economics, politics and philosophy.**

The philosophy of Marxism is usually called dialectical materialism. This term has caused controversy, partly because of the way it has been abused in Russia. But in itself it is fairly accurate.

Concretely Marxism is materialist since it regards the production of the necessities of life as the basis on which ideas arise, rather than vice versa. Certainly also it is dialectical. But what does dialectic mean?

There is a difficulty here because it is obviously not a term used on everyday speech. It is a philosophical term developed by the great German philosopher Hegel at the end of the 18th century.

Nevertheless the basic meaning of dialectic can be expressed in quite straightforward language. Dialectics is the logic of change, of evolution, of development. Its starting point is the idea (and the fact) that everything changes and is involved in an ongoing process of coming being and ceasing to be.

To understand the significance of this compared with what is known as formal logic, let us take an example. The basic idea of formal logic is that something either is the case or it is not the case, but that it can't be both at the same time. For example, the cat is either on the mat or not on the mat.

The dialectical theory of development through contradiction was the philosophical expression of the French revolution. But because the French revolution was a bourgeois revolution, owned by lawyers and intellectuals, it necessarily appeared to Hegel that the driving force of history was the struggle between opposite ideas.

Between the idea of monarchy and the idea of republicanism. Marx, coming 50 years later, and taking the standpoint of the working class, was able to go beyond Hegel and show that this struggle of ideas was a reflection of a struggle of material forces. With Marx the dialectic became the logic of class struggle.

For many purposes formal logic is useful and necessary. But as soon as you take movement and change into account it ceases to be adequate. At least it ceases to go through a moment when it is both on and off the mat. It is in this sense that dialectic is more formal logic because it enables us to grasp this contradiction.

When we apply dialectic matters is where we come to analyse social development and, in particular, how the transition takes place from one form of society to another.

Radical classes believe in the fixed external nature of their form of society. The feudal Lords believed that their society was ordained by God and would last forever. Today's ruling classes believe capitalism reflects a fixed human nature.

Dialectics, however, insists that nothing is fixed last forever. Feudalism arose historically and was destroyed historically. Likewise capitalism is a historical product with a beginning and, sooner or later, an end.

This brings us to the second theoretical point of social change, through internal contradiction. For development to progress bigger. A given society forms a whole or totality, but within that whole are other forces, antagonistic and opposing.

The change from one form of society to another is the result of the contradictions which become ever more powerful. For development to progress bigger. A given society forms a whole or totality, but within that whole are other forces, antagonistic and opposing.

For development to progress bigger. A given society forms a whole or totality, but within that whole are other forces, antagonistic and opposing. This dialectic is not only the logic of change and of class struggle, but also the logic of revolution.

THE CRISIS and the socialist alternative to laborism

Available from your local I.S. Branch for \$2 or send \$2.00 to I.S. Books, GPO Box 1473N, Melbourne for postal delivery.

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# THE BATTLE EFFECT?

AFTER 70 weeks on strike 800 tradies at GMH's Fishermen's Bend plant in Melbourne have been forced to work on gain in their fight over sacking.

The deal sold them off being AMPSU workers Neil Marshall and Stewart Maurice was totally voluntary — joint company union committee to do out the sacking.

The strike started on 15 September over GMH's plans to sack 177 workers. The businessmen offered to set a panel and called on 2,500 production workers to join the struggle. A successful one day walk out on March which involved a sacking resolution had boosted their confidence.

Unfortunately at a stormy mass meeting the Vehicle Builders Union officials narrowly accepted the attempt to broaden the strike. One VBU militant who supported the strike was ignored by the officials and fired the next day.

In a history of division between VBU members and tradies at GMH it was not until after the demonstration called by the union as a 100,000 strike that the job was unshaken. The last major strike at Fishermen's Bend, a five week walk back in 1984, also went down in defeat.

But the fightback at all was a positive step forward in these circumstances.

### bite

And even without VBU support the strike was starting to lose. GMH had forced to sack 200 VBU members at Fishermen's Bend and at Dandenong.

But trucks were crossing the picket line the shop stewards were being dismissed at a rate which was unprecedented. Similar trucks was promised at the Elizabeth plant in South Australia.

However right from the start there were weak areas in the strike which made it easier for the AMPSU officials to sell out.

Partly the demand was not an outright call for a defence of jobs, but for voluntary redundancies and improved redundancy pay. Hardly the sort of demands which inspire heroic rank and file resistance.

Secondly the militants who led the strike did not make a concerted attempt to build mass parties. They called for all mass meetings but did not do this. They did not have detailed organising work such as visiting parties at the homes of strikers in particular days.

They also did not have a mass pocket necessary to mobilise the majority of tradies. The mass pocket is a show of strength on the day of the VBU meeting which have encouraged them to join the strike.

# STRAP IN

Dear Battlers,  
David Lockwood's recent article in the October 1984 issue of *Strap In* was excellent. I would like to answer your questions.  
The Department of Social Security (DSS) is a government department with 2500 jobs which will be cut over the next few years. This means that many jobs will be lost. This is not a new situation. It has been going on since the 1970s. The only way to stop this is to have a government which is not afraid to raise taxes and to cut spending. This is what we need. We need a government which is not afraid to raise taxes and to cut spending. This is what we need. We need a government which is not afraid to raise taxes and to cut spending. This is what we need.



GMH tradies try to impress on a truckie the seriousness of crossing their picket line.

## INK WIN

THE RECENT strike at Cable Cooks in Sydney seems to have won a considerable victory.

PSU members maintained a 24 hour picket for 35 weeks in support of this. The 35 week demand. However the settlement has been abandoned in favour of a 24 hour picket.

Union officials did workers not to withdraw the details because the owners did not want their backdown to be an encouragement to other workers.

The Prison and Industries Award was not affected by the strike for less than 30 hours per week. The ACTU only gave its support as the dispute was considered to have begun before the guidelines came into effect.

However the fact that a determined militant was prepared to fight on indicated that a decisive lead had been given across and mass picketing organized. The strike might have been won.

The militants learn the lessons of this strike. They can only be stopped from having his way on before sacking. The odds are, though, that this was a make-or-buy strike for the tradies. The defeat could well spell further demoralization and set the scene for weakening of the militant.

Mary Mallon

## APTU officials knife reps.

POSTAL workers in NSW are doing badly — both at the hands of management and their own union officials.

Australia Post is busy attacking our conditions. Meanwhile the APTU officials have been busy in the back. They've charged the constitution to cut the number of union reps and to require the Mail Branch Executive to elect to be elected not by the rank and file, but by a select group of twenty committees.

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# The BATTLE COPPS boost Batter sales.

CALLING the Batter has always required initiative and a bit of persistence — and a sale letter highlights this than the one at Barkly Square Shopping Centre in its wayward quest.

When this new complex opened six months ago Melbourne tradies were quick off the mark. The next Saturday morning, Sales averaged 20 in size. Eventually a couple of letters from other left wing groups started flooding their papers there and well. However Batter sales remained fairly steady as we had established a number of regular readers.

Barkly Square management then set out to try to clear its 'Kommunist' from the entrance. They threatened to call the police to remove us but Batter sales stood our ground.

When the local cops finally rolled up we collected a crowd by demanding the right to be on public property and that they work in.

By the DSS mass meeting we called to reduce the number of job reps instead the opportunity for socialism to interfere in workers' struggles.

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# International Socialists WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power

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

Revolution, not Reformism

We believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. The state apparatus, the military, the law — a weapon of class rule and can never be used to serve the interests of the working class.

Internationalism

A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must help build revolutions in other countries as well be defeated like the Russian revolution in 1917. We are building an international movement, opposed to patriotism and devoted to overcome national divisions.

Full Equality and Liberation

For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups. Racial, sexism and discrimination against migrant workers are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the local protectionism of Homeless.

Revolutionary Party

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

Rank and File Organisation

Workers need their own rank and file organisations, to fight the bosses when the paid union officials are unwilling. We fight to bring the unions under worker control.

Join Us!

PO Box 48, Farmington, VIC 3011 (03) 387 4638

PO Box 1478, Melbourne 3001 (03) 693 3080

MELBOURNE PO Box 1028, Melbourne 3001 (03) 693 3080

BRISBANE PO Box 220, West Brisbane 4000 (07) 322 2200

PERTH PO Box 88, Alexandria 210 (08) 941 1111

CANBERRA PO Box 198, Canberra 2600 (06) 292 2200

PO Box 1478, Melbourne 3001 (03) 693 3080

PO Box 48, Farmington, VIC 3011 (03) 387 4638

## By Tom Orsag

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Mary Mallon

## sectionalism

Australia Post has tried to force the idea that what happens in one part of the country should not affect the rest of the country.

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## SYDNEY

THE INDUSTRIAL Revolution has greatly increased the opportunity for socialism to interfere in workers' struggles.

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# Red Letter Days

From the following dates: The party programme (Wednesday 10 October 8 pm). The Party Programme is a class struggle based on the working class and the ruling class. July, Mickey meant the social and political programme this goes on the party programme.

The Mass Strike, Monday 20 October. Australia Post workers' strike. The mass strike is a class struggle based on the working class and the ruling class. July, Mickey meant the social and political programme this goes on the party programme.

Barbecue, Saturday 13 October at 6.30 pm. A barbecue for the members of the party. The barbecue is a class struggle based on the working class and the ruling class. July, Mickey meant the social and political programme this goes on the party programme.

End of year wine and cheese, Friday 20 October 7.30 pm. A wine and cheese party for the members of the party. The wine and cheese party is a class struggle based on the working class and the ruling class. July, Mickey meant the social and political programme this goes on the party programme.

BRISBANE Brisbane branch meets every Wednesday at 7pm. Speakers 4-6 George Street, City Centre 4000

MELBOURNE Melbourne branch meets every Wednesday 7.30 pm. 5th Floor, Rimm, 222 Swanston St. Melbourne. Phone 820 3000

CANBERRA Canberra branch meets every Wednesday 7pm. Speakers 4-6 George Street, City Centre 4000

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## Marxist misnomer

Dear Battlers,  
One poster in the last issue of *Strap In* was a Marxist misnomer.

The NSW state secretary recently wrote an opinion piece in the *Workers' Weekly*. The NSW state secretary recently wrote an opinion piece in the *Workers' Weekly*.

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## SMASH CAPITALISM



# the battler Polish Solidarity:

OF ALL the upheavals that have taken place in Eastern Europe since the war, the rise of Solidarity in Poland in 1980-81 posed the most serious challenge that any of the state capitalist regimes has as yet faced.

Even though the experience ended in a period of a wealth of lessons, and therefore hope, for the future, it also underscored the most fundamental principle: Marxism that in the working class, through its own activities and struggle, which was cast through Solidarity, was a mass movement of the working class, organized around the power of production, the factories.

Learning from the experience of the months of 1956 and 1976, Polish workers didn't go into the streets to get shot, instead they stayed in their factories, occupied them, and experienced their collective power.

This display of strength drove more and more workers into struggle and had an impact on other sections of society as well: students, farmers, parts of the middle class, even parts of the members of the ruling Communist Party and the army, identified their hope for a better life with Solidarity.

Only a couple of months after it was formed, Solidarity had 10 million members and forced the regime to recognize it and take it seriously.

## economic

As first the demands were economic. The impact was provided when food prices were raised and workers went out for compensatory wage rises. But as the movement gained momentum, it began to raise political demands too. Local strikes against corruption broke out all over the country. Some of Solidarity's leaders didn't like this development. This saw themselves only as unions, fighting for reforms within the existing system. They were horrified at the notion of challenging the power of the state, the "leading role" of the Communist Party.

Yet this was precisely what was needed if Solidarity's aims were to be defended and extended. The fact that Solidarity's leaders and activists had no perspective of work going on to take over and reshape society ensured the defeat of the greatest workers' movement since the war. Even the radicals, supporters of Lech Walesa's



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Above: PREMIER Jaruzelski flanked by Soviet and East German generals.

Left: EARLY DAYS—workers peep eagerly through Gdansk union hall windows as their representatives deliberate.

After the Bieduzgoc compromise, Solidarity began to decline. The number of strikers dropped, as did Solidarity's support in the polls. Strike action alone did not offer any road forward.

The economy was in deep crisis: poverty, and acute shortages of essential such as food characterized Polish working class life. Now the regime could begin to reason (and) that this was still in disarray, but thanks to Solidarity's refusal to tamper with the forces of the state, the army could take its place for a while.

Slowly, under Jaruzelski's guidance, they tested the water with minor provocations: harassing pickets, arresting workers distributing leaflets and so on. Each time, Solidarity failed to respond, the regime's confidence grew, and that of the workers correspondingly eroded.

The final provocation occurred on December 2, Jaruzelski sent in a massive display of force to smash up occupation of trainee firefighters in Warsaw. Walesa told the outraged crowd: "The union is powerless weapons against the authorities—but it cannot be triggered all the time". There he

was the nation as a whole. In fact there were strong arguments against the possibility of Russian intervention. Since the Czechoslovakian invasion in 1968, Russia had put bogged down in Afghanistan. Russia would concentrate play in Karm himself pointed out in 1965. The danger of the "infection" spreading via the Russian troops would have been enough to give Brezhnev many sleepless nights.

Nonetheless, the fear of invasion acted as a weight around Solidarity's neck. It prevented them from capitulating in discontent within the ranks of the army and the police. Rather than mobilizing workers to demonstrate in support of demands by soldiers and police for their own unions affiliated to Solidarity, the union's leadership left them strictly alone, and thus threw them back into the arms of the regime.

JACEK Kuron at KOR's Warsaw office, 1980. For a whole period, the mass workers' movement that was Solidarity inspired us. The ultimate defeat, however, in our case for defeat. The Polish National Commission was meeting in Madon. Some of the Solidarity activists will have learned the lessons of their defeat.

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# CAUSE FOR HOPE

By Lew Kowalik

As first the demands were economic. The impact was provided when food prices were raised and workers went out for compensatory wage rises. But as the movement gained momentum, it began to raise political demands too. Local strikes against corruption broke out all over the country. Some of Solidarity's leaders didn't like this development. This saw themselves only as unions, fighting for reforms within the existing system. They were horrified at the notion of challenging the power of the state, the "leading role" of the Communist Party.

Yet this was precisely what was needed if Solidarity's aims were to be defended and extended. The fact that Solidarity's leaders and activists had no perspective of work going on to take over and reshape society ensured the defeat of the greatest workers' movement since the war. Even the radicals, supporters of Lech Walesa's

Even though the experience ended in a period of a wealth of lessons, and therefore hope, for the future, it also underscored the most fundamental principle: Marxism that in the working class, through its own activities and struggle, which was cast through Solidarity, was a mass movement of the working class, organized around the power of production, the factories.

Learning from the experience of the months of 1956 and 1976, Polish workers didn't go into the streets to get shot, instead they stayed in their factories, occupied them, and experienced their collective power.

Even though the experience ended in a period of a wealth of lessons, and therefore hope, for the future, it also underscored the most fundamental principle: Marxism that in the working class, through its own activities and struggle, which was cast through Solidarity, was a mass movement of the working class, organized around the power of production, the factories.

# Hawke and Peacock... the battler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No 168 October 27, 1984 30 cents



After the Bieduzgoc compromise, Solidarity began to decline. The number of strikers dropped, as did Solidarity's support in the polls. Strike action alone did not offer any road forward. The economy was in deep crisis: poverty, and acute shortages of essential such as food characterized Polish working class life. Now the regime could begin to reason (and) that this was still in disarray, but thanks to Solidarity's refusal to tamper with the forces of the state, the army could take its place for a while. Slowly, under Jaruzelski's guidance, they tested the water with minor provocations: harassing pickets, arresting workers distributing leaflets and so on. Each time, Solidarity failed to respond, the regime's confidence grew, and that of the workers correspondingly eroded. The final provocation occurred on December 2, Jaruzelski sent in a massive display of force to smash up occupation of trainee firefighters in Warsaw. Walesa told the outraged crowd: "The union is powerless weapons against the authorities—but it cannot be triggered all the time". There he

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WHAT A lousy choice we get on December 1! Do we want Bob Hawke or Andrew Peacock to cut our pay, bump up taxes, export uranium, boost defence spending and fleece blacks out of land rights!

Labour is not even prepared to represent workers' interests in this election. Its very first newspaper ads urged Liberal voters to pander to racist xenophobes in WA. On taxation, the only "difference" between the two sides is that Peacock wants to screw us with higher indirect taxes. In return, he has a vague proposal to allow income-splitting—a move that helps the rich and middle class far more than workers.

Labour prefers to "restructure" taxation through a Summit-style conference. They screwed our wages with the last one—now they want to exempt the unions into a tax proof loss.

Both sales boons they have no "fiscal dollars". They've given up long about reforms and now stand for bare-foot stonery. Bob Hawke and Andrew Peacock are so obviously birds of a feather, it hardly seems worth going to the polling booth. And this is the famed "democracy" we are meant to die in bones' wars to defend!

There is a reason our choice is so limited in this election. No matter who wins, the real rules of society remain in control—beyond any democratic superstructure.

Robert Mundick, Alan Bond, Lang Hancock and the rest of the top money who own industry make the real decisions that control our lives, no matter how we mark our ballot papers.

## IN YOUR BATTLER

Blainey's trashy book PAGE 2

Marcos in a mess PAGE 4

British miners dig in PAGE 5

The paper that fights for workers' POWER!

# FEATURES

## The leadup test: a Battler close-up!



Make sure you get your copy of The Battler every issue. Just \$10 a year, or \$25 for a year.

LECH Walesa asks Warsaw strikers to make their protest "the last of its kind". Such counsel led to the demise of their union.











**"We support Labour in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man"**  
—Lenin

**SINCE** the election of Labor in March 1983, the Battler has watched the Hawke government's performance closely. The sight has not been a pleasant one.

A year and a half of Labor in office has made it clear they will provide no genuine reforms or benefits for the working class. They are no "better" than the real socialists the Liberals who compete with them for the ruling class favour.

So why do we support their re-election?

Labor's Prices and Incomes Accord made the extension of the Fraser pact from until September 1984. Its Monetary scheme was especially used to cut real wages further. Labor has more radical feelings and a new Labor Gang in the public service, consisting of ASIO and ASIS, and Bob Hawke knowing to the Indonesian general, Margaret Thatcher, the Queen and Ronald Reagan on his overseas trip.

Labor has continued to restrict immigration and extended fees for overseas students to placate the Blainey lobby. Its confidence this year changed ALP policy to fit the government's urban and rural. How could any serious socialist anti-advocate resist this?

To answer this question, we must first consider the alternatives.

Voting Liberal is the only out of the question.

The Liberals are the best-faced representatives of the bosses. They offer the same old ALP—wage restraint, higher profits, urban mining, the US alliance, without the pretence of being "on the workers' side."

Workers who vote Liberal do not even understand there is a class enemy—a united political. A sizeable working class vote for the Liberals would signify a decline in workers' basic class consciousness.

What about the Australian Democrats?

They have a better policy on uranium, but like the Liberals, they have long advocated abolition of weekly rates for week-end work. They support the "worker participation" fraud favoured by tender bosses around the world to exploit unions. Several of their senators blocked bottom-of-the-barrel tax legislation out of concern for the "rights" of low-wage millionaires.

NO-ONE has illusions in the Liberals. But most workers still see Labor as their party.

After 18 months of Hawke, few expect substantial reforms like social socialism from Labor. But workers still think it will do more for them than the Libs, if only because of its trade union base and traditional working class support.

Seeing how brutally the ALP administrators capitalism in crisis can open their eyes.

The current economic recovery means that Labor has had it relatively easy so far. Hawke can pose as the PM who brought down inflation and unemployment marginally.

But as the world economy moves back into recession in the next couple of years, Hawke will have to turn up his attacks on the working class.

For some workers, of course, the experience will only convince them to vote Liberal. Others may become totally critical and changing. A persuasive than our just asserting their wickedness.

This experience can take time to have effect. For the converted, 18 months of Hawke is more than enough. But we don't only want to convince the converted.

With Labor in office, their performance under the scrutiny of anyone who thinks they can improve life for workers.

If Labor is not re-elected, then instead of illusions in them being dispelled, more will be had.

The real record of the Whitlam government—the welfare-cutting budgets, public service staff cuttings and inflation wage restraint—all of which Fraser built on—disproved the myth of right in 1975.

It is not that way that it could not have, had Labor continued administrator Australian capitalism.

If Labor is not re-elected on December 1, we will get a whole new generation of myths and illusions about the Hawke regime too.

**LABOR'S Economic Summit sealed the Accord—and the extension of Fraser's wage freeze for a full year.**

**by Diane Fields**

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**The Socialist Left heaves who fought Federal Intervention—Bob Hogg (now Hawke's leading advisor), Bill Hartley and George Crawford**

**44** THE TRAGEDY in Australia is that so many genuine, committed socialists have believed for so long that parliament could be used to bring socialism... In doing so, they have agreed to play the game according to bourgeois rules.

These words come from a 1971 bulletin of the Victorian ALP's Socialist Left. They were a commitment to the Socialist Left in the time.

Yet the Socialist Left, even at its most radical, remained deeply loyal to the ALP, a party utterly devoted to parliament and capitalism.

The very radicalism of the SL, whose members helped to build struggles like the anti-Vietnam war movement, also drew many good socialists into the dead-end ALP politics.

The Congress of the SL in the alliance of left and centre union officials which gained control of the Victorian ALP after the resigning Democratic Labor Party split in 1965.

The political upsurge of the late 1960s decisively influenced these officials, and also the new generation of activists who joined the SL.

Underlying the political upsurge was a strong revival of socialist struggle, highlighted by the strikes which rocked the anti-union Penal Powers in 1969.

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# THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT

by Tony Sullivan

The momentum generated by the left forced the Advisory Council to call a meeting of the whole rank and file. It was crucial test of strength.

The SL counter-movement called for the sacking of the Advisory Council and for the rank and file's right to decide on the new structure.

Moving the Advisory Council's mission was Jim Cairns, fresh from leading the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign. Inside Labor, the SL's leaders, said it was "time to see him sharing the platform with interventionists, right-wingers and opportunists, and doing their dirty work for them."

While the Advisory Council survived, Cairns' mission was amended to give full decision-making power to the next mass meeting.

The historical confusion of the SL's rank and file, and their reliance on the left wing officials, for leadership, effectively destroyed them as a political current once the struggle against federal interventionism died.

By May, 1971, it was all over but the shouting.

The fight for leadership positions ended after branch elections, which gave each local proportional representation. The SL wing officials retained the right to fill 60% of positions on important party bodies.

Having made these bureaucratic gains, the SL leadership was demolished in wage and importance. Inside Labor, support was replaced by a milder publicist.

For rank and file activists there was little left but the routine of internal party committees, electing local councils, and so on, in a manner that typified ALP internal life.

The broader political climate also began to move in the years of neo-capitalist struggle. Mass movements became smaller, with less radical, and fewer strikes, workers slowly lost confidence.

Some of them were open to a far-rightist Marxist analysis. However, they were disappointed in the real nature of the SL's socialism and the working class. But, they thought, a mistake error, an parliament had reinforced that conviction.

They looked to struggle, particularly class struggle, to govern the power of change and to raise workers' consciousness. Socialists who had argued both inside and outside the party to get mass campaigns.

The working class will see the contradictions in society by being involved in mass struggles, which, in turn will create the necessary conditions.

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The working class will see the contradictions in society by being involved in mass struggles, which, in turn will create the necessary conditions.

**VOTING** Democrat is just as much out of the question as voting Liberal. But what about a vote for the small parties, especially the new Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP), as protest against Hawke's policies?

While it is encouraging to see people breaking away from Labor, the NDP's weakness is that it will intensify class on one vote.

Like all single-issue electoral "protest" parties, this immediately leads to disillusion.

The NDP has done a preference-sweeping deal with the anti-work class Democrats. For NSW candidate, pop singer Peter Garrett, has distanced himself from anti-support for trade unions, Nuclear disarmament, and so on, "above" class politics.

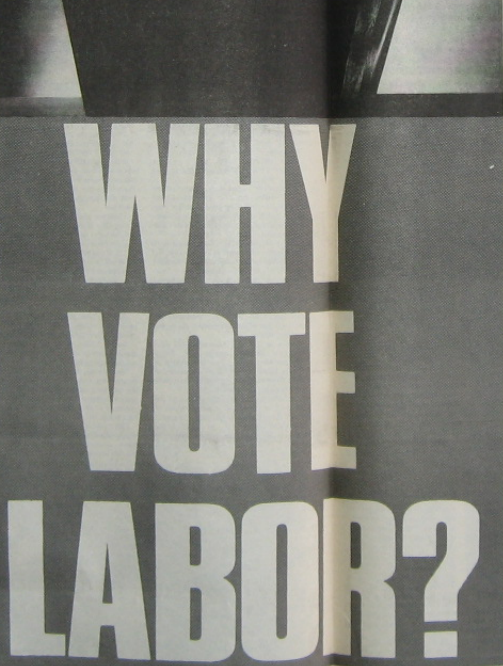
Jan Moller and Peter Garrett, push for the Senate as a bona fide initiative for Bob Hawke. At worst, it represents a further step back by the anti-socialist movement from the militant, mass workers struggle.

It is the only real hope we have of disarming the neo-capitalists.

So why don't we just call for an election boycott? Or an informal "party" boycott that is more principled than voting for any parliamentary candidate.

We call for Labor's re-election

**Nuclear Disarmament candidate Jan Moller—a minor initiator**









Social Security workers need . . .

# WE HATE IT! WE HATE IT! WE HATE IT!

## THEY'RE NOT ACTING!

by Eric Harrison, ACOA, DSS Sydney.

Many NSW Social Security offices were closed on 12 October, and others poorly staffed. Strikers held an enthusiastic picket at Anstruther House, the main DSS building. Several interesting events were persuaded to join the picket protesting about the introduction of the Striplin Computer System.

The union has been successful in getting the picket line to go on for a week. The picket line was broken up on the 13th. The picket line was broken up on the 13th. The picket line was broken up on the 13th.

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SOCIAL SECURITY WORKERS PICKET THEIR WORKPLACE ON 12 OCTOBER TO PROTEST THE INTRODUCTION OF THE STRIPLIN COMPUTER SYSTEM.

## But we're not Luddites, are we?

IN EVERY discussion about technology, someone is sure to say, "But we're not Luddites, are we?" Most people don't know that the Luddites faded the destruction of their jobs and their livelihood, by new working methods. Their attempt to fight the machines failed, but this was not a good thing. It meant progress.

Now, as socialists, we know technological development. It contributes to the creation of sufficient wealth and the means to build socialism - a society free from machinery, poverty and want, freedom, peace and justice, and a society free from machinery, poverty and want.

However, social capitalists, the history of automation and technology - from the industrial revolution to the present day - has been a history of exploitation and oppression. It has been a history of exploitation and oppression.

The priority for jobs and governments is to keep the production process going, to get more value out of labour, to increase production.

adequate number of monitors to be read daily and a thorough cleaning of the evacuated front and air ducts.

The Clerk In Charge proposed that his application form to be sure there's no missing on our part. This was pointed out to him.

They're planning a meeting of the union officials to discuss the situation with their members.

Apparently there are over three hundred Commonwealth workers in Brisbane with varying levels of disability.

skills into simple operations and putting these under the control of a continuous assembly line.

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technology adds another dimension because supervision and discipline can be done by the machines. De-skilling occurs as the computer takes over some of the tasks of typesetters and printers.

Clerical workers have accepted less work more rapidly because they have more freedom to work at their own pace in a large extent. The tasks are still quite complex and difficult to manage to examine in detail and control.

The introduction of schemes like Striplin in the Department of Social Security clerks will basically punch information into the computer via a VDU. The amount of work and speed can be measured and reduced.

New technology has developed in this particular form of control. Workers just won't work as fast as bosses would like for long wages.

Workers attempt overt and under the surface to pump more and more value out of labour because they know they're not going to compete against each other for profit. Governments cut the cost of services for people in order to reduce funds to aid favoured companies, like BHP.

If workers' needs were taken into account, then alternative forms of technology would be found - and we wouldn't have to live in a world of possibilities for growth.

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If you think the election campaign trail's a dead end, track down visiting British revolutionary . . .

## ALEX CALINICOS AT U.S. SUMMER CAMP.

LONDON: British revolutionary Alex Calinicos has confirmed he will be speaking at the International Socialists' summer camp over the New Year long weekend.

Alex is a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, the fraternal committee of the IS in Britain. He has written a number of books including 'The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx, Southern Africa after Soweto. In three volumes for Philosophy and Marxism International. Alex works as the SWP's weekly paper Socialist Worker and is a regular contributor to other socialist journals of the SWP, which is the largest revolutionary organisation in Europe.

Alex will be talking on a range of topics at the camp including on the British miners' strike, revolutionary politics today and a number of questions by Marxist hours. One of that there will be numerous talks by IS members.

The sun, surf and socialism event of the New Year is a most Camp Manning is about 50 kilometers from Melbourne. It also and edges onto the beach. There is comfortable buses, busse accommodation and all meals are provided. As well as a variety of talks at different political levels, sporting, recreational, BBQ and socialising opportunities abound.

Dates: From Friday afternoon 28 December to Monday 13 December. Prices: \$50 for employed, \$30 concession.

For more details see your Battler office or contact your local IS branch or fill out form below. Drop post to (P.O. Box 1471N, Melbourne 3001). If you want to know more we can make a cassette for you.

\*\*\*\*

THE National Committee of the IS, meets in Sydney on the weekend of 17 and 18 November. It will be a most interesting meeting. The National Committee will be giving educational talks, discussing the growth of the political movement in Australia, especially in the light of the political situation in Australia, and also reviewing our work in Australia.

How could it have been more efficient? All the educational talks and the meeting will be in the evening. The meeting will be in the evening. The meeting will be in the evening.

THE DENMARK is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.

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SYDNEY Sydney Branch meets every Monday at 7pm. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.

It's no surprise considering the Liberal Party won at Sydney Uni a few months ago, and given the low level of political struggle.

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## HOW TO GO RED THIS SUMMER



TICK appropriate box:  
 I want further information.  
 I want to book for Camp Manning

Adults (\$50)  
 Concession (\$30)  
 Children under 7 (\$18)

Enclosed is . . . . . being full payment.  
 Enclosed is . . . . . being a deposit.

I would like to book now and pay on arrival.  
 I need transport.

Name . . . . .  
 Address . . . . .  
 Phone . . . . .

Drop post to: GPO Box 1472N, Melbourne, 3001.

Something happening where you work? Write for The Battler. P.O. Box 46, Fremont, Vic 3011

Red Letter Days. July 1974 examines the details of the formation of the IS in 1919.

AGITPROP PROGRAMME. Wednesday 7 November. 7.30pm. The Canberra Branch will be holding a meeting.

MELBOURNE Melbourne Branch meets every 1st Monday night at 7.30pm. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.

BRISBANE The German Revolution Wednesday 21 October. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.

## International Socialists

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only the organised working class has the power to create a society free from exploitation and oppression.

Revolution, not Reformism. We are not in favour of a reformist system, not patching up or gradually trying to change it. We are building an international movement, opposed to patriotism and class rule and can never be used to serve the interests of the working class.

Internationalism. A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must help build revolutions in other countries or it will be defeated like the Russian revolution in 1917. We are building an international movement, opposed to patriotism and class rule and can never be used to serve the interests of the working class.

Full Equality and Liberation. For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups, active, open and discrimination against migrant peoples are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the social preservation of homosexuals.

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

Rank and File Organisation. Workers need their own rank and file organisations, to fight the bosses where the party officials are unwilling. We fight to bring unions under rank and file control.

U.S. aims to build a revolutionary party out of the struggles of workers in the workplace. We are building a revolutionary party, organised and built in the workplace. Without a revolutionary party the struggles of workers will be crushed.

CONTACT US . . . . . BATTLER EDITORIAL. GPO Box 46, Fremont, Vic 3011. I.S. NATIONAL OFFICE. GPO Box 1472N, Melbourne, 3001.

MELBOURNE. GPO Box 406, Melbourne 3001. Office: Rm. 1A, 2nd Floor, 232 Swanston St. City. SYDNEY. 605 3030. PERTH. 487 1818. BRISBANE. GPO Box 1472N, Melbourne, 3001.

## ROCK THE BOAT

Join the IS. We are building a revolutionary party, organised and built in the workplace. Without a revolutionary party the struggles of workers will be crushed.

Canberra. The Canberra Branch of the International Socialists meets at 7.30pm. The Canberra Branch will be holding a meeting.

Melbourne. Melbourne Branch meets every 1st Monday night at 7.30pm. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.

Brisbane. The German Revolution Wednesday 21 October. It is a weekly, socialist newspaper published in Denmark.





















# teach yourself marxism

## It's only human nature?

by John Molyneux

WHEN you talk about socialism, there's one argument you always come up against. "Socialism will never work. You just change human nature."

There's one great protest against exploitation and oppression commensurate always with the human nature argument. Marx's view of human nature is light. Right? It's human nature to have "relations" and people who are different. The oppression of women? Human nature. Men and women are "naturally" different. Slavery, too, was an inevitable by-product of human nature. It was the nature of basic, some people said, to be slaves. The same with feudalsim, and usually, God was brought in to back up the argument. Remember the words of William Shakespeare's Hamlet: "The poor man in his grief, God made him beggar and he'll endure his state."

It was the God-given nature of some people to be lords and others to be serfs. "Human nature." God-given or otherwise, has always been the favorite alibi of the oppressors.

But what is this unchanging human nature supposed to be? Clearly human beings have certain needs or less said have permanent needs.

To survive we all need air, food, drink, shelter. They also have sexual and emotional needs. To be healthy, rather than just exist, they need social contact, affection, love and a measure of freedom.

### features

None of these features of human nature will change the slightest moment for socialists. On the contrary, socialism will meet these permanent human needs far better than capitalism.

But of course, that is not what bourgeois when they bring up the question of human nature. They mean that human beings are naturally selfish and greedy and that what is a society of solidarity and justice is impossible.

This idea comes from the Christian doctrine of original sin. It has no scientific basis whatsoever. Even if it were true, it is not difficult to observe numerous acts of

kindness, generosity and self-sacrifice which would be impossible if people were selfish by nature. But under capitalism, these features of the human personality are obscured because a society based on production for profit encourages greed, indeed, demands it at every turn.

More generally, the point is that the material social conditions in which people live shape their personality and behavior.

As Marx put it, human nature is nothing but, the ensemble of social relations. The proof of this is seen in the enormous differences in what people in different societies have thought of as "nature."

To the American Indian, private ownership of land was "humanistic". To the 18th century landowner, it was the most basic human right. To the ancient Greeks, homo-socialism was the highest form of law. To the Victorian England it was the lowest.

So what are the social conditions you change? Human nature.

Ever more important is Marx's point that you do not change circumstances, changed people, but people change in the process of transforming their circumstances.

Marx, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.

# BRECHT

BERTOLT Brecht is arguably the most important dramatist in the 20th century.

Over 40 produced plays, besides countless collaborations and unproduced plays, he counts probably for half the modern classics produced in the world's theatres—the Threepenny Opera, St Joan of the Stockyards, Galileo, Mother Courage, and The Caucasian Chalk Circle.

His choice of subjects was global, from Thames Wharfside to the markets of Tashkent, from Peking to Pennsylvania.

But the chief reason why he is such an important dramatist is that he recognized that any art which stands outside life (as Brecht himself said) was not art at all.

Brecht was the definitive committed artist committed to challenging capitalism and its ideology.

**BRECHT testifies before the House Un-American Activities Committee during the Cold War**

To maintain its grip on ordinary working people, the popular arts of the ruling class had to appeal to those and vague feelings of its audience. In Brecht's day this was melodrama and historical romance. In our day it is *Deliver Us from Evil* and *Lady of Our Lives*.

But, artistic embank had to be touched in jargon and mumbo-jumbo, of the spirit of it, and the Great Art, and the Art of the Artist, which is the genius when creating, experiences a kind of aesthetic gastritis.

It was this ill that paralyse that Brecht attacked. His attack on accepted art often took the form of poetry.

More important, it seems to me a sorry trade, the development of personae Stalinism in the communist movement. The solution was raised using the poetry that were available. The picture was the colours that were available.

This outlook is not the acceptance of Stalinism argued in Georg Lukacs, Hungarian Marxist, or Louis Aragon, the French writer. But certainly it is an accommodation, unlikable to Andre Breton, the painter, Rivera, or most notably of all, Victor Serge.

There is no doubt that Brecht was suspicious of the bureaucracy his poem on the East German workers' uprising of 1953 shows.

After his criticism of the Communist Party was always explicit, never overt. It is perhaps the one area where his criticisms of the world in which we live were least cut to suit.

Yet, the great body of his work stands as a witness that future art and revolutions can and will be built.

by Richard Emerson

NOTHING very startling happened at the Communist Party's recent Congress. Yet some party members are enthused.

"At first glance," says Tribune, the Congress "didn't seem like head-line material." Its decision may be "historic for the CP."

In June 1983 the CPA introduced a new constitution. The party's prospects. The new constitution was one to more or less keep the party active. This has not been the case since the ALP split, yet hoping to bring in more people into the party.

There are reasons why the ALP split was not an event for the party. The Victorian leaders and the ALP are not to be taken up their own "Socialist Forum." This left the

proponents of the "new party" in an obvious predicament. The party Congress was then decided in advance.

The actual Congress, leading members in rather vague. The CPA is "negotiating" there should be work around common left programs on the one hand. We're suggesting a "new alliance."

And finally, we're opening up "debate" through this process of a new socialist left.

Most of this is old hat. The left always united around specific "issues of the day." The "socialist left" was the only political program. Good will be the ALP and the party since 1981.

Yet out of these three, the Communist Party is already so diverse and directionless that only tradition and inertia holds it together. Famine, union bureaucrats and Eurocommunists

have little in common. A new, broader grouping would inevitably follow. But it's unlikely it would be much larger. It could even be smaller, if sections of the existing membership break out to join other fronts.

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# Economics made easy!

ECONOMICS has been called "the dismal science." A lot of people who would agree to study it would agree.

When I tried attending a university economics course, I was tired of hearing about cherry-picking projects where the profits were determined by the cherries at a certain level on the tree.

It got worse when we started to hear about strange people called Physiocrats, who seemed to derive wisdom from a table looking like this:

But it doesn't have to be so way. Back in the thirties, an American named Leo Huberman decided to write a book that would bring economics alive.

He succeeded, and the fact that he was a socialist, heavily influenced by Karl Marx, had a lot to do with his success.

The capitalist camps always preach the topic in terms of timeless Laws. One of the greatest achievements of Karl Marx was to look at the whole subject historically.

Economic theories, he said, represented various vested interests. As different social classes rose and fell, so did the theories. The clash between different sets of ideas about economic life reflected the class struggle.

This insight allowed Huberman to write *Man's Worldly Goods*, which is now in its 11th year. He wrote in its introduction:

"The dismal science" will remain so long as it is taught and studied in a historical vacuum, free of rent, free of profit, free of class, and free of all that is in one hand held by the landlord and in the other by the worker in the England of the 19th century and in becoming extinct movements."

Huberman begins his story in the 18th century, pointing out that the rise of the bourgeoisie led to the times that we all call his era.

"Men's goals" on the one hand and the history. For along with nature, human labour is the source of all wealth.

Man's Worldly Goods is bursting with information about past and present, the rise of the towns and the merchant class, and the destruction of feudal society. At every point, we also see how new and old ways of producing things alter and economic ideas change and come again.

History and economics are one and the same. One theme is particularly important. Huberman shows how in the middle ages everyone took it for granted that commodities had a "natural price." This price was determined by the labour time needed to make them.

If you spent ten hours making something, it stood to reason that you would exchange it for other things incorporating ten hours of labour. Ten and ten makes twenty, and that was the theory behind a unit of value.

But with the growth of trade, the forces of supply and demand became more and more dominant. And the process of exchange came under the control of merchants who made their profits by buying low and selling high.

Tom O'Linch reviews 'Man's Worldly Goods', a gripping history of politics and economic ideas.

pages about knights and ladies, all about that thinking around and getting to provide all these things that armour down from above.

You get very little idea that someone had to provide all these things that armour down from above.

The writing is good to write the labour of the common people back.

Later still, the industrial revolution came, and the value of labour, labour as it is called, was explained in terms of the value of goods in terms of labour time. This theory of "marginal utility" became the economic theory of the capitalist class.

But with the rise of the capitalist class, the industrial working class inevitably developed another social class. This class cast about for economic ideas to represent its

interests. The man who founded a variable economic theory was Karl Marx.

In his hands, the "labour theory of value" according to which the value of goods is determined by the time people have to work to make them, took on revolutionary implications.

Who had professed to work, made Marx. From the labour of the worker, there is not a terribly original idea. People before him had worked this out from the labour theory of value. They argued that the workers produced all the wealth, only to have it stolen by the boss.

This was an essentially moral theory, expressed in slogan like "Property is theft."

Marx put the argument on a more scientific footing. All goods get their value from human labour time, he said. But what of labour itself? That isn't a commodity.

The commodity "labour-power" derives its value from the labour needed to produce, feed, clothe and otherwise care and maintain the labourer. Broadly speaking, and allowing for the fluctuations of the labour market, wages will tend to

reflect the value of labour-power. But this commodity has one feature that makes it different than other commodities. Labour-power has the capacity to create new wealth above and beyond its own value. This "surplus value" is the source of profit.

In this way, two great counterpoised interests arose: capitalist economic theory and Marxist theory, representing the interests of two great social classes.

Second, it is an illusion to think that a poor country like Russia could build socialism on its own. Humanitarianism, with the state dictating to the workers, is not an alternative to capitalism. It is still a form of capitalism.

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# CLASS in the Middle Ages—a lord and his bailiff square in the face!

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the  
battler

# Karl Liebknecht... "The main enemy is at home"

By Tom Orag

Karl Liebknecht

GERMANY IN 1919 was swept by revolution.

One of the key leaders of the insurgent workers' movement was Karl Liebknecht. His life was one of great heroism and tragic political mistakes.

But even the mistakes of this great revolutionary have a redemptive value, for those who carry the ideal of revolutionary Marxism into the future.

Liebknecht was born in 1871. He entered politics late as he had been occupied, during his training as a lawyer, to narrowly conform to the repressive German legal requirements.

Influenced by mass strikes in Western Europe in the early 1900's, he quickly became a radical inside the largest socialist party in the world, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD).

At the SPD Congress in 1904, Liebknecht and veteran revolutionary Clara Zetkin called for mass political strikes as the best form of struggle for socialism. The call was rejected as the SPD was more interested in parliament than workers' self-activity.

Liebknecht was one of the creators of the SPD's youth movement and led it in the fight against militarism.

In October, 1907 he was tried for high treason for his pamphlet *Militarism and Anti-Militarism* and sentenced to 18 months. This was not a high distinction. The SPD was by now so thoroughly reformist that high treason trials against party members had become a rarity.

From then on, Liebknecht had a special place in the hearts of the Berlin working class. The next year they sent the former prisoner as their MP to the State Parliament of Prussia.

On August 3, 1914, just after the outbreak of World War I, SPD Reichstag MPs met to decide their fate on war credits, the taxes the government needed to fight the war. Out of 111 SPD MPs only 15 argued for a "no" vote. The international working class movement was stunned.

On the same evening, Rosa Luxemburg and a small group of revolutionaries within the SPD met to take up the struggle against the war. It was not long before Liebknecht joined.

In November the German government demanded more war credits. When the vote came on December

government?

The police rushed at him and tore him out of the crowd which fought for the next two hours to try to rescue him.

On the day he was sentenced, 55,000 minuscule workers in Berlin went on strike. The political strike, argued for by Liebknecht and opposed in parliament by reformist SPD leaders, became a reality in wartime.

Liebknecht remained in prison till October, 1918. By then the German ruling class wanted peace because it was clear it had lost the war. There was tremendous social unrest.

A coalition government between bourgeois parties and the SPD was formed.

The Revolutionary Shop Stewards met again, together with Liebknecht and another Communist Party member.

A Revolutionary Committee was set up. But Liebknecht had not discussed the idea with the Communist Party leadership. The Revolutionary Committee's purpose was to overthrow Ebert's SPD government but it proved incapable of planning anything to achieve this.

It called for another demonstration for the next day, 6 January, distributed some guns and made an attempt to occupy the War Ministry.

That was all it assigned no tasks to the armed workers or left them in buildings of no strategic importance. The only action of any military

Luxemburg clearly saw that while the young KPD had the sympathy and another Communist Party member.

The defeat of January 1919 occurred because the cadres of the young KPD had not been politically trained and trained through a long history of struggle like the Bolshevik Party in Russia.

In July 1917, the Bolsheviks carried out a successful retreat from a similarly dangerous situation.

But the Bolsheviks entered the February 1917 Revolution as a politically coherent organization of 100,000 members and by July had 176,000 members in a country of just three million workers. The KPD



Above: SPARTAKISTS battle Reichswehr troops, 1919. Right: A BAVARIAN party warns voters, 1919. "The Bolsheviks is about! Out with him on election day!"

of radicals in the SPD to form a tighter group—*Spartakus*. Mayday 1916 was chosen for the first trial of strength. *Spartakus* leafleted the factories of Berlin for a demonstration.

Early in the morning 10,000 workers gathered in a square outside the Kaiser's palace. Liebknecht, in full uniform, and Rosa Luxemburg were greeted with cheers. Liebknecht spoke: "Our enemies are not the English, French or Russian workers but the German capitalists! Down with the war. Down with the

formed in order to stave off the threat of revolution. On 20 October an amnesty was issued for political prisoners. Liebknecht was welcomed as triumph by the workers.

On 4 November, 80,000 sailors at Kiel mutinied and along with armed workers took over the town. The revolution had begun and it spread rapidly. This is what Liebknecht had been working for and he spoke at one factory meeting after another.

On 9 November, Berlin fell to the revolutionary wave. The Kaiser fled to Holland. The government was handed over to SPD leader Ebert who declared, "I have revolution like you."

In the Reichstag set the Provisional Workers' and Soldiers' Council. These councils were elected in factories and barracks and an Executive Committee claimed full power throughout Germany.

In late December, the *Spartakus League* convened a national conference of revolutionary groups which founded the German Communist Party (KPD). The same day, officers of the SPD met with army leaders to plan the final details of the fight against revolution.

They staged a provocation—the kidnapping of the Independent SPD (USPD) leadership. The USPD and SPD's Revolutionary Shop Stewards called a demonstration on 3 January to defend the seized leadership.

The Communist Party joined in. Hundreds of thousands of Berlin workers marched to the scene. This enormous demonstration, the Berlin Executive of the USPD and



value was the spontaneous occupation of train stations by railway workers.

While fighting between workers and loyal troops was going on, vacillating elements in the Revolutionary Committee, such as the USPD, went to negotiate with the SPD government. This led to confusion among the insurrectionary workers. How could the Revolutionary Committee possibly negotiate with the enemy?

entered

On 11 January, troops stationed outside Berlin entered the city. Although they were only several thousand, by 12 January they were in control.

Why did Liebknecht involve himself in such a protracted but for power? The historian observed, "Liebknecht had always been a man in a tearing hurry. It didn't matter a political strategist and now his impetuosity carried him away."

When Rosa Luxemburg found out what Liebknecht had done, she argued bitterly with him, asking "Karl, is that our program?" The programme of the Communist Party was to patiently try to win over the German working class.

# Ego bruised, the bosses' boy is back

WELL, we suffered through an eight-week campaign, then went to the polls. And what did we get?

Bob Hvide. Bloodied but unbowed, he'll spend the next three years cutting wages, boosting profits, and attacking

any union that dares to get out of line. And it seems it's also here three more years of a wimpering Andrew Peacock, claiming he knows better ways to do much the same thing.

What we got precious little of was democracy.

The police and leadership of the major parties were striving to please the employers. Labor's strategy to rig an off-bally through "consensus," so what they preferred this time. But Peacock's more blatant union-busting will be kept in reserve for a rainy day.

We did have the chance to vote NDP and cause a bit of stir. But the NDP was afraid to declare itself on a vast range of social issues, for fear of alienating conservative backers. And the major parties got up to minimize their electoral impact.

So much for the parliamentary circus. Now it's back to the class struggle, where we can actually win concessions and affect government policy if we are prepared to make and fight.

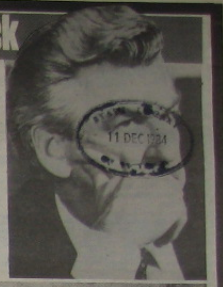
And back to the long-term task of building a socialist alternative which can sweep away the false democracy of capitalism and create real democratic, democratic workers' power.

• Full social coverage p.23



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# SIX million people are starving in Ethiopia, and many more in the rest of Africa. And why? Because the world economy is controlled by a handful of capitalist exploiters.

We are told that \$150 million has been committed by Western governments to Africa's relief, nearly \$100 million by the US alone.

It sounds impressive—until you realize it is just \$1 for each African who is starving or suffering from famine-related diseases.

Yet the notion that giving all that can be laughable. The US contribution, for example, is less than it spends on the military every four hours.

Meanwhile, as Africa starves, the Common Market last year destroyed, every minute, almost 800 lb of apples, 500 lb of oranges, and vast quantities of other fruits and vegetables—hundreds of thousands of tons in all—to keep prices up. The US did likewise.

Such is the nature of a system which finds it profitable to keep half the world in starvation, and politically expedient to ignore them when they cry for help.

And ignore them the West has. For two years, Washington has deliberately refused to respond to pleas by Ethiopia for food aid, in its attempt to overthrow the "Marxist" regime of Colonel Mengistu.

Originally, the United States backed Mengistu in Ethiopia, after he overthrew the previous ally, Emperor Haile Selassie, in 1974. This was his brain trust's preference to the popular revolt that was threatening, and which Mengistu dangled down with a lead reform program and

organised the

Marxist's chosen Mengistu continued Solon's war against

Today, shame on giving aid to the starving. Now the people of Ethiopia are paying for Washington's mistake. Hoping a famine would undermine Mengistu, the way a 1975 famine helped undermine Solon's, the US

Russia for aid, kept the war going, and the US had passed wrong and lost a useful

Today, shame on giving aid to the starving. Now the people of Ethiopia are paying for Washington's mistake. Hoping a famine would undermine Mengistu, the way a 1975 famine helped undermine Solon's, the US

# Starvation Capitalism

Turn to p.3

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

Not a video game

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# NO HOIDS BARRED

# Assured air of informality

It shows just how critical people are about the political atmosphere of the parliamentary system. And justifiably so.

The informal vote only partly explains the voting for Labor. Informal votes were cast in Liberal votes by Bruce (Vic) and Cook (NSW), who were expected to go and which swung to the Libs.

Hawke's no-nonsense, "Love Me" attitude was the major factor in getting a big swing in the opinion polls. The Communist Party (CP) can't even advertise when the opposition presents a major issue. The big swing in the opinion polls in 1975 to Fraser and the Libs was due to the CP's refusal to discuss the polarized around class issues, but not the class issues and got what we'd call the donkey vote.

WITH THE NDP drawing disaffected Labor voters, the far-left groups who stood idly by. The Communist Party in Sydney got 2 1/2% of the vote, compared with 1% in 1974. The Socialist Workers' polled just 1% in Sydney where they got the donkey vote.

DESPITE Lib claims, there was also a strong element of protest in the high Informal figure. An Electoral Office survey showed a quarter of informal voters—nearly 50% of the voters—were returned voters in the Melbourne metropolitan areas.

Two per cent of voters saying "A plague on both your houses" in electoral areas every year indicates a remarkable high. Informal elections, in the figure for the entire informal vote.

Liberals posed a credible alternative government to come in hand when the Accord collapses. It is unclear if the Liberal government will be able to do this. The Liberal government will be able to do this. The Liberal government will be able to do this.

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BILL Hayden... a kick to the "crover's" don't make him left wing.

MICK Young, Minister for Making Mistakes.

And John Howard, their preferred "hard line" Liberal alternative MP, is further than ever from the party leadership. His only prospect for a role in the next few months, as he rebuilds his reputation as an "right wing" Liberal, is to be a "lifer" and a proven vote-winner to Bill Snidman after the Libs strong showing in 1974.

ODDLY, the election showed that the party's "consumers" policy...

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AIDS... a cause to decriminalize

"DIE YOU MURDERER" screamed the front page of Rupert Murdoch's *Tribune*.

The paper was referring to an AIDS carrier. And it was typical of the hysteria that some reactionary elements are trying to stir up over the new medical crisis. There are calls for closing down saunas and other places where gay males congregate, proposals to root out homosexuals from the armed services, and a demand for responsible for all deaths from AIDS because it is a communicable disease. Fred Nile is organizing demonstrations outside the parliament.

None of these reactions are any help at all in solving the problem. In fact, they will make the problem worse. The proposition to close saunas overlooks the fact that it would not reduce sexual activity among gay men, who would simply drift it back to other, less conspicuous places. The main effort should be to educate the authorities of one of their best opportunities to reach mass homosexuals with information, do surveys and so on.

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reason

After all, if anyone for some perverse reason wants to give somebody knowing they may be killing people, there's no reason why they wouldn't be able to do it to give up an anti-homosexual bastion.

Other legal measures that would be valuable, however, would be to decriminalize homosexuality, to provide for equal employment opportunities for gay men, and to provide for equal housing opportunities for gay men.

Fred Nile and Sinclair would have been widely regarded as the best candidates for the Liberal Party in 1974. The difference is a consequence of the militant struggles of the seventies which turned public opinion against them.

Today they are being considered, at least for a time, as the best candidates for the Liberal Party in 1974.

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EVEN HAWKE's chief minister... Robert Ray, joined the party's position of leadership. We've failed to grasp the reality of the situation. We've failed to grasp the reality of the situation.

So he's a cosmetic touch-up... to Labor's "classical" image. Gareth Evans' Human Rights Bill is a cosmetic touch-up to Labor's "classical" image.

Unadmitted by electoral embarrassment... The Labor government is set to go for a big push with its program for housing. The Labor government is set to go for a big push with its program for housing.

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# After the electoral circus...

# WORKERS TAKE THE RESSSES BY THE REINS

It was a remarkable election.

Bob Hawke's electoral strategy was a failure. An anti-unionist strategy was a success. A massive victory in the House of Representatives.

By Phil Griffiths  
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But class collaboration always gets into trouble in the long run. The more effectively they demobilize their own members, the less the bosses need them. And at a certain point, the employers will probably decide they can do without the services of the ALP and the ACTU.

Let them, the ruling class will keep Hawke and the others in the right-wing policies. And Bob Hawke will be allowed to do the bossing.

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by Maria Giolitti

AS THE *Battler* goes to press, the Nuclear Disarmament Party has a good chance of securing Senate seats in WA and NSW.

The NDP's success in a double-digit vote for the anti-nuclear movement. It shows the mass reaction that exists and Labor supporters for the ALP's pro-nuclear push. But it also shows the NDP's rather confused policies inside the movement.

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Turn the protest vote into a protest! In fact, there is a very real danger that the NDP will be a double-digit vote for the anti-nuclear movement. It shows the mass reaction that exists and Labor supporters for the ALP's pro-nuclear push. But it also shows the NDP's rather confused policies inside the movement.

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JEAN MELZER and Peter Garrett outside Parliament House

# Turn the protest vote into a protest!

"We've got doctors and lawyers who are members of the ALP. And business people. These people are not going to do better unless we talk about matters which don't raise straight economic issues."

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by Robert Bollard

It saw itself not as a federation of national organizations, but as a single world party. Its second congress in 1920 declared:

The Communist International must in fact and in deed be a single communist party of the entire world. The parties operating in the various countries are but its separate sections."

This clear-minded international approach, which submitted each national party solely to occasional collaboration but to the discipline of an international collective, was the product of years of experience and struggle.

The collapse of the Second International at the start of the war had been a shock to Lenin.

True, the Russian socialists had split into two factions long before over the question of party organization. The Bolsheviks of Lenin demanded a tightly disciplined party to ensure that it was a party of revolutionaries, and not a "broad church" in which both revolutionaries and reformists could co-exist in a politically disastrous union.

And it had gradually become clear that the rival Members were prone to reformism. But Lenin saw these problems as peculiarly Russian. It was not until we brought a crisis in international socialism that we had the need for building a new world movement on the basis of the Bolshevik experience.

**THE TRIUMPH of the Russian Revolution** gave an enormous boost to revolutionary politics throughout the world. And it was only the beginning of a European-wide upheaval.

Revolt by German sailors, soldiers and workers brought down the German Kaiser and forced a German withdrawal from the war. Revolutionary currents emerged which threatened the power of the capitalist state.

Soviet republics were temporarily established in Bavaria and Hungary. In Italy, workers staged militant occupations of factories. Even in faraway Australia, there was a mass movement against conscription followed by a gigantic unofficial strike in NSW.

The workers of the world were in ferment, and the Russian revolution stood out as a model of what was possible.

The first conference of the Comintern, held in 1919, was small and unrepresentative. Apart from delegates from various countries which had been part of the old Russian empire, the congress consisted largely of prisoners of war and the odd international traveler.

I was a matter of planting the banner—a declaration of intent. The delegates left that conditions were right and the revolution was bound to grow.

With the growth came political problems. The Bolsheviks were in the west had to build mass parties as quickly as possible, but without diluting them with reformist and opportunist elements.

Still worse, the first tradition was that parties, non-parliamentary organizations, like all industrial organizations, like all striking workers were about it. Haynes and the unions called a protest.

The night the strike declared the offices of the Communist daily paper and the party headquarters were empty. The leaders were in prison. The next day's edition of the paper didn't even carry the strike call.

Passivity and opportunism were not the only dangers. In the few revolutionary workers were kept up after 1920 the Russian leadership, the other seemed to have been in the air of high jumping, turned their fire on the other flank—against internationalism.

First they had to reject anarchists and other libertarians who claimed for the old the conservative systems of the old socialist parties had made them distrust any party.

More complex was the argument with those who sought to lead for a revolution. The party, who wanted it to pursue a program, in order to have no participation in parliament or conservative trade unions. The party's revolutionary program was the German left, the Communist League in Italy, and Sylvia Pankhurst's England.

Lenin's reply to the British Delegation was:



# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

## Could the Communist International have led a world revolution?

The politics of the movement had to be clarified. At the start Lenin and the Comintern leadership directed their fire predominantly at the opportunists who sought to climb on the bandwagon. People were pouring into the Communist Parties and were dragging some of their reformist leaders with them. And even where the new recruits were genuine revolutionaries, they had been educated in political traditions quite different to Bolshevism. The problems of the French party were particularly acute. It was a matter of planting the banner—a declaration of intent. The delegates left that conditions were right and the revolution was bound to grow.

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majority decided to join the Communist International. But the resulting organization was far from being a Bolshevik party. It was an unwieldy hybrid of both revolutionary and reformist groups. ("Coms" are people who waver between reform of revolutionary politics.)

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one of his most thorough and laud exponents of the reformist party. "The task devolving on communists," he wrote, "is to convince the backward workers, to work among them, and not to force themselves off from them with ahimsa, 'left slogans'."

Revolutionaries must work on the trade unions in order to gradually win workers to understanding the need to go further than simple trade unionism. They must make use of parliamentary elections as a platform to put forward communist ideas—including the argument that socialism could not be achieved through parliament.

**THE NEED** to pull the Comintern sharply away from the dangers of ultra-leftism became clear after the German events of March 1921.

Over-reacting to the deliberately provocative police occupation of the Mansfield coal mines, the German Communist leaders attempted a general strike and transformed it into an armed uprising. They did so without ensuring that they had the support of the majority of the working class.

The result was fighting between Communist and non-Communist workers the complete rout of the former and the declaration of the party membership (led by two-thirds) by the CP leaders pressed on and generalised the methods of the March Action into a "theory of the offensive."

public approaches should be made to the social democratic parties proposing joint action. The aim was to find a way for communist parties still represented only a minority of the working class to be active alongside reformist workers, without surrendering their independence.

The policy distinguished between the rank and file of the reformist organizations and the leaders. The rank and file could be won to revolutionary ideas in the course of the common work. Even where the Communist leaders accepted the Bolshevik methods put

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forward by Moscow, problems remained. The leaders themselves lacked the experience to put them into practice effectively. They were unused to judging exactly theebb and flow of struggle, and the balance of class forces.

Finally they delayed an insurrection. Then after they had actually called one they decided the time wasn't ripe and called it off. Unfortunately, the message didn't reach Hamburg in time, and the communists of that city rose alone, to face inevitable defeat and a bitter aftermath of reaction.

**REVOLUTIONARY** organizations make mistakes all the time. This shouldn't matter as long as we learn from them. Over years of struggle, years of trial-and-error, we learn to put our politics into action effectively.

But the parties of the Comintern didn't have time to learn. They were hurled directly into revolutionary situations within a few years or even months of their formation.

From the first congress of the Comintern in 1919 to the Hamburg congress was only four years. Four years to learn the lessons and create the appropriate leadership the Bolsheviks had accumulated over 20 years!"

Years earlier revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg and the Italian Antonio Gramsci had become aware of faults in the old Socialist Parties. But unlike Lenin, they had not begun to organize around an alternative political strategy.

The other is Bolshevik organization: the separate organizations of the conscious revolutionaries in each country who link up with each other.

The two must grow together. A disciplined world movement cannot be constructed without large revolutionary parties in a number of countries. And revolutionary organizations cannot be constructed without starting out with an internationalist view of politics.



Commun, 1918 to 1921  
by Chris Harman  
London: Pluto Press, 1980  
Pp. 200. £10.95  
ISBN 0 7156 1000 0

**MARXISTS** are internationalists. The stirring call, "workers of the world unite" was a hallmark of revolutionary socialism since Marx first wrote it in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848.

This internationalism is not a mere moral position. It is not just a statement of sympathy and solidarity with the oppressed and exploited of other nations, though sympathy and solidarity are important.

We are internationalists because we have to be. Capitalism is a world system—it operates on a world scale.

As Nigel Harris pointed out in his excellent book *Of Bread and Guts*:

"For people in London, the corn that has gone into their breakfast cereals was harvested in Tennessee or Brazil. The wood for the table was cut in Malaysia. The sugar, the tea or coffee, the formula table top, the oil that powers the kitchen light—each detail conveys such an enormous and complex world division of labour that no single person can comprehend it."

The productive forces of each country are but one part of a global process, a world-wide production line that winds its way through all the corners of the earth. Confining the project of smashing capitalism to one country makes no more sense in such conditions than fencing off four feet of a factory's production line and declaring it socialist.

Which is why the task of building revolutionary organizations cannot stop short at national boundaries. Beginning with Karl Marx, revolutionaries have always looked toward the eventual creation of a world party, an "international" to mobilize the workers of the world in struggle.



POST-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS around the world were usually dealt with in the same manner. Here Berlin police in action against worker agitation.



# WORLD

**THE Road to St. Kilda Pier**, says its author Andrew Milner, "is an unusual exercise, neither a serious account of Orwell's political thought nor a detailed account of the Australian left."

It's right: The links with Orwell's *Road to St. Kilda Pier* are tenuous. Rather, Milner has produced a somewhat glib survey of the left's problems plus some ill-thought out advice on how to solve them.

Some of what Milner says about reformism—"The pale pink humbugery of Labor socialism and Eurocommunist union"—is very useful. He understands the need for a revolutionary inscription in advanced socialism. He argues for it in a useful sort of way.

He opposes the ALP, ACTU, Prices and Incomes Accord and is scathing about the idea that any good can come out of the Hawke government. He argues against the "big push" of Russia and exposes the lunacy of its so-called "workers beach." And he quite correctly says that the left in Australia is in decline, and that the only hope lies in its preceding historic alternative.

Such is the world of 1984. Orwell's classic book fully translated to the screen. It is a depressing world, one with no future and an endlessly re-written past.

Visually, 1984 is well constructed. The technology is not the bleak, ultra-modern stuff that fills *Star Wars* and the like, but a good attempt to realise how a person writing in the 1940's would have envisaged 1985's technology.

Winston Smith, outer Party member and worker in the Ministry of Truth, is disaffected with his job and disillusioned with society, but can see no way out. He is arrested and tortured for daring to think and act differently.

The film manages to convey Orwell's foreboding about what our own society could so easily become. Ten years of bloody repression in Chile, the brutality of the Turkish regime and the fact that war was just a few kilometers away from Orwell has more in mind than Stalinist Russia.

But the film falls down in the same area as the book. Like Smith, Orwell could see no way out. Intellectuals that tempt him. If there's any hope left with the proletariat, but the line is empty. Winston, Kurtz, Wren and Frank Wren played several roles when they were hired to lead them to defeat.

Lightly coloured and revised the book, it is a good read.



ANDREW MILNER—wants a looser federation of left-wing groups.

But what about those feminist ideas which see the basic division in society as being between men and women?

By John Minns  
The idea of a feminist alternative, he would have to look critically at current issues and campaigns. This is largely false to do. He is very uncritical of the non-party left.

For example, after taking wicket-keeping jobs at every sort of assembly, he's a downward throbber to the feminists, doing the "women's work" which offers to his own vocabulary of hope to women.

Can a portrayal of all men as oppressors offer to women real secrets, real workers or clerks? How can working women fight except shoulder to shoulder with

if socialism already existed. But we live under capitalism. We walk in jobs, we have, and we get exploited, annoyed and discouraged.

Capitalism invades our lives, even those of socialists. This does not excuse bad personal behaviour, but it does mean left groups of whatever sort will fall well short of ideal socialist morality.

This is a common view of the "socialist demagogue", who think we can be taken towards each other today as



WEST INDIAN captain Frank Worrell bowls to Lindsay Kline in the epic Adelaide Test of 1960-61.

Worrell look over as captain after a powerful black consciousness campaign led by C. R. James against the white monopoly on the position.

1800, was the celebration by the working class of an historic gain—the Saturday afternoon off.

James traces how sports like cricket achieved their present status. They incorporated values of everyday life—the manual skills prized by the workers, the athletic grace prized by the nobility, and the patriotism of the Victorian age.

St. Kilda's own tradition, however, think sport derives from politics, not the other way round. Everything, even cricket as James proves, is full of class questions.

And it's much more interesting than watching the current Test matches.

—Alec Kalb

## A new book, "The Road to St Kilda Pier", offers an old cure-all for the isolation of the Left.



WOMEN packers on the production line. Can feminist portrayals of male workers as oppressors offer them any way forward? Milner digs at the issue.

Of course, serious socialists are interested in winning people to their ideas and programmes. But they don't explain why there is any contradiction between being that and promoting capitalism. And it's interesting that some ideas are successful, but others are not.

But he has stopped to think why it was that in two of these cases, Spain and Hungary, the revolutionaries were drowned in blood? There was a leadership in the factories, but it was among armed, divided and politically diffuse. In Russia, by contrast, there was a disciplined revolutionary party which could overcome these problems.

Lenin's 1902 remark that the Russian revolution was a highly ground for writing off the whole Bolshevik tradition.

What if some members of the loose federation want to support the current struggle of the Food Processors' Union, which challenge the Accord? Will they do so, or will they be drawn into other matters? The union's lack of success is not the fault of the government? Given the potential membership Milner asks, how is it possible to have a united front? To do this, a united front is very likely. And one supporter's word would be enough to lead the union to an even more successful fight. As so, we survive in a dark, very quick.

## teach yourself marxism

THE PAST 100 years have seen a development of production unimagined in the previous history of humanity. In the midst of all the wealth which it produced due to this expansion there exists enormous poverty.

What's more, capitalism is rapidly being displaced by slump and unemployment. Factories are left to rot, office blocks abandoned, and people are thrown on the streets. How is this possible? As Marx explained over 100 years ago, capitalism is a system whose dynamic is the accumulation of capital. Capitalists are forced to amass more and more resources in order to compete with other capitalists.

But within that accumulation process lurk the seeds of crisis. In order to acquire the capital needed to compete with other capitalists, each employer needs to exploit the workers, to pay them less than they actually produce.

Some of the profits pay for the better consumer consumption. But the greater portion of them are ploughed back into new investment. To survive each firm must grow. And it must improve its plant and equipment.

To compete effectively, capital is forced to invest in greater and greater sophisticated machinery. But as the size of investments proportionately more in machinery than in workers.

Since the source of profit is the surplus value created by exploiting workers, investing more in machinery will undermine the rate of profit. But if the rate of profit falls below a certain average, the capitalists will go on strike and stop investing. They stop or reduce production. The mass savings at BHP and GHD are the result of just such decisions by employers.

At times in the past, certain countervailing tendencies have been able to counteract the rate of profit. The hey-day of colonial imperialism, huge amounts of capital were imported to underdeveloped countries, where industry was still abundant and profit rates were correspondingly high.

And even the crisis of the system itself could be postponed. However, some firms went to the wall, others discovered their limits and were able to grow.

The Soviet economy has succeeded in capital during World War II and the subsequent character of the system of capitalist arms spending, which is now being challenged by the rise of the West. All these factors helped to restore the rate of profit to a level above another of the past century. This is a very large investment in the underdeveloped world appears to have exhausted its usefulness.

The result, as Soviet experts themselves have documented, is that the government is getting a declining rate of profit in production. The Russian economy is headed for crisis.

Only collective, democratic workers control on a world scale will end the continual recession and economic crisis which is typical of capitalism. Socialism would bring the immense productive power of modern industry, but it would also take power to meet the people's needs and to end unemployment.

What we produced, and how much, would be all that mattered. The rate of profit would be an irrelevant yardstick, and would be consigned to the rubbish bin of anti-socialism.

It is a concrete expression of the fact that capitalist relations of production have become a barrier to the development of the productive forces.

## Orwell's despair on the screen

BLEAK, dreary landscapes. A society visibly crumbling around itself. Dirty unkept workers who can't even buy razor blades. Harsh voices blaring from giant screens giving the latest official facts and figures about production and war.

In his cubicle sits Winston Smith, altering yesterday's newspapers to reflect today's version of history.

Such is the world of 1984. Orwell's classic book fully translated to the screen. It is a depressing world, one with no future and an endlessly re-written past.

Visually, 1984 is well constructed. The technology is not the bleak, ultra-modern stuff that fills *Star Wars* and the like, but a good attempt to realise how a person writing in the 1940's would have envisaged 1985's technology.

Winston Smith, outer Party member and worker in the Ministry of Truth, is disaffected with his job and disillusioned with society, but can see no way out. He is arrested and tortured for daring to think and act differently.

The film manages to convey Orwell's foreboding about what our own society could so easily become. Ten years of bloody repression in Chile, the brutality of the Turkish regime and the fact that war was just a few kilometers away from Orwell has more in mind than Stalinist Russia.

But the film falls down in the same area as the book. Like Smith, Orwell could see no way out. Intellectuals that tempt him. If there's any hope left with the proletariat, but the line is empty. Winston, Kurtz, Wren and Frank Wren played several roles when they were hired to lead them to defeat.

Lightly coloured and revised the book, it is a good read.

# CRICKET, COLOUR, CLASS AND COLONIALISM

AS THE West Indies laughter us at cricket, ponder the following. Chris Lloyd is one of the most successful captains ever, winning a record Test straight. His predecessor, Gary Sobers and Frank Worrell, were also highly successful, laying the foundations for West Indies dominance of world cricket. All three have been amongst the finest batsmen of their time, to boot.

Yet tragically, until Worrell took charge in 1960 the West Indies were but a backwash team, with limited cricket and few test matches as a result. For the first time, they were led by a West Indian captain, Frank Worrell, who led the team to a world championship in 1960.

Frank Worrell's leadership of the West Indies cricket team, which led the team to a world championship in 1960, is a landmark in the history of the sport.

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On the contrary, cricket had in James' case, English (Ireland) inherited West Indians with a deep appreciation of their colonial sports culture. Such, no doubt, was Britain intent on introducing the game to the island.

Yet ultimately, competition with whites on the cricket field led the popular black community which they observed equally. As James quotes Lindsay Constantine, "The use of no better than we".

So as the West Indies moved towards independence in the 1950s, popular resentment spilled over into sport. Cricket proved itself James' campaign for Worrell to take over the captaincy drew massive support.

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James traces how sports like cricket achieved their present status. They incorporated values of everyday life—the manual skills prized by the workers, the athletic grace prized by the nobility, and the patriotism of the Victorian age.

St. Kilda's own tradition, however, think sport derives from politics, not the other way round. Everything, even cricket as James proves, is full of class questions.

And it's much more interesting than watching the current Test matches.

—Alec Kalb

### ideas

Of course, serious socialists are interested in winning people to their ideas and programmes. But they don't explain why there is any contradiction between being that and promoting capitalism. And it's interesting that some ideas are successful, but others are not.

But he has stopped to think why it was that in two of these cases, Spain and Hungary, the revolutionaries were drowned in blood? There was a leadership in the factories, but it was among armed, divided and politically diffuse. In Russia, by contrast, there was a disciplined revolutionary party which could overcome these problems.

Lenin's 1902 remark that the Russian revolution was a highly ground for writing off the whole Bolshevik tradition.

What if some members of the loose federation want to support the current struggle of the Food Processors' Union, which challenge the Accord? Will they do so, or will they be drawn into other matters? The union's lack of success is not the fault of the government? Given the potential membership Milner asks, how is it possible to have a united front? To do this, a united front is very likely. And one supporter's word would be enough to lead the union to an even more successful fight. As so, we survive in a dark, very quick.

### Into the Mainstream

A related point is that the black community which they observed equally. As James quotes Lindsay Constantine, "The use of no better than we".

So as the West Indies moved towards independence in the 1950s, popular resentment spilled over into sport. Cricket proved itself James' campaign for Worrell to take over the captaincy drew massive support.









WORKERS at the Renault plant in Boulogne-Billancourt on May 22 reject an agreement negotiated between CP bureaucrats of the General Federation of Labor and de Gaulle's regime. With this vote the CP lost control of the movement as workers moved left.

# WHEN THE WORKERS MOVED

NOT LONG before the beginning of the British miners' strike, French socialist Andre Gorz published a book called *Firewall to the Working Class*, arguing that the workers were no longer a serious force for social change. The British miners soon proved him wrong.

This wasn't the first time he had got on his face. Just before the upheavals in France in 1968, he wrote another book along similar lines. Before it could be published, France was gripped by the greatest general strike in history.

In May, 1968, six million French workers struck and occupied their factories.

That May had been the tenth anniversary of right wing government. For in that month in 1958 General de Gaulle with army backing assumed power in a 'political coup d'etat.'

De Gaulle's policy was to hold down wages, while using government money to build up business. The economy grew, but workers' living standards didn't keep up. In the 1960s, bitterness towards the government began to grow.

Bitter flare-up during 1967. But the two main trade union confederations tried to dissipate the anger by calling token one-day stoppages. Workers militancy was strong. On 17 May, 1967, the Communist-led CGT union federation, along with its social democratic counterpart (the CFTO) and the right-wing French Democrats (FD) called a national strike against the government's plans to devalue the social security system. There was a big response, including 150,000-strong workers' demonstration.

But the union-leaders were careful to keep the struggle within strict limits, and consider strikes later in the year were much smaller as the workers began to get tired of token actions.

The spark which ignited the pent-up anger of the working class into a

of the movement before the disciplinary council after a brawl with right-wing students.

The administration called in the police to break up the demonstration. About 445 pm police, with truncheons and shields, moved on the protesters. After a number of brutal arrests the students started throwing stones at the police. More and more students joined in, and the fighting spread into surrounding streets.

In the week that followed, one

and demonstration against police brutality. The student revolt was spreading ever into the organized working class.

On 13 May, ten years to the day after de Gaulle came to power, ten million workers struck. In Paris a million people demonstrated. The police didn't dare move against them.

Still the struggle gained momentum. On the following day the Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes was occupied. The workers imprisoned

But the Communist Party and the trade union leadership came to de Gaulle's rescue.

They had long been committed to gradual social change through parliament. The imminent grasp of class war terrified them. They emphasized form and again that the strike was to be only for economic demands. They used all their influence on the left to ensure that the students were kept outside the gates — if necessary by force.

On 27 May the employers agreed to substantial wage increases after negotiations with the CGT union federation. Georges Legry, head of the CGT and a member of the Communist Party, tried to get the Renault workers to accept the deal. They voted unanimously to reject it and stay out.

In the next two weeks the union officials and the Communist Party worked overtime, trying to seal the deal. Slowly they persuaded factory after factory to join what they called "the victorious return to work". They were able to succeed because they were long-established in the French working class.

At this point de Gaulle took the offensive. Having assured himself of support in the armed forces, he dissolved the National Assembly and called for elections. He threatened the use of force and appealed to all the most reactionary elements in the country to mobilize.

He also proposed demonstration was called by the right wing for 20 May. The Communist Party, led as "Seno" (student leader) Daniel Cohn-Bendit to the right.

The workers and students were still very militant, and could have been mobilized to counter the right-wing offensive. Instead the Communist Party worked to lead into the electoral process. They sought to form an alliance with the Socialist Party, which was rejected.

With the working class increasingly on the defensive, the swinging voters across France moved to the right.

Back at work and under media influence, many of the unorganized workers who had previously been so militant now voted for the right, as did many swinging voters who saw that working class vote in retreat. De Gaulle won a landslide victory.

But the French working class had not been defeated by the employers or the government, but by its own weakness. The weakness lay in the absence of any alternative to the Communist Party.

The students could act as the demonstration force, but they could not lead the upheaval forward to revolution. That could only be done by a revolutionary party based in the factory.

Such a party could have been formed by basing itself on the often small strikes that took place during the difficult years of capitalist stagnation before 1968. But the number of revolutionaries who sought to build such an organization were too low.

Consequently, the Communist Party remained the unchallenged leadership of the militant workers. And the revolutionary power of 1968 was lost.

**By Paul Donley**

great general strike the next year was provided by the students.

Unlike the working class, students alone don't have the power to shake the power structures of capitalist society, let alone overthrow them and create socialism. But their struggles could spill over into other sections of the population.

In France as in many countries, student numbers had increased dramatically in the 1960s. As the economy expanded, so did the demand for technicians and other tertiary-trained workers.

The universities couldn't keep pace with this growth. They were overcrowded and poorly equipped. Nantes university in Paris was so hopelessly overcrowded that to get a seat in the lecture room, one student often had to sit all through the previous evening's lecture.

When students showed their dissatisfaction with this state of affairs, the authorities responded with repression. Demonstrations and political activism were banned.

But a discussion led powerful to contain was building in the student population.

On 23 February there was a mass demonstration at university and high school level in Paris against the Viet Nam war. Some demonstrators were arrested. So on 22 March another demonstration was held at Nantes university to protest the arrests and the March movement in France.

The students occupied the university and the 22nd March movement was formed.

Friday 3 May about 500 students at Nantes demonstrated against the summing up of Daniel Cohn-Bendit and six other members



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HIGH school students occupying their school about encouragement to the massive May 23 demonstration called by the CGT.

demonstration followed another. The Sorbonne university in Paris and the surrounding area became a major battleground. The students were soon joined by young workers, the demonstrations grew much larger and the street fighting fiercer. The infamous CGP riot police were sent in.

The movement culminated in the *Night of the Barricades*, which began on the evening of 11 May. A march of students and young workers was blocked by a massive battle of police. The street fighting. The Communist Party, which had denounced the demonstrations earlier in the evening as a "small minority of adventurers, anarchists and Trotskyists" was forced to change its line by 2 am. Worker support was growing for the students and the CP had to announce its solidarity.

The following day the unions called for a one-day general strike



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

**the battler**  
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# 'LABOR' PACIFISTS



Wills, Hawke and Wain leading Labour assault on the unions.

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

Yet from the word go, it has forged new shackles for workers. If any unions stand up for themselves, Labor politicians, ACTU heaves, employers and the press hit them like a ton of bricks. Labor leaders need their jaws wired shut before they will stop abusing the BLF.



...while profits soar 25% in six months

**IN YOUR BATTLE**

The nuclear power brokers — 2

New Caledonia: 'managing' revolution — 10

Also

- Free Speech? — 9
- British Miners — 5
- Vic's Dismal Election — 2

Threats against the Food Preservers Union are an everyday occurrence. Their crime? Trying to maintain their living standards under Labor's "Accord" wage freeze.

Public servants wanted a modest 8.3 per cent catch-up pay rise. Arbitration gave them nothing. So now Labor minister Ralph Willis aims to stand down public servants who won't fall into line.

Neville Wain in NSW passed devaluation legislation against the BLF, and threatens main drivers with the same. His trucks train drivers simply for striking.

His police smash a workers' picket line and arrest their union leaders. Meanwhile the employers are allowed to use a biological warfare sub-past the picketers.

The socialist Labor governments are just bought governments. They agree for working with the system — and they end up bashing out unions for their own good.

Workers' political always say they can make unions stronger, easier by getting into office. This accords prove capitalist propaganda.

We need to start building a real party of labor. A socialist party that will organize workers to fight the system, and one day do away with a shallow

Turn to p.3

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

In the year to June 1964 net earnings for big companies went up by 38 per cent, according to a Reserve Bank survey.

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

How much has your pay gone up since Labor?