Controversy is a regular new section in International Socialist. We aim to debate topics of current interest on the left. If you would like to contribute to this section please contact Janie Stone at the journal.

CONTROVERSY

WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR AUSTRALIAN GAYS?

Phil Carswell

Phil Carswell is a member of the Victorian State Committee of the CPA, and in the State Council of the Technical Teachers' Union of Victoria. He has also been active in gay liberation for several years. Phil is a member of ALSO (Alternativo Life Style Organisation) which organised 1981 Melbourne Gay Day.

The very term of this question presupposes certain assumptions.

1. Is there such a thing today as a "gay liberation" movement, comparable with the popular upsurge of the late sixties, early seventies?
2. Are homosexuals the only possible avenue of legitimate action within the gay subculture?
3. Is there a precise and clear path that is possible to delineate now, for all those interested to follow?

I would rather take up the question of socialists in the emerging gay community. This is one issue that seems more relevant, realistic and appropriate.

Gay politics in the mid-70's focussed on the "struggle culture". Its agent was the activist. As the subcultures politicised, the agent of struggle for gay rights was not an activist but an organiser. A decisive factor for the success of gay struggles (not of course the only one, alliances with other social forces including the labour movement, feminism and radical liberals, will be important) was the extent to which the subcultures, help them to explore their way politically and to develop their own political identity. The strategy and tactics that flow from that position must involve part or all of the following elements:

- they must involve and reflect the felt needs of homosexuals
- they must challenge the dominant ideology of individual solutions for personal problems, with an emphasis on collective thought, action and democratic organisation
- they must build unity — as wide as possible. If mass work is the present perspective then building unity is the tactical necessity
- the day to day tactics must be appropriate to the particular situation

With reference to the quote from Castro and an understanding that these developments are proceeding anyway, I believe it is important to utilise our policies and our political practice so that we become effective and credible organisers within our milieu.

It is my understanding of Marxist politics that one of the major tenets is the role of intervention and the process of winning the majority to a more advanced position. (What winning means, or rather doesn't mean, is explained well, I believe, in Beyond the Fragments, Rowthorn et al.)

This long, uneven and sometimes contradictory process involves plateau, impasses and a lot of uneven development. So be it. This is not a retreat for despondency, rather a clear message.

We have to use the basic principles of Marxism to distil and develop our past theory and practice into that which is appropriate today.

With this in mind, my long range perspective are those of mass work, social and political change as a process and a tentative grappling with the fact that the area we work in is at present incredibly complex. These themes are the background for my work in the gay community. I regard the strategy and tactics that flow from that position must involve part or all of the following elements.

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Controversy: Gay liberation: which way forward?

There are four major objections to this tactic as presently pursued: the continued definition of homosexual politics largely in terms of the interests of the minority group, this in turn giving to the larger group of non-gay liberationists the wrong impression of the extent to which gay liberation and heterosexual progress can and should be identified. These are the four main objections:

1. The tactic of gay liberation has been defined in terms of the interests of the minority group, which are often in conflict with the interests of the larger group of heterosexuals.

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These objections are based on the following arguments:

1. The tactic of gay liberation has been defined in terms of the interests of the minority group, which are often in conflict with the interests of the larger group of heterosexuals.

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4. The tactic of gay liberation has been defined in terms of the interests of the minority group, which are often in conflict with the interests of the larger group of heterosexuals.

In conclusion, therefore, the objections to the tactic of gay liberation are based on the argument that the interests of the minority group are often in conflict with the interests of the larger group of heterosexuals. This is an important point to remember when considering the future of gay liberation.
Graham Willett

Graham Willett is a member of the national executive of the Gay Liberation Front and was also a member of the organizing committee of the 1981 Socialist and Homosexuality Conference.

New situation call for new analyses and this has become particularly clear over the past few years in the area of gay liberation politics. In response to the new gayconstituents, to the rise of the commercial subculture, to the escalating attacks from the right, socialists in general, and gay socialists in particular, have responded with confusion.

The most prominent response has been a tug of war between the commercial subculture and the argument that socialists must intervene here to build a community of homosexuals from the baseup and subvert capitalist society.

This is a recent and still largely unexplored idea, and its problems have already been apparent. There has been no serious analysis of the relationship between the hoped-for community and the struggle for social liberation.

The obstacles to the linking up of this community with the broader struggle for socialism are legion. The present situation in the subculture is only partially acknowledged. More importantly, the material basis for these obstacles is ignored. The cross-class nature of the subculture, the leading role of young men, and the fact that they are all gay liberation activists, all point to the need for an alternative to the capitalist organizational model in the gay community.

The class interests of the left activists who feel that the capitalist system is the only answer are not those of the gay liberation movement. As a consequence, the gay liberation movement is perceived more clearly by them than by socialists. This is the result as perceived in Sydney and Melbourne. In Melbourne, an attempt is being made to establish an umbrella organization that will unite the gay liberation movement with the socialists. In Sydney, the New South Council of Gay Groups is dominated by the socialists. This means that socialists are being more active in the gay community. The separation of an apolitical Merde Group from a political Stonewall Day is simple the first step in a campaign to exclude and isolate the left from the community.

What all this boils down to is that community building politics is based on a strategy that takes the socialists out of the capitalist system. The ideological hegemony of the capitalist system is maintained by using socialists as dead wood on which to build a community of gays, regardless of their politics and then we are left with the "moral majority" forces.

Initially this will mean supporting the community up to a certain level of organizational back-up. Credibility has to be gained if further political support is to be seriously considered. Law reform is not inherently radical and a lack of interest in the problems of the working class has been a major factor in the failure of many of the gay liberation groups. The struggle for the working class is not a struggle for the gay liberation movement. The working class is not the only group that can lead the battle against the capitalist system.

In Melbourne, the situation is less clear, but any attempt to build a counterculture in the working class would be a mistake. The 1982 election can be a focus for a campaign to make sex and violence issues for public discussion. The Foundation of Education Department for Race and Prejudice and Homosexual Rights courses could be campaign objectives.

RHG

Sydney's Gay Left attempts to mobilize voters. They are working hard to make sure that everyone votes for the Rainbow ticket, which is the only alternative to the racist, homophobic, and anti-gay manipulation of the electoral system. They are working hard to ensure that everyone投票es on October 25.

Their campaign is based on the principle that the only way to achieve social justice is through the electoral process. They believe that only by winning victories at the polls can we begin to break down the barriers of homophobia and discrimination. They are working hard to ensure that everyone投票es on October 25.
Behind the Fragments

Tom O'Lincoln discusses the issues raised by the left bestseller Beyond the Fragments, setting them in the context of the Australian feminist and socialist movements.

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The Critique

Sheila Rowbotham leads off with a truly blood-curdling treatment of Leninist style. We are accused of "the assumption that the manipulation of people is justified by the supposedly superior knowledge which leaders of revolutionary groups presume to possess." We have a "terror of control". We believe that our party "by a process of apocalyptic succession inheres Lenin's words, and our word 'comrade' caries echoes of commissars and ice pails".

And here is Rowbotham's description of what the claims is our ideal militant:

"The individual militant appears as a lonely character without any benefit of democratic controls, who is hard, clear, self-centered, ruthless, without the time or ability to express living passion, who cannot pass to narrate, and for whom friendship is a distraction."

But if this is the model of our rank and file, our leadership bodies have quite different features.

Central Committees study a lot of whose parties through a series of internal and factional documents and the murder the party the greater the harrumph. At least this is less terrifying, but when we get to the individual Leninist leader it is back to the cold, hard type.

A sure sign of a leader of a Leninist political group is the tendency to look past your eyes and over your head when they talk to you.

Now to be sure, she goes on to admit these descriptions, "when stated explicitly (appear) to be a caricature". No wonder, for that is what they are.

Now it is even an original caricature: it is the traditional anti-communist stereotype of the cold war period. Of course, there are some malingerers too who open themselves to such accusations. But this is supposed to be our conscious ideal — and Rowbotham is writing first and foremost about the International Socialists.

Yet she has a look at what the British is wrong, in a book by Paul Foot which has been widely circulated.

We socialists are not fascists or dilettantes. We are socialists because we see the problems which the rich build up for all working people. We seek the establishment of workers who laugh and love and taste to eat the welfarists and deplete third, that is, love and laughter from so many lives.

Whether we or not we always live up to any word, and whatever prices of truth there might be in the criticisms of Leninist style, it should be obvious that Sheila Rowbotham's description is more an exercise in mud-slinging than analysis.

Having conceded in a backhanded sort of way that her allegations might appear to be a caricature, she returns to the attack.

Nevertheless, it strikes some chords of recognition on the contemporary level. It seems, even something to the strange things done in little boxes in perverting them for mankind or capitalism.

A good half of the anti-Leninist argument is on this level. We are painted as mindless robots led by cynical manipulators: a suitable one-dimensional portrait ready-made to be contrasted with the warm, individualist women's movement.

The treatment of Leninist ideas is just as disgraceful. Leninism is not the end of the world. The caricature of Leninism personalizes the stage for an indication of Leninism — and Marxism generally for being too narrow in its scope. And of course part of the indication is correct. Not only Leninism, but the left generally
The Women's Movement and the Proposed Alternative

We were promised that the "women's movement" would provide an opportunity to reconsider the possibility of a strong socialist movement.

No, it is not surprising to all that there is a "women's movement" which claims to be anti-capitalist but is itself a manifestation of capitalist ideology.

The women's movement has had a great reference to socialist movements. It has been argued that these movements are a "women's movement" because they are "women's" movements and therefore have to be "women's movements".

The movement has found a means of remaining involved while growing for a decade. Feminists have been "beleaguered to circumscribe (themselves) and to behave normally".

Lyne Segal is no more modest. She has been "beleaguered to circumscribe (themselves) and to behave normally".

In other words, the "feminist" theories of the libertarians are derived from the_introductory Marxist and the Marxist school of the "Frankfurt School".

To summarise briefly: the critique of Leninism is confused, ignorant, sometimes dishonest. But perhaps the proposed alternatives are a bit better? Let us see.
siblely smaller than they were in the early seventies.

Does the minority have "a moral extraordinary power"? Or, of course, not. Are women's voices not be heard the right and left.

And far from "harvesting emotional distress" has shown a distinct tendency in secularism. There are those who believe in the new work with men. But there are those who will not work with women who work with men (Melbourne WAAC excluded 33 women on just three grounds).

Finally, there are lesbians who refuse to support the struggle for abortion rights (this problem was serious enough for Gay Community News to run an article on it in September 1980).

In Melbourne things have got so bad that not only are women driven to work at the back on YFD, but the marxists seem to keep different consequences from them their own in the overall struggle. (Melbourne WAAC excluded 33 women on just three grounds). If the war is against women, it is against women who refuse to support the struggle for abortion rights.

What are all these fragments? Hilary Wainwright gives us a list. In effect, left wing trade councils, socialist resource centre, socialist women's group, theatre group, left wing women's liberation groups, women's suffrage groups, and women's liberation groups are involved in any movement to transform the nature of the labour movement.

Now this little summary omits the role played by the CP and the revolutionary organisations, but let that pass. This is just another attempt to present the Marxist/Feminist Alliance as the only way out of the present crisis. But this is not the case. Left wing trade councils really no more important than theatre groups, and socialist women's liberation groups are not an important factor in the socialist movement.

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Behind the Fragments: A Fragmented Method

In her essay "A Local Experience", Lynne Segal argues that a "masculinist" which does not base itself on feminism will not liberate women. This is one of many passages which suggest that feminism is more profound than Marxism. Yet on the same page, Segal admits that compared to the women's movement, "the left groups ... seemed more able to produce an understanding of the world as a totality.

But the feminist experience is to show us how to go beyond the fragments, to arrive at an ability to analyse the world as a totality is a pretty basic requirement.

In her introduction to the second edition, Hilary Wainwright admits that the book doesn't "say anything practical about getting there". If we are to understand why, we need to examine the political background behind the Fragments.

Of course the authors would probably deny that they have any method, yet Marth says they "do not offer any 'answers' — indeed their distinct concerns and emphases make that impossible".

But even an "anti-method" is still a definite point of view. And in arguing for it, the authors reproduce a certain system of ideas whether they know it or not.

An important part of it turns out to be opposition to seeing the world as a totality.

The roots of this rejection are drawn from the experience of feminism from the belief that "the personal is political". This was in important part of the politics of women's liberation. The movement pointed out the political implications of many personal matters, from sexism to the dishes.

But this also brought with it a certain danger. It could be, and increasingly was, interpreted to mean that politics was reducible to the personal and therefore to the subjective.

It is one thing to say that feelings are (in a sense) as important as intellectual insights. It is another to say they are the same as intellectual insights, that they can be the basis of unity.

Yet that is precisely what Sheila Rowbotham says. She says, "Our views are valid because they come from within us." And this notion is counterposed to the Leninist approach in which, supposedly, "thought comes from thought". Hence the repeated emphasis on the "spiritual" aspect of consciousness.

Leninists actually think that thought (more precisely consciousness) comes from material things. But never mind.

What matters here is Rowbotham's contention that valid ideas can somehow spring from feeling. And everyone's feelings are different, of course, or it would be possible to measure up one feeling against another. Hence the impossibility of "answers".

That is why the perspective in Fragments never goes beyond "alliances — ad hoc and loose though they may be". And "unity (which) will have to be vague and loose to begin with". And this is to be a vague unity among autonomous women's movements.

Autonomy is a very problematic concept, which has come to mean much more than "independence". That is to say, a movement or organisation. Women-only groups can be useful, and were crucial in establishing women's liberation only in Britain. But the concept of autonomy is taken to mean that there is a distinct feminist theory that is not part of the larger framework. In other words, a feminist struggle which only women can wage.

There is no space here to discuss the concept in any detail. It is not enough to indicate a few of the sectarian implications. Firstly it concentrates on women rather than capitalism as the enemy.

Nothing of theoretical window-dressing can hide that fact, and there are any number of feminists who don't bother to hide it. And secondly, it has become a prescription for every movement of the oppressed.

Take the recent Socialism and Homosexuality Conference in Melbourne. The conference was open to non-gay-socialists. In response, the Melbourne Women's Liberation Newsletter took it upon itself to make these comments:

The Collective notes that this conference is an open conference for socialists on homosexuality, rather than a conference of socialist homosexuals or a conference for homosexuals on socialism. We feel this is a serious move away from the concept of an independent Homosexual Movement which determines its analysis and strategy among the oppressed group it represents ... We wish to seriously test the question of the validity of placing the autonomy and independence of the Homosexual Movement at the center of this proposed conference. Now if a joint discussion between gay and straight socialists is a threat to the 'autonomy' of the gay movement, that autonomy must be a very narrow and distorted thing. And the common tendency to extend the concept to every oppressed group offers the prospect of a very fragmented, squabbling movement for change.

From here it is only a short step to the suspicion that in reality the interests of different oppressed groups don't coincide. And sure enough, Hilary Wainwright comes right out and says:

Neither is the merging of the movements any solution; there are good reasons for each movement preserving its autonomy, contesting its own organisation. For women, blacks, trade unionists, gays, youth and national minorities have specific interests which may sometimes be antagonistic to each other both now and probably in a socialist society. (ibid, emphasis added).

This is a very pessimistic view of socialism. It will be a class society (why the trade unionists) with different groups who have conflicting interests. In fact, it looks rather like capitalism. Real liberation would seem to be impossible, and even under socialism we will not manage to move beyond the fragments.

Here, the real importance of socialism, and so of revolution, disappears. A focus on reform would logically be all that's left for activists. Of course, with suitable rhetoric a piecemeal reform can be made to sound profound and radical.

The women's movement has been part of a new and broader recognition which is that we have made possible. First, that we need the gains made by the working class and the feminist movements of the past. Secondly, that the existence of these gains makes possible new forms of resistance which we can fight for on our own. Thirdly, that no improvement is ever finally ‘achieved’. For within a capitalist
Who is the Audience?

Beyond the Fragments is based on a philosophy of collective ownership of ideas which are valid because they come from within us. The immediate conclusion is a refusal to accept that there can be any "answers"—that is, any correct strategy—because anyone's ideas are as valid as anyone else's.

Applied to movements of the oppressed, this can clearly be seen together with the suggestion that each group has opposing real interests, which will probably conflict with their interests under socialism. This deep pessimistic appraisal is the underpinning for a perspective of piecemeal reform, and establishing plausible prefigurative forms which we can engage in endless dialogue.

To make this perspective credible, a clearly overemphasized picture must be at a certain point be paired with the strengths of the women's movement and, above all, the women's leadership and confidence must be tilled up to clear away the arguments of those who do have a movement but also who have no idea about the possibility of uniting those of different, and oppressed, and exploiters.

We in the International Socialists, though we have grown several times over since the Moscow Congress, remain acutely aware that we are very small compared with the problems that confront us. And it has been an exhausting struggle just to reach our present size.

Hence the attraction of a book which provides a blueprint the (Leninist) means to a socialist power, as in "Beyond the Fragments" (fragmentation is desirable), and suggests that it is more important that action, except for the local leadership which is all that any leftists feel about.

In this approach, there is the added attraction of a fantasy world in which their movement has "its most extraordinary power". The attraction of the book arises out of a real problem, the failure of the left and the exhaustion of the activists, and the inability of the revolutionary group to provide a sizeable focus for mobilisation. Unfortunately, Beyond the Fragments offers no solution, unless you accept the solution of self-destruction and retreat.

The failure need not be resolved, the exhaustion coped with, the isolation of the left overcome. Among other things this is the intent of the book. Leninism faces us up to our own weaknesses and mistakes. However, it will also require that everyone on the left face up to "hard facts and brains lack". This the Fragment authors declare themselves opposed to. But as Sheila Rowbotham herself says, "Leninists, whatever their faults, have a certain talent for it."

Footnotes
Is Australia headed for a new prosperity? Or are we being turned into a quarry? RICK KUHN takes a critical look at some theories of where Australian capitalism is going.

"Now, at the end of this 30-year period of unparalleled expansion, unemployment and inflation are running at disturbing rates; economic instability has increased. Why? What has gone wrong?"

The failure of economic policies is evident in the long-term growth rates of national output and the increasing presence of US military hardware and communication equipment here.

Table 1: Two decades: some statistical comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: For OECD, data from 1970-1980.


Energy Paradise: Whose Boom?

Despite cuts in the social wage, real wages lower in 1981 than they were in 1975, and rising costs from some Australian manufacturers, concern in Victoria's leading circles, the Fraser Government has been telling us for several years that the Australian economy is in good shape. Fraser is backed up by other prominent Australians, including Neville Wran to the reactionary Bjelke-Petersen.

Essentially, they all argue that Australia, or their own bit of it, is and can continue to be an exception to world trends, largely because of the wise policies pursued by their Governments. Fraser, for example, maintains that:

"To have a new investment confidence alive at a time when world trade is depressed and has been doing so for a number of years is a notable achievement. Moreover, the initial push for the first year of this new decade was very much more promising than that confronting the world economic leaders."

The OECD (the rich nations' club) backs up this sort of statement to some extent. In December 1980 it reported on the world situation predicted lower unemployment and inflation, and higher growth for Australia in 1981, compared to previous years and the rest of the world. But "the forecast is dominated by strong growth in business investment associated with the development of resource based industries". The July 1981 report saw a continuation of the growth trend, but with substantial higher inflation from 1982. The resources boom is essentially the consequence of Australia's fortunate geology and international economic developments. It has little to do with good economic management by State or Commonwealth Governments. Several other countries are benefiting from these developments to some extent, including for example Canada, Brazil and a number of African countries.

The leap in oil prices during the mid-1970s and their sustained higher levels for the rest of the decade provided the backdrop to Australia's boom. In a period of high priced energy, Australia is very well endowed with economically recoverable, energy-rich minerals—coal, natural gas, uranium and a lesser extent oil. The boom advocates say that an expansion of resource development greater than that of the late 1960s and early 1970s is just taking off. They argue that, with sound economic management, the boom can sustain economic growth and benefit all Australians. The strategy entails "sound economic management" is not something I propose to consider here.

The contradictions between this strategy, based on cutting wages, and...
A new capital expenditure indicates that a surge in investment has started. (See Figure 1.)

There is a correlation between Australia's faster rate of growth over the past couple of years and the start of a mining boom. The underlying causes of the boom in the iron ore market go unprobed. These considerations raise both the size and duration of the boom in question.

FIGURE 1
New Fixed Capital Expenditure for selected industries (by type of asset) actual expenditure - Original and Seasonally Adjusted series.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Actual Expenditure</th>
<th>Seasonally Adjusted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>4000</td>
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<td>5500</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>6500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Includes public sector and all enterprises classified to agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting.

Who Benefits?

The boom likely to improve the lot of all Australians while it lasts. In the past decade, the Government's policies have been strongly pro-investment, much of the income generated by resource projects will be in the form of profits rather than wages. Without this, the Government's policies cannot reduce the size of the boom, as it will not continue to produce. This major phase of the boom's course to date is that the boom benefits a small number of people, the owners and controllers of the new mining projects. These people are not in any way, large enough to provide any meaningful share of the boom's proceeds. The boom is a temporary phenomenon, but it is likely to have a significant effect on the economy as a whole.

The overall costs to the "Australian community" of new projects are difficult to assess. The main source of information is the Government's impact statements commissioned by the project developers. These cost estimates are based on assumptions about the benefits for all Australians. To them we must add the continuing trampling of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights which accompanies this boom.

Even the current relatively good performance in the Australian economy cannot be entirely attributed to the boom. The surge in real wages over the past year, in contrast to the Government's policies of "sound management", has undoubtedly stimulated the economy in the short term.
The wages push can be traced to:
1. Initial buoyancy in the economy and, hence, a tightening of some labour
   markets.
2. Sustained working-class combativeness, despite over five years of
   industrial and even in the white-collar wage, breaking out in a new
   militancy.

The initial effects of higher wages, already apparent, are an increase in
consumer expenditure, a rundown in stocks and increased production.
The longer-term effects are less pressing. Employers respond to higher wages
by trying to reduce a reduction in their pro-
fits. They attempt to increase prices and
may reduce production and investment
unit profit improvement. (This is not to say
that the struggle for wage rises is futile,
only that it has been growing and
extended to fights over redundancies, etc.
But there appears little likelihood that
wages will rise to continue for some

The main theme the Government
has for discharging the workforce
— unemployment — has diminished
during the extractive boom. The
problem remains: What will happen when
the world economy and the mining
booms do? No one knows for sure.

WORLD TRENDS

The conservative supporters of the Fraser Government and its policies are not
the only ones to view the
boom in isolation from its international
dynamics. Economists, the ALP
and the CPA have developed
a "left national" or populist analysis of
the Australian economy and its
problems. The left nationalists argue that
the government, at the behest of the
official ALP policies, because they
provide a sharper contrast to
the Government's line. The
left nationalists frequently
highlight the "structural
and claim that their positions
are something in common with
socialists. The Fraser Government,
hand, explicitly accepts the current
capitalist framework and has
put the iron fist in a soft
box. The left nationalists have
exchanged upon an argument of elements from
the Government's and the left nationalists.

The following examines the left
nationalist analysis of the current
economic situation in Australia, and
which, they argue, will protect workers' interests.

To some extent, the left nationalists
explain what is happening to the
Austrian economy in terms of inter-
national processes. However, these pro-
cesses are not derived from objective
economic developments, grounded in
the structure of capitalist society — com-
petition, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall,
capital mobility. Rather, an international
consensus underpins the analysis.

Although multinational "industrial
organization" and their international plans
and policies are the dominant elements whose sum constitutes
the crisis. The world crisis involves
the restructuring of the world's "free
enterprise economies" by the multi-

The multinationals have determined
that many of the world's largest
"manufacturing is being
wound down by deliberate intent."

Production has been increased
through the restructuring of
manufacturing and the services sector.
With the diffusion of microprocessor technology through the
service sector (white goods, computer
manufacturing, etc.), the growth of
employment has slowed. Employment
has also slowed down in manufacturing.
Manufacturing's declining share of
GDP and gross fixed capital
in Australia does not mean that there
has been a fall in the real
manufacturing output or investment. In
fact, there has been a decrease. This
trend can be explained by the faster
growth of other sectors. Some of these
tendencies are activities previously allocated to
manufacturing to be attributed to other
sectors. Examples of such activities are
activities not necessarily directed at
manufacturing and the wider use of
leasing arrangements for capital
equipment.

The leafy green boom is resulting in a
short-term increase in the level of invest-
ment in manufacturing industry. The
investments are particularly associated with aluminum production: alumina
refining, aluminum smelting, and associated capital costs as part of the
production of graphite electrodes. The construction and fitting up of such project
is leading to substantial increases in investment in Australian manufacturing
especially aluminum production. Even the Australian Manufacturing
Development Association, its lobbying interest and its manifest interest
in the promotion of investment in manufacturing, has acknowledged that
Australia during the construction phase is likely to be high.

The Australian leaves that nationalists can maintain their deindustrialisation
argument at present by playing with
definitions. They claim that "resource
based" manufacturing is not genuine manufacturing. However, this argument would eliminate the iron and
steel industry, food processing, etc.

In fact, manufacturing is based on the production
of raw materials. Furthermore, the nature of the production process
which is involved, the skills required, capital
intensive, rate of surplus value, etc., are not
more important characteristics of indus-
tries than arbitrary distinctions between
mining and manufacturing.

IMPELORALISM OR NEW WORLD ORDER?

According to the left nationalists, the multinational corporation's plan for the
world is "the new international division
of labour". Manufacturing industry is supposed to be shifted from the
industrial countries to the developing countries.

This is not only determined by military considerations
but also by the need to reduce wages and increase profitability.

Anothe: the left nationalists expect the new international division of
labour, and its corollary in a new
Australian division between the
industrial and the industrialisation are, according to the left nationalists, effected by a number
of mechanisms. These include increased
imports, Australian firms going
direct manufacturing production abroad has had little effect.

Some empirical evidence suggests that Australian industry is going elsewhere.
This can occur either through imports,
domestic production, or Australian production being shifted
to offshore. However, there is little
evidence to suggest that either process is

The left nationalists are concerned about the
rise in manufacturing employment is that the market
has failed to expand enough to keep up with
the growth in productivity. This
is, the effects of technical change,
changes, etc. were more significant than the

For manufacturing as a whole, the
increase in the share of imports is estimated to
have been between 26 and 30 per cent. However, over
20 years, employment was reduced due to
capitalin output; reductions in unit mandates in
employment and capital in output.

A survey of some of the studies of
effects of the division of labour shows that
their conclusions are not always
consistent in terms of increased
employment. The left nationalists
have, however, only had a small effect on the
employment. This is not the case for the manufacturing

The argument for deindustrialisation through
Australian firms going offshore
is less than that concerning
increased imports. Since the direct
manufacturing industry abroad has only about 4 per cent of
Australian new fixed capital expenditure by private enterprises in
manufacturing. However, the consideration of
Australian investment overseas has to be set against overseas
investment in Australia. When this exercise is
TABLE 4
International Investment Flows: Australia (\$ million)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Direct Investment Inflows</th>
<th>Direct Investment Outflows</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Net FDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES: ABS Foreign Investment in Australia 1975-76; ABS, New Panel Capital Expenditure by Foreign Companies in Australia 1975-76.

TABLE 5
Changes in Employment and effective protection, selected manufacturing industries: 1968-81/1977-88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1968-81 (%)</th>
<th>1977-88 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>-5.2</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and Footwear</td>
<td>-4.8</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Equipment</td>
<td>-6.0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Manufacturing</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Australian Government, Industry Commission.*

The Fraser Government is not intent on eliminating Australian manufacturing. Despite its free trade rhetoric and adulation of mining investment, the Government has continually bowed to pressure from internationally uncompetitive industries. The absence of recommendations for dramatically lower protection from the Industries Assistance Commission, its strategy to use the resources boom to strengthen the weakest industries, the Labor Government’s withdrawal from the free trade agreement, all serve to highlight the Government’s resistance to new manufacturing. The protection of manufacturing capital by the Government is its primary interest, not the protection of jobs. All Australian industries will continue to be subject to pressures for rationalisation and enhanced competition.

From Ho Chi Minh City to the Outback

The left nationalist economic analysts claim that Australian manufacturing is the solution to all problems, workers face every day. The attempt would be worthwhile if it generated new and practical solutions to these problems. Unfortunately, as we will see, there are no real solutions in the “traditional programme of socialisation,” “alternative economic strategies,” or “people’s economic programme,” which set out the “practical” aspects of the left nationalist programme. The program itself seems
out a list of demands for greater public ownership, more planning, worker participation and measures to counteract the influences of the world economy on the Australian economy. The latter, especially, are generally couched in terms focused on the multinational problem as the main enemy. Exhortations to involvement in movements and mobilizations are appended to the demands.

Despite the inadequacy of their economic analysis, the left nationalists still find an audience for their ideas. There are three main reasons. First, it is not clear what the alternatives to the left nationalists' analysis are. Second, many people are prepared to listen to the left nationalists' analysis and ask what is the left nationalists' analysis, and so the left nationalists offer them something to think about. The third reason is that the left nationalists' ideas are popular. The left nationalists offer the left nationalists' ideas in popular format and language. They are also advocated because they are apparently the only practical alternative to the left nationalists' ideas, the left nationalists offer a possible solution to the problems identified by the left nationalists.

The left nationalists propose that the problems of the Australian economy are caused by the influence of the world economy on the Australian economy. They propose that the solution to these problems is to nationalize the economy, to take control of the economy, and to plan the economy. They propose that the nationalization of the economy will lead to a more equitable distribution of wealth, to the elimination of poverty, and to the protection of the environment.

The left nationalists' proposals are based on the assumption that the world economy is a source of exploitation and oppression. They argue that the world economy is characterized by the exploitation of the poor and the powerful by the rich and the powerful, and that the world economy is characterized by the exploitation of the poor and the powerless by the rich and the powerful. They argue that the world economy is characterized by the exploitation of the poor and the powerless by the rich and the powerful, and that the world economy is characterized by the exploitation of the poor and the powerful by the rich and the powerful.

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economical development on a world scale, can also be the liberation of the oppressed nations. Even so, some countries of the world, including the People's Republic of China and other underdeveloped countries, have achieved significant economic growth and development. The success of the Chinese economy has demonstrated the viability of the socialist system. The labor force, the agricultural sector, and the industrial sector have all contributed to the country's rapid economic growth. The Chinese government has implemented policies to promote economic development and social progress. These policies include the development of infrastructure, the promotion of education and training, and the encouragement of innovation and entrepreneurship. The Chinese economy has grown at a steady pace, with significant improvements in living standards, infrastructure, and access to education and healthcare. The government has also focused on reducing poverty and promoting social equality. These efforts have had a positive impact on the lives of the Chinese people, and the country has made significant progress in improving its standard of living.

Confronting the Crisis

The Chinese economy is facing challenges, including external pressure, domestic economic issues, and the need to sustain growth. The government has implemented policies to address these challenges, including increasing investments in infrastructure, supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, and promoting technological innovation. These efforts have helped to maintain economic growth and reduce unemployment. However, the economy still faces challenges, including the need to diversify the economy, reduce dependence on exports, and address environmental issues. The government is committed to addressing these challenges and ensuring sustainable and balanced growth.

The state

The state is the central authority in a country, responsible for the formulation and implementation of laws and policies. The state also plays a role in ensuring the security and stability of the country. The state is composed of various institutions, including the government, judiciary, and military. These institutions work together to maintain the order and security of the country. The state is also responsible for protecting the rights and freedoms of its citizens, as well as ensuring their well-being and welfare. The state plays a crucial role in the development and growth of the economy, as well as in the promotion of social progress and equality. The state is committed to ensuring the well-being and welfare of its citizens, and to promoting sustainable and balanced growth.

The construction phase, the phases of the world economic crisis will be felt in Australia. In particular, the Government's strategy to control wages and reduce consumption in the hope that it will reduce interest rates and reduce the risk of real estate. However, the Government's efforts to control inflation and interest rates have not been successful. The Government's efforts to control inflation and interest rates have not been successful. The Government's efforts to control inflation and interest rates have not been successful. The Government's efforts to control inflation and interest rates have not been successful. The Government's efforts to control inflation and interest rates have not been successful.
At the level of the trade union official, the response to possible renationalisation has been strong. The NSW Labor Council has asked the ACTU to consider its support parties if the government seeks to reintroduce import controls. This would be a real threat to the trade union movement, a new form of protectionism, and a direct challenge to workers' rights and freedoms.

The ACTU has made a submission to the Industries Assistance Commission as part of a joint fight with car manufacturers against dumped imports for reduced protection. It goes without saying that the nationalisation policies which have dominated the trade union movement over the past decade have led to pressures on members on the job and at the official level to fairly stringent protectionism. This is perhaps the most damaging of all the left nationalisations. Having one-and-a-half decades of social and party, from Australia's experience to date, is surely one lesson that it is not enough to just talk, but to take action and face the crisis now.

Footnotes

2. All government policies have failed to date, but the recent newness of this new form of protectionism is a matter of concern. For an excellent examination of alternative forms of trade and the justification of the present selective approach, see C. M. Harbord, "Theories of Trade in International Socialism, 2nd Edition, 1980. & "Markets in Theory and in Practice", International Socialism, 1980.

3. Address to the ACTU 10 March 1981.
4. OECD Economic Outlook, December 1980 Paris p. 51
5. For the development of national policies see A. C. Liddon and M. Mclusky, UK Underdeveloped 1978

6. For example see the Australian Treasury Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on National Resources, The Development of the Basin, Alumina and Aluminum Industry, Submission 4th February 1981 p. 3. "The main thrust of this submission is that if the opportunities presented by successive developments in the aluminum industry and its resource dependence become more generally available it is an efficient use of resources, increased real incomes and improved living standards are to become a reality—government at all levels should ensure that an adequate positive policy framework is maintained.


11. M. Byrne, "Japan's Aid and the Political

Footnotes (cont.)


17. AMW: (W.A. Branch), People's Economic Programme 1978.


22. From Tom D'Oliveiro, Melbourne.

Valery Hall and Andrew Miller wrote some of the articles in this section, but many others have also contributed to this issue. Our editors have also contributed to this issue. Our editors have also contributed to this issue.
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FEEDBACK
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JEAN DEVANNY'S work, both her substantial contribution to political analysis, organizing, and public speaking — and her last unfulfilled potentiality — was widely known and recognized.

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nuclear family was the mode of relationship desired. Devany's sexual relationship with Hall, her husband, ended in 1931 by mutual agreement, and her affair with the figure called "Lender" in her autobiography also presented her with difficulties because of the double standard.

Devany's problems also extended to the reception of her writing. Outside the Party, her novels were dismissed by a literary establishment preoccupied with denigrating the socialist realm mode—within which Devany increasingly located herself—but they were not championed within the Party either, or widely translated into the large languages of various Eastern European countries as were, for example, those of Katherine Susannah Prichard, always perceived by the Party as much more within its mainstream.

After periods of considerable ill-health, largely produced by the hectic pace at which she lived and worked through the thirties—one morning she woke up with tremors, then one afternoon she fainted in public, sometimes she was hospitalised, sometimes she had to stay in bed for weeks—her health began to improve. In 1938, her husband, who had been in hospital with tuberculosis, returned home and they took up residence in Sydney, where Devany lived for the rest of her life. She continued to write, and her novels, which had been published in instalments in the Communist Party's newspaper, were now published in book form. Her first novel, *Sugar Heavens*, was published in 1933, and her second, *Paradise Found*, in 1937. Her third novel, *Heaven, Paradise Found and Cindy*, was published in 1938.

Devany's novels are characterised by their socialist realism, their focus on the social and political struggles of the working class, and their use of a simple, direct style. They are also marked by their political commitment, their advocacy of the socialist revolution, and their celebration of the working class as the vanguard of the revolution. Her writing is a powerful critique of the capitalist system, and a vision of a world where the working class is in control.

In conclusion, Devany's novels are a valuable contribution to the history of Australian literature, and a testament to the power of the working class to change the world. Her writing continues to inspire and challenge readers today.
Footnotes


The representation of German Jews, and the question of government-assisted emigration, were major issues during the period leading up to the Second World War. The fact that the Zionists offered them was that they would be allowed to go to Palestine. The Zionists supported the idea of allowing Jews to emigrate to Palestine, but they were not the only group that wanted to do so. The British government also wanted to allow Jews to emigrate to Palestine, but they were concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state. The Jewish groups that were fighting against the British in Palestine were also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state. They wanted to be able to go to Palestine, but they also wanted to be able to fight against the British. The British government was concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with two Jewish states in Palestine. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a British state in Palestine. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a Zionist state in Palestine. The Zionists were also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a British state in Palestine. They wanted to be able to go to Palestine, but they also wanted to be able to fight against the British. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a Zionist state in Palestine. The Zionists were also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a British state in Palestine. They wanted to be able to go to Palestine, but they also wanted to be able to fight against the British. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a Zionist state in Palestine. The Zionists were also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a British state in Palestine. They wanted to be able to go to Palestine, but they also wanted to be able to fight against the British. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a Zionist state in Palestine. The Zionists were also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a British state in Palestine. They wanted to be able to go to Palestine, but they also wanted to be able to fight against the British. The British government was also concerned about the possibility of a Jewish state because they did not want to have to deal with a Jewish state and a Zioni