

draft December 2015 - H. McQueen "*Constant Revolutionising*"

PART TWO

DONE AND UNDONE, 1940s to 1990s

Chapter three

Debates and devices

What could be more ridiculous than that men, awakening from a profound sleep, and finding themselves in the middle of labyrinth, should lay down general principles for discovering the way out?

Condillac, *Traite des systems* (1749)

Chapter One summarised reports by Kaplan and Lanchester on experiences at work today and prognoses for the day after tomorrow. Chapter Two puzzled over Lanchester's call for a change in property relations, a revolution if ever there will be another one. Four more chapters seek to integrate the dynamics underlying the information from Kaplan and Lanchester into the goal of returning the socialist project to the strains and stresses of daily life. In other words, how might dealing with the intensified disciplining of labour-times and the threats of massive unemployment from automation reignite the class politics needed to challenge the rule of capital by subverting its state? The need is pressing because the only way to redress forty years of growing inequalities of income is to redistribute capital.

To connect strategy with tactics will require redeeming the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism in regard to the 'labyrinth' of monopolising capitals after decades of neglect and worse. To reach a clear and distinct understanding of where the current restructures are headed, the Left will need to shed the mantras that the cults and grouplets use to enforce their claims to ideological purity over recruits. Throughout the multitudes of their erstwhile members, the passive memory of half-baked notions stymies the chance to apply Marx's critique of political economy to coming threats and opportunities. The loss of clarity extends to such rudimentary truths as labour-times and imperialism. So 'profound' has been the 'sleep' from which our class must awaken itself that we are cornered into recovering concepts while laying down some 'general principles' for action. We can minimise the risks involved by grounding the latter in self-criticisms of how the local Left has dealt with previous restructures.

Chapter three is in three sections. The first sketches the arrival of machines for calculation and communication. The next rehearses the debates in the world labour movement from the 1950s around cybernetics and about the decline of manual labour. A **third** segment on standardisation and demographic shifts.

Chapter four begins our purge of the clichés clogging Left thinking with reflections on how the labour movement responded to the post-war boom – ‘the trough in unemployment’. Chapter five will reach beyond the accounts of the 1980s that have coagulated into incantations against ‘the Accord’ as the Great Satan.

Part three turns to the current implosion in chapter six and the book concludes with a chapter of considerations on organising for the socialist project.

IBM to I-pod

The revolution in the means of communication began with telegraph lines and trans-oceanic cables that dispatched data for commerce and war. Engels reported in the early 1890s how the telegraph and steamboats through the Suez Canal had put an end to speculators’ fabricating sales figures in the Indian market.

Long before the internet or Google, the gestetner and dry-paper photocopiers allowed for easier distribution of ideas. In the late 1960s, the Monash Labor Club produced 1,000 copies of its newsletter, *Print*, everyday, to boast that ‘Political power grows out of the barrel of a gestetner.’ The photocopier empowered classroom teachers to create our own syllabi instead of tracking through the state-wide textbook. This control of subject matter encouraged professionalism and the rejection of departmental inspectors.

By contrast, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. can be read as an instance of the social relations of production impeding the advance of technologies. The Soviet Minister for Chemical Industries insisted on more memory for his IBM 360-50 so that he could micro-manage 30,000 factories. His ilk did not welcome laptops as a means for dispersing resources between Moscow Central and the regions. The KGB kept photocopiers under lock and key to limit their production of subversive *Samidatz* literature, just as the executive committee of the Chinese bourgeoisie risk constraining productivity by blocking the internet.

In every case, technology affects and is affected by social and political power.

The preeminent visualiser of numerical data, Edward Tufte, warns that PowerPoint ‘corrupts absolutely’ because it is a marketing tool from Microsoft.

EDP

The connections between computers and the disciplining of labour-time began with punch-card control in the jacquard loom and taken up after 1801 by the Lyon textile masters. The first motion pictures show workers leaving the Lyon mill owned by the Lumiere brothers in 1895. The cameras that created an illusion of motion from speeding up single frames served the reality of recording the bodily movements of workers to speed up the application of the labour-power bought by capital. Towards the close of the misnamed silent movie era, Siegfried Kracauer explored parallels between mass production in factories and the mass ornament on screens as marketing spectacles.

Computational machines aided the atomic bomb Manhattan Project, code-breaking and the application of slave-labour in the Nazi camps. The devices spread beyond the state sector thanks to National Cash Registers (NCR) and International Business Machines (IBM). The world’s first office computer, LEO,

came in the late 1940s when the British Lyons Tea Rooms developed one to keep track of its two-penny cakes and sandwiches.

In Australia, from the mid-1950s, electronic data processing (EDP) took over routine tasks such as the preparation and printing of fortnightly pension cheques. War disrupted plans by National Mutual Life Insurance in the late 1930s to obtain punched card machines and so did not start until 1946 with two mechanically-operated ones which obviated the yearly manual bonus and hand-written certificates on 370,000 policies. NML added an electronic calculator in May 1955 by 1956

Ford at Geelong had a punched cards to control its distribution of parts by 1952 Ten years later, divided between Broadmeadows and Geelong three-year of preparations Monthly accounts from three weeks to twenty-four hours

The 'Modern' distribution centre that Coles opened at Port Melbourne in 1956 boasted of its transport system but made no mention of data control.

Staple items food and rink items in 1968

In the not too distant future a substantial part may be marketed through relatively few large central distribution centres: 'Retail transactions will be made by electronic telecommunications and push button devices installed in private homes and hooked on-line to data processing networks.'

Woolworths IBM Ramac 305 during 1960 Warehouses were reconfigured to conform to the ways in which EDP dealt with stocks.

Made one here in 1946 at CSIRO but abandoned project

University of Sydney got SILLIAC in 1956??? and rented time to government and commerce.

From Australia's four computers in 1955, fifty-six had been installed before 1960 followed by an 800 percent increase to 486 by 1966. Cost was a retarding factor. In 1960, a small mainframe went for £65-75,000; Ford paid £270,000 in 1962 when **???? cost £????**. Although computers were no longer **valves/tubes** to transistors. the machines were custom-built, as the *Australian Computing Journal* admitted in 19??: SAYS WHOM?? 'No one actively working in the accounting machine industry would feel sufficiently confident to approach a machine which he had not personally installed.' I.B.M. perpetuated this mystique for six decades as part of locking customers into its systems with give-away initial prices for equipment that attracted escalating rentals, and on which only its technicians could lay a 'golden screwdriver'.

Now with the cloud

Local computing **science** consolidated in mid-1960s with the first university courses, the publication of a journal early in 1967 and the foundation of a nation-wide Australian Computing Society with 2,750 members by mid-1968, slightly fewer than half those working in systems and programming. The second issue of the *Journal* carried an article by an official in the Bureau of Census and Statistics attacking 'the complacency of many of the existing cadre of data processors' as 'far too complacent with their present breadth and depth of knowledge' so that letting them train the next generation would mean 'The Proliferation of Ignorance'.

Those concerns extended to the Society of Chartered Accountants and how to audit accounts on the new machines – how to follow the record of transactions and calculations;

General application always lags between invention. Optical Character Recognition, for instance, was available from 1961 but only for copperplate and even that script needed humans to proof-read.

The desktop became widespread by the mid-1980s around the same time as laptops went on sale allowing Toshiba to knock I.B.M. off its perch. Big Blue had the resources to restructure away from its mainframe model thanks to its exclusive contracts with other corporations and backing from the U.S. military.
NOW WHA IS IBM

Automation and cybernetics posed a new round of challenges to Marxism at every level, the political and the conceptual.

as thorough as that from the new physics which Lenin dealt with in *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism* in 1909.

If the foundation of materialist dialectics is that we become what we do, given a specific interpretation by Engels's 'The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man', and summed up in the title to the Marxist founder of Pre-history, V. Gordon Childe's 1936 *Man Makes Himself*, though we would now rephrase it as 'Humans Remake Ourselves'. In the chapter on 'the Neolithic Revolution', Childe devotes several pages to pot-making which, he argues, 'has great significance for human thought ...':

The constructive character of the potter's craft reacted on human thought. Building up pot was a supreme instance of creation by man. The lump of clay as perfectly plastic; man could mould it as he would. In making a tool of stone or bone he was always limited by the shape and size of the original material; he could only take bits away from it. No such limitations restrict the activity of the potter. She can form her lump as she wishes; she can go on adding to it without any doubts as to the solidity of the joins. In thinking of 'creation', the free activity of the potter in making form where there was no form' constantly recurs to man's mind; the similes in the Bible taken from the potter's craft illustrate the point.

Historical materialism was never economic determinism but always embraced the entirety of 'sensuous human activity', which includes love-making and making war as much as baking bread or building cities.

From the mid-1700s, capitalist power relations were turning humans into the appendages of machines. Rather than when tools had been the extensions of humans.

Labour theory of value if machines ever made the machines that made the machines? Organic composition of capital - constant capital now so vast compared with variable capital. Would there be a quantitative to qualitative change?

Compounded because only embryonic as late as the 1960s.

Political challenge no proles no rev and no socialism

How was knowledge going to be produced?, by whom? and for whom?

Epistemological questions and ontological problems

Systems theory, commonly 'feedback' (Richard Levins, *Science & Society*, Fall 1998) It is one thing to recognise Marx's *Capital* as the *Urtext* for a systems theory approach to society and another to keep its breakthroughs relevant since its dialectical premise is that the dynamics of the capitalist mode of re-

production overtake not only its actualities but the concepts we need to make sense of those ceaseless transformations.

Games theory

Marxists faced one kind of difficulty during the 1940s and 1950s as new parameters were being added to both methods of production and to methods of analyzing them. For instance, how to distinguish the causes from their effects – the old question of science’s distinguishing appearances from actualities? Today, made harder because of the rapidity of surface changes
Yet no account of workforce restructuring can approach being scientific unless it grapples with the interplay of all these elements. The task is to identify them while

Do not bend, fold or puncture

If computers were rare before the 1960s, debates about workplace restructuring had been as frequent during the previous sixty years as they were well-informed. Militants understood their Marx through grappling with the shop-floor interlocks between technical innovations and control over labour-times. Coming changes to craft practices were recognised but too often produced no more than defensive policy responses.

John Baker from the Communications Union did more than most to integrate his expertise from his experiences on the job with a grasp of capitalist dynamics. Baker was a driving force behind the summer schools for **the A** Council of Salaried and Professional Associations. His members were technicians, manuals in overalls who got their hands dirty even while working on some of the most advanced machines around. As those machines got smarter, would their tasks be dumbed down?

In 1948, Norbert Wiener published *The Human Use of Human Beings*, giving *currency* to ‘cybernetics’ which the Soviet Academy of Sciences defined as the ‘goal-directed management of complex processes’. apply to time-and-motion studies but also to its five-year plans. The French Party’s *la Pensee* debated the implications in terms of dialectical materialism. The quality of these interventions **guaranteed** because Communist Parties retained many of the world’s leading scientists and researchers in J.D. Bernal, J.B.S. Haldane, Jacques Monod ???

What about the manual worker?

These debates inside the still united world communist movement intersected with disputes over the significance of the shrinkage of manual labour as a fraction of the workforce in advanced capitalist economies. From 1960, the *World Marxist Review*, based in Prague, published responses to its questionnaire on the reshaping of the working class. Before the Prague Spring of 1968, these cogitations led the Czech Academy to publish *Civilisation at the Crossroads* (1965), serialised in the *Australian Left Review* from 1967, and published here as a book two years later.

Arena thesis from 1963 on the ‘intellectually trained’ Geoff Sharp began with ‘the new Strata’ in the first issue, next year he wrote about several kinds of ‘Professionals’. (P.P. McGuinness would mock as the ‘B.A. Dip. Ed. Class’.)

The variety of terms indicated the uncertainties about what the changes were and foretold. But they avoided the swamp of 'middle-class', as if that label could be explanatory while evading the question of middle between whom? Between the exploiter and the exploited? The phrase had described town dwellers - 'bourgeoisie' - between feudal lords and their serfs but then slid between the bourgeoisie as capitalists and their proletariat. By then, they were either self-employed professionals or the small-scale employer who could not get by without adding value alongside her or his wage-slaves. During the twentieth century, these strata lent their name to a 'new petty-bourgeoisie' of the white-collar service employees and technically trained, whether self-employed or not. Marx had dealt with these permutations at various spots in the volumes of *Capital*, for example, piano-teacher, opera singers and Adam Smith's valet.

No proles, no revolution and therefore no glorious socialist future.

The revisionist politics behind the replacement of the *Communist Review* by the *Australian Left Review* was explicit from the first issue in ??? 1966 when Victorian Branch Secretary Bernie Taft presented ????

Everybody had a go. In 1968, I published 'Dystopia Unlimited' in the magazine of the Monash Labor Club, *Analysis*. Those reflections on 'The Triple Revolution of automation, cybernetics and eugenics is a reminder of the inevitability of flaws in this consideration of the forces now under way. Science is a zigzag of moves to improve our ineluctably relative knowledge about objective truths. Perhaps no better instance of slow learning was over domestic service.

In Italy, a Communist fraction known as 'Workerism' (*operaismo*) Mario Tronti the 1962 essay on 'Factory and Society' factorisation of all society. Later 'social worker'.

The factory rationalisation and calculation in keeping with Max Weber But can be interpreted through the application of Marx's concept of 'social capital', of capital-in-general. So that the reproduction of both the social relations of production, notably the state apparatuses, and the means of production on an expanded scale.

Apply Marx's analysis of the wage-slaves for usurers and merchants to the new and growing realms of the service sector.

Allied to the commodification of life, both physical and imaginary, and to the totalitarian market respelling of words such as LITE for light,

So that there is now almost 'no outside the market', as the Post-Modernists should have said.

The servant question

Commentators on the increase in the proportion of wage-slaves in the service sector paid too little attention to a drawn-out shift within that sector.

Households moved away from domestics towards buying-in most of the goods and services that those slaveys had supplied.

This change was one aspect of the commodification of life spurred by mass marketing and underwritten by consumer credit. Services were being 'industrialised' in Marx's sense of concentrating resources, including labour, under the centralisation of money-capital. Instead of using a proportion of household revenue for the provision of use-values by personal servants, households purchased exchange-values such as prepared foods. More mothers

with children sought paid employment to afford the white goods that allowed them to get by without paid domestic help; they were thus more able to go out to work to pay off the hire-purchase debts on those labouriness-saving devices. Radicals who would have been embarrassed by keeping a 'slavey' at home had to face up to their relying on wage-slaves for their food and clothing, child minding, dry-cleaning, dropping the laundry and part-time cleaning lady. **They** also paid less attention to the female factory-hands, often migrant, producing services and commodities for corporates to sell on to households.

In the 1970s, both older kinds of domestic labour exercised the second-wave feminists over what was and was not productive and unproductive labour, concepts to which too few were penetrating since economics had come to be seen as phallogocentric Stalinism.

Campaigns for equal pay for equal work could not of themselves break through the gendered division of labour where women clustered in the lower-value adding segments. This bias was reproduced in the computer-EDP domain where all punch-card operators were women and the programmers all men. The bias among professionals shifted, albeit slowly; the former is still with us. (see Rosemary Pringle in *J.A.P.E.*, 1981)

Re-skilling

Sparked by Harry Braveman's 1975 study *Labor and monopoly capital*, 'de-skilling' became a contested part of the vocabulary of the labour movement, and not only because the realities were more layered.

But first

Monopolising capitals

Too often, Braveman's supporters and critics neglected the 'monopoly capital' part of his title and even where they took **it up**, the analysis was hamstrung by Braveman's reliance on Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital* (1966) which had said not a word about labour-times. The chapter on 'the sales effort' is vitiated by Sweezy's under-consumptionist presuppositions about crises.

Moreover, the title should have been 'monopolising capitals' because this consequence from the expansion of capital is a continuing process of monopolising, not a fixed dominance by a single capital. Monopolies are confined to government enterprises. In addition, cartels never last for more than a few years so that the marketplaces are dominated by duopolies or more usually oligopolies. Monopsony prevailed in the trade in raw materials in the 1960s when Japan's Ministry for International Trade and Industry directed corporate buyers of Australian coal and iron to deal from behind a single negotiator on prices. Coca-Cola could exert somewhat less pressure on suppliers of raw materials. Price competition between the oligopolising Coles and Woolworths has p suppliers

The reduction in the number of suppliers simultaneously constrains and intensifies competition between the two or three survivors. If twelve suppliers equal perfect competition two or three is what Joan Robinson identified as 'imperfect competition in her 1937?'. **Quote Joan Robinson** on no effect on texts

The Chicago-School economist George J. Stigler is one of the few to recognise that consumer knowledge approach perfection as choice approaches zero:

[A] perfect market is one in which the traders have full knowledge of all offer and bid prices ... [so that] a perfect market may also exist under monopoly. Indeed, in realistic cases a perfect market may be more likely to exist under monopoly, since complete knowledge is easier to achieve under monopoly. (*Journal of Political Economy*, Feb. 1957)

The phrase 'consumer sovereignty' has been made to mean the monopolisers' sovereignty over consumers.

De-skills, knacks

De-skilling had not started with monopolising capitals but was as old as the CMP as were reskilling and up-skilling.

Those designated 'skilled'

in both groups towards skilled and semi-skilled

De-skilling, reskilling and up-skilling were inherent in the invention of 'computers' highlighted by the transfer of the word from humans to the machines.

as with artists/artisans

'computers' were the people employed to make calculations

seen as error-prone, costly and slow like other 'manuals'??

Babbage wanted a machine to 'manufacture numbers'

Babbage followed lead of Baron Gaspard De Prony in France from 1792 on decimal tables

Said inspired by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*

Divided the work into three levels

A handful of the most proficient mathematicians set to simplifying the mathematical formulae

A second team with 'considerable acquaintance with mathematics' adapted the formulae to let them calculate outcomes by simple arithmetic

The third team of eighty 'computers' or 'calculators' did the sums

An industry, in the sense of concentration

See eg of co-operation not possible in ones or two or even by autodidactic geniuses such as Gauss

Babbage's machine would do sums but not reason.

To do that, someone would have to algebraise the rules of reasoning

Breakthroughs in algebra by George Boole and John Venn

Venn had a four-part invention for the 'piano'

The statement of the data in accurate logical language

The put these statements into a form fit for an 'engine to work with'

Thirdly, the combination of further treatment of our premises after such a reduction

Finally interpret all you have produced in stages one to three

Venn thought only the third task could be performed by the machines.

Marshall had the idea for evolutionary algorithm

'a machine that would surprise its user by generating and testing new 'mutant' algorithmic tendencies'.

If possible, this machine could adapt the formulae in stage two of De Prony's factory.

Rev. William Whewell

Feared that calculating machines would provide results without reasoning faculties

Contrasted a journey on foot 'we tread the ground ourselves a every step feeling ourselves firm' – also stand on the shoulders of those before –

But in machine analysis

'we are carried along as in a rail-road carriage, entering it at one statin, and coming out of it at another ... it is plain that that latter is not a mode of exercising our own locomotive power -... it may be the best way for men of business to travel, but it cannot fitly be made a part of the gymnastics of education.'

Bullock 35

Shortcuts in search engines compromised intellectual life

Restructure by methods and materials

Apprenticeships here in the late nineteenth century

'Colonial experience' versus British tradesmen,

In bricklaying, the 'colonial bond' from the 1880s

Elaborate patterns of headers and stretchers for décor but also to support more than two stores. The railway arches on the approaches to Central Station

Rag-and-stick men

machines to spray on paint and plaster in the 1920s and

Metal panels from Wunderlich and later Gyprock, machino-factured off-site and installed by labourers with 'knacks' as distinct from 'skills'. This distinction was crucial for both wage-slaves and capital because the Arbitration Courts set the price of labour in terms of margins for skill. (see below on 'Total Wage', c. 1966-7)

WOT Most apparent in the industrialised production of concrete, though this time and space savers for capital gave the B.L.F. the chance to disrupt pours.

Mechanisation

Excavations on a Flinders street site in 1898 needed seventy navvies: thirty-three years later, only two were employed around a steam shovel. However, during the 1930s depression, the Great Ocean Road and S? were built by by pick-and-shovel labourers on the dole rates of pay.

Organic composition of capital reversed by an economic contraction more than a trade cycle.

Reserve armies of labour

Mechanised mail-sorter at Redfern Mail Exchange from 1965 and chaos from the kind of people willing to work all-night shifts. Abandoned in 1985 notorious for destroying items and for the culture of the night shifts in the grip of the libertarian push

Summer of the Seventeenth Doll (1955) foreshadowed mechanisation's impact when Roo returns to Carlton from cutting cane to chase work in a paint

factory. Its machine harvesting went from none that year to nearly 40 percent in 1965. The mineral exports which upended everything from 1957 were possible only because of bulk loading into very large ships, also essential for grains.

Strands of the restructuring from 'sophisticated mechanisation' forged the outlook of a generation of Communist and other militants who earned leading positions by the Accord Years.

Their own apprenticeship and pride in craft skills supported the almost universally held convention among Marxists that progress in the means of production must come into conflict with the social relations, thereby opening the road to socialism. These factors played less a part in the political, personal and work experiences that formed of the activists entering the workforce from the later 1960s, by when the Communists had done a three-way split.

The *Australian Factory* (September 1960) described 'automation' as 'sophisticated mechanisation', which combined complex machine tools with tape control and electronic computers to achieve batch production.

Much of what continues to be labeled 'automation' has never been a more than 'sophisticated mechanisation'. Corner-shopkeepers railed against vending machines as automation. Despite hyperbole for and against the imminence of 'automation', 'mechanisation became more and more sophisticated in every sector with major labour-saving systems.

Examples typifying the changes

Pre-fabricated houses, imported conclude Sweden in 19 ;

an 'electronic' plant at Villawood producing 20,000 tiles day, enough for fourteen houses in 1956, next year, an operator at a Bendigo knitting mill worked on eight garments at once to produce 400 pieces during a forty-hour shift.

Given the centrality of clock-time to the disciplining of labour, the 'Electronic' strictly meant a passage of electrons but it sounded too modern to escape the marketers grasp by 1953, so that retailing at £30-35. Similarly, 'automatic' applied to self-winding wrist watches from 1953. along with cheap ones, Precision was prized when it came to knock-off time as the PMG found after 1954 when it introduced a free time service for subscribers who called M 074. Within three years, 25 million Australians did so with a marked rise towards the end of the working day. An alarm watch for parking meters went on sale in 1959.

The 1960s saw numerically controlled (NC) machine tools rise from none in 1960 to fifty by 1966 and then 278 late in 1973. No less significant was the move after 1967 away from point-to-point towards Continuous Path versions to represent 30 percent of the total. The earlier ones cut along only a single axis whereas the controls in the newcomers cut by coordinating movement along two or more axes.

The establishment in 1969 of the Productivity Promotion Council reported in 1973 that, at 1.4 percent, the previous twelve months had been the fourth consecutive year below the long-term average of 2.3 percent. No less worrying were the fluctuations from negative in 1965-66 to 5.5 percent in 1968-69. A Productivity Commission Report in 1997 found that in the 'Golden Age' of 1950-70 average productivity growth (GDP per worker) at 2.4 percent for the 1950s and 2.7 percent during the 1960s.

Simultaneously, the employers, headed by the Metal Trades, opened a second front to replace the basic-wage plus margins by a Total Wage, which the Commission granted late in 1967. On return from the Christmas break, 1300 shop stewards met in the Sydney Town Hall to call a twenty-four strike of 200,000 workers. The Bench accepted defeat but delayed some flow-ons. The upsurge coincided with the Tet Offensive in Vietnam with the Viet Cong occupying the U.S. Embassy. The mood was moving towards the May Days of 1968 and these actions laid groundwork for the O'Shea stoppages in the following May. AGE EDITORIAL

The employers had planned to force the absorption of margins, as shipwrights had been made to accept in 1965 under the Penal Powers

For which see *Penal Colony to Penal Powers* (1966) by the Communist Engineering Union official Jack Hutson.

certificates 'galloping credentialism' post-war pommy shop stewards

that upended the balance between processing and primary sectors

Participants in these debates were not always as clear as we might have been about the meaning of 'manual', 'industrial' and 'proletarian'. 'Industrial' has never been confined to factories or to machines. Agribusiness is one of the biggest 'industries' remaining in Australia alongside construction and transport. (This mid-identification recurs today when activists lament that there are so few 'workers' at a protest, meaning factory-hands, when white- and pink-collar wage-slaves are the bulk of the demonstrators.

Socialists got caught napping by identifying 'manual' with proletarian. The precondition for being proletarian is: do workers own the means of production?; and, if not, do we have to sell their labour-power in order to exist? Complications arise from the next question: is the application of our labour-power productive of surplus-value, or do our wages derive from surplus-value produced elsewhere in the CMP? There can be no simple or single answer about how to locate nurses, teachers, public servants or bank clerks in the circuits of value-adding.

Delineating the consciousness of each fraction in each class is more complex still. One complication is to ask at which level does consciousness operate: the **economic or the political**? None of the CPs ever denied the conflict between capital and wage-labour, but regularly fell in behind the ALP Left when it came to electoral politics with the slogan 'Put the Liberals Last'.

Economism and parliamentary cretinism,

The ALP has never held power, but merely has been in office?

The see-sawing of struggles and the growing diversity of the issues in contention allowed all sides to claim that we were in the right.

General-Motors riots

Sit-ins

The French and Italian uprisings of urban manual saw workers occupying factories and students their universities.

The O'Shea strike in May 1969 refocused attention on manual labour but simultaneously challenged the state.

Worker-Student Alliance encouraged students to drop-out and go 'to the factories', but more campus rebels continued into teaching.

Mindless militancy is not revolutionary or proletarian.

Among capitalists, class consciousness seems less of a problem. Rarely do they mistake enemies for allies. Moreover, the state keeps **them** on the straight and narrow, organising in the interests of capital-in-general, in part by disorganising labour.

Easier for capitalists to appreciate how much they stand to lose under socialism than it is for workers to feel how much we stand to gain. United in holding on

Whitlam quoted Machiavelli:

The **Party** had lost leadership of the Clerks in the early 1950s, but remained influential in the NSW Teachers' Federation, and became so in Victoria and South Australia. Groupers and the AWU and VB??

Manual labour in the metal trades, railways, mines, the docks, ships and construction sites were Communist strongholds. The state aimed its blows there. The weapons were both technological through mechanisation and political exemplified in the 1951 anti-Red Bill, as Les Louis has documented.

Capitalists, of course, necessarily sprout tripe about how their system works if only to disguise how it does so in their interests. That self-defence is not the same as the false conscious of wage-slaves who thank the boss for providing work when it is their labour which alone produces the values that accumulate into capital.

The intelligentsia who support capitalists are a different case from both the owners of productive property and their wage-slaves. Marx made it clear that the outlook of petit-bourgeois thinkers is decided neither by their material situation nor by a fondness for shopkeepers. Rather these scribblers do not proceed further in their thinking than the stratum they represent does in practice.

Class consciousness includes a moral quality. For the bourgeoisie, that is called 'liberty', with 'property' as its guarantor.

Moore???

Our class can have no truck with nonsense about workers being upright and decent merely because we have been deprived of productive property and thus exploited. QUTOE KM The unmediated consequences of those aspects of capitalism are to cripple us both morally and physically. But capital also brought workers together into unions organising

Now that daily experience is being fractured by part-time, temporary casualisation. One expression of this crack-up is that Labor Clubs in the A.C.T. promote themselves behind the slogan 'It's All About YOU'.

The question is how to discover ways to rebuild the qualities associated with 'solidarity'.

Not the moralising of the grouplets that workers are racist, sexist, homophones, greedy,

Socialist revolutionaries dare not forget mistaken responses to previous bouts of turbulence. In 1962, Left intellectuals were interpreting a second recession within three years and de Gaulle's power plays as presaging re-runs of the depression and fascism. Even if capitalism had undergone a new deflationary cycle and resorted to overt dictatorships beyond Greece and Latin America, its agents could not have replicated those of the 1930s, because the earlier encounters had left a residue of experiences on both sides of the barricades. During Italy's 'years of lead', the C.I.A. and its Italian agents called off the coup - ?????- in 197??? out of fear that the proles retained too many fighting skills from their military service and in the Resistance. Keeping on top always calls for fresh moves from the corporates and their state agents.

Some Reds did not want to admit that the truths they had absorbed in the bitter years of the 1930s might not be eternal in their. They feared that letting go of one version of how exploitation was enforced would mean abandoning commitment to class struggle. **Indeed**, in the 1960s, modern revisionists twisted the latest manifestations of the class war into calls for peaceful transitions and peaceful co-existence.

The proliferation of demands around sexuality, ethnicity and the environment, both natural and built, made it harder to discern a strategy and easier for everyone to pick and choose the 'key' determinant they liked best. Some argued that questions of gender, race and nature took precedence over class on the grounds that the first three were so much older. That longevity shows why those relations lack the dynamic necessary to redirect economies, politics and societies towards social equality in every domain and across generations. Capitalism came too late to have generated racism and sexism. Just as capitalism must intensify economic inequalities in order to expand, it has been fertile in using every other kind of inequality to that end. Socialism, in itself, will not abolish racism and sexism but its logic has no intrinsic need to perpetuate them and so will install opportunities to marginalise them at inter-personal levels while eradicating them institutionally.

The Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Association formed in 1958 but did not join the **A.C.T.U. until 1979. ?????**

The ideology of 'service' in the white-collar sector cracked when Victorian secondary teachers began strike action in 1965, as did A.C.T. nurses in 1970, to be followed onto the streets by Melbourne insurance clerks. These shifts in self-perception were connected to economic pressures. Hitherto, middle-class employees could accept modest rates of pay because they got them every week of the year, year in and year out, unlike many among even the highest paid skilled tradesmen in the non-government sector. Almost by definition, a post-war boom increased the socially necessary costs of reproducing **their** labour power, and that of their children, so much that the benefits from higher lifetime earnings could no longer compensate for their lower fortnightly salaries. As their children stayed at school longer, their mothers returned to the workforce, frequently part-time, as noted above.

De-Stalinisation nourished a recovery of socialist humanism. Translations of Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* encouraged a lop-sided

reading of 'alienation' by severing feelings of estrangement from the sale of labour-power as a commodity for the exploitation needed to appropriate surplus-value. Fascination with the existential thereby became one more source for neglecting labour-times.

Made worse by E.P. Thompson and class as experience not a thing when class is both. An essential part of the experience is to be bought as a thing by capital and then to resist. His 1967 article on 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism' shows no awareness of labour-times and it is a fair bet that he had never read volumes two and three of *Capital*, and seems to have forgotten how ever much of volume one he had been made to study in the Communist Party of Great Britain. The result is a generation of slovenly labour and social historians who think their ignorance of economics is a badge of sophistication.

But hard times of mass unemployment a new imbalance as 'alienation' dropped off the agenda. Any kind of job not fulfilling work for the enrichment of each individual QUOTE

In those years, national liberation movements and militant peasants drew romantic lefties away from the class struggles under their noses to become stay-at-home tourists of the revolution, or worse, parasites on the struggles, sufferings and successes of Cubans, Palestinians, Indo-Chinese, and, after 1975, of the Timorese. These Third World-ers lost track of two facts of life in the lands that fascinated them. Nasser and Sukarno exposed de-colonisation as Neo-Colonialism under which the metropolitan powers retained military and economic domination behind a façade of political independence. The old white hands, trained military officers and set up the security services, as the C.I.A.'s Sir John Kerr did for P.N.G. in 1974-75. On the economic level, Che pointed out that colonised and neo-colonised countries were not under-developed but suffered distortions from over-development of one or two exports such as sugar, coffee or copper.

Later, scholarly debates sank into a slough of Post-Colonial studies without their practitioners ever having understood Neo-Colonialism as a new phase within the era of Lenin's Imperialism. This ignorance is no surprise given that so few Leninists can articulate the differences between previous colonialisms and his re-conceptualising of imperialism as monopolising capitals. Australia is imperialist in Lenin's sense because of the structure of the domestic economy as monopolising capitals, not because of ventures into the rest of the world.

Ansett and Medibank were sending data preparation offshore in the 19???
While the government relaxed visa requirements for skilled