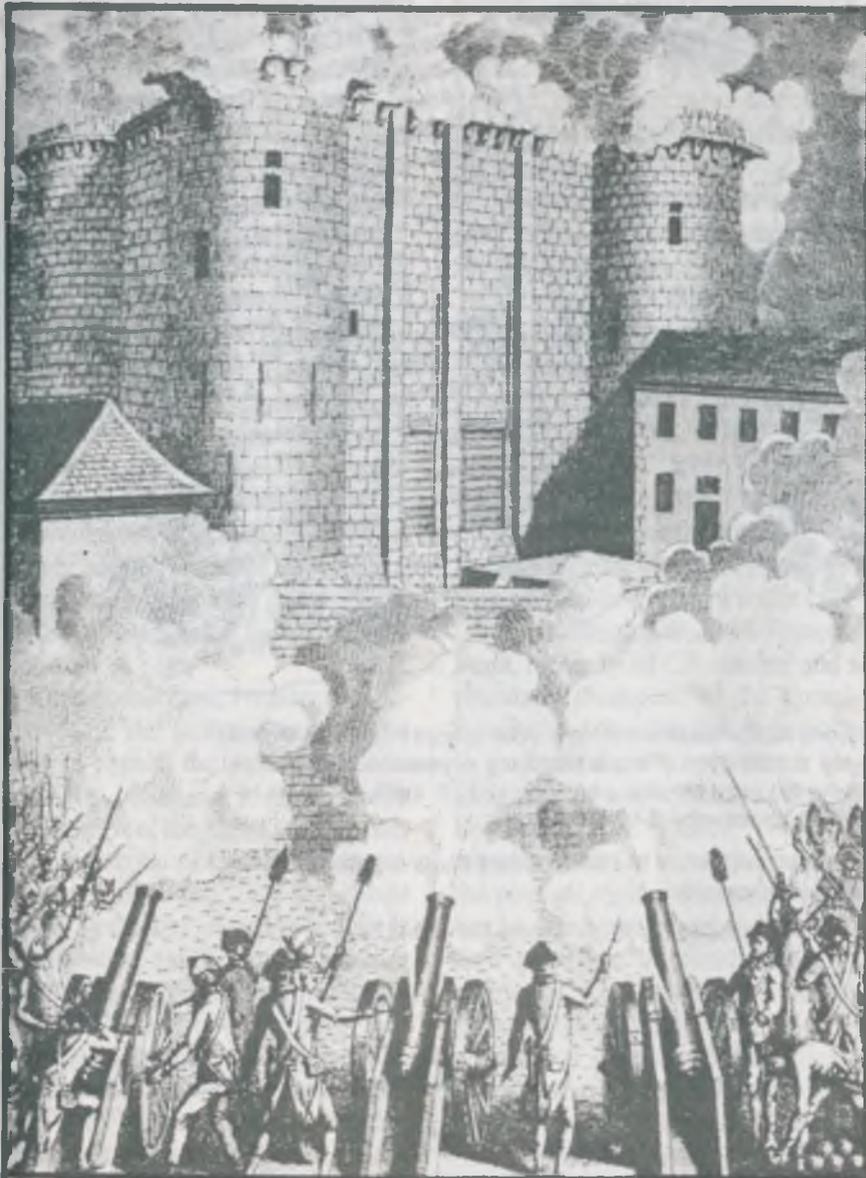


Liberté, Egalité, Publicité



The French have been brainstorming the Bastille, and interpretations of 1789 will never be the same.



Of French political figures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who would you say is the most representative of the spirit of the 1789 Revolution? Napoleon? *Non!* Victor Hugo? *Non!* Georges Pompidou? *Non!* Jean Juarez (founder of the Socialist Party)? *Non!* Leon Blum (leader of the Popular Front in the 1930s)? *Non!* Charles de Gaulle? ... *OUI!*

Or, at least, thirty percent of the 16,000 respondents to a major opinion poll held in France at the beginning of the year thought so. This put de Gaulle twenty-two percent ahead of his nearest rival, Jean Juarez, on eight percent, with George Pompidou at seven percent and Francois Mitterrand at six percent. Perhaps the most important figure, though, is the 46 percent who *ne se prononcent pas* (have no opinion).

One thing is clear: that the 'Spirit of the Revolution' is not as vibrant in popular consciousness as some historians and politicians have maintained, and a lot of Phrygian caps and *sans culottes* will have paraded around the Place de la Bastille before the preferred meanings of this national history lesson are established. Questioned on who were the most important figures of the Revolution, 48 percent said Robespierre with, in descending order, Danton at 40 percent, Marat at twelve percent and Louis XVI at eleven percent. When the same group was asked what exactly it was that they knew about Robespierre, the majority could not say. And, while

thirty-seven percent cited the taking of the Bastille as the most important event of the Revolution (which it certainly wasn't), an almost equivalent thirty-four percent *ne se prononcent pas* on any event. As we might recall from 1988, it is not so much the historical detail that matters but the ways in which national history is remembered, the distinctive patterns and images of its representation of the present. This, of course, is what it's all about.

It is clear that *Le Bicentenaire* will be fertile ground for all sorts of political adventures. Royalist skinheads(!) at a mass for Louis XVI in Paris in January declared that "the French Republic is a syphilitic whore". These were possibly the same skinheads who had recently attacked the singer Helene Delavault with tear gas while she was performing her show *La Republicaine*. Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the far right Front National, has called for the reconvening of the Estates General (the 'governmental' body convened by the king in 1789 which provoked the establishment of the republican National Assembly). In classic populist style, Le Pen has claimed that "The French People no longer enjoy the advantages of a monarchy but suffer all its inconveniences, as well as the additional inconveniences of a Republic ... Real power has been usurped by a caste of bureaucratic mandarins and union officials who form the new privileged nobility."

On the other hand, President Mitterrand took the initiative early in the year to expand the significance of a key Revolutionary event - the Declaration of the Rights of Man (only sixteen percent of the 16,000 respondents recalled this as a significant event, by the way) - into the domain of immigration policy. France has long confined its migrants, mostly from the Maghreb countries and former African colonies, to a legal and constitutional limbo without voting rights and other paths to law and welfare resources by defining them as 'guest workers'. That is, rather than as

citizens with claims to Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Mitterrand's declaration at the very beginning of January, that he would be seeking ways of "enlarging the idea of the rights of man" by conferring full citizen rights on the one and a half million people held in this limbo was a smart and pre-emptive move which has enraged the Right.

Also on the Left, Georges Marchais, general secretary of a French Communist Party (PCF) now much reduced in size and vote, has insisted that "... the Revolution is not a dead thing. Even after two centuries, it still worries the powerful". It was, he concedes, a "bourgeois revolution" but also one that was "democratic and popular" based on a strategic alliance of progressive bourgeoisie, peasant masses and urban *sans-culottes* against the aristocracy. Marchais' speech also had specific implications for the current situation in Europe as he located the "profound consciousness" of this revolutionary tradition in the natural alliance between the "world of labour" and the "national interest". Always a popular theme of PCF strategy, this national emphasis is targetted at the plans for unification of the European market in 1992.

Nation, State, Market: three basic indices in traditions of historical, political and social thought inaugurated by the Revolution of 1789; they are also three themes up for critical re-examination in 1989. Francois Furet, formerly a PCF member and a prominent historian of the French Revolution has taken the opportunity to pronounce - in a very french historian sort of way - that "The French Revolution is terminated". What he actually means by this is that much of the political logic and baggage which has been inherited from the Revolution needs to be fundamentally rethought. With more than a passing glance at his former PCF comrades, he argues that "We are finally getting away from the Leninist catechism on the revolution". The analogy between 1789 Jacobinism and 1917 Leninism is the issue here. The critique is not

only directed at the left, however. The 'grand' categories of nation, state and market inherited from the Enlightenment and the Revolution in traditional political, historical and social theory are also being tossed into the critical line of fire. How far, in this form, they can actually *explain* how societies work and change is a persistent theme in the French debate.

Furet's most recent two-volume 'revisionist' history of the Revolution is a best-seller and history in general is big business in France this year. The country is full of vigorous local historical societies and associations but it is not likely that there will be a fratricidal *Vendee* or a *Grande Terreur*. The nearest thing so far is the sacking of the 'aristocratic' Daniel Barenboim from his *enormously* well-paid job as Director of the new Opera de la Bastille by a 'socialist' administration.

The Marxist historian, Michel Vovelle, who is in charge of academic events for the bicentennial, is not well-pleased by what he sees as the current ascendancy of the revisionists with their insistence on cultural history, conflicting motivations and "micro-events" rather than the neater, grander (and easier to remember) theme of a transition from feudalism to capitalism. It is, of course, rather difficult to stage a commemoration of a decisive event when people are disputing not only whether it was decisive but also whether it was an event. Botany Bay and Sydney Cove were much easier!

Left and Right traditionalists as well as revisionists are battling it out on television and radio in prime time with, by all accounts, enormous audiences. Imagine that! These things actually matter quite a lot in France. At stake for many is the nature of the Republic, its political culture and logic, and the inherited models and patterns of government. This, presumably, is why a figure like De Gaulle, who formed his own version of the Republic, figures so prominently in popular memory.

One of the central issues is the per-

ceived paradox that, while the Revolution provided the Declaration of the Rights of Man it also furnished the first modern form of totalitarian dictatorship in 1792-4. This is fertile ground for banal 'epochal' statements from this or that French philosopher on the continuities between 1789 and Pol Pot or Stalin and the Gulag but, then, French philosophers have always been prone to such statements, especially since the Revolution. In more particular and detailed ways this is, however, producing some interesting lines of debate on the expansion of the concepts of human rights and freedoms and some rethinking of in-

herited concepts of equality. Faced with the 1992 unification of the EC, it is also forcing some reconsideration of the implications and limits of national sovereignty and corresponding forms of political action and representation.

And who knows? Perhaps some of this rethinking on freedom, rights, equality and sovereignty - the "completion of the Revolution" as one magazine appropriately put it - might even flow on to some of the Republic's overseas territories like Kanaky and Muroroa? The guardians of the Revolution will need reminding of this before the party really gets under way in July.

they stood, walked, gesticulated, while we just sat down or got the dinner. They were on their way in or out, had callers, made plans and concocted performances for each other.

And Lucy, above all, was never still. She never stayed in place as the wife and mother at home, she constantly stepped out of her correct role and had to perform acrobatics to struggle her way back in - or rather to convince the men she was in her place, for we'd been around for the flurry and knew better.

As a child Lucy's moments of chaos and disorder filled me with anxiety - everything kept going wrong. I wanted her to clear up the mess, get the horse out of the bedroom, take off the disguise and get down off the ladder two storeys up. And she always did, just in time for Ricky to come home at last so everything could go back to normal. But the credits went up too fast for me ... I wanted the beginning and end bits to fill the show. Later, as I learned that women could defy the word of the men who regulated their behaviour, I would seize on these moments of disruption: perhaps she was not out of *her* control, but out of *their* control. Suddenly that became inspiring.

Lucy was performed in defiance of her definitions. The star, housewife, woman jostled against each other. She moaned and complained, got bored, angry, excited and, above all, manic. She walked splay-footed, bent at the hips, her movements were exaggerated and she jerked. Quite inappropriately to the understatement of 'fifties femininity, Lucy shouted constantly and once in every episode she *bawled*. At the points when all her ingenious and complicated plans had gone wrong, her despair was so centrally placed that the active parade of her feelings filled the moment - head thrown back, eyes closed and mouth open she became a parody of orgasmic excess.

This is a key moment to understanding what *Lucy* can mean for women, and which explains to me the

Having a Ball

With a waddling gait and a terrific bawl, Lucille Ball subverted the feminine ideal of 'fifties TV. Gillian Swanson recalls.

Lucille Ball died on 26 April; she was 77. Just a little while before she was taken ill, she appeared at the Oscars ceremony in a dress with a huge slit up the side, looking like Lucy in one of her disguises. On the stage her contained, slight body and energetic laughter gave hints of the chaos of her performances.

The memory of Lucille Ball's performances is one of extreme and sustained movement. I remember her in about three films, even though she made over eighty, but it felt as if she was there all the time on television. *Lucy* was on once a week all through the 'fifties and 'sixties. In that time, Lucille Ball *became* Lucy for many of us, whatever different things that meant.

For me, growing up in Britain, *Lucy* meant the modernity of American television sets. The glamorous *new*

apartment and its furniture showed a home and family endlessly *moving* within domestic space - they spoke as



transition of my reactions. It is this climactic moment that expresses the helplessness and the pain of her predicament surrounded by the innocuous men whose casual demands are translated into a malevolent context within which to perform herself.

But it is, of course, also a moment when she and her actions overpower the context that has been created for her when, instead of sitting and whimpering as the lesser of us might, she threw herself around and filled the soundtrack with her own *terrible* noise louder than any other around her, reminiscent of the air raid sirens they still tested in the 'fifties and early 'sixties, a noise which *something* had to stop and the quicker the better. And of course something always did, usually to her momentary advantage, and back we went to order again.

But, despite its neat narrative disposal, this performance of the body disrupts some of the boundaries of feminine quiescence. Not quite using the grotesque, Lucy continually inflicted damage and distortion to her sexualised image.

Using mudpacks and slapstick, disguise and cross-dressing, her ruses presented moments of chaos for sexual order and stability. This blurring of the categories of sexual difference was enacted within the domestic and the family, in defiance of her male keepers, Ricky and Mr. Mooney, and with the collusion of other women, especially lumpy, cuddly and faithful Ethel. This was the source of the pleasure and anxiety that Lucy offered us.

The play between character, star and performance in Lucy exists in the persona of Lucille Ball too. But, most of all, there is the space between these and our memories that makes her death a bit like losing one of the landmarks of our own remembrance.

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Cleo's Age of Consent

Cleo's 200th issue came out in June. In the eighteen years since its first issue, the Cleo woman has come a long way.

The June 1989 edition was *Cleo's* 200th issue. *Cleo* was 17 and six months, an age which signals a rite of passage from innocence to the vicissitudes of adulthood. The issue presented a retrospective noting significant markers of its history.

Cleo certainly had something to celebrate, having established a niche in the market of magazines for young independent women. Named after the diminutive of Cleopatra, the magazine was born in 1973 out of Kerry Packer's stable, as a rival to *Cosmopolitan*, an internationally syndicated magazine. Both addressed the new woman of the '70s - liberated, active and outspoken. The specificity of *Cleo* has been its distinctive Australian pitch and relevance to Australian women.

Lisa Wilkinson, the editor, says that *Cleo* tries "to get people thinking and challenging their existing thoughts on what is considered the norm". It attempts to explore other factors in women's lives beyond 'sex and fashion' as well as tackling taboo topics. *Cleo* has become a barometer of changing sexual and interpersonal mores and lifestyles of young Australian women: in particular challenging the boorish attitudes and practices of the typical Aussie male.

With a circulation of 248,600, *Cleo* outsells *Cosmopolitan* by some 58,005. Both vastly outsell the more fashion-oriented *Vogue* and *Mode* with circulations of 64,920 and 56,400 respectively. This success needs to be put in the context of the huge consumption of magazines by Australians

per head of population. For example, in the field of women's magazines alone, *Dolly* reaches another 216,227 teenagers, while *New Idea*, *Women's Weekly* and *Woman's Day* have circulations of 929,115, 1,105,500 and 623,108 respectively.

Cleo's special issue reproduced all its covers from 1973 to 1989, accompanied by then-and-now photographs and biographies with some of its cover models. A feature article reviewed its central concerns - fashions and fads, controversial issues, male centrefolds, celebrities, and special sections - in the context of a thumbnail sketch of '70s and '80s cultural history.

The theme was the coming of age - growing old gracefully - particularly evidenced in the histories of the cover girls whose reactions to their cover photos ranged from derision to incredulity. They recalled the photo sessions as strange events in which they were manipulated into the desired image by the photographer; they became passive objects under the control of the photographic apparatus.

Some subjects, like actress Briony Behets, resisted relinquishing control over their body to the controlling eye. Kathy (now 32, we are told) recalled "I was freezing my titties off ... wearing a bikini in the middle of winter"; Lesley (38) commented "they wanted me to look busty ... it doesn't look like my body"; Anna Maria (37) echoed this reaction saying "it doesn't look like me at all"; Georgia (40) felt "I look like a startled rabbit"; Carol (now Willesee), 42 thought "I look better now". But perhaps the six-year-old son of Sharron (33) summed it up best

with "Uurh yuck mummy".

Interestingly, the women seem happier and more comfortable with their current looks and lifestyles. Most have remained in the workforce in modelling or allied fields such as promotions and public relations, acting and television.

The covers themselves reveal significant shifts in the representation of the female body. The early covers adopt the conventions of the pin-up girls shot with head, breasts and cleavage. From 1976, covers show a greater variation: the 1976-77 covers emphasise sultry looks of the whole body and active body poses.

This variation has persisted with occasional deviations: covers in 1983-84 returned to head and shoulders shots but without the cleavage. Recently, shots have become more experimental, such as the black and white film noir cover in January 1989.

Almost every cover invokes the direct gaze of the model to the camera (viewer), posed in a so-called "come hither" look. Photographs are cropped so that the eyes are positioned a third of the way down the page, the field to which the readers' eyes are first drawn.

Despite its claim to address the young and risqué, the magazine has retained the conventional format of showing women how to make it in the world - via fashion, make-up, diet, and keeping abreast of cultural fads and social issues. It counterpointed the suburban sobriety of magazines like *Women's Weekly* which chiefly addresses mothers and homemakers, though its readership is much wider. The emphasis on recipes (feeding the family), D.I.Y. homemaking and a suburban lifestyle were down-played in *Cleo* in favour of a progressive appeal to a younger, energetic and critical readership. It was consumer-oriented - but towards a

special consumer group of young women with relatively high disposable incomes, a desire for new things and an interest in change.

Cleo engaged this new woman in self-rating quizzes that various aspects of that new femininity, and informing her about relevant issues and taboo topics. Most controversial were the sealed sections which tackled a

Women:

76% glamorous
76% thin
59% sexually available
50% motherly
33% dumb
32% subservient
26% independent
26% successful
17% manipulative
11% intelligent
6% dominant

Men:

77% handsome
75% successful
71% well-groomed
57% dominant
53% authoritative
50% independent
43% intelligent
14% fatherly
12% dumb



wide range of taboo issues, especially those concerning sexuality; including breasts, plastic surgery, sexual erotica, sexual pleasure (male and female), sexual diseases, and women's health. By introducing readers to the delights of phenomena such as the G-spot in 1981, *Cleo* sought to make specialist knowledge widely available, particularly by the device of graphic (unforgettable) illustrations. The sealed sections have had a wide circulation; for example, many male medical students cite them as the source of their knowledge of the female body and 'women's problems'.

Cleo has also addressed systemati-

cally aspects of women's working lives. It has conducted regular surveys of its readers' attitudes to issues, with often revealing results, contradicting conventional wisdoms. For example, the special issue reports on women's attitudes to advertising, showing that women are dissatisfied with advertisers' images of women. Readers believe that women are

portrayed unrealistically, as having undue responsibility for household chores, and as superwomen rather than as simply successful in their lives. Readers most enjoyed the ads for Malibu, Lamb Shortcuts and no Knickers - read into that what you will!

Readers were asked which words best described how women and men were portrayed in ads. The contrast is revealing (see box).

These images suggest that looks, the body and sexuality continue to represent femininity and contradict signs of success and independence for women, whereas the two registers are complementary aspects of masculinity.

Cleo has followed the changing lives and fortunes of the '70s woman, acknowledging though never embracing feminism in its articulated forms. Yet as women head into the '90s, *Cleo* may no longer be the progressive vice it has come to appear. Many of its ideals of liberation and freedom of choice have been replaced by more practical orientations - actual life choices and situations of the everyday. This practicality is balanced by the promotion of escapism through fantasies of the New You and by the celebration of celebrities and their (enviable?) lifestyles. My June horoscope, for example, predicted that I'd be "led astray at times". (I'm still waiting.) At a time when women's issues are being rolled back, the *Cleo* approach sacrifices political vision for pleasure, fantasy and commercial logic.

Jennifer Craik.

The Yeltsin Phenomenon

Were the Soviet elections the first step towards a pluralist democracy in the USSR? Or were they just another dress rehearsal for a long-suffering people? An interview with Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov.

MIKHAIL SHATROV's controversial plays on historical themes have made an important contribution to the process of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. *The Peace of Brest* brought the hitherto taboo figure of Trotsky onto the Moscow stage. His father was shot in 1937 in Stalin's purges. Shatrov recently stood as a candidate for the Congress of People's Deputies in Leningrad. He was interviewed for *Marxism Today* and *ALR* on a recent visit to London, by *Monty Johnstone* and *Francis King*.

Western commentators have presented the serious defeat of some leading Communist Party officials in the recent Soviet elections as a rejection of the party itself. What is your opinion?

I totally disagree with this view. It would only be true if the party were just a collection of apparatchiks. But this is not the case, particularly now. The elections were a powerful expression of support for *perestroika* and democratisation which the party had initiated. It wanted to allow the people to have such elections. At the polls about forty important officials were defeated, which should give them food for thought. I see this as something very positive - particularly in those cases where they had tried to manipulate the elections in the old way by ensuring that theirs were the only names on the ballot paper. But the fact that eighty-seven percent of the deputies elected were Communist Party members shows that the party it-

self was not defeated. Indeed, it gained.

Do you think these elections have made the process of *perestroika* irreversible?

They have at least made a big contribution to making it irreversible.

What do you think about the position where there are 750 reserved seats in the Congress of People's Deputies for representatives chosen by the Communist Party and other public organisations?

I think that, for this period in the country's development, it was positive. But I think that, in future, it will be necessary to make all voters equal on the basis of one person, one vote. I, for instance, had three votes. I voted in the writers' union, in the union of theatrical workers, and in my ordinary territorial constituency. That's not right.

Do you think that the Congress of People's Deputies will now alter that constitutional provision?

Quite possibly. There will undoubtedly be some changes.

How do you assess the Yeltsin phenomenon?

I am deeply convinced that Yeltsin's program for speeding up democracy and *perestroika* is in keeping with our trend of development and enjoys wide popular support. There were only shades of difference between his program and that of the Soviet Communist Party - tactical rather than strategic. His electoral victory was a protest against the intrigues and manipulation employed by the

Moscow City Party Committee against him. They did a clumsy job but can be forgiven for this as they had no idea of what electoral campaigning and contests were all about! Apart from this, Yeltsin is a popular personality - a man who had dared to criticise the leadership. People had never seen this before. Previously you could only criticise your equals or your subordinates.

It is easy to see what Yeltsin opposes, but more difficult to see exactly what he stands for. A wide range of political forces organised around his campaign...

That always happens. People vote not just for Yeltsin, but against certain things. However, I would stress that there is also much that is positive in Yeltsin's program, which includes proposals for specific democratic reforms and the restoration of a Leninist conception of socialism with the abolition of privileges.

He has been criticised as a "populist".

Well, he has a number of faults. But I don't see any cause for concern at the moment. Let's see what he does in practice. For example, his election platform called for cutting spending on industrial construction by forty percent as a contribution to reducing our large budget deficit. Why not make him head of a parliamentary commission to try it out and see what he can do?

Do you think that the present one-party system limits the freedom of electors? What are your views on the demand for a multi-party system in the Soviet Union?

We have just had elections in which there were no limits. As for a one-party system, this was never a slogan of the Bolsheviks in the October (1917) Revolution. It just turned out that way under particular historical circumstances. However, I think that, at the moment, the demand for a multi-party system could damage the cause of *perestroika*, though at a later stage it could be reasonable and necessary. At present that demand plays into the hands of conservative and dogmatic

forces and would divert us from the most serious and pressing question of democratising the Communist party. If progress is made on this, the basis for the demand for a one-party system will be removed. But, at present, the democratisation of the party is proceeding in a slow and contradictory manner. In the party there is a conservative wing, a revolutionary wing, and a centre which can swing from one side to the other.

In your opinion does the democratisation of the party require the legitimisation of these different tendencies within it?

This is a difficult matter as it raises the question of the division of the party into factions and of factional discipline. At the moment I think this would be disastrous for us. I would prefer democratisation to follow another course, namely of communists being able to change their leaderships. Unfortunately at present rank-and-file communists are not in a position to replace the leaderships of their local organisations. The party must reform itself from within. I think it will get round to this.

With regard to a multi-party system, does it not already exist in practice to a considerable extent in the Baltic republics with various groups putting forward their own candidates with their own programs?

Yes, perhaps in the Baltic there are already many parties. Democratisation develops differently in each republic. The new Baltic organisations emerged in the run-up to last year's party conference. People saw the need to elect delegates who supported the Gorbachev line. They realised that the party apparatus was trying to manipulate things in the old way. These powerful national movements began as a protest against this. But the vital question is - will the party be able to ride this nationalist tiger? It has to work to guide the national demands increasingly voiced under *perestroika* and democratisation into positive channels. A national move-

ment is a fine thing, but a nationalist one turns it into its opposite just like any idea taken to extremes.

How do you explain the emergence of a Russian nationalist, anti-semitic and quasi-fascist organisation like *Pamyat*?

At crucial times in history organisations appear which try to find a scapegoat for the people's ills. That scapegoat is always the Jews. It was the same before the revolution. I think that, today, there are forces which find it convenient to steer attention away from the records of bureaucratic officials by telling the people lies about the number of Jews in the leadership of the revolution, the collectivisation period and so on.

Can you say how much support *Pamyat* has?

There were a number of candidates supported by *Pamyat* in the recent elections and they all lost. In my own constituency, the Oktyabrsky district of Moscow, the candidate supported by *Pamyat* was soundly beaten by a young, disabled Jewish intellectual, Ilya Zaslavsky, whom *Pamyat* had strongly attacked.

Where do you stand in the discussion now going on about whether socialism has been built in the USSR?

This is the sort of word game that I don't really want to take part in, although I have been concerned with this problem since childhood. In my view, socialism is, above all, a democratic society influencing the whole world by its example. In it, people should live well materially and spiritually. I have not seen such a society in my lifetime. But I think that the potential of the revolution is still powerful and has enabled us to start *perestroika* and attempt to return to socialist principles. Even if things don't work out this time, even if we are pushed backwards, sooner or later a new generation, a new wave, will arise to bring about humanity's dream of a just society.

Lenin believed, when the Bolsheviks took power, that they were

on the eve of an international socialist revolution. Clearly, this did not happen. Some people ask whether the cost of trying to build socialism in one largely undeveloped country was not too high, particularly in the light of what we know about the millions of victims of stalinism. Would you like to comment on this?

Certainly the costs were high, and it is legitimate to raise the question which should be considered carefully by future generations of revolutionaries. They were determined by an enormous range of objective and subjective factors. The revolution was not all prearranged by the party. There was a powerful spontaneous movement which it led. Lenin thought that, even if the situation offered only one chance in a hundred of overthrowing the old order, the party should grasp it. As for Lenin's view of world revolution, it turned out to be wrong. But the October Revolution has been an important factor helping the working class to improve its position in many capitalist countries.

Is there not still a tendency in the Soviet Union to view Lenin uncritically, as a sort of icon, and to interpret him selectively to give support to the political line of the day?

I don't think we should base our attitude to Lenin on present-day circumstances. Our starting point should be Lenin himself. In his works there is much that is relevant only to the Russia of his day. Even a school-leaver knows many things that Lenin could never have known. So the question should be - what in Lenin is pertinent to our time and what is relevant only to his? In general it is only small-minded people who treat Lenin like an icon. Unfortunately, we have a large number of them.

Do you think that the works of other revolutionary leaders who had differences with Lenin at one time or another - like Trotsky - should be published in the USSR?

How can you possibly hope to study history if you ignore certain people

and events as if they had never existed? How can you seriously understand Lenin if you don't know Trotsky? You'll only be a dogmatist, not a communist. We are idiots when we reject Trotsky without reading him and without understanding what effect his ideas had in Bolshevism's ideological battles. The historical process is indivisible.

Last year's Soviet Communist Party Conference passed a resolution on *glasnost* which stated that all library holdings should be accessible to the public. Yet in the Lenin Library in Moscow we have found that almost everything written by Trotsky is still in the closed section. How do you explain this?

It just shows how difficult it is to clean out the Augean stables, the seventh labour of Hercules.

What about the non-bolshevik revolutionaries? Do you foresee their role being reassessed?

Certainly. They should all be re-examined. It is really strange that the Bolsheviks won the struggle in real life, but in history and in theory we are afraid to confront their opponents' ideas.

The Menshevik trial of 1931 has still not been officially revised.

It will be.

Now, a few questions about your own work. Last year your play *Onward... Onward...*, treating some of the "blank spots of Soviet history", was bitterly attacked in *Pravda*. Where has it now been performed?

It has been staged in Moscow and in many theatres around the country.

So the attempt to prevent this as reflected in the *Pravda* article has collapsed?

Yes.

How do you account for the fact that the German Democratic Republic didn't allow in copies of the Moscow weekly *New Times* which carried extracts of the play?

It illustrates the situation which exists in the GDR.

What are you working on now, Mikhail Filippovich?

I'm working on a play set in 1923 which will be called *Renunciation*, dealing with events surrounding Lenin's death. I think this was a crucial period which paved the way for the events of 1929 and the usurpation of power by Stalin.

What is the current position with regard to censorship in the USSR?

In practical terms it is not really apparent now. But until a law on the press, clearly setting out rights and duties is adopted, it could reappear at any moment.

Finally, do you still see workers in culture and the arts as, to a great extent, leading the struggle for *perestroika*, or do you now see the working class coming to the fore?

You know, at first it was the intel-

lectuals in the party who cleared the air for *perestroika*. Now, the elections show that the process has already attracted millions. It will be very difficult to turn the clock back. It has already reached the stage where the ordinary people think their voice counts. They are being roused from social apathy and inertia. This is very important. The difficulty is that we cannot, at the moment, solve the economic problems which turned out to be much more complex and difficult than we had imagined.

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