

socialist review

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world revolution
or peaceful
coexistence

socialist review

Editorial

To our readers, and those of our subscribers who have despaired of ever getting their money's worth, we apologise for the delay and assure them that their subscriptions are still good for the remaining issues.

The reasons for our non-appearance have not been totally negative. In the past year revolutionaries who align themselves with the Fourth International have had serious work to do. Since the formation of the Socialist Youth Alliance just on twelve months ago, the growth of the Trotskyist movement in Australia and its involvement in many areas of political activity has kept members of the Socialist Review group busy. While 'Socialist Review' has failed to appear, 'Direct Action', the newspaper of SYA, a fraternal revolutionary youth organization, has appeared regularly for ten issues.

The present flourishing of the Trotskyist movement in Australia is a reflection of a world-wide historical process that now places the Fourth International at the head of the world revolutionary movement. The new International section in this issue provides concrete illustrations of this fact—the recent 35,000-strong demonstration in Paris in commemoration of the Paris Commune was a triumphant vindication of the historical position of the Fourth International. At that demonstration, Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel spoke of

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its significance:

After today's demonstration, no one can doubt any longer that the Fourth International has thousands and thousands of well organised and battle-tested cadres. It is important above all, to realise that over the last several years, the Fourth International has undergone a real metamorphosis. From a small nucleus whose numerical weakness restricted it essentially to propaganda activity - to transmitting the programme to the new generations - it has been transformed into a revolutionary vanguard already capable of taking the initiative, of drawing masses of people behind it, of influencing the course of events.

Throughout the world- in France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, England, Ceylon, Spain, Greece, Bolivia, New Zealand, India, the U. S., in Eastern Europe - the Trotskyist movement is growing, and this is neither accidental nor temporary. It is only through an organisation with a consistent Marxist political programme and a clear organisational perspective that a socialist revolution is possible. Those two things are the most vital assets of our movement and the basis of our present ascendancy.

In Australia, all other groupings claiming to be revolutionary lack both. Post-Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Australia is in a state of disintegration. In the name of the Soviet people and their revolution, these people totally and uncritically supported the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union in the period of its darkest crimes. Confronted finally with the truth about this leadership, and having no ideological equipment to deal with it, they flounder around in utter confusion. Unable as yet to return to the Bolshevik principles of Lenin and Trotsky, they react pragmatically to events, generally

adopting a liberal or reformist stance.

The Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist, on the other hand, still retain their attachment to their 'fatherland', their bureaucracy, headed by Mao and his thought. The recent betrayals in Ceylon and Bangladesh, however, and Nixon's invitation to Peking (see article p. 11), must surely create some doubts about Mao's revolutionary credentials and his claim to represent the interests of the Chinese workers and the interests of the world revolution. It is to be hoped that those who are jolted to a clearer view of reality by recent events can make a thorough analysis of Stalinism and its betrayals, and return to a revolutionary position.

For some time now, the need for a genuine revolutionary party has been apparent. Both the C. P. A. and the C. P. (M-L) have failed in this task. The group concerned with the publication of 'Socialist Review' sees this as its task. This is not a magazine for 'intellectuals' as such. To be an intellectual without being a revolutionary is a contradiction in terms, to be a 'Marxist intellectual' without being committed to the building of a revolutionary party is to be a charlatan. This magazine and our organisation is an attempt to provide a revolutionary alternative to the political bankruptcy of Stalinism, to those who for years have falsely laid claim to the Bolshevik tradition. It is the Fourth International that has kept the genuine traditions of Bolshevism alive, that has learnt and built upon the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, and it is our organisation in Australia, as part of a rapidly growing international movement, that will provide the cadres and the nucleus of the mass revolutionary party that must be built to overthrow capitalism in Australia and throughout the world.

Contents

INTERNATIONAL France; Germany; Belgium; Israel; Czechoslovakia; Pakistan ; India; Ceylon; Gt. Britain.....	4
REFORMISM—A PAPER TIGER	8
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND MAOISM	11
REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION	25
U. S. IMPERIALISM AND MIDEAST OIL	30
THE NUCLEAR FAMILY	43
INTERVIEW WITH A WEST BENGALI TROTSKYIST.....	48
J'ACCUSE Reviewed	54



International

Belgium

FOUNDATION CONGRESS OF THE L. R. T.

On 30 and 31 May, at Liege, 170 delegates attended the foundation congress of the Revolutionary Workers' League (Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs - Revolutionnaire Arbeidersliga), Belgian section of the FI. The LRT has been formed by the amalgamation of the Socialist Young Guard (Jeunes Gardes Socialistes), who decided in 1970 to become a sympathising organisation of the FI, the Walloon Workers' Party (Parti Wallon des Travailleurs) and the Union of the Socialist Left (Union de la Gauche Socialiste), two organisations created in 1965 when the left wing of the Belgian Socialist Party was expelled by the reformist bureaucracy of that party, and the

former Belgian section of the FI.

The congress heard reports from cde. Ernest Mandel, on the significance of joining the FI and on the statutes of the LRT; and from cde. Mathe Lambert, on the FRT's activity among the trade unions and the working-class. Cde. Livio Maitan brought greetings from the United Secretariat of the FI.

The LRT, which publishes two weekly newspapers "La Gauche" and "Rood", and which is gaining more and more support in workshops and trade unions, has very favourable perspectives for expansion. It has local branches in Brussels, Anvers, Liege, Gand, Charleroi, Louvain, Mons, Mouscron, Quaregron, Hasselt, Courtaix, Ostend and St. Nicolas, and is spreading to other regions.

India

CDE. TARIQ ALI'S JOURNEY CAUSES A STIR IN PARLIAMENT AND PRESS

The journey to Bengal undertaken by cde. Tariq Ali (member of the Executive Committee of the FI and Pakistani revolutionary leader, living at present in Britain) to make contact with revolutionary organisations and militants engaged in the Bangla Desh liberation struggle and to study the possibilities of uniting the mass struggles of West and East Bengal, created a stir among Indian public opinion.

Cde. Tariq Ali, of Pakistani nationality, was unable to legally enter Indian territory under current legislation, while a legal journey to Pakistan was equally ruled out in the present conditions of military dictatorship and bloody repression. So he had to travel to Bengal in secret. His presence was revealed by a front-page article in the

London "Times". After this disclosure, important newspapers such as the daily "Hindustan Times" and the weekly "Blitz" published articles by Tariq Ali on the perspectives of the revolutionary struggle in Bengal.

As cde. Tariq Ali upheld the position of a united socialist Bengal, as the nucleus around which will later be formed a united pan-Indian socialist federation eliminating the division of the sub-continent provoked by imperialism in 1947, members of the Indian parliament at New Delhi called on the government to explain what measures it was taking against this dangerous agitator who was preaching the "dismantling" of the Indian Union. This call came from not only bourgeois reactionaries, but also from the spokesmen of the two stalinist Communist Parties. Supporters of self-determination for Bengalis living under the yoke of Yahya Khan, these strange "communist" chauvinists don't grant the same self-determination to Bengalis living under the thumb of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

CONGRESS OF THE I. M. G.

The International Marxist Group, British section of the FI, held its annual conference in June. Main discussion was on perspectives for the section's work among trade unionists, students, women, and the anti-imperialist movement (mainly concerning the coloured population, the Irish, and the Bengalis). In view of the increas-

ing differentiation in the working-class, within the framework of a greatly increased combativity, the conference decided to emphasise work in trade unions and factories, under the slogan: For a workers' government based on the trade unions under rank and file control.

Gt. Britain

POLEMIC BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE C. M. U. INTENSIFIES

The prime minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, has replied through her secretary to the letter which the Ceylon Mercantile Union, led by our comrade Bala Tampoe, sent to her protesting vigorously against the bloody repression of the young revolutionaries of the JVP and against the suppression of all democratic liberties throughout the island. The CMU's general council decided to send its protest letter, Mrs. Bandaranaike's letter, and its own reply, to

all branches of the CMU, so that they could be widely discussed. In this way, despite the state of emergency, the curfew, and the censorship, which are still imposed on the workers' movement and which prevent any public activity, even distribution of leaflets, a wide debate will take place for the first time among Ceylonese workers, concerning the events which led to the bloody repression of the JVP.

Ceylon

FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE R. K. J.

The RKJ (Revolutionary Communist Youth), the German Trotskyist youth organisation, recently held its first congress as a national democratic-centralist organisation. The RKJ

already existed in about twenty cities, but without a real national structure. The congress applied to become a sympathising organisation of the FI.

Germany

FORMATION OF A N. L. F. IN EAST BENGAL

A National Liberation Front has been formed by all the left-wing groups in East Bengal, except Mohammed Toaha's "orthodox" maoist party. The group which seems to be politically dominant within the NLF of Bangla Desh is the Communist Party of East Bengal, whose guerilla units are led by cde. Tipu Biswas.

The leader of the Chittagong waterside workers, cde. Abul Basar, belongs to the CPEB. The most influential student revolutionary in East Bengal, cde. Mahbubullah, was unable to join the Front as he had been imprisoned in Dacca. It is feared that he has been killed by the agents of General Yahya Khan.

Pakistan

INCREASED OPPOSITION TO ZIONIST POLICIES

About ten policemen and several dozen demonstrators and passersby were injured on May 18th, when Jerusalem police attacked a demonstration of Israeli Black Panthers. The Panthers, a militant organisation of oriental Jews who are fighting the educational, housing, and other discrimination imposed on them, were demanding the dismissal of Minister of Police Shlomo Hillel.

The demonstration, which was called by members of the anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organisation and the Israeli New Left (Siah), had a permit from the police. But when the demonstrators began marching away from the rally area, cops moved in with clubs and water hoses. A five hour battle with

the cops ensued.

The police attack was the first time that such massive violence has been used against Jewish dissenters in Israel. Also the cops severely brutalised those arrested. (For an account of this see the ISRACA pamphlet "Black Panthers in Israel" which is available from SR).

Another important development in the growing dissent within Israel towards Zionism is the stand taken by four young people over the draft. The four - three boys and one girl - have refused to be inducted into the Israeli army. They gave their reasons as refusal to serve in an occupation army and become oppressors.

Israel

Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE SOCIALISTS SENTENCED

Sixteen young Czechs, charged with "Trotskyism" were convicted in Prague on March 19th. The leader of the group, Peter Uhl, received four years in gaol and the others lesser sentences. The accused were said to have belonged to the "Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia". Their "crime" was to have distributed various publications, having maintained political contacts abroad, and having received "Trotskyist literature" from abroad.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party that the

accused were said to have belonged called for the destruction of the governing bureaucracy as a social layer, and the introduction of self-management through democratically elected workers' councils at all levels of society. They declared their solidarity with revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

During the trial supporters of the accused were joined by the sons of Ota Slink' and Rudolf Slansky, two scapegoats of the Stalinist purges of the early fifties. How times have changed! Today only the most degenerate pro-Moscow sects would dare defend the persecution of the Prague socialists. As of June ten "Trotskyists" were still in prison and there is an urgent need to mount international campaigns for their release.

France 1:

SECOND CONGRESS OF LIGUE COMMUNISTE

The second congress of the Ligue Communiste (French section of the FI) was held at Rouen on 29th, 30th and 31st May. After an opening report on the international and French political situation by cde. Alain Krivine, the congress held a lengthy discussion on the balance-sheet and perspectives of the organisation's activity through its different areas of intervention (workers, youth, national education, anti-imperialist activity, struggle against repression). Introduced by a report presented by cde. Henri Weber, this discussion began in the plenary session of the congress and continued into the commission debates.

Undoubtedly the most significant aspect of this congress was the way that it clearly expressed the important progress achieved by the Ligue Communiste in the past two years, as illustrated by the demonstration organised in Paris two weeks earlier in commemoration of the Commune. (See below).

The first congress had given top priority to intervention in the work places, the construction of worker cells being a precondition for withstanding petty-bourgeois pressure.

At the second congress, it was no longer university or high school students proposing theories about a matter in which they were almost inexperienced. It was workers, actual leaders (cadres) of areas or branches of intervention, who on the basis of their experience were searching for the methods

to advance work place activity.

Similarly in regard to youth work, it was no longer a question of laying down guiding principles of intervention which broke with the mistaken ideas of ultra-leftists of all kinds. Instead, the problems of youth organisation was discussed by leaders of university, high school and technical school struggles, no longer as abstract necessities, but based on organisation possibilities and on results already obtained.

This progress was also evident in internal matters, as recorded and synthesised in the organisational report. Two years ago, at its formation, 85% of Ligue members were university or high school students; today they make up only 43%, compared to 24% teachers and 25% wage earners.

Finally we must emphasize the importance and significance of what appeared several times to be the main theme of the congress: internationalism. Internationalism marked by the importance of the number of foreign observers from sections or sympathetic organisations of the FI (43 from 25 countries), and the political value of the messages received from the four corners of the world. Internationalism marked above all by the enthusiasm of the militants in expressing their solidarity, as at the sending of a message to the comrades KF the Argentinian section, the PRT, and at the speech by cde. P. Frank in the name of the united secretariat of the FI, and in their determination to make the Ligue's contribution to the International the richest and most important possible on the political and militant plane, especially with in the framework of preparing for the next world congress.

France 2:

COMMEMORATION OF PARIS COMMUNE

"Ce n'est qu'un debut: continuons le com-

bat." (This is only the beginning; keep up the struggle). That was the message which thundered out of France in May 1968. Its confident rhythm and defiance set the pulse of the entire international bourgeoisie racing.



Now, just three years later that cry is taken up again by 35,000 European militants, regrouped, organised determined. The occasion was the 100th Anniversary of that first 'beginning', that first taste of workers' power, The Paris Commune.

The demonstration and the meeting before it was organised by the militants of the Ligue Communiste and called in conjunction with Lutte Ouvriere. This demonstration of such size militancy and discipline came at a most apt conjuncture - in the middle of the Renault strike and occupation. It was a visible sign of an accelerating process in France during the past year and a half - the growth of the Ligue at the expense of the PCF.

Nearly 3,000 militants poured into Paris from the French provinces. Every bus had been stopped at least once by the police. A thousand more from the European sections of the Fourth International swelled the march and gave it a truly internationalist character.

The French bourgeoisie and the French CP both did their utmost on the one hand to create difficulties for the organisers, on the other to try to discredit the aims and revolutionary credentials of the militants in the eyes of the masses.

The French CP for instance had earlier leafleted every house on the route of the march advising the inhabitants to lock and bolt their doors because on Sunday a gang of hoodlums would pass that way smashing windows and assaulting old people.

Instead, the march passed off without incident, without one arrest. One thousand 'Service d'Ordre' (stewards), helmeted and armed, protected the route of the march from a threatened fascist counter demonstration, possible agent-provocateurs, and the police. We never saw one policeman the whole afternoon (though they were there in thousands a couple of streets back from the route).

As for the inhabitants of Belleville; not a trace of hostility or fearfulness. The British delegation could hardly believe their eyes, but for the French too it was a pleasant surprise to see the countless fists raised, the cheers and enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Belleville.

The march, which took two hours to pass a given point, wound through those streets where the Communards made their last stand and down to Le Mur des Federes (the wall of the Federals, where the last resisters were shot by the thousand).

Reformism- A Paper Tiger?

Sean Gavin

One of the more entertaining papers presented at Sydney's recent Anti-war Conference was the one read by Humphrey McQueen.

The paper attempted, with some success, to demonstrate that Labor leaders past and present, while paying lip-service to anti-war sentiments, actually support alliances with imperialist powers (currently of the U. S. variety).

Humphrey's remarks would not have been wasted at a DLP gathering where many present would genuinely believe that some leaders of the Labor Party are not only opposed to the U. S. alliance but are even communists; Marshal Ky, Chiang Kai-Shek and perhaps the far right of the ALP would also be reassured by Humphrey's revelations. We feel that Humphrey's wit was wasted at the Anti-war Conference.

While succeeding generations of frustrated left-wing pundits and orators have fulminated against the straw men of Australian social-democracy, reformism, free from serious challenge, has continued to stunt the working-class movement. Fifty years after the foundation of the Australian Communist Party, forty years after the Militant Minority Movement ushered in the era of Communist and radical trade-union leaderships and over a decade after the emergence of a non-stalinist "new left", faith in bourgeois democracy still binds workers to the belief that only an honest Labor Government can solve their problems. A Labor Government is to the Australian working-class what the Lorelei is to the hapless sailor - just as the sailor wakes from his trance as his craft strikes the rocks, so our workers face disillusionment as great as the British did under Wilson.



The "I told you so" attitude adopted by the Left offered little consolation in the period following the collapse of past Labor Governments. Every position won by the working-class movement was either lost or threatened by reaction exploiting the disillusionment and apathy gripping the working-class.

Revolutionary Socialists should in their propaganda, draw comparisons between the Whitlam-Dunstan-Hawke style and the clearly discredited Labor figures of the thirties and forties. Chifley's troops in the NSW coalfields could have their contemporary counterparts in Hawke's civil courts for enforcement of Arbitrator's rulings. Propaganda has never been a strong point of the revolutionary left in this country; history has not recorded that workers have in appreciable numbers deserted their ALP branches or trade-union leaders after being enlightened as to the Menshevik or Social-fascist nature of their local office-bearer or functionary.

The only times when workers have moved in any numbers away from the ALP is when Communists proved in practice that they could offer tangible results from direct action of a class-conscious nature (we refer here to the Unemployed Worker's Movement - see Jack Blake, Arena number 25).

In this period of sharpening class conflict, opportunities for revolutionary activity in the labor movement abound. Considered introduction of workers control demands, a frontal assault on the Arbitration system and a new rank and file involvement in union affairs are but three of the directions in which a revolutionary party could influence organized labor. The Hawke-Cameron proposals for Arbitration reform have not and may never be the subject for critical debate within most unions. The abysmal division between union leadership and membership, the falling percentage of Australians being organized into unions and shallow economist perspectives of even the most "militant" of leaders combine to create a fertile field for the work of Leninists equipped to apply the lessons learned abroad by workers in advanced conflict in a neo-capitalist environment i. e. France 1968.

Given the absence of a serious alternative, a class-conscious worker finding himself of herself in the wasteland of Labor Party politics would naturally turn with relief to a formation such as the Socialist Left in Victoria. The crass opportunism of the so-called centrists and the almost frenetic scramble for the government benches by Whitlam and those round him must have won many supporters for the SL. Worker militants and radical youth in the party have at last found an opportunity to give expression to their demands inside the ALP framework. The months of organization and consolidation of forces by SL activists be- leaves no doubt as to which side is more capable of leading the party.

Appreciating the historical role of reformism and accepting that its ideological grip on the working-class can only be broken by the intervention of revolutionaries into the organized workers' movement, we must review the precise role of the SL group. SL active support for the Moratorium, their firm opposition to Hawke's scheme for arbitration reform and their repudiation of the U. S. Australia alliance are but three of the radical courses they have adopted. References to extra-parliamentary political activities liberally sprinkle their publications (one contributor to "Inside Labor" even quoted percentages for the amount of emphasis to be placed on the various areas of work.)

Naturally the activists in the SL have in the past months been engaged in the time-and-energy consuming work of recruiting, publishing their journal and joining struggle for leadership of the Victorian branch of their party. Without wishing to underestimate the importance of organization we feel that they have neglected the central task, that of establishing a political program. A study of "Inside Labor" and its successor "Action", will reveal little that raises SL beyond a position of radical reformism.

- (a) a union based party.
- (b) mass participation and involvement.
- (c) the real power in the party shared by all the members.
- (d) to work through the parliamentary system.
- (e) to support and promote mass movements involving the community in the broad struggle.
- (f) the general political line of the old Victorian branch to continue to develop.

The above points were published in "Inside Labor" issue number 10 as objectives for the January 30th mass meeting of ALP members and affiliates.

Whether the Holding-Innes faction is right-wing and the SL position actually centrist should be judged in the light of historical experience. Reformism has never been successfully countered by those who cannot accept that a bourgeois state will not be overthrown by its own machinery.

"There are still people today who believe, or profess to believe, that parliament can be used in this way (to establish a socialist state). Such a belief necessarily implies a certain view of what parliament is; namely, that essentially it is independent of class; that if the bourgeoisie gets the numbers in it, parliament will be used to promote and protect its interests, and that if the working-class gets the numbers, it can be used to promote its interests - i. e. socialism. Such a view is erroneous on two related counts: firstly, it takes no account of the concrete historical development of par-

liamentary democracy: secondly, and as a result of the first error, it distorts the relationship between political and economic power" Peter d'Abbs, "Inside Labor" issue no. 15.

The vast repository of knowledge accumulated by the experience of the 4 Internationals is at the disposal of anyone. The collapse of the 2nd, following the "socialists" capitulation in the face of the imperialist 1st. World War was matched by the betrayal of the 3rd. in the name of "Socialism in one country". The 4th. International, founded by Leon Trotsky in the late thirties has stimulated the growth of a new revolutionary formation across the globe. From the mass demonstrations in the U. S. to the streets of Paris and in beleaguered Bangla Desh adherents of the 4th. International are emerging as the principal upholders of revolutionary socialism. Throughout its history it has striven to extend and develop revolutionary marxism, to keep alive the essential international character of socialism. In its foundation programme, explicitly called transitional, a basis is laid to extend the day to day struggles of the oppressed into the dispossession of the oppressors. In the decades ahead, socialists will be faced with the choice of pursuing the mirage of socialism through parliament or with assisting in the arduous task of preparing for an Australian revolution. Mobilisation around such key demands as workers control can only be inspired and led by a party which bases its future on the fundamental contradiction between those who create commodities and the class which expropriates them for its own use.

It has always been easy for academics to win notoriety by 'exposing' the inconsistencies of parliamentarians in either party; it has always been safe, respectable and utterly cynical to descend from the ivory tower to lecture workers on the futility of engaging in struggles around bread and butter issues; it has never been easy to grapple with the problem of just how revolutionaries are to break the hold of reformist ideology over the working-class movement. We feel sure that even Humphrey would agree that reformism won't disappear with fine-sounding slogans, revolutionary posturing or even intramuscular injections of Mao-Tse-Tung-Thought. Nothing can replace the day-to-day work of a Party armed with a program which begins with the immediate demands of the exploited mass of our people and ends in the forcible overthrow of the capitalist state.

Lest the above remarks be construed as sectarian or wanting in sympathy for the supporters of S. L., we would re-iterate our earlier call for support for S. L. from the rank and file of both the ALP and trade union movement. Although these remarks were written sometime ago, and don't refer to the most recent developments, we hope they will contribute to and initiate a more thorough discussion in our journal.

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Peaceful Coexistence and Maoism

P.J. Knowles

China's recent diplomatic manoeuvres have come as a devastating shock to most people, to people of widely differing political beliefs. Our own Prime Minister Mr. McMahon was caught with his pants down, and he and the DLP look as though they will have to find a substitute for those little red arrows as an electoral gimmick.

However, no less confused are the local supporters of Chairman Mao, especially the student maoists. Within the space of a few short months, their illusions about the role of China as the only bastion against world imperialism, as the source of the true, correct revolutionary line, have been dealt a series of shattering blows.

First came the nationalist uprising in East Pakistan, brutally and bloodily suppressed by the Yahya Khan dictatorship, with China standing happily by and heaping greetings and support on the perpetrators of the massacre. Then came reports of Chinese support and interest-free loans to the Bandaranaike Government of Ceylon, fresh from mopping-up the rebellion by the JVP, variously described as "guevarist" or "maoist", but certainly a strong, militant revolutionary youth movement with widespread mass support. To top it all off, Nixon came out with the announcement that he would be visiting China within 10 months, at the request of the Chinese Government.



Reactions of the student maoists here ranged from silence to "its rather disturbing" to outright disillusionment, but a universally common factor was utter confusion and disorientation. For revolutionary marxists, on the other hand, China's actions were neither surprising nor confusing. They weren't the first betrayals of the world revolution by Stalinism, and although we too find these new betrayals "disturbing", as we have found each successive Stalinist betrayal of the past "disturbing", we don't merely leave it at that, or dismiss it as another regrettable "mistake", or attribute it to the current demons. (Some are already, touting the idea that the latest "mistakes" might be due to the persistence of Liu-Shao-Chi thought in high places). No, it is necessary to transcend demonology and metaphysics and make an honest appraisal of historical reality. It is only by making such an honest analysis of its defeats and its victories that the revolutionary movement will win.

No doubt there will be many amongst the student maoists who will learn to jump at each twist and turn of China's foreign policy as well as any old stalinist, faithfully adapting to the contortions of Stalin's diplomacy. Hopefully, however, some will be shocked enough, and still open-minded enough, to undertake a serious study of the history of the working-class movement.

Rhetoric vs. Reality

Part of the confusion at the current events is of course due to the more revolutionary, militant sounding language generally used by China when compared with the Soviet Union. This ultraleft rhetoric has been taken at face value and easily assimilated by many newly radicalising youth and students, who in the first phase of their radicalisation often have a strong ultraleft bent. This has been the case in Australia, as well as overseas, although because of the generally low political level and the spontaneous attitude towards organisation of these people, no strong maoist organisations have actually

been consolidated. However, rhetoric can be, and often is misleading. As an example, recall the attitude of the German Social Democrats towards imperialist war before the outbreak of World War I. They had paid lip service to the correct marxist line of total opposition on the part of the working-class and its party to imperialist war, but overwhelmingly capitulated immediately on the outbreak of war. It was evident that they might speak in a revolutionary way, but that when the crunch came, this leadership of the German Social Democracy acted in accord with the dictates of its class origins and social base, in this case the intellectual and professional layers and the trade-union bureaucracy. Similarly, I hope to show that regardless of their particular rhetoric at the time, the maoist leadership will act in the interests of its social base, the bureaucratic caste in the Chinese State.

Before proceeding, however, it's worth noting that even from their own rhetoric there has never been a completely clear consistent revolutionary line discernible. An interesting incident comes to mind to illustrate this point. Several years ago, Gregory Clark was speaking on China at a public meeting at Sydney University. (Clark, formerly a China expert in the external affairs department, then an academic at the Australian National University is now "The Australian's" Toyko Correspondent.) Clark was challenged by Brian Aarons, son of Laurie Aarons, CPA National Secretary, who claimed that China was more belligerent in world affairs, and a threat to world peace, whereas the Soviet Union had a sane and responsible attitude to the problems of world peace in the nuclear age. (This was before the CPA broke from Moscow). Clark responded by reading two quotations, one ultra-revolutionary and one extolling the virtues of peaceful coexistence, and asked Aarons to pick which one was made by the Chinese leadership, and which one by the Russians. The point was very tellingly made - the Russians could just as easily turn on the revolutionary rhetoric as the Chinese could turn it off and talk about peace and peaceful coexistence.

A more recent incident occurred at the anti-war conference in Sydney early this year,

"The great alliance of China and the Soviet Union is a firm bulwark for defending world peace. Here we see Comrades Mao Tse-tung and N. S. Khrushchov meeting in Peking, in August 1958." (China Pictorial Feb. 1960.)



when the student maoists were acutely embarrassed when a member of the Australian-China Friendship Society got up and started explaining how sincerely China believed in the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful Coexistence

Revolutionary socialists do not oppose the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between capitalist countries and countries that have successfully overthrown capitalism. Agreements of an economic and diplomatic nature are often necessary for the revolutionary state to gain time, to consolidate the revolution. Such agreements, however, must not be made at the expense of the revolutionary struggle abroad.

The Bolsheviks, after the conquest of power in Russia, were confronted with this problem, the furtherance of the world revolution on the one hand and the defense of the Soviet State on the other. (For a much more thorough analysis of this whole question, see Ernest Mandel: "Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution".)

In spite of the chaos and scarcity resulting from World War I and the civil war, and in spite of the intervention by imperialist armies, Lenin and Trotsky, and other leaders of the Bolshevik Party at that time, remained true to their revolutionary principles, and worked out guidelines for running the state without contravening these principles. Firstly, they regarded the Soviet State as merely the first step in the world revolutionary process, and justified primarily as leading to revolution in advanced capitalist countries. Secondly, the Communist International was made completely independent of the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Soviet State.

At Brest-Litovsk, while being forced to sign a harsh treaty with the German imperialists, the Communists in no way slackened their revolutionary propaganda to the German soldiers and working-class, and the Brest-Litovsk peace actually hastened the

revolutionary process in Central Europe.

In Finland, immediately after the revolution, Lenin applied his thesis of the right of nations to self-determination and accepted the independence of Finland, headed by the counterrevolutionary Svinhufud government. This action was against the interests of the Soviet State from a military point of view, but was justified for Lenin by the internal needs of the Finnish Revolution.

In Poland, Trotsky opposed the offensive by Tukhachevsky towards Warsaw in 1920, on the grounds that it would strengthen chauvinism amongst the Polish working-class and retard the revolution there, and Lenin agreed.

In the "Revolution Betrayed", Trotsky explained the classic Bolshevik position:

"The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis the safety of the worker's state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution." The Revolution Betrayed, Leon Trotsky, p. 188, Merit Publishers.

With the coming to power of the Stalinist Bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, this policy changed. Peaceful coexistence became the

general line of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy, and is intimately linked to Stalin's theory of Socialism in One Country.

The bureaucratic caste that emerged in the Soviet Union occupies a very contradictory position in Soviet Society. It has a monopoly of political power and privileges through total control of the social surplus product based on a planned socialized economy. Thus it will defend the new social system which is the source of its power and privileges.

However, its continued existence is also dependent on the passivity of the Soviet masses, and thus it fears any change in the international status quo, which might lead to a revolutionary reawakening of the Soviet working-class.

"The Soviet Union is no longer seen as an instrument of furthering world revolution; on the contrary, the international communist movement is viewed as an instrument to further the immediate twists and turns of Soviet diplomacy. The "unity" of the Soviet Union and international revolution is degraded from the principled height where Lenin and Trotsky had placed it to the lowest level of pragmatic expediency: Communist parties have to ruthlessly sacrifice the militancy, consciousness and self-confidence of the working classes of their respective countries on the altar of the "state power interests" embodied by the Soviet government." (Mandel p. 11).

Thus peaceful coexistence is the natural foreign policy pursued by a national bureaucratic caste, and in the case of the leaders of the USSR, led to such criminal acts as the sabotage of the Spanish Revolution, the capitulation in the face of Hitler in Germany, the sellout of the revolutions in Greece, France and Italy after World War II and France in May 1968 to name only a few of the most monstrous acts.

It appeared to many people, on the other hand, that the Chinese Communist Party had adopted a more revolutionary foreign policy, at least during the period of the Sino-Soviet dispute. They appeared to cat-

egorically reject "the general line of peaceful coexistence of the CPSU leaders". (See, for example "The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement". Peking 1965, Sixth Comment pp 269-301, Dec 12, 1963.)

Now, however, the list of crimes perpetrated on the world revolutionary movement by the Chinese Communist Party on behalf of "peaceful coexistence" looks just as black as those of the CPSU. Starting from the Geneva Conference on Vietnam in 1954, to the massacre of half a million communists in Indonesia in 1965, to the bloodbath in Bengal and the repression in Ceylon this year, China has acted against the interests of the world revolution, and with the announcement of Nixon's invitation to visit Peking, the Vietnamese Revolution looks as though it is in danger once again.

The reality then, stripped of the revolutionary rhetoric that China has used of late is that the Chinese Communist Party basically pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence in the national interests of a narrow bureaucratic caste, and the analysis made by Trotsky of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union applies to China also. There has not occurred in China as yet anything on the scale of Stalin's monstrous purges, but the suppression of any opposition to the ruling bureaucrats is just as extensive. With this perspective the basic mechanism of the cultural revolution can be seen as a dispute between two sections of the bureaucracy. Indeed, in one field, the Chinese Communist Party has certainly surpassed the excesses of the CPSU. The ridiculous Mao cult is much worse than the cult of the personality under Stalin.

Indonesia

In Indonesia in 1965 the world revolution suffered what is probably its greatest defeat since Hitler came to power in Germany and smashed the German workers' movement. Half a million communists were massacred, and the largest Communist Party outside of a workers state was utterly destroyed. Before the coup, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had 3 million members and over 10 million sympathisers organised in various

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung on August 5, 1965 met D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, and the members of the Party's delegation led by him. They came to China for a visit on August at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party." (China Pictorial 10, 1965.)



front organisations. With its defeat and the coming to power of the counterrevolutionary Suharto regime, the prospects for the revolution in that part of the world were put back many years.

The policy of the PKI leaders before the coup had been one of class collaboration, a policy of relying on the national bourgeoisie under Sukarno. They neglected to educate or mobilize their party, or prepare it in any way for seizing power, preferring to give completely uncritical support to Sukarno, hoping to infiltrate the apparatus and take over on his death.

Here is how Aidit, the PKI Chairman, put the essence of their policy in Dec. 1961:

"In carrying out our national struggle, we must hold firmly to the basic principle: place the interests of the class and of the party below the national interest, that is, place the national interest above the interests of the class and of the Party." (Cited in *The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951-1963* by Donald Hindley.)

Thus the PKI carried out, to its logical conclusion, the Stalinist theory of revolution by stages. "In Maoist doctrine the revolution by stages is put forward in the guise of the need for a 'bloc of four classes'. The essence of this theory is the subordination of the independent organization of the working-class to an alliance with the so-called progressive national bourgeoisie. To keep the liberal capitalists in the coalition, the revolution must not be socialist but only "anti-imperialist", and if it should succeed, capitalist private property must be guaranteed for a whole historical period afterward. This provides the rationalization for supporting all kinds of capitalist governments, particularly in the Third World, with whom the bureaucracy hopes to conclude some advantageous agreement." (Les Evans, "Why Mao Defends the Bengal Bloodbath", *International Socialist Review*, June 1971.)

Such a policy was quite characteristic of the Moscow and the Communist Parties under its tutelage. The PKI however was in the Peking camp, which at the time of the coup and during the Sino-Soviet dispute verbally

condemned peaceful coexistence and the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party, out of the passing diplomatic needs of an alliance with Sukarno and the Indonesian bourgeoisie, prevented the PKI from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped the reactionary generals and put the Indonesian working-class in power.

That Mao himself (rather than Liu-Shao-Chi who was blamed for this and so many other things) was responsible for this disaster can be seen from the following extract from Mao's personal greetings to the PKI Central Committee on May 20, 1965.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by D. N. Aidit has skilfully and creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practice of its own country; it has Indonesianized Marxism-Leninism with outstanding success, independently worked out its revolutionary line and policies which conform to the basic interests of the Indonesian people, and led Indonesia's revolutionary struggle from victory to victory. The Communist Party of China is very proud to have such a close and staunch comrade-in-arms as the Communist Party of Indonesia." (Hsinhua, May 23, 1965.)

(A more extensive insight into what happened in Indonesia can be gained from the pamphlet 'The Catastrophe in Indonesia', by Mandel, Hansen and Soedarso. Merit Publishers, 1966.)

Bangla Desh

The role played by the Chinese Communist Party in the Indonesian debacle was certainly clear enough for anyone, at least to all but the most dogmatically faithful followers of Mao. However, the recent policy of the Chinese towards the national liberation movement in Bangla Desh is even more blatant, their counterrevolutionary actions even more direct and obvious, and the results are likely to be no less criminal to the revolutionary movement than the massacre in Indonesia. The statements issued by the leadership of the Chinese CP and their press leave no shadow of doubt as to their sympathies - 100% support to the Yahya Khan dictatorship and their bloody massacre. Its worth quoting some at length:

"The relevant measures taken by President Yahya Khan in connection with the present situation in Pakistan are the internal affairs of Pakistan, in which no country should or has the right to interfere

"The Pakistan people have the revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism, and have waged unyielding struggles against aggressors and interventionists from outside.

"The Chinese government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty against foreign aggression & interference." (Editorial, April 11, Chinese Communist Party newspaper, "People's Daily".)

Chou-En-Lai was even more explicit in his support, when he wrote in a letter to Yahya Khan (Released April 12):

"We are certain that, thanks to the contacts which you and your collaborators are increasing and thanks to all your efforts, the situation in Pakistan will be restored to normality. The unity of Pakistan and the peoples of the eastern and western provinces of the country is essential to guarantee that the nation will survive and achieve prosperity and power. A distinction must be made between the great mass of the people and a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging

Pakistan's unity."

What hypocrisy! Yahya Khan's butchers are his "collaborators", 75 million East Bengalis are reduced to "a handful of individuals", and Yahya Khan's regime becomes "the great mass of the people". Worse was yet to come. New China News Agency carried a report of a non-existent pro Khan mass demonstration reputed to have been held on April 13 - in Dacca of all places!

Peking's slavish support to Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan and his recent bloodbath is the culmination of a diplomatic alliance that dates back to 1962. The response of the Chinese leadership to the incidents on their Indian borders was to seek an alliance with Pakistan, a diplomatic "solution" that revealed Mao's basic adherence to Stalin's theory of socialism in one country. A bizarre and tragic relationship developed, with Peking attempting to portray the Pakistani regime as anti-imperialist while ignoring the revolutionary movement there, or trying to sabotage it where they could. Indeed, in 1964, during a visit to Lahore Marshal Chen-Yi even went so far as to declare that "basic democracy is very similar to our People's Communes". Basic democracy was Pakistan's quaint electoral system, whereby the vote is restricted to 80,000 hand-picked "basic democrats".

In 1966, a massive strike of railway workers broke out in West Pakistan. Ayub Khan (the present dictator's predecessor) used the army to try to smash the strike, and in this strike a train was driven over workers laying across the tracks. The Maoists in Pakistan opposed the strike however, because of the supposedly "anti-imperialist" nature of the regime. The Maoist leader Mirza Ibrahim was asked by the government to help end the strike. He agreed on the condition that his union and not the one leading the action be recognized as the official union. His appeals to the workers of Lahore were rejected, however, and he was thrown in jail for not trying hard enough. The Chinese press reported neither the strike nor the arrest of Ibrahim. (Evans op.cit. p.27.)

During the mass upsurge of students and workers in 1968/69 in both East and West Pakistan, Peking remained silent. They ignored the general strike in West Pakistan by two and a



half million workers, the shooting of unarmed demonstrators by police and troops, the potentially revolutionary upsurge that had even penetrated to the relatively backward peasantry in West Pakistan. Ignoring the revolution they carried out their diplomacy, entertaining Ayub Khan's successor Yahya Khan, the chief of the military, in Peking at the very height of the upsurge!

The Pakistani regime has been consistently repressive and counterrevolutionary at home, a representative of the Punjabi ruling-class. According to the Maoist line, these facts could be overlooked, if the foreign policy of the regime could somehow be identified as "anti-imperialist". Yet at the start of the Peking - Pakistan honeymoon, Pakistan was a key member of two anti-communist alliances engineered by U. S. imperialism, S. E. A. T. O. and C. E. N. T. O., and retains its membership in both to this day. The US still remains Pakistans major arms supplier (supplemented by both the Soviet Union and China). In fact, Pakistan uses its ties with China to blackmail the US into giving more aid. Far from being anti-imperialist the Pakistan regime is firmly committed to the imperialist system. At a SEATO meeting in London in May 1965, Foreign Minister Bhutto signed a statement accusing Ho Chi Minh of invading South Vietnam.

Peking, and Pakistan, have attempted to explain the revolt in East Bengal as solely a manoeuvre by Indian "expansionists". Ever since China turned towards Pakistan as an ally after the Sino-Indian border disputes of 1962, China's attitude towards national liberation struggles in the Indian subcontinent has been completely opportunistic. Peking has been quite willing to support calls for Kashmiri independence but is blind to the struggle of the people of Bengal for self-determination. In Bengal it is clear that the struggle there is a genuine struggle for national liberation. The attitude of Lenin, and revolutionary marxists since Lenin, has been to give unconditional support to the oppressed nationality, and to support their demands for self-determination. The first step for revolutionaries is to determine whether a people constitute a distinct national grouping. The next step is to decide whether

that national grouping is oppressed, either directly by colonialism, less directly but usually no less disastrously for the people by imperialism, or by some indigenous oppressing group. If both these criteria are met, then it is the revolutionary movement's duty to give unconditional support for their struggle. It is not merely a question of moral duty. It is absolutely necessary for the interests of the socialist revolution, for it is inevitable that the struggle for national liberation, and the bourgeois-democratic goals associated with that struggle, cannot be successful short of a total socialist transformation of the society.

The sole tie binding East and West Pakistan together is the rather tenuous link of a common religion. In all other respects the Bengali people of East Pakistan are closer to the West Bengalis of India - a common race, culture and language. Thus the first criteria is met.

As regards the second, it is easy to see that East Pakistan has been atrociously exploited by the West Pakistanis bourgeoisie. The East has 75 million of Pakistans total population of 120 million, and earns most of the countries foreign exchange through its jute exports. However, this money is used mainly for development of the West. For example; during the last 20 years, West Pakistan imported nearly \$6 billion worth of goods - three times as much as the more populous East; During the countries second five year plan 1960-65, the West Pakistani regime allocated a per capita expenditure for development of its own region of 521.05 rupees, but only 240 rupees for the Bengali East. The disparity in alloc-

ation for social services was even more gross: 309.35 rupees per person in the West compared to 70.29 rupees in the East.

The two regions have been "united" by classical colonial relations. The East has been a supplier of raw materials and financial resources to West Pakistan, and has also been forced to act as a market for the products of West Pakistan's industry. The actual arrangement has been that the East has been required to buy 60 per cent of the West's industrial output, at prices sometimes three times higher than on the world market. Prices are fixed so that rice grown in East Pakistan costs half as much in the West as it does in the East. On top of the economic discrimination Bengalis make up only 15% of all government employees and only 10% of the army.

Thus, when Sheik Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won a massive victory in Pakistan's first free general election last December, Dictator Yahya Khan moved to stop the National Assembly Meeting. Two days before it was due to open, on March 1, he announced an indefinite postponement, sparking off a massive general strike by the workers and peasants of East Pakistan. Yahya Khan took the opportunity to try and quench forever any Bengali movement for independence, and launched a bloodbath in Bengal of a scope and ferocity to match the Indonesian massacre of 1965.

For Peking and their apologists to claim that all this is a result of Indian expansionism and their machinations is pure hypocrisy. The exploitation of East Pakistan was real - the overwhelming electoral support for the Awami League was real - the general strike involved real Bengali workers and peasants, and the ensuing bloodbath and flight of millions of refugees was certainly very real. Any Indian interference was peripheral to these massive events, and in any case came after them.

Furthermore, the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie are certainly not served by promoting ferment and revolution in East Bengal. Any strong national liberation movement there would transcend the artificially created borders and sweep up West Bengal, the most vulnerable and unstable area of India. The glaring contradictions of capitalist India are most acute

and obvious in Calcutta, where a continuous state of crisis reigns. The liberation movement of Bengal could be the spark that fires the whole of the Indian subcontinent.

While the oppressed people of India and Pakistan are struggling desperately to throw off the yoke of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism, while the Pakistani regime is butchering the workers and peasants of Bengal, what is the Chinese leadership doing? Why, entertaining of course. Peking Review of May 28, 1971, reports a banquet given in Peking for the Pakistani ambassador, a banquet which, according to Vice Foreign Minister Han Nienlung, "was permeated with an atmosphere of friendship".....

Ceylon

While the civil war in East Bengal was still going on Mao got a further opportunity to show the consistency of his policy of peaceful coexistence. A rebellion by young workers and students broke out against the Bandaranaike government, and the Chinese leadership backed the bloody repression here in terms just as sickening and unequivocal as had been used to support the bloodbath in Bengal.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) won a sweeping victory in the elections of May 1970, with the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party as minor coalition parties. The political situation in Ceylon was such that the SLFP was forced to stand on a platform of "socialist democracy", while even the conservative United National Party, unseated at the elections, claimed to be for "democratic socialism". The JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramana - People's Liberation Front) a new organization that had gained considerable mass support amongst the students, young workers and unemployed youth, also supported the coalition during the elections. When it became clear that the coalition had no intention of implementing its socialist election policies, the mass support for the JVP grew, as it demanded that the government carry out its promises.

Bandaranaike used an incident at the American embassy on March 6 as a pretext for launching a bloody repression against the JVP and the burgeoning mass opposition to her regime. The JVP did not resort to armed resistance until three weeks after the declaration of the state of emergency. The death toll is in the thousands - any rebels captured are shot - and as in other popular liberation struggles the repressive regime has indiscriminately attacked the local people.

The facts are quite clear, and even though not necessarily agreeing with the JVP tactics or policies, it is the duty of anyone making a serious claim to be revolutionary to give them unconditional support against the repression. Yet the Chinese leadership came down on the side of the bourgeois government, and put its own diplomatic interests before the interests of the revolution in Ceylon.

China delayed making her position public for a while, causing some embarrassment to the local Maoists here. Vanguard, the paper of the CPA (M-L) came out in support of the struggle:

"Armed Struggle In Ceylon.

The people of Ceylon have taken to arms against the great tea plantation owners, against exploitation.

There are people who say they should not have done it or their policies are wrong or some other lament.

But they did take to arms: they did get mass support. We think it is all fine.

No doubt they will find the correct political guidance in the course of protracted struggle.

Their efforts to date have revealed the essential capitalist character of the "left" Mrs. Bandaranaike and the revisionist communists in her cabinet and their efforts have revealed the coalescing of all reactionary forces to put down rebellion by the people." (Vanguard May 13, 1971)

Of course, its merely a question of embarrassment for the local maoists in this case, but for the revolutionaries and for Mao's own supporters in Ceylon, its a little more serious, often a question of life or death. For example, Nagalingam Sanmugalthasan, general secretary of the pro-Peking Ceylon



Communist Party, was jailed by the regime, even though it is reported that his party did not support the uprising. The Maoist press ignored this, despite the fact that a fortnight previously on March 28 the Chinese news service Hsinhua carried a message from Sanmugalthasan congratulating the Maoist regime on its successful launching of a space satellite.

The Maoist position was couched in no uncertain terms when it was made public on May 27. (The position would certainly have been made clear privately to the Bandaranaike regime much earlier - for example the Chinese ambassador paid her a visit on April 18, and Hsinhua reported then as having "a cordial and friendly talk"). As well as giving full political support to the crushing of the rebellion, the Chinese government granted Bandaranaike a Rs 150 million interest - free loan (about \$26 million). The letter sent by Chou En-lai sets out lucidly the position of the Maoist regime on peaceful coexistence, and is worth quoting fully. (This text is from the June 3 Ceylon News. The letter was also quoted in the Australian bourgeois press.)

"I am grateful to Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government for your trust in the Chinese Government and your friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people.

"The friendship between China and Ceylon is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and can stand tests. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship between our two countries and no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage

our friendly relations.

"Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching, the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles.

"We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control.

"We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the co-operation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

"We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end.

"As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention.

"I would like once again to reaffirm this unshakable stand of the Chinese Government.

"In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government, agrees to provide it with a long-term interest free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange.

"We would like to hear any views which Your Excellency might have on this matter.

"We are prepared to deliver a portion of the loan in May and sign a document on it.

"As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed."

interests before the interests of the revolution than this? As for the "Guevarist" label on the JVP, that is not their own. The Bandaranaike government applied the term to them in its propaganda. If anything, the JVP had previously been considered to have slightly Maoist tendencies. It's certain their opinion of the Maoist regime will be somewhat altered by recent events.

However, more was yet to come. Not satisfied with just political and financial support to the Bandaranaike regime and its massacres, the Maoist regime has even offered specific military support. According to the June 24 Ceylon News, Mr. Chelliah Kumarasurier, Bandaranaike's minister of posts and telecommunications read a letter in the Senate from their ambassador in Peking concerning a talk with Chou En-lai. Chou branded the "Che Guevara" movement as counterrevolutionary and linked it with the CIA. The letter went on:

"The Chinese Prime Minister had also expressed regret that China was unable to provide military aid to Ceylon as Chinese ships carrying arms to Tanzania had left Colombo before Ceylon's request was made. Mr. Chou En-lai had said that China could give both financial and military aid to the Ceylon government. The Chinese Premier in conclusion had promised wholehearted support to the Ceylon Government, saying:

"Whom else can we support in Ceylon except the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike."

Nixon

The third major 'shock' from China's foreign policy in the space of a few months came with the announcement by Nixon of his invitation to visit Peking. Coming as soon as it did after China's denunciation and active opposition to the rebellions in Ceylon and Bangla Desh, it could be construed by some that the diplomatic recognition and detente achieved by the planned visit was a direct reward for the earlier betrayals. However the detente with the Nixon administration had been in the offing for some time, and it would be more accurate

Is further evidence required that the Chinese leadership puts its own national bureaucratic

to regard Ceylon and Bangla Desh as merely adding to Mao's diplomatic credentials, as putting the final seal on them.

Mao's regime has always espoused the policy of peaceful coexistence. What is new in the situation is the changed attitude of the US government, specifically Nixon's administration. As early as November 26, 1968, even before he was sworn into office as President, China had put out feelers to Nixon concerning the possibility of "peaceful coexistence". An article by Joseph Hansen published in Intercontinental Press of Dec. 16, 1968, is headed "The Meaning of Mao's Bid to Nixon". In it Hansen analyses the reaction of the US Press and the possible reaction of the administration to a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on Nov. 26, 1968. Hansen points out the basic underlying consistency of China's foreign policy, a policy of peaceful coexistence, in spite of the appearance of a possible 180 degree turn from ultraleftism to opportunism. In an interview given to Edgar Snow in 1960, Chou En-lai stressed his government's belief in "the five principles of peaceful coexistence", and maintained that they had sought to practice peaceful coexistence with the United States, but claimed that Washington's aggressive stance had made this impossible.

With the coming of Nixon to the White House the signals sent out from Washington for Peking's benefit, in response to their Nov. 26 statement gradually changed. In mid 1969 Nixon started by easing some travel restrictions to China. Mao responded more concretely in Dec. 18, 1970 in a further interview with Edgar Snow, published in the April 20 issue of Life. Snow reported Mao's intentions as follows:

"Should rightists like Nixon, who represented the monopoly capitalists be permitted to come (to China)? He should be welcomed because, Mao explained, at present the problems between China and the U. S. A. would have to be solved with Nixon. Mao would be happy to talk with him, either as a tourist or as President."

Then on April 6 the US table tennis team was invited to Peking. This was accompanied by the lifting of restrictions on foreign reporters



allowed into China. Nixon responded on April 14 with a relaxation of the trade embargo on "nonstrategic" goods, an easing of currency restrictions and several related economic measures.

The next move, was the report released by a special presidential commission on April 26 advising that the US itself recommend China's admission to the U.N. This commission had been presided over by Henry Cabot Lodge, who in his previous capacity as chief US representative to the U.N. for eight years had vigorously manoeuvred to keep China out.

On June 10 Nixon finalised the relaxation of the twenty-one year old embargo on trade with China. More than 1,000 items were placed on the list of approved exports. In announcing the new trade regulations White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler declared:

"President Nixon looks upon these measures as a significant step to improve communications with a land of 800 million people after a 20 year freeze in our relationships.

"The President will later consider the possibility of further steps in an effort to re-establish a broader relationship with a country and a people having an important role for future peace in Asia."

"Peace in Asia", of course, means nothing else but an imperialist peace, and Nixon would have had excellent proof of Mao's capabilities in this direction by observing the recent betrayals by the Chinese leadership of the rebellions in Bengal and Ceylon.

Thus it is clear that the changing relationship of the US and China is not so much a sudden shift of policy by the Mao regime, but a reassessment by Nixon. For US imperialism, the admission of China to the U.N. and the opening up of trade are not so much concessions as gains. The policy of blockading China became counterproductive long ago, and Wall Street has had many reasons for wanting to shift to a more flexible approach.

For China US recognition constitutes a substantial advantage. In the arena of world diplomacy it means enhanced prestige and greater weight. The economic gains will be considerable, the most immediate being widened access to the world market and enhanced possibilities of obtaining badly needed materials.

The normalization of relations and the recognition of the Peoples Republic of China has been a primary objective of revolutionaries for over two decades. Previously the bitterest foe of the Chinese Revolution, Nixon has been forced to grant de facto recognition, referring to "the Peoples Republic of China" instead of his usual "Mainland China" or some such appellation. This recognition by itself is to be welcomed by all revolutionary forces.

Unfortunately, it appears that this recognition might have been bought at a rather high price. The timing, coming immediately after the betrayals in Bangla Desh and Ceylon, appears to indicate that part of the deal might have been an agreement by Mao to arrange a settlement of the Vietnam War. This possibility was suggested by most of the bourgeois press. For example, on April 16, at the time of the table tennis visit, the New York Times, representing the most sophisticated section of the US ruling-class wrote:

"One area of special interest to the United States would be Peking's readiness to help speed a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. Up to now the general view in Washington has been that Moscow has sought to persuade Hanoi toward greater flexibility at Paris while Peking has argued obstinacy, and even opposed the whole idea of negotiations.

"Whatever the accuracy of this belief, Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai would gain enormous prestige in the West if they made

some move that visibly contributed to breaking the deadlock. Is it too much, for example, to hope that the Chinese many propose enlargement of the Paris negotiations into a general Southeast Asia peace conference on the lines of the 1954 Geneva conference that permitted France to disengage from Vietnam?"

The hope expressed by the New York Times soon turned into reality. Even while Kissinger was in Peking on his secret visit, Gough Whitlam in his briefing with Chou En-lai, was informed that the Mao government was willing to participate in a new Geneva conference. The information was relayed to McMahon, and via the Australian embassy in Washington to the State Department on July 14.

For the Vietnamese people, the prospect of another Geneva must be extremely disturbing. At the Geneva Conference in 1954, when Nixon was vice president under Eisenhower, the Maoists joined the Soviet government in pressuring the Vietnamese to accept the settlement cooked up by the Americans and the French that led to the division of Vietnam and laid the groundwork for the US intervention.

The official reaction of North Vietnam to Nixon's trip expressed their fear in a guarded manner. An editorial in the North Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper Nhan Dan said in part that Mr. Nixon's policy "consists of trying to achieve a compromise between the big powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrangement.

"But the time when the imperialists could bully a smaller country has also ended for good.

"President Nixon has been running about widely in search of a way out. But he has gone to the wrong place: the exit door has been opened, yet he has tumbled into an impasse."

Any realistic assessment however, must recognize that the Chinese do have the means to pressure the Vietnamese into accepting a compromise, as in 1954. Whether they succeed in this remains to be seen. The counterrevolutionary effects of Mao's invitation to Nixon were nonetheless immediately apparent.

The massive demonstrations in the United States had succeeded in putting tremendous pressure on Nixon to withdraw US forces immediately. The mass opposition to the war was overwhelming, and even inside the ruling circles there was increasing sentiment for immediate withdrawal. Nixon seemed to have no further excuses, no further retreat. His salvation came in the invitation to visit Peking, giving him 10 months respite. He has an excuse for prolonging the war at least till then.

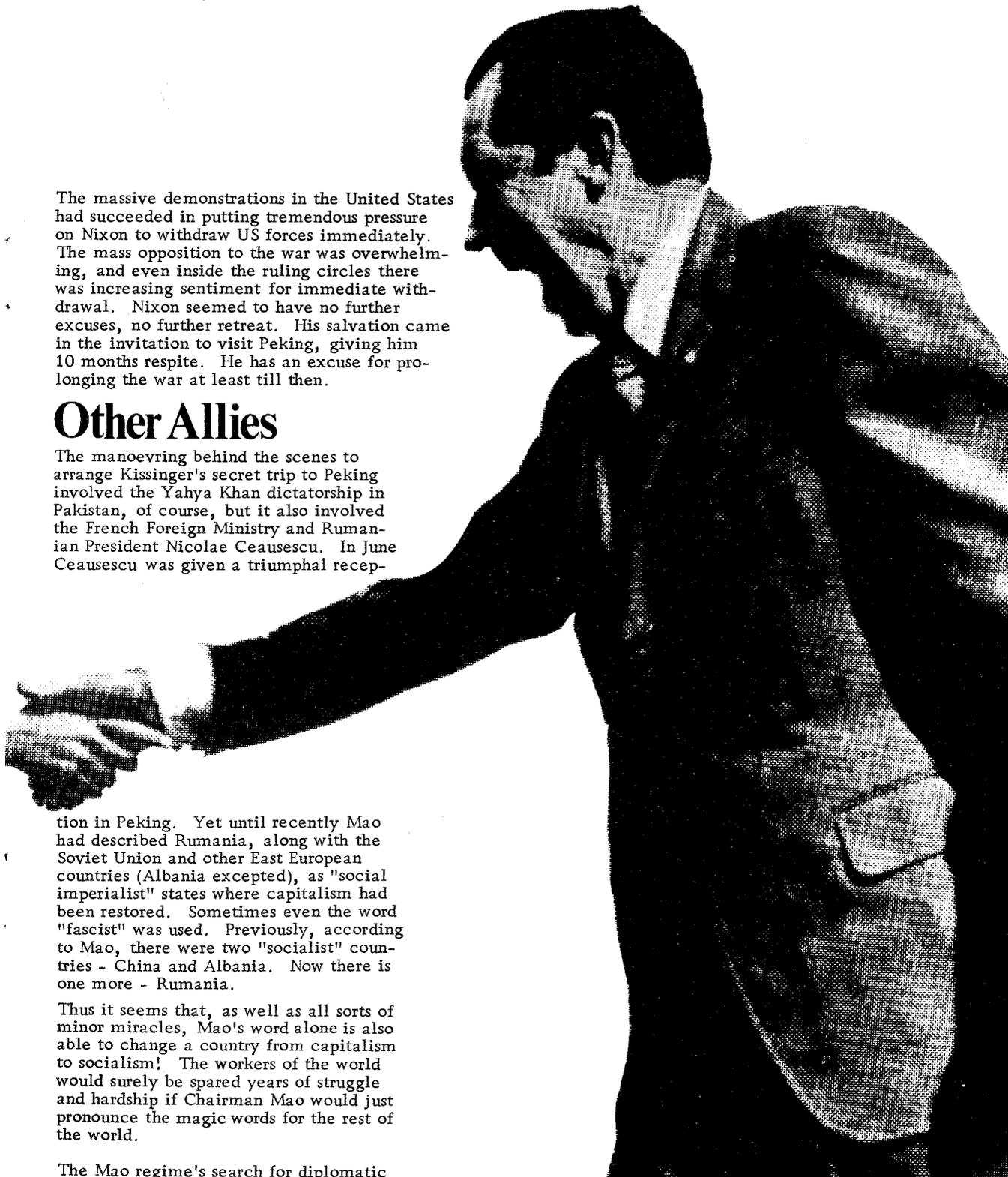
Other Allies

The manoeuvring behind the scenes to arrange Kissinger's secret trip to Peking involved the Yahya Khan dictatorship in Pakistan, of course, but it also involved the French Foreign Ministry and Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. In June Ceausescu was given a triumphal recep-

tion in Peking. Yet until recently Mao had described Rumania, along with the Soviet Union and other East European countries (Albania excepted), as "social imperialist" states where capitalism had been restored. Sometimes even the word "fascist" was used. Previously, according to Mao, there were two "socialist" countries - China and Albania. Now there is one more - Rumania.

Thus it seems that, as well as all sorts of minor miracles, Mao's word alone is also able to change a country from capitalism to socialism! The workers of the world would surely be spared years of struggle and hardship if Chairman Mao would just pronounce the magic words for the rest of the world.

The Mao regime's search for diplomatic



Mao and the Maoists

allies in recent months has not only impelled them to flourish their policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism. The enthusiastic reception given to the Shah of Iran's sister in China from April 14 - 19 indicated they were set on a policy of peaceful coexistence with Feudalism as well. Hsinhua reported:

"Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi sister of his Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shahanshah of Iran, arrived here by special plane today for a friendly visit, at the invitation of the Chinese Government"

"The distinguished Iranian guests were given a warm welcome at the airport. Children presented bouquets to the princess."

At a banquet held in her honour Chou En-lai toasted the health of the Shah, and as an old hand at discovering "progressive" features in bourgeois dictators like the Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan, Chou had no trouble in recognizing that the Shah was in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism. In his speech at the banquet, Chou stated:

"... the Chinese people have always followed with interest and attention the Iranian people's efforts in their struggle against foreign aggression and for national construction."

Chou refrained from mentioning whether they'd been following with interest and attention the political repression inside Iran, where political prisoners are executed after secret trials. Nor did Chou mention the thirteen pro-Chinese Communists shot by a firing squad in Teheran on March 17. But of course these matters are subordinate to Peking's diplomatic goals.

Thus in Indonesia, Ceylon, the US, Pakistan, Rumania, Iran - the consistent policy of the Chinese bureaucracy becomes more apparent day by day. They are quite willing to repudiate revolutionary movements abroad if it serves their own narrow national diplomatic interests. In many cases it is clear they will actively work against a revolutionary movement for these same interests. The extent to which they will go usually depends on how important they judge their strategic interests in that particular country to be. Above all, they will oppose any movement that is likely to pose a threat to their own position of power and privilege by arousing the consciousness of the Chinese masses. These are the same considerations that motivate the Soviet bureaucracy. Their foreign policy is consistently a policy of peaceful coexistence, having its basis in the bureaucracies own interests, not the interests of the workers of the country or of the world. In spite of the lip-service that the Stalinist bureaucracies pay to the ideal of socialist revolution, their conscious practice shows their actual counterrevolutionary role.

Apart from the terrible setbacks to the world revolution and the individual loss of life resulting from Mao's policies in countries like Indonesia, Bengal and Ceylon, there is an additional tragic consequence in the advanced capitalist countries like Australia. In these countries, in the first stages of the tremendous radicalization that is now occurring, many young people were initially attracted to Maoist groups by their ultraleft rhetoric at the time and the prestige of a worker's state to back them up.

It is becoming increasingly apparent now of course, that these groups can be quite easily left in the lurch if it suits Mao's diplomacy. In Australia, for example, Chou's statement to Whitlam that China would like to see the ALP in power has proved embarrassing to the local Maoists, as did the upsurge in Ceylon, which they supported before ascertaining China's stand. In West Bengal, the Pro-Peking Naxalite Movement is reported to have initially supported the liberation movement in Bangla Desh. Later reports indicate they are now toeing the line but with confusion and division in their ranks.

The unfortunate fact is that many sincere young people will be lost completely to the revolutionary movement through this process. Some will be disillusioned and drop out of politics altogether. Some will be able to adapt and become complete tools of China's foreign policy and adjust to each turn like any old Stalinist. Some will be able to break this link with China over their worst betrayals, but will still retain their basic Stalinist policies. An example of this type of evolution is the Progressive Labor Party in America, which broke with China over Bangla Desh, but retained the ultraleft rhetoric of the period. A further possibility, though less likely is a break with the Peking regime while retaining most Stalinist political conceptions, yet evolving in a rightward liberal direction. This occurred with the Communist Party of Australia, which broke with Moscow after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Their reaction to the Nixon visit was to welcome Mao's return to the policy of peaceful coexistence; to hail it as likely to bring a settlement in Vietnam. (See Tribune, July 21st.)

Finally, it is to be hoped that some who had previously relied on Mao as their helmsman will be prompted to make a thorough analysis of peaceful coexistence and Stalinism. Anything less is a blind alley, and there are too many potentialities in this period of radicalization for people to remain aloof from the real struggle because of misplaced past allegiances. Hopefully many former Maoists will be able to play a useful role in the revolutionary movement in the future.

Revolutionary Education

Judith Conway

In recent years, the left-wing movement in Australia has produced a number of groups of radical educationalists, who have been concerned with producing Marxist analyses of the education system. Such critiques have invariably reflected the overall ideology of the groups who have produced them.

The Victorian left has recently seen the emergence of a 'Socialist Teachers' organisation. Accordingly, its first draft program reflected the neo-Stalinist ideology of the group which predominates in the organisation. It contained such statements as:

It must be stated frankly that socialism requires forcing dissident people to build for a co-operative society.

So the question involved is not: Is discipline good or bad? but rather: What should discipline serve?

What can be said about the motives of teachers when they discipline? Certainly it is wrong to dismiss them as lackeys of the capitalist system. No teacher can exist as a viable force without employing a certain amount of discipline and repression.

What follows are tentative notes towards a genuine Marxist critique with particular reference to the educational practices of the Bolsheviks in the period 1917-24.

The following criteria should be regarded as important in measuring the relative success of any education system from a Marxist viewpoint:

Child-Centred

Education in Australia is almost totally teacher-centred, not only in the sense that course content, disciplinary principles, etc. are almost totally determined by teachers, but in the sense that the basic premises of education are based on an adult concept of 'what is good for the child', what the child should be, and are concerned to shape him/her accordingly. John Dewey¹ articulates it better than I could: 'Schools take the accumulated learning of adults, material that is quite unrelated to growth,





and try to force it upon children, instead of finding out what these children need as they go along.'

Similarly, in 'The School I'd Like', edited by Edward Blishen 2, children express their feelings about the unnaturalness of the adult-centred universe that is their school.

Progressive educational systems have always begun with the child. The first premise of a progressive education system is the dignity of the child and the innate capacity of human beings to engage in creative physical and intellectual labour. To quote Dewey again: '... education is not something to be forced upon children and youth from without, but is the growth of capacities with which human beings are endowed at birth'. 3

This principle is crucial to socialist educationalists. Groups like the one quoted above have retained the traditional teacher-centred approach, usually seeing 'teachers rights' as of paramount importance, as being antithetical to children's rights. In constructing an ideological program for socialist teachers this question is key, for if the education program is child-centred, the most important role of the socialist teacher in pre-revolutionary society (in terms of change in the schools), is to support children's struggles.

Co-educational

The place of women in society is a measure of the social enlightenment of that society. In backward, superstition-ridden countries women are held in a blatantly inferior position. In such countries, only middle class women receive any education at all. In developed Western societies there is still a widely-held belief that child-bearing, child-rearing and domestic duties are the primary task of women, thus there is no point in educating women.

Where this belief prevails, education systems traditionally:

i) retain courses which define male/female roles, e. g. boys do woodwork while girls do cookery or 'home economics'. Even at the higher academic level, girls traditionally do

arts while boys do sciences.

ii) retain segregated schools. Not only are there male technical schools where boys are trained for trades and domestic schools where girls learn to be 'good wives and mothers', or 'nice young ladies', but some high schools within this state remain segregated.

In the best of the schools Dewey describes in 'Schools of Tomorrow; 4 girls and boys learnt cooking and carpentry together, just as they did English and Geography. Dewey's attitudes in this regard were not, however, fully enlightened. In the Soviet Union in 1917, there was an advanced consciousness of the plight of women in society, and differences in the education system based on sexual discrimination were quickly eliminated. 5

Comprehensive

The euphemism 'specialised' education, in Victoria at least, means in practice the difference between an academic education geared towards middle-class success and vocation and a 'technical' education usually aimed at fitting working-class children for industry. There are exceptions, where 'streamed' schools (e.g. University High) do provide opportunities for working-class children who have proven themselves academically to further their academic studies. But on the whole, specialisation tends to have a stunting or retarding effect in that it closes all horizons - it restricts children to commercial courses or trade courses or domestic courses. And the obvious question that arises with schools like University High is why can't every child have such opportunities and why should it depend on a child having to prove him/herself academically?

No Corporal Punishment

The absence of physical methods of punishment is no guarantee of the absence of the abuse of pedagogic authority. However, that one should need to argue in 1971 against the use of physical violence and bullying of children seems bizarre. I have argued that a recognition of the basic human rights and dignity of the child should be the centre-pin of an education system. The use of physical violence based on a superior position of authority stands in total contradiction to this view, and indeed, is a vestige of the nineteenth century.

Early Soviet education must be seen in the context of immediate post-revolutionary Russian society - on the one hand, the mammoth physical hardships caused by the civil war, famine and the whole task of building an industrial society, and on the other, the great cultural renaissance of the early years: it was a period of wild exper-

imentation and artistic freedom. The highest achievements of European culture were reflected in the time - the Futurist school of artists experimented in typography, architecture, and designed workers' clubs. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education, sponsored Picasso's works in Russia, trains carrying agit-prop theatre groups toured the countryside, Chagall was appointed director of the Academy of Art at Vitebsk, while Isadora Duncan taught creative dancing to the children of peasants and workers.

To understand this period and how Dewey's idea came to be implemented, one must understand, too, the sharp political distinction between the Proletcult which Lenin fought against in his time, and which, on his death was adopted by Stalin, and the cultural educational policy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The adherents of the Proletcult believed that all that culturally preceded the proletarian revolution, because it belonged to the bourgeois epoch, was counter-revolutionary. Lenin, on the contrary, argued that the revolution should utilise the greatest achievements of bourgeois culture, that these were in fact the heritage of the revolution.

Issac Deutscher describes the task Lunacharsky set himself:
'The revolution had to take over the 'cultural heritage' of the past, to preserve it, to make it accessible to the masses as it had never been before, to educate them and develop them culturally; to bring the socialist spirit into the work of education, to experiment and innovate'. 6

And in relation to education:
'He reformed the teaching methods in a progressive, libertarian spirit, putting into effect Marxist concepts and frankly borrowing from advanced 'bourgeois' thinkers'. 7

Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, also played a leading role in formulating educational policy. She saw the aims of Soviet education thus: 'Education will remain a class privilege of the bourgeoisie until the aims of the school are changed. The population is interested in having a single aim in primary, secondary and higher education: that is, the training of many-sided men with conscious and organised social instincts, having a well-elaborated consistent ideology. They should clearly understand the natural and social life around them. They should be ready for any work, manual or intellectual. They should be able to build up a rational, beautiful, joyful social life.'

How many education systems today, or in the past, would see the aims of education in terms of words like 'joyful' 'beautiful' 'experiment' or 'innovate'?

It was in this background, then, that the ideas of progressive educationalists like Dew-

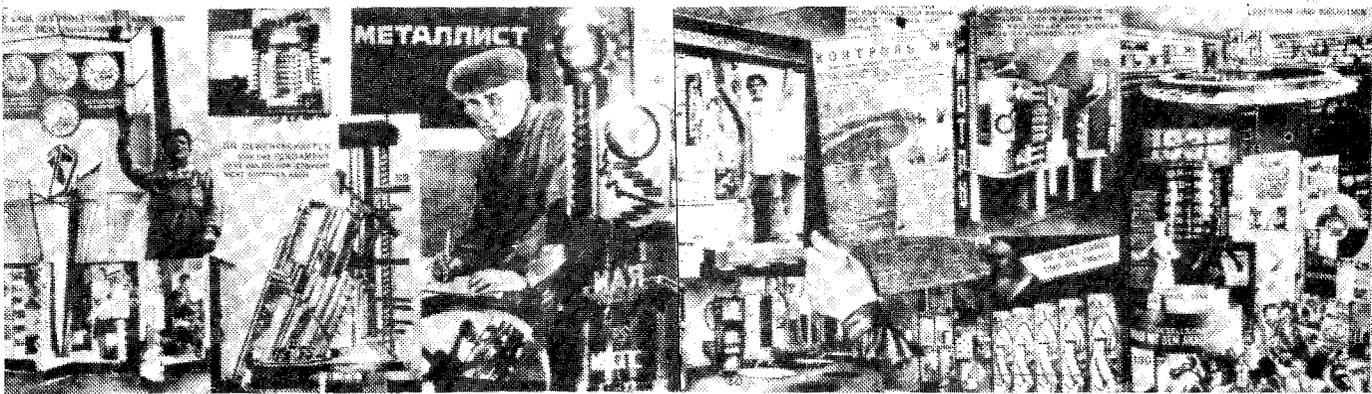


ey, and schemes like the Dalton plan, of Helen Parkhurst, were applied in the Soviet Union.

Official policy called for 'free', 'compulsory', 'general and polytechnical education (familiarising the student with the theoretical and practical aspects of the most important fields of production) for all children of both sexes up to the age of sixteen; training of children to be closely integrated with socially productive work'. The underlying rationale was for universal, humanitarian education, with a scientific-utilitarian base. Education was closely tied to productive labour, and this was key to the Soviets' use of Dewey's ideas, but not in the sense that we know it - i. e., not in a narrow vocational sense. In fact, after Stalin's reversal of Lunacharsky's radical education policies, when the militarist and disciplinarian A. S. Makarenko came into favour, Makarenko complained of the 'uselessness' of the 'labour education idea':

'I can brush away the statements about 'labour education', which has no production, no collective work, and which produces so-called 'labour training' by individual efforts at school'. 10

In Lunacharsky's revolutionary Commissariat, Tolstoy's ideas of free education and the 'labour school' were combined with Dewey's similar ideas of labour education, emanating from a 'life situation': 'Knowledge that is worthy of being called knowledge, training of the intellect that is sure to amount to anything, is obtained only by participating intimately and actively in activities of social life ' (the school must provide) 'a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart to learn lessons. For when the schools depart from the educational conditions effective in the out-of-school environment, they necessarily substitute a bookish, a pseudo-intellectual spirit for a social spirit. Children doubtless go to school to learn, but it is yet to be proved that learning occurs most adequately when it is made a separate conscious business. When treating it as a business of this sort tends to



preclude the social sense which comes from sharing in an activity of common concern and value, the effort at isolated intellectual learning contradicts its own aim Only by engaging in a joint activity, where one person's use of material and tools is consciously referred to the use other persons are making of their capacities and appliances, is a social direction of disposition attained.' 11

The principle of children's self-government in schools, advocated by Tolstoy, was accepted by Krupskaya and Lunarcharsky. This idea also co-incided with Dewey's notion that all education must begin with the child, exploiting and using the child's instinctive need to explore the world, in other words, the child's innate capacity for learning and experimentation. Although Tolstoy's and Dewey's ideas were paramount, use was made of progressive educational ideas like the Dalton plan, which substituted laboratory methods of learning for memorising and formal recitation. A laboratory set-up was maintained for every subject taught in the school. Pupils spent as much time as was necessary to gain sufficient knowledge and advancement in their studies, independently of their fellow students, even if the search for knowledge led them out of the school. Individual assignments followed children's interests, developing an independent spirit of research. Finished experiments were discussed and shared upon completion.

Tolstoy was totally libertarian in his approach to education, and his influence on the Soviet system must have been considerable, in that two former Tolstoyans - S. T. Shatsky and P. P. Blonsky - held influential positions in the Education Commissariat. The essence of Tolstoy's system was complete and utter freedom. In the school he founded at Yasnaya Polyana in 1859, there was no compulsion whatsoever: the pupil always had the right not to go to school, and even when in school, not to listen to the teacher. 'No homework is set them they are not obliged to remember any lesson, nor any of yesterday's work. They are not tormented by thought of the impending lesson.' 12

Adherents of this system of child-centred education in the Soviet Union were known as the pedagogical school of thinkers.

As remarked earlier, the Soviet system of education was entirely co-educational. To quote Grant:

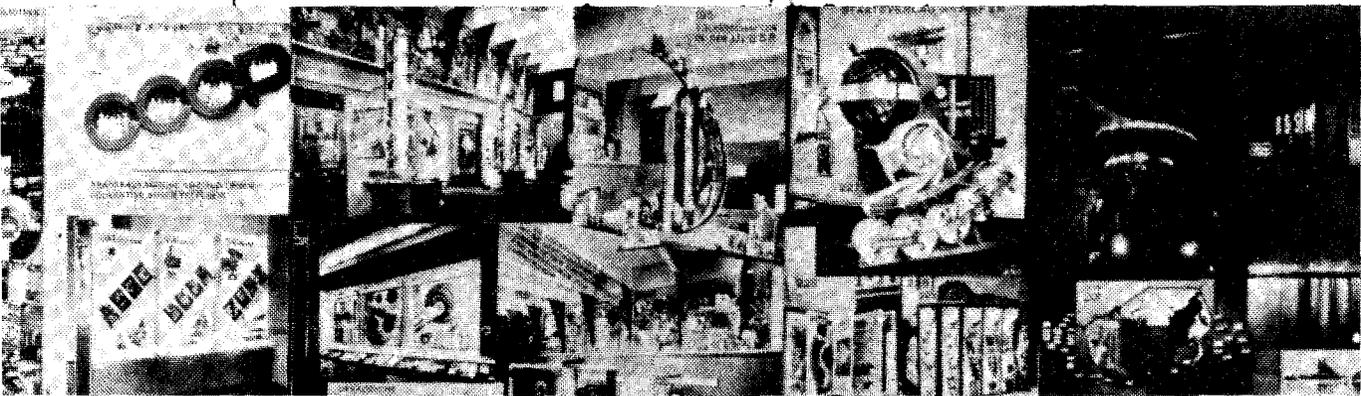
'In the atmosphere of female emancipation after the revolution, segregation would have been regarded as reactionary and therefore unthinkable.' 13

In 1943, under Stalin, however, segregation was re-introduced, a decision which was reversed in 1954.

In fact, from 1924 onwards, after Lenin's death, counter-revolution set in in the education system. Krupskaya and Lunarcharsky lost their influence, and Tolstoyan ideas were declared unMarxist and contrary to Soviet policy:

'All the features of Russian secondary schools, against which the radical Russian educators fought for so long, were restored. Uniforms, pupil's tickets, strict discipline, examinations and academic degrees all came back, and restored the old Russian school to the detriment of life of the state.' 13

This period saw the rise of A. S. Makarenko, an 'educationalist' whose views had been unacceptable to the early Bolsheviks, and who had long fought against the 'pedologists' in the Lunarcharsky Commissariat. Makarenko's educational ideas, which prevail to this day in the Soviet Union, mainly consisted in a militaristic, disciplinarian application of the Protestant Ethic. He declared that Lunarcharsky's ideas had fostered 'bourgeois individualism' and proceeded to institute disciplinary systems based on punishment and reward, introduced military terminology and discipline - his pupils had rifles, did sentry duty and marched in military formation. 'Respect for the flag is the greatest means of training in the school' 'Discipline is freedom.' 14 Patriotism and 'Love of the Motherland' replaced socialist internationalist and universal humanitarian principles.



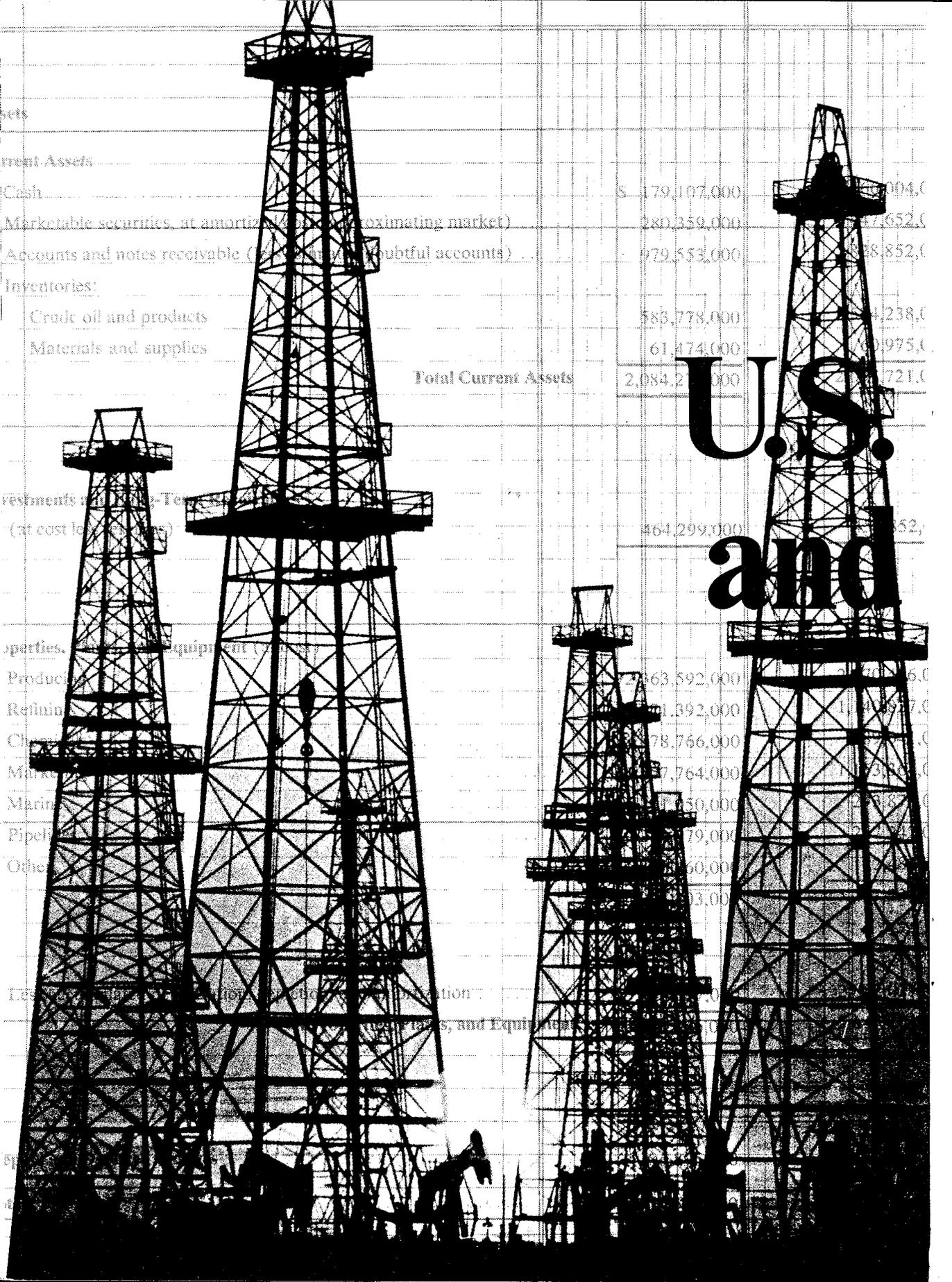
The betrayal of the socialist educational principles of Lunarcharsky and Krupskaya and the dead hand of Makarenko and Stalin remain on Soviet education today. Each pupil is expected to memorise twenty 'Standard Rules for Pupils', which include (Rule 3) 'To obey the instructions of the school director and teachers without question.' Great emphasis is placed on so-called 'moral' education which elevates the virtues of the Protestant Ethic: obedience, discipline, frugality, love of labour per se, love of Motherland, 'modesty', 'love of studies'. Like Australian children, Soviet children are now the victims of their education system, instead of its initiators and participants.

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2. Edward Blishen: 'The School I'd Like', Penguin, Melbourne - a book consisting of excerpts written by kids about their schools. Extremely articulate writings testify to the ugliness and oppressiveness of school buildings and the irrelevance of the education imposed on the children.
3. Dewey, *Ibid.*, p.2.
4. Dewey, *Ibid.*
5. Nigel Grant: 'Soviet Education', Penguin, Melbourne, p.30. - A book obviously written because the author admires the Soviet system for its efficiency in churning out technologists, and believes it to be the model advanced Western societies should use. Consequently, he elevates the most reactionary (Makarenko-influenced) aspects of Soviet education and glosses quickly but uneasily over the period of genuinely revolution-

ary experimentation.

6. A.V. Lunarcharsky: 'Revolutionary Si-houettes', Allan Lane, London, 1967. Quoted from Introduction by Isaac Deutscher, p.19. - Deutscher's introduction contains an excellent thumb-nail sketch of Lunarcharsky in the context of his era. The exceptional nature of this period, the genuinely democratic-centralist nature of the Bolshevik Party and the richness of the intellectual life of the time is testified to by the fact that Lunarcharsky was in fact a philosophical renegade from Marxism-Leninism, and the butt of bitter polemics by Lenin, yet Lenin respected him sufficiently to make him Commissar of Education in the first government. Deutscher claims 'the choice of the person was also a choice of policy. 'In matters of culture', Lenin used to say, 'nothing is as harmful as hate, arrogance and fanaticism. In these matters, great care and tolerance must be exercised.' (Deutscher, p. 18).
7. Deutscher, *Ibid.*, p. 19.
8. Quoted by Nicholas Hans: 'The Russian Tradition in Education', Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963. - A fairly useful book descriptive of the period, but limited by the author's total inability to comprehend Marxist philosophy.
9. From a document in V. I. Lenin: 'On the Emancipation of Women.'
10. Quoted in Hans, *Ibid.* p. 171.
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- 13A. Hans, *Ibid.*, p.162.
14. Quoted by Hans, *Ibid.*, pp 167&169.



sets

Current Assets

Cash	\$ 179,107,000	1,004,000
Marketable securities, at amortized cost (approximating market)	280,359,000	7,652,000
Accounts and notes receivable (allowance for doubtful accounts)	979,553,000	88,852,000
Inventories:		
Crude oil and products	583,778,000	9,238,000
Materials and supplies	61,474,000	1,975,000
Total Current Assets	2,084,210,000	2,122,711,000

Investments and Other Assets
(at cost less accumulated depreciation)

Properties, plant, and equipment	464,299,000	1,352,000
Production facilities	63,592,000	1,236,000
Refining facilities	1,392,000	1,237,000
Other production facilities	78,766,000	1,237,000
Marketable securities	7,764,000	1,237,000
Marine vessels	50,000	1,237,000
Pipeline	79,000	1,237,000
Other	60,000	1,237,000
	133,000	1,237,000

Assets Held for Sale
Properties, plant, and equipment

Properties, plant, and equipment	1,237,000	1,237,000
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U.S. and

Imperialism Mideast Oil

by Dick Roberts

The vast oil reserves that lie beneath the deserts and the ocean floors of the Middle East and North Africa constitute more than three-quarters of the known reserves of petroleum in the capitalist world. This fact, of the utmost significance in determining the policies of world imperialism in this region, emerges on the financial pages of the bourgeois press at times of political crisis in the Middle East.

In its September 26, 1970, issue, as civil war raged in Jordan, Business Week magazine reported that:

Only 3 per cent of the oil consumed in the U. S. is from the Middle East, but the American military forces in Europe and the far East are dependent on Middle Eastern and North African supplies. And the sagging U. S. balance of payments is bolstered by more than \$1 billion in profits remitted annually by oil companies from operations in the region. Of the free world's proven crude oil reserves of 480 billion barrels, 333 billion or 70 per cent are in the Middle East. Libya has another 35 billion - almost as much as the U. S. . . . which has 39 billion, including Alaska.

To understand the significance of these figures in the twentieth century history of the Middle East and North Africa, it is necessary first of all to consider the central importance of oil to world imperialism.

Oil is an essential natural resource to the functioning of advanced industrial society. It is the main source of the energy that runs industry and commerce. Of world energy, only 2 per cent is supplied by hydro-electricity, 19 per cent by natural gas, 37 per cent by coal and 42 per cent by oil. Further, the use of coal has declined in proportion to the use of natural gas and oil in recent years, so that these 1968 figures are by no means static, but are shifting more and more to the predominance of oil. 1

In Western Europe, the proportion of energy supplied by oil is even higher. There, oil supplies 44% of all energy. Oil supplies 57% of the energy consumed in Japan. 2

According to the figures already cited by Business Week magazine during the Jordanian crisis, Libya and the Middle East contain 76 per cent of the capitalist world's reserves of crude petroleum. The main oil-exporting



countries of the Middle East are Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the small sheikdoms of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the Trucial States and Oman and Iran.

In 1968, North Africa and the Middle East supplied 68.1 per cent of the world's oil exports (including those of Communist nations).³ This region accounted for 90 per cent of the oil consumption in Japan; 70 per cent of oil consumption in Britain; 80 per cent in France; 90 per cent in West Germany; almost 95 per cent in Italy.⁴ These statistics spell out an organic dependence of the advanced capitalist nations of Western Europe and Japan on Middle East and North African oil. Oil accounts for almost half of all international sea trade, in terms of tonnage.⁵

Middle East and North African oil has further "advantages": ". . . this oil lies near the coast in favorable geographic and climatic circumstances," New York Times correspondent John M. Lee wrote from Beirut, January 2, 1971. "The Middle Eastern wells average 4,500 barrels of oil a day. Those in the United States average 15!

Production costs are as low as six cents a barrel for some Kuwait wells and range only up to twenty cents for the Gulf area generally. The U. S. cost is \$1.75." One contributing factor to the low cost of Middle East oil is the low wages of the oil workers, although they are high by comparison to the other wages in the same countries. Mideast oil workers in the 1950s earned \$2.13 daily in Saudi Arabia; \$1.30 daily in Iran; \$1.80 daily in Iraq; \$1.79 daily in Kuwait; \$.90 daily in Bahrain.⁶

Oil is crucial for military endeavors. As early as July 1914, the British parliament heard Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, argue that the British Navy must purchase the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of Iran and that "we must become the owners, or at any rate the controllers of the source, of at least a proportion of the supply of natural oil which we require."⁷ The British subsequently occupied Iran, as they did again during the second world war, to control the source of essential military fuels. Today, as Business Week pointed out, the Middle East supplies the oil of the U. S. military forces in Southeast Asia.

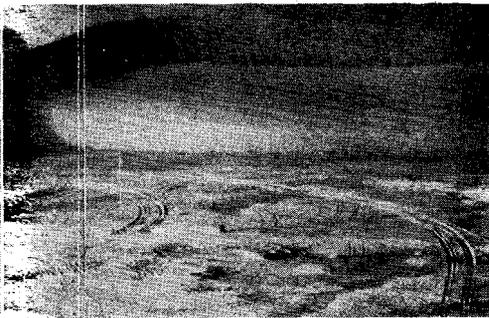
The critical value of oil to modern industry (including the war "industry") gives the oil monopolies a central position in the economies of the advanced capitalist nations. In turn, the oil industry itself is highly centralized. Seventy per cent of world oil production and about 50 per cent of world oil refining is owned by only seven corporations. This mighty international petroleum cartel is the world's most powerful capitalist combine. Of "the seven," five are owned by Americans: Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil (N.J.), Texaco, Gulf Oil, & Mobil Oil. One is British, jointly owned by the government and private interests, British Petroleum. One is jointly owned by Britain (40 per cent) and Holland (60 per cent), Royal Dutch Shell.

The relative positions of "the seven" in their respective economies is revealing. Ranked in terms of asset value, Standard Oil is the biggest U. S. corporation; Texaco is third; Gulf, fifth; Mobil, seventh; Standard of California, tenth. Outside the U. S., Royal Dutch Shell is the biggest and British Petroleum the second biggest corporation, in terms of assets. The combined assets of the seven in 1969 totaled \$69.5 billion.⁹

These seven multinational corporations own most of Middle East oil through a series of concessions, secret agreements and a network of consortiums. Some of these agreements date back to the early part of the century; they have been modified and renegotiated with each new discovery of oil and each shift in the balance of power between the various imperialist states and between the imperialist states as a whole and the oil-producing states.

In Iraq, for example, the Iraq Petroleum Company is jointly owned by British Petroleum (23.75 per cent), Shell (23.75 per cent), Mobil (11.875 per cent) and Standard Oil of New Jersey (11.875 per cent), in combination with the French Compagnie Francaise de Petroles (CFP) (23.75 per cent).¹⁰ It is not necessary to list all of the combinations. The total U. S. share is 23.75 per cent of Iraq oil, 40 per cent of Iran oil, 50 per cent of Kuwait oil, 75 per cent of Libya oil and 100 per cent of Saudi Arabia oil.¹¹

The profits from these holdings still further elevate oil to a paramount position in the world



capitalist economy. In *The Political Economy of International Oil* (1969), Michael Tanzer writes:

Of the total direct United States overseas investment with a book value of \$55 billion at the end of 1966, petroleum accounted for 30 per cent. Even more important for the underdeveloped countries, petroleum investment comprised about 40 per cent of all U. S. direct investment. The significance of this overseas petroleum investment to the U. S. economy is enhanced by the fact that it is relatively more profitable: earnings on petroleum investment accounted for 60 per cent of all U. S. earnings in underdeveloped countries. In 1965 the return on United States petroleum investment in underdeveloped countries averaged around 20 per cent, with a high of 55 per cent in the Middle East. 12

A 55 per cent return on investment? The stark statistics of the exploitation of the Arab peoples glitter in the eyes of the oil barons like the *Tales of the Arabian Nights!* J. E. Hartshorn wrote in 1962: "A U. S. Dept. of Commerce survey of American investment abroad, in mid-1961, put the book value of capital investment in the Middle East for 1960 at \$1,195,000,000, the turnover of these businesses at \$1,745,000,000 and their profits after tax at \$610,000,000 - a rate of return of about 50 per cent. 13

The torrent of dollars that has flowed from Middle East oil holdings was described by Charles Issawi and Mohammed Yeganeh:

When we summarize the financial results of petroleum operations in the former area (Middle East) from their establishment at the turn of the century until 1960, it is estimated that the gross receipts of oil companies . . . amounted, approximately, to \$32.1 billion. After deducting, from these gross receipts, an estimated amount of \$5.9 billion for costs of operations, the industry's gross income is estimated at \$26.2 billion . . . Of this gross income, a sum of \$9.9 billion was paid to these governments as royalties, rents, taxes, and share in profits . . . the oil companies reinvested about \$1.7 billion of their net income in the expan-

sion of the region's oil industry, and transferred the remaining \$14.6 billion abroad. 14

Since 1960, the flow of oil profits from the Middle East has steadily increased.

Because of the predominance of the U. S. corporations in the world oil market, their immense wealth and pivotal position in the American economy, it should not be surprising to find that they command strategic decision-making posts on all levels of the American government.

At the peak of the oil pyramid are two of the most powerful ruling-class families in the world, and the enormous industrial-financial empires beholden to them: the Mellons and the Rockefellers. Of the five international U. S. majors, the Rockefellers own controlling interests in three of them: Mobil, Standard of New Jersey and Standard of California. In *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, Ferdinand Lundberg estimated the 1964 closing market value of the Rockefeller holdings in these 3 corporations at over \$3 billion. 15 (This is not to speak of the other major bulwarks of the Rockefeller empire like the Chase Manhattan Bank, Consolidated Oil, Ohio Oil, Standard Oil of Indiana, etc.) The Mellons own 70 per cent of the outstanding shares of Gulf Oil, which Lundberg calculated to have a 1964 value of over \$4 billion. (And this omits the Mellons' banking interests, controlling holdings in the Aluminum Corporation of America, Allis-Chalmers, Bethlehem Steel, etc.)

In these four multinational oil corporations which they control, the holdings of the Rockefellers and Mellons exceed \$7 billion. This figure is roughly equal to the total of the yearly Gross National Products of Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Yemen.

The oil trusts, as Robert Engler has carefully demonstrated in *The Politics of Oil* (1961), have world-wide apparatuses whose relationships with the governments of nations are conducted through a multitude of channels on the local, state, federal and international arena. 16 One common denominator to these channels is that they are impenetrable to the public. When it is grasped that Stan-

ard Oil of New Jersey has 275 subsidiaries in 52 countries and sells its products in over 100 nations, the magnitude of this apparatus can be visualized. 17

Attempts to expose the operations of the oil cartels, let alone limit them, have been invariably stopped, either in Congressional committees, or in the state and federal courts.

The oil industry's public appraisals of the capitalist politicians in Washington are typically condescending, in the manner of an employer speaking of hired servants. Of President John Kennedy, World Petroleum declared in September 1963:

The USA oil industry finds little to complain about in the Kennedy administration. The president did ask changes in the income tax depletion treatment for oil production at home and abroad, to add to oil's tax bill, but he could have asked for more. And he did not fight too hard when the House Ways and Means Committee rejected most of what he asked in the area . . . In addition, the president has named few persons to high government positions that the industry objects to.

The same journal wrote of President Lyndon Johnson in January 1964: "Lyndon Baines Johnson, age 55, probably knows more about oil and gas than any man ever to serve as chief executive of the United States. He has the interests of the industry at heart, as shown many times during his career of 31 years in political life in Washington. 18

Two men conspicuously symbolized the essential relations of the oil empires to the U. S. government: Allen W. and John Foster Dulles. In private business, both were partners in the powerful Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, the major attorneys for Standard Oil of New Jersey. In government, Allen Dulles served as chief of the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs in the 1920s; he became an outspoken advocate of early entry of the United States in the second world war for reasons, he said, of "enlightened selfishness." During the

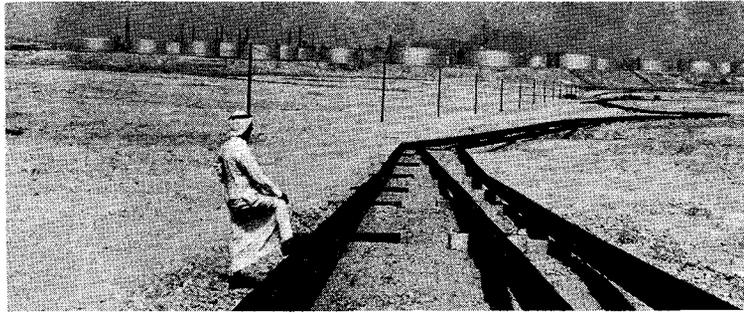
world war, Allen Dulles became head of the Office of Strategic Services in Switzerland, the agency which was later to help turn into the CIA. Dulles was director of the CIA from 1953 to 1961. John Foster's pernicious diplomatic role is more well known and need not be recapitulated here. Suffice it to say at this point that as Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles was the major architect of Washington's present military, economic and political policies in the Middle East.

Oil was first exported from Iran, in the first decade of this century. The giant Adaban refinery, still the largest in the world, had been constructed in Iran by 1912. Since that time oil exports from the Middle East and North Africa have steadily increased, as imperialism spread its wells initially westward from Iran to Iraq, then southward into Saudi Arabia and to the other sheikdoms along the Persian Gulf, into the Persian Gulf itself, and finally westward again to Libya and Algeria.

The upward curve of oil profits is vividly illustrated by the figures for Anglo-Persian, which remained wholly under British control until 1950. Anglo-Persian paid its first dividends of 63,720 pounds in 1915 at a dividend rate of 8 per cent; this had swollen to 3,112,529 pounds at 15 per cent in 1928; 6,123,469 pounds at 20 per cent in 1936; 33,102,572 pounds at 30 per cent in 1950, the year before Mossadegh's nationalization of Anglo-Persian. 19

The first world war had resulted in the balkanization of the old Ottoman Empire into spheres of British and French military occupation, at the expense of the Arabs who had supported the Allied powers during the world war and expected independence afterwards. Arab resistance to British and French imperialism erupted during the interwar period into strikes, demonstrations and guerrilla warfare.

The strategy of "pacification," which the French government had already employed in its Morocco campaigns at the turn of the century, was employed by French and British armies alike: French bombers and artillery were used against the civilians of Damascus in 1920, again from 1925



-1927, and at the outbreak of the second world war, as well as at its conclusion. The British massacred an Iraq rebellion in 1920; RAF bombers were pounding the nationalists in 1922 while Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill negotiated with Faisal, later appointed monarch.

British suppression of the Palestine rebellion of 1936-1939 is a chapter in itself in the history of the rise of Arab nationalism and of the background of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

All this time the imperialists were also preoccupied with the "black gold" of Iraq and the formation of a consortium to divide this precious spoil of the war. As early as 1912, four groups were seeking concessions in Mesopotamia: the German Deutsche Bank; the British D'Arcy group (which originated the oil exploration in Iran even earlier); the Dutch-Anglo-Saxon Oil Company; and an American group. The British formed a "Turkish Petroleum Company" to unite European interests against U. S. penetration. Harvey O'Connor records that at the end of the first world war:

Socony (now Mobil) reported bitterly to the State Department that the British were blocking the way of exploration parties. The commander in Baghdad forbade Jersey to send its scouts up the rivers to Mosul and Kirkuk (in Iraq), and Socony's teams were stalled in Palestine and Turkey, while Royal Dutch and Anglo-Persian were busy scurrying about the deserts. (President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Walter) Teagle came to the sad conclusion that "British domination would be a greater menace to New Jersey business than a German victory would have been."

It was not until 1928 that the "Red Line Agreement" was reached, giving 23.75 per cent of Iraq oil to U. S. interests, the share that might under other circumstances have gone to the German Deutsche Bank.

In London, the U. S. ambassador ultimately wrangled a 50 per cent share of

Kuwait oil for Gulf Oil. The ambassador was one of the owners of Gulf - Andrew Mellon!

Oil exploration and development in Saudi came later in Iran and Iraq. Ibn Saud had granted concessions to American firms as early as 1933. But the second world war was needed to clinch the hegemony of the mighty Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco) consortium in Saudi Arabia (Standard of New Jersey 30 per cent; Standard of California 30 per cent; Texaco 30 per cent; Mobil 10 per cent). This 100 per cent American-owned combine shifted the balance of Middle East oil power to the United States. Harry Magdoff gives the pertinent figures: In 1940, Britain controlled an estimated 72 per cent of Middle East oil reserves and the U. S. an estimated 9.8 per cent. By 1967, the estimated British reserves had fallen to 29.3 per cent while those of the U. S. had risen to 58.6 per cent. 21

Major oil policy questions during the war were handled by the "Petroleum Industry Council for National Defense" later to be known as the Petroleum Industry War Council. Directly under the control of the oil trusts, this committee is typical of the actual decision-making semigovernment agencies which determine domestic and foreign policy. The PIWC came into being again during the Suez crisis and recently during the oil-price negotiations in Teheran (under a new name). Most people have never heard of it. Engler writes: "Forty of the originally chosen sixty-six members . . . were major oil-company executives and thirteen were oil trade association presidents . . . At one time in the life of the PIWC, thirty-nine had been or were involved in federal anti-trust cases, with twenty-six of them having drawn fines." 22 (Such theatrical penalties are no more annoying than a slap on the wrist.)

The power of the U. S. imperialists to stabilize their hold in Saudi Arabia involved manipulation of Lend Lease. Initially in the war, Lend Lease aid provided to Britain had been channeled to Ibn Saud with whom the British had treaty relations dating back to the late 1920s. But the



heads of Standard of California and Texaco exerted pressure on Roosevelt to shift the Lend Lease so that it would go directly from Washington to Saudi Arabia. This pressure, coming to a head in 1943-1944, is the background of heated exchanges between high-ranking diplomats. James Forrestal of the U. S. Navy Department told James Byrnes in the State Department: " . . . the main thing is that stock of oil is something that this country damn well ought to have and we've lost, in the last ninety days, a good deal of our position with this Sheik - Eben Sihudo, whatever his name is . . . The British have now sent, under the guise of naturalists to prevent a locust plague, have got 500 people in Saudi Arabia, for no other reason than to see what the hell we are doing and what we've got. " 23

Churchill wired Roosevelt: "There is apprehension here that the United States has a desire to deprive us of our oil assets in the Middle East . . . " Roosevelt retorted: "On the other hand, I am disturbed about the rumor that the British wish to horn in on Saudi Arabian oil reserves." Churchill wrote back to Roosevelt - and this is a unique document even between heads of imperialist states:

Thank you very much for your assurances about no sheeps eyes at our oil fields in Iran and Iraq. Let me reciprocate by giving you fullest assurance that we have no thought of trying to horn in upon your interests or property in Saudi Arabia. My position in this as in all matters is that Great Britain seeks no advantage, territorial or otherwise, as a result of the war. On the other hand, she will not be deprived of anything which rightly belongs to her after having given services to the good cause.

At the conclusion of the war, the occupation of northern Iran for a brief period by Soviet troops resulted in a standoff of any plans to intervene that Washington may have had. The war therefore left Britain with full control of Iranian oil, the 1928 agreement on Iraq still in effect and Washington in control of the potentially most valuable prize of all, the oil of Saudi Arabia.

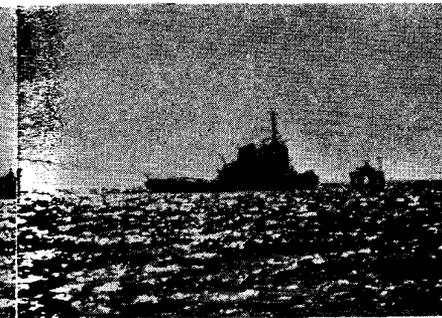
An idea of the wealth that was to flow from Saudi Arabia to the American oil imperialists is indicated by the amount they paid to the Saudi Arabian monarchy. Abdul Aziz, a scion of the longtime monarch of that land, Ibn Saud, died in 1969. The son had inherited the father's wealth. The oil "income of \$300 million a year . . . made him one of the world's richest men . . . His personal household numbered about ten thousand. It was filled with scores of slaves (the country's population of six million includes a half-million slaves) and concubines as well as members of the huge royal family, courtiers, bodyguards and pensioners on the King's charity. He had twenty-four palaces. " 24

In a short time, however, events provided Washington with a new opportunity to advance the empire of U. S. oil in Iran. On April 30, 1951, Mohammed Mossadegh was appointed Premier of Iran. The following day he nationalized Britain's Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Two years later Mossadegh was overthrown and this attempt to gain control of Iran's rich resource in order to better the horrifying social conditions of the country failed. Nationalization of oil interests was not again attempted in the Middle East until 1971, when the government of Algeria took moves to increase its share there - the ultimate results of which remain to be seen.

Mossadegh's reformist regime in Iran was undermined from the beginning by the international petroleum cartel, which completely closed its marketing facilities to Iranian oil. Even though Iran was the biggest single exporter of petroleum at the time, in the whole period between 1951 and 1953, Iran exported only 103,000 tons of oil. That is less than it had exported in a single day prior to nationalization! To successfully counter such imperialist pressure required revolutionary measures and the mobilization of the Iranian masses, to take Iran out of the orbit of world capitalism. Mossadegh had no intentions of doing this.

No single oil-exporting underdeveloped nation controls such a large share of the



capitalist world's oil reserves that it can single-handedly force concessions from the cartel. Not only do the imperialists continually press for new reserves, lest the Iranian type boycott become a necessity again, but they manipulate the production of oil from known sources to hedge against possible emergencies.

For example, the estimated oil reserves in Libya (a country whose regime is far from "certain" in Washington's eye) are about 35 billion barrels and the estimated reserves in Saudi Arabia are about 150 billion barrels. But present oil production in Libya is almost the same as in Saudi Arabia. Oil is thus being pumped out of Libya at a rate which could exhaust her reserves in less than thirty years. The corresponding figure for Saudi Arabia gives Saudi Arabian reserves a "life expectancy" of over a century. 25 And the oil production in Libya is being accelerated at a frenetic rate.

From the outset of Mossadegh's accession to power, Britain attempted to persuade Washington to intervene. The State Department drew a hard bargain. There were many rounds of negotiations. Finally a new consortium was agreed upon: Britain's share was reduced to 54 per cent (including British Petroleum, which replaced Anglo-Persian, and Shell); the U. S. gained 40 per cent and France 6 per cent. On August 19, 1953, Mossadegh was toppled with the aid of the CIA, bringing the Shah back to power.

The January 31, 1969, New York Times obituary of Allen Dulles attempted to give this event a frolicsome cast:

Was there a chance, in 1953, to overthrow Mohammed Mossadegh as Premier of Iran and restore to power Shah Riza Pahlavi, a friend of the United States? The CIA thought so. A crowd chanting pro-Shah slogans and an attack by pro-Shah troops on the Premier's palace came with well-planned precision one night in August, and soon the Shah was flying home from Rome to set up a pro-Western regime. Mr. Dulles loved these adventures and

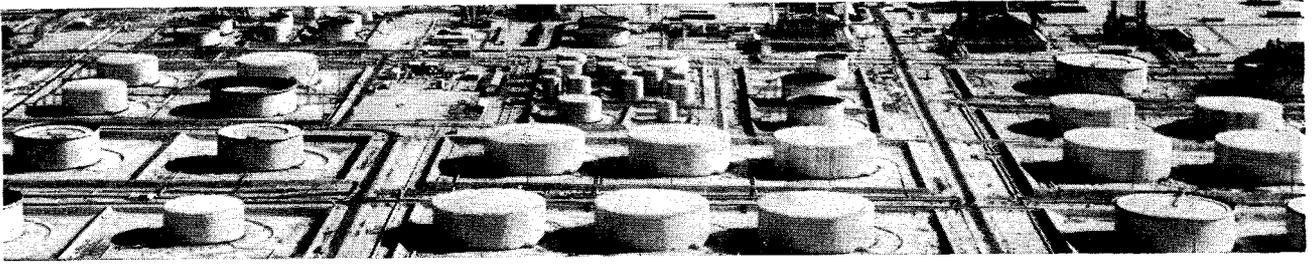
in carrying them out he placed supreme confidence in his personal judgements.

Bahman Nirumand has counterposed the impressions of a traveller in South Iran in 1961 to those of the Shah himself, who has been showered with over \$2 billion worth of U. S. military and economic aid. The traveller stated: "I have witnessed appalling scenes of human misery. I have seen children and young people, men and women, slowly wasting away for lack of medicines and food, because of hunger and deprivation. I know of families who do not leave their homes for months at a time because they lack the barest essentials of clothing. I know of children skinny as skeletons, who roll around in dirt for years, naked as worms, and live on weeds and rotten fish." 26

The Shah paints a different picture: "We must not overlook the fact that our villages already possess many attractive features; the mere mention of a Persian village conjures up in my mind peaceful, tree-lined lanes, a stream flowing through the center . . . old men resting, women chattering and children playing."

In July 1956 Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. In October Israel, backed by Britain and France, launched a military attack on Egypt. This was ultimately blocked by United Nation's intervention resulting from agreement between Washington and Moscow. An unpeaceful truce hung over the Sinai peninsula for the next decade, until Israel once again invaded and occupied the territory in June 1967.

The Suez events of 1956 marked a new stage in the rise of Arab nationalism in the Middle East. In 1954 the first Baathists had been elected to parliament in Syria. Nasser's attendance at the Peking-influenced Bandung conference of April 1955 was his first journey outside Egypt, the Sudan and Palestine. In September 1955 Egypt reached an arms agreement with Czechoslovakia. In 1956 a popular-front government had come to power in Jordan, and in October 1956, Jordan had entered into a military pact with Egypt and Syria. The reaction of the oil trusts toward the emerging thrusts of Arab nationalism was



predictable. Howard W. Page, a director of Standard Oil of New Jersey, explained the situation to the Chicago Executives Club in November 1956, at the height of the Suez crisis:

It is necessary to realize that everything which happens in this distant region, so strange to us and so complex, can affect the welfare of our country. The importance of the Middle East lies in the fact that it is the greatest single reservoir of energy available to supply the growing needs of the entire Eastern Hemisphere outside the Iron Curtain.

From his accession to power as Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles had been busy strengthening Washington's hold in the Middle East. He toured the region in 1953 and began to construct with Britain a series of military agreements with those regimes which still swayed openly toward imperialism. The Baghdad Pact of 1955, built around the British stooge Nuri as-Said, Iraqi Foreign Minister, also included Turkey (which had a nonaggression pact with Israel), Iran and Pakistan. This alliance was a link in the chain of bases and military pacts surrounding the Soviet Union and China. But the regimes involved clearly had domestic uses for the arms of the imperialists as well.

There were other factors at work leading to the Israeli-British-French attack on the Suez which are not so well known. The second world war had not settled the boundaries between Saudi Arabia and the oil-rich sheikdoms around its edges of Muscat, Oman and the Trucial Coast. Friction in these areas was being encouraged by Washington and London in the early 1950s - and to this date, the region is far from "stabilized" for imperialism. 28 British imperialism viewed the oil of the coastal sheiks as particularly vital, having lost all of Saudi Arabian oil and nearly half the oil in Iran. Washington wanted to undermine British interests even further.

The former British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, wrote in his memoirs (1960) that Eisenhower warned him in January 1956 that Washington: "tended to think that the whole

Arabian peninsula belonged, or ought to belong, to King Saud. Naturally we (Britain) contested this, which took no account of the continuous expansion of Saudi claims ever since 1935. It also ignored the Yemen and Muscat, the independent sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf, and ourselves in Aden. It certainly showed the dangers of oversimplification." 29

Thus throughout the spring and summer of 1956, as tensions heated between Egypt and Israel, Washington was forcing London into a corner on the coastal oil. Joseph Alsop presented the British viewpoint in the New York Herald Tribune on June 27: "it is amazing and pretty terrifying to come home, and to discover that the State Department's chief parlor game seems to be smug carping at the British policy in such places as Cyprus and Buraimi. What does it matter if Britain's struggles to defend her own jugular have become pretty convulsive, compared to the hard fact that this same Britain also happens to be the jugular of the United States?"

The Suez was seized one month later. Dulles refused to intervene, seeing in the crisis a chance to further weaken both Britain and France in the Middle East.

Dulles piously maintained in September: "We do not intend to shoot our way through . . . Each nation has to decide for itself what action it will have to take to defend and, if possible, realize its rights which it believes it has as a matter of treaty." Eden commented on this: "Such cynicism towards allies destroys true partnership. It leaves only the choice of parting, or a master and vassal relationship in foreign policy."

But that is just how it was to be. The UN stopped the British-French-Israeli attack after considerable damage was done to Egypt. By March 1957 Israeli forces began to withdraw from Sinai. And by then, the Eisenhower-Dulles combination had returned to a second term in the White House.

During the elections - and the whole Suez

crisis had taken place in the midst of presidential elections - Eisenhower made out that Washington's refusal to intervene in the Suez had to do with "peaceful" and "democratic" ideals. On January 5, 1957, he asked Congress for permission in advance "to undertake economic and military co-operation with nations in order to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence."

Congress granted Eisenhower's request in March. But before doing so, hearings were held by joint sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Committee on Armed Services, which cast a revealing light on the main questions involved. The senators heard four days of testimony from John Foster Dulles. The Secretary of State was emphatic:

The North Atlantic Treaty Forces in Europe and the Mediterranean fly on Middle East oil. Their trucks, their tanks, their vehicles move on Middle East oil, and their ships operate with Middle East oil. By land, sea and air, motion is primarily dependent on such oil . . . if the Middle East should fall under Communist control . . . if the Middle East were lost, it would carry with it the loss of Africa, at least there is a high degree of probability, and of course with that goes a great many things, not only the bases in North Africa but also extremely important raw materials which are obtained from Africa. I think it is no secret that a great deal of the makings of our atomic weapons come from Africa and, of course, large amounts of copper.

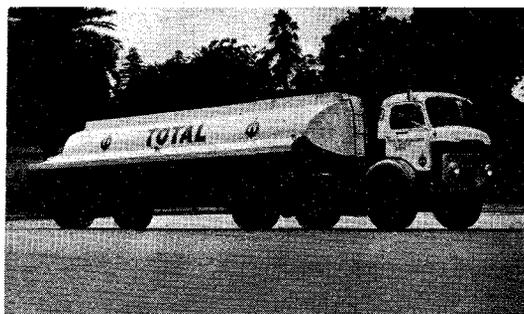
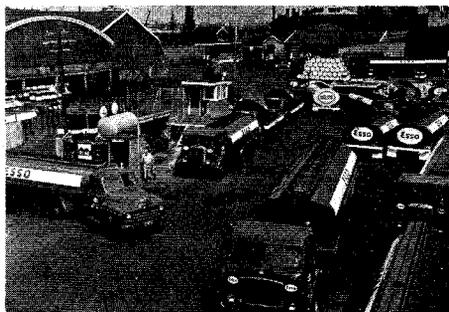
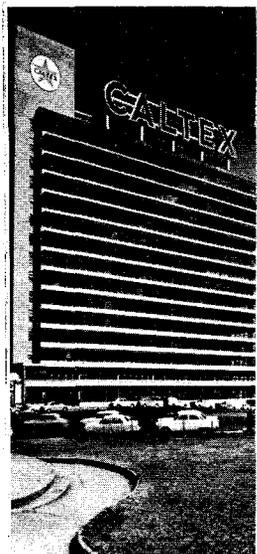
Senator Homer E. Capehart of Indiana asked Dulles: "Do you think the American people realize at the moment what it would mean to the economy of the United States if those raw materials of the Middle East are lost to the world?" The Secretary of State replied: "No sir, I don't believe that we have adequately wakened up to that possibility. But, of course, if the economy of Europe is lost to us, the effect of that upon our own economy would be catastrophic."

The senators pressed for information on the internal situations in the countries which would receive U.S. aid. What was the real or potential threat of "Communist subversion"? But in the entire record of 959 pages of testimony, including not only Dulles' testimony but that of the chief officers of the U.S. military, every single reference to the internal politics of a Middle East nation is deleted from the public transcript.

Wayne Morse, who said that his mail was running better than 90 per cent against the proposed Eisenhower Doctrine, asked: ". . . are we not, under this resolution, once we build up those Middle East countries, militarily, putting Israel in a weakened position . . ." Dulles correctly replied that the providing of weapons to pro-imperialist Arab regimes would benefit Israel most greatly in the long run.

There were two immediate fruits of the Eisenhower Doctrine. In April 1957, one month after congressional approval of the resolution, Hussein launched a counterrevolution against the nationalists in the Jordanian government. Widespread strikes and demonstrations were repressed by Hussein's troops. Washington issued a statement declaring: "the independence and integrity of Jordan as vital to the national interest of world peace." The mighty Sixth Fleet with its guided missiles, nuclear weapons and jet bombers was ordered to the Eastern Mediterranean. Within two years U.S. aid to Jordan reached \$70 million a year. And on July 15, 1958, U.S. marines were landed just south of Beirut in Lebanon.

Lebanon, long before the hectic events of the twentieth century erupted, had been tied most closely to Europe. Its prosperous cosmopolitan bourgeoisie had been enriched by serving as middlemen in the transit of goods destined for the Near East. The French rulers after the 1920s bound the Beirut government all the more closely to Europe by stirring the Maronite Christians against Moslems. As oil became dominant, Lebanese ports



served as the Mediterranean destination of the great pipelines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

But the formation of the United Arab Republic in February 1958 awakened anti-imperialist sentiment among the Lebanese, especially with Nasser's invitation for Lebanon to join the UAR. When the pro-imperialist Camille Sahloun announced he would stand for re-election, the situation became explosive. The murder of a Nasserite journalist, May 8, 1959, provoked a general strike against Sahloun which then exploded into civil war.

Meanwhile in Iraq, Nuri's regime had finally been toppled. Nuri moved to send troops to assist the threatened government in Beirut but the troops revolted under Brigadier General Abdul Karim Kassem, proclaiming a republic. A massive upsurge of the population threatened to go beyond the bounds of capitalism. The U. S. marines landed in Lebanon the following day and British troops landed in Jordan, flown from Cyprus over Israel, with the latter's permission.

These events demonstrated, lest there was any doubt, that the Eisenhower Doctrine was directed at stabilizing pro-imperialist regimes and quelling internal rebellion in the Middle East as well as at preventing further expansion of Soviet influence in the area. The memo of a private meeting that Dulles held with oil executives at the time declared that "nationalization of this kind of an asset (oil properties in Iraq) impressed with international interest goes far beyond the compensation of shareholders alone and should call for international intervention." 31

In the last decade, the mounting strength of anticolonialism in the Middle East and North Africa has coincided with a sharp intensification of the internal economic contradictions of world imperialism. An important aspect of the general heightening of international corporate competition that has developed since the cooling of the "European boom," the tendency toward stagnation in the British, French, Italian and United States economies, has been a marked exacerbation of the strugg-

le for control of oil resources and markets, above all the European market.

The last decade has seen a terrific battle of the competing oil trusts to chop away at "each other's" markets. It has resulted in deep interpenetration of the U. S. and European markets. It has intensified the battle between the "domestic" U. S. oil trusts and the five international majors over tariff barriers, import quotas, prices and tax subsidies. It has spurred a redivision of known petroleum reserves, and - perhaps most noticeably - accelerated the search for new reserves.

The last process has been punctuated by the "oil rush" to the forbidding ice slopes of Alaska; to Britain's North Sea; to Nigeria (with the horrendous byproduct of the Biafra secession and war); and to the South China Sea off the coast of Indochina, so that the oil leases granted by the Saigon regime have become a further inducement to the U. S. invasion of Southeast Asia.

The knife of interimperialist rivalry over oil is probably closest to the throat of British imperialism. The earnings of Shell and British Petroleum from their foreign holdings are the main counterweight to the big trade deficits Britain has more and more encountered. Estimating Shell and BP earnings over the ten-year period of 1955-1964 at \$6 billion, Michael Tanczer writes:

Great Britain's total reserves of gold and foreign exchange have in recent years ranged between \$2 billion and \$4 billion, so that the \$6 billion contributed by the overseas investment . . . is far greater than her total reserve position. Any doubts about oil's crucial impact on Britain's precarious monetary position must have been resolved by the close temporal proximity between the closing of the Suez canal in June 1967 and the devaluation of the British pound in November 1967; the latter was widely recognized as being partly triggered by the big jump in oil import costs stemming from the former.



And it should be added that the "big jump of import costs" largely originated in the executive offices of the U. S. firms which, as in 1957 and as today with the new round of oil negotiations, always find in a Middle East crisis pretexts for raising the price of European oil.

Paris and Rome have their own interests to protect. Since 1956-1957, Italy's giant Ente Nazionali Idrocarburi (ENI) has played an important role in the Middle East. It was ENI's effort to obtain oil concessions in Iran by offering the Shah better terms than the "traditional" 50-50 profit split that set into motion the recent process of upward readjustment of payments of the oil corporations to the Mideast governments.

France's CFP manoeuvred to increase its share of Iraq oil beginning in 1967. More recently Ente Paris undertook to establish special relations with Algeria and Libya. Algeria's recent moves to increase its share of the oil leaves the outcome of these relations far from certain at the time of writing. But it should be noted that Pompidou's sale of Mirage jets to Libya is explicable when the realities of competition for oil are taken into consideration.

Further, the "domestic" U. S. oil industries are also more and more entering into the battle for European markets and Middle East oil. This is yet another aspect of the intense pressures generated by a glutted U. S. oil market. The main U. S. contenders in Libya are not among "the five." They are Occidental Petroleum of California and Nelson Bunker Hunt of Dallas.

The relentless march of the U. S. oil trusts to strengthen their hold on European refining and marketing facilities completes this picture:

American firms control one-third of the refining capacity in the EEC. Their share increased from 26 per cent in 1964 to over 33 per cent at the beginning of 1970. In France, the American share in the refining capacity is only (sic) around 20 per cent. In Italy it increased from 23 to 28 per cent

within five years. In the German Federal Republic, the share rose from 31 to 38 per cent due mainly to the take-over of DEA by Texaco. During recent years, the American expansion was strongest in the Benelux countries. In Belgium, the U. S. share increased from only 17 per cent in 1964 to around 45 per cent in 1970. In the Netherlands it rose from somewhat less than 40 per cent to nearly 55 per cent . . . The American refining capacities have reached a share of 43 per cent in Great Britain. 33

The more acute is the battle among them for domination of Europe, the more closely are the imperialists - on both sides of the Atlantic - tied to the oil of North Africa and the Middle East. This is the main source of oil for Europe.

For seven decades the imperialists have battled ferociously among themselves and against the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa for the precious petroleum of this region. The struggle of the Arab and Iranian peoples to win this resource for the development of their economies inevitably runs up against the same interests that misrule the United States. The Arab and Iranian revolutions, and all those forces standing up against the monopolists and militarists in this country, have a common enemy and a common cause.

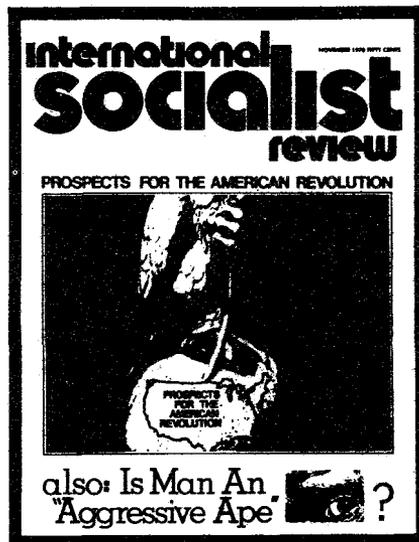
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21. The Age of Imperialism (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 43.
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23. For this quotation and the following exchange between Churchill and Roosevelt see Gabriel Kolko, The Politics of War (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 294-304.
24. February 24, 1969.
25. Cf., Time, October 19, 1970, p. 81.
26. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 151.
27. The Lamp, Winter 1956, pp. 2-4.
28. For highly interesting discussions of the revolutionary movements on the perimeter of Saudi Arabia see Fred Halliday, "Class Struggle in the Arab Gulf," New Left Review, November-December 1969, and "Counter-Revolution in the Yemen," New Left Review, September-October 1970.
29. This quotation and the following remarks by Joseph Alsop, Dulles and Eden are given by George E. Kirk, Contemporary Arab Politics (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), Chapter 4, "The Great Divorce."
30. The President's Proposal on the Middle East, Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services, U. S. Senate, 85th Congress, 1st Session (Washington 1957).
31. D.F. Fleming, The Cold War and Its Origins (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), Vol. II, p. 924.
32. Op. cit., p. 48.
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The Nuclear Family

Ann Harris

The nuclear family is a more or less artificially demarcated sub-group of relatives seen traditionally as the appropriate members of a kind of housing and economic co-operative. Its structure is based on the stereotyping of roles.

e.g. Father = 'breadwinner'/'head of household'/'property owner, etc.

Mother = the bearer and rearer of the children of one man - the property of that man/'housewife'/'source of comfort' etc.

"Togetherness" doesn't tend to eliminate these roles.

Child = a kind of property of these monogamous marriage partners/things in their image having no choice of where they live and whose respect and liking are assumed in return for being looked after.

Children are conditioned to depend on the 'family' version of love.

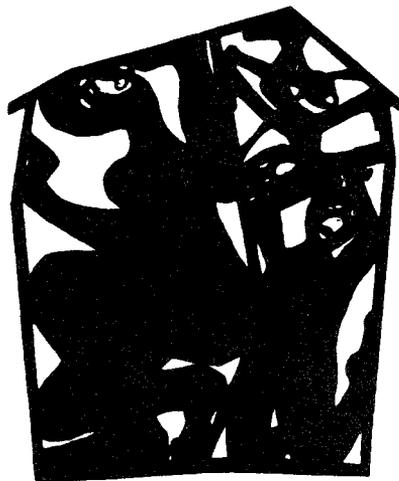
These stereotypes clearly harm and distort both sexes. Far from being a 'highly specialized agency for affection', woman's role as the 'good companion', alternately glamorous and domestic, is like that of charity in a capitalist economy . . . i.e. she acts as a reformer and patcher-up of areas not taken to be the responsibility of the state. e.g. childminding and care of the aged.

This arrangement is so embedded in our culture that it is assumed to be the only possible basis for present-day social organisation.

Juliet Mitchell, in Women, the Longest Revolution, points out that 'the fundamental characteristic of the present system of marriage and the family in our society is monolithism. There is only one institutionalised form of inter-sexual or inter-generational relationship possible.' (a)

Some points for consideration regarding the nuclear family:

(1) In its present form it is determined by traditional bourgeois requirements. It provides a basis for property inheritance by insisting on 'chastity'. The small, tightly knit, loyalty-bound family with its private economic interests, transmitting the bourgeois virtues of competitiveness, thrift, etc., was a means to the rise of bourgeois power.



The family functions as a possessor and improver of homes/property as well as an ideal consumer unit. The desire to improve the home and to stock it with appliances and comforts is one of the constant preoccupations of the family. Even though more homes are rented than are owned, capitalists prefer families as tenants because their attendant responsibilities trap them into acceding to a landlord's demands.

(2) The family provides the cultural and psychological basis for the virtual ownership and control of people . . . wife by husband, child by parent. While the lot of all its members is ultimately controlled by the ruling-class.

Families are selfishly located on themselves and their kin's concerns. Women 'live through' their husbands' and children's lives outside the home and 'bringing up children' is made to substitute for real, expanded, socially useful activity by frustrated and bored mothers. Parents see children as a justification for working and in turn use emotional blackmail on children to show gratitude for being told what to do. The very real anxiety felt by parents for the welfare of their children, which is almost totally their responsibility, is "the best weapon to stifle the proletarian effort towards liberty, to weaken the revolutionary spirit of the working man and working woman." (c)

Women willingly accept the role of parasite because it is disguised in the cultural terms of the 'feminine mystique' based on the myth that maternity inevitably means marriage. The woman's resultant dissociation from production and public life leads finally to her sexual inequality.

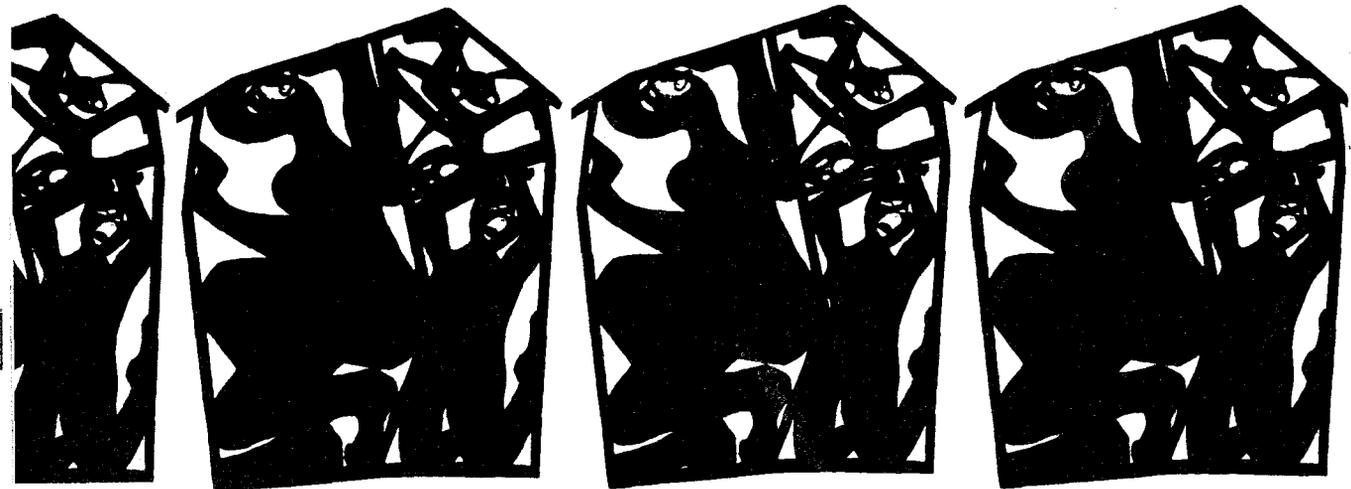
(3) The family perpetuates privacy and nurtures such backward attitudes as religion and racism. Likewise the family institution functions as a perpetuator of entrenched class identifications of its members. Each unit looks inwards to its own often neurotic members for emotional aid in coping with what is

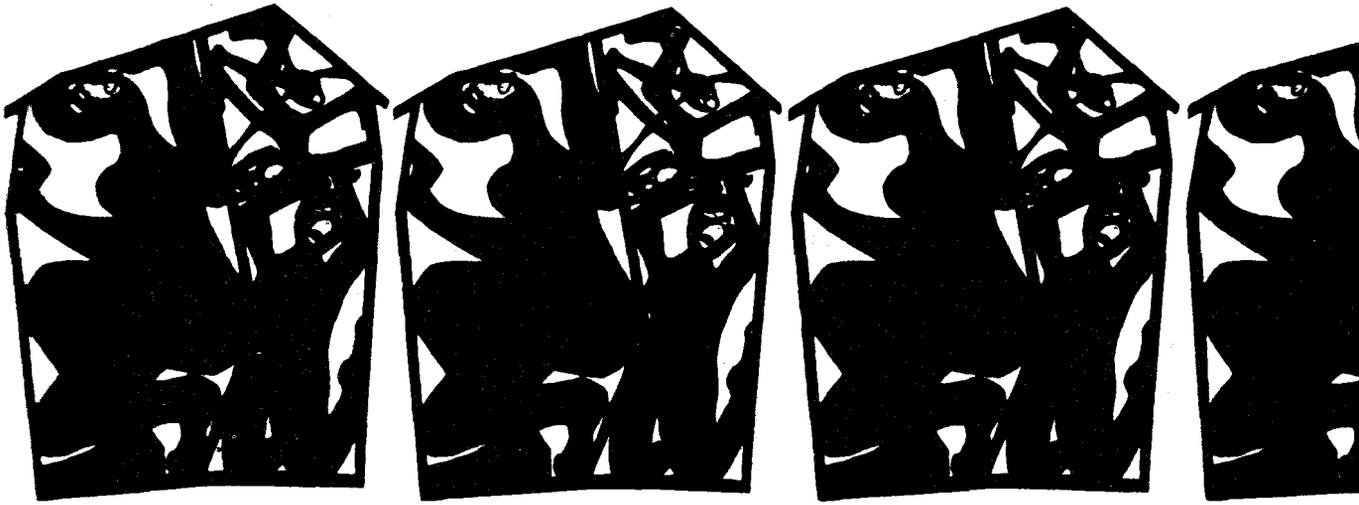
seen as the hostile 'outside world'. Women, especially, are trapped and alienated from the rest of society and cannot develop beyond narrow attitudes towards themselves. Women's isolated situation makes for frustration, backwardness and defeat by mystified authority. Women's feelings of 'low self esteem' and 'low-dominance' (d) further restrain them from activity in the world and interest in the world and interest in the problems of mankind.

Hannah Gavron, in *The Captive Wife* (e) really exemplifies the bourgeois-Christian cultural view of the role of the family in society. She claims it provides a way of "regulating sexual behaviour," gives "legitimate basis for the procreation and rearing of children," "provides sustenance and care for individual members," is "important as an agency for socialisation and education and thus of transmission of culture," and finally, it "bestows titles, roles, duties on its members which are recognised and applied by society." There is no reason why the biological mother should also perform, in isolation, or at all, the role of socialiser, but under the guise of occupying an exclusive and vital role, women submit to the above 'ideology' with its insistence on chastity for women who have not signed a marriage contract.

(4) It offers women a role which they are conditioned to idealise, but which crushes, subjects and dehumanises them.

A. Motherhood is seen as the only acceptable female life style. Having children is almost impossible outside the family structure. The society uses economic and psychological weapons on women who want to decline the deal. No alternatives are provided to bring up children to their advantage. A mother can't work and care for children during their pre-school years. Creches are rare and expensive and are conceived minimally. While children are seen to be entirely the sphere of the private family, no attempt is made to consider provisions for young children being accessible to their





mothers while they perform other work.

Unmarried mothers get very small pensions and they and their children live under the double social stigma of 'illegitimacy' and poverty. Children are not wanted in flats and rooms although single mothers are unlikely to be able to afford anything else.

B. A woman is not expected, even by herself, to determine her own life. Her choice of enterprise is severely limited.

Women choose marriage as an escape from the dreary jobs they tend to occupy after leaving educational institutions which offer them different and fewer opportunities for intellectual growth. Betty Friedan, in her book *The Feminine Mystique*, points out that "sex and early marriage are the easiest way out; playing house at 19 evades the responsibility of growing up alone." (f) This escape proves to be only temporary for women are then located on even more meaningless tasks in isolation from the rest of the workforce. Isolation breeds lack of confidence and married women feel inferior to men and jealous of them, of other women and even of their children.

By providing the only intimately experienced model for human relationships the family grossly distorts the possibilities. Woman's 'natural' role in the family is made to seem a lifetime occupation. Women are groomed as children to be 'feminine'. In the opening chapter of her book *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir said that "If, well before puberty and sometimes even from early infancy (a female child) seems to us to be already sexually determined, this is not because mysterious instincts directly doom her to passivity, coquetry, maternity; it is because the influence of others upon the child is a factor almost from her earliest years." During adolescence, girls are conditioned by anxiety to focus their attention on trapping a man. This narrows motivations behind activities and relationships and stunts women's emotional and

intellectual growth. Once married, she is expected to 'love', i. e. to be totally absorbed in and faithful to one man for the rest of her life - which not only denies development and change but insists on an impossible monogamy at the time. The reductive 'official' definition of 'love' lays down a formula people feel impelled to live up to and which denies the possibility of having a multiplicity of human friendships where people feel love for one another.

In fact, the Double Standard propagates guilt neuroses in relation to women's bids for sexual freedom and any realisation of themselves as having the right to decide their own ways of obtaining and giving socio-sexual fulfilment.

Because monogamous marriage is represented as the only morally desirable form of sexual relationship, a woman's demand for the right to abort an unwanted pregnancy is made to appear immoral and the government attempts to restrict use of the contraceptive pill by heavily taxing it as a 'luxury item'. Free access to abortion on request and to safe contraception places the entire 'feminine mystique' in jeopardy.

(5) The family organises women into carrying out unpaid work. This work itself is dull and pointlessly repetitious in the context of isolated little families all using one of everything. Modern devices

irrationally and converts them to profit. Women, housebound under prosperous economic conditions, fail to utilise technical innovations rationally; they expand "busy work" to fill the day. Time-consuming tasks must somehow be important so the obvious personal futility of the housewife's life is never faced. As Lenin wrote, "(Housework) is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of women.

The family concentrates all this dull work in women's hands by disguising it as an exciting and mystical mission. This excludes fair sharing of the labour for a day to day maintenance of people, their clothes and their habitat. The fact that housework is an integral part of the work load facing humanity is concealed. But besides being relegated to low-status, unpaid, 'home-and-family' work, many women are compelled into wage slavery as well. Women's work is devalued even further than is that performed by men in a capitalist economy. George Novack points out that "Women are part of the reserve army of labour required by the capitalist during periods of labour shortage. This supply can be impounded (in the family) or tapped according to the fluctuating rate of the accumulation of capital." (g) In a survey made in July 1968 by the Department of Labour and National Service, women were reported to be the fastest growing sector in the Australian labour market. This report is prefaced with the crudely expressed capitalist hope "attitudes among employers and the community in general, will facilitate the absorption of this previously untapped source of labour and bring to industry a much-needed addition to its labour force." (h) While child-care facilities are totally inadequate and virtually all occupations available to married women further exploit them, work as a means to women's liberation remains an abstract concept.

The degree of economic independence it really gives women is often negligible since her earnings are essential to the survival of her family and only supplement her husband's income. The fact that joining the workforce lessens her isolation from the rest of society often means that she is further encapsulated in the woman's role: she is segregated into the category of "essential female industries" where the concept of the female half of the human race serving and being dependent on the male half is daily re-enforced.

Interim demands by the Women's Liberation Movement for equal pay and equal job opportunity are only meaningful when linked together and are supplemented with challenges to the role women play in the nuclear family. Campaigns for free abortion on request and freely available contraceptives and contraceptive information and the provision of free, 24 hour, community controlled child-care centers are offering the first direct challenges.

(6) The family is useful to capitalism in lowering the costs of reproducing and renovating the labour force. The organisation of its housing and the physical maintenance of its members are seen to be "family responsibilities", at best subsidised by the state. Because it accepts the primary responsibility for socializing children, the

family thus provides gratis for the capitalist, the conservative conditioning of the new generation. Industry doesn't have to direct the renewal of its only basic plant, the worker.

(7) An important part of the woman's task of socialising children within the family is to initiate the standards of masculine and feminine roles and personalities according to sex. Men are encouraged to think of themselves as doers and deciders in every sphere. Women are trained to accept as 'natural' and inevitable their role as primarily rearers of children. Therefore women are denied access to jobs outside the home and the right to equal pay when they do get jobs.

Standard assumptions like those related to male-female aggression and possessiveness become meaningless in the context of the violence of a family life based on enforced monogamy and where money-relations count most. The nuclear family is subject to the tensions of its individual members coping with a psychologically distorting, exploitative society. Cornell Political Sociologist, Andrew Hacker was recently reported in Time magazine as saying ". . . the institution we call marriage can't hold two full human beings - it was only designed for one and a half." (i)

(8) The family provides for mystifying the (assumed male) 'bread winner' role which provides assumptions justifying the exploitation of female workers who accept the worst pay and conditions. As Juliet Mitchell (j) says, "Coercion has been ameliorated to an ideology shared by both sexes".

Feminine role-stereotyping includes training as a specialist consumer. Irrational innovations are often most profitable, so rational consumers are less profitable. The female who is entirely submerged in her family role is the most ideal consumer of all. As the isolated, frustrated non-participating member of the larger society, she can easily be persuaded by the specialised direct communication lines to her corral that she can fulfill her often unreal desires by buying things.

Each family echoes the competitive spirit of capitalist society and is duped into confusing competition for the spurious status of ownership of a large range of material goods with genuine need for the access to rational use of time and labour saving machinery.

The family, then, is both incompatible with equality of the sexes and is a basic structure in women's exploitation. It ties in at many points with the more visible features of the oppression. Only the liberation of woman from her key role in this institution will leave her free

to realise her full potential as a creative and social being.

As women reject marriage, and participate in experiments in life-styles alternatives to the nuclear family, they begin part of a revolution which will radically transform relations between themselves, between women and men between adults and children.

The Women's Liberation Movement, since the middle sixties, has been important in advancing the consciousness of the psychological nature of woman's oppression beyond seeing 'the woman question' solely in the context of her role in the family. As women become more militant and determined and increase their solidarity in that struggle for liberation, they seek answers to fundamental problems of social organisation.

The oppression of women can't be solved unless seen within a socialist political perspective.

Footnotes:

- (a) Juliet Mitchell: Women, The Longest Revolution. Nov/Dec. '66 New Left Review.
- (c) Alexandra Kollontai: Communism and the Family, published 1920 and reprinted January 1971 by Communist Party of Australia.
- (d) Betty Friedan: The Feminine Mystique, pp. 275-276.
- (e) The Captive Wife, Hannah Gavron. Published 1963, Penguin 1965.
- (f) Betty Friedan, Feminine Mystique Published 1963, Penguin 1965.
- (g) George Novack: 'Women Arise', reprinted in Socialist Review, No. 2 Sydney, 1970.
- (h) Women in the Work Force Series: Department of Labour and National Service, Survey, 1970.
- (i) Time, December 28, 1970.
- (j) Juliet Mitchell, The Longest Revolution.

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Interview with a West Bengali Trotskyist

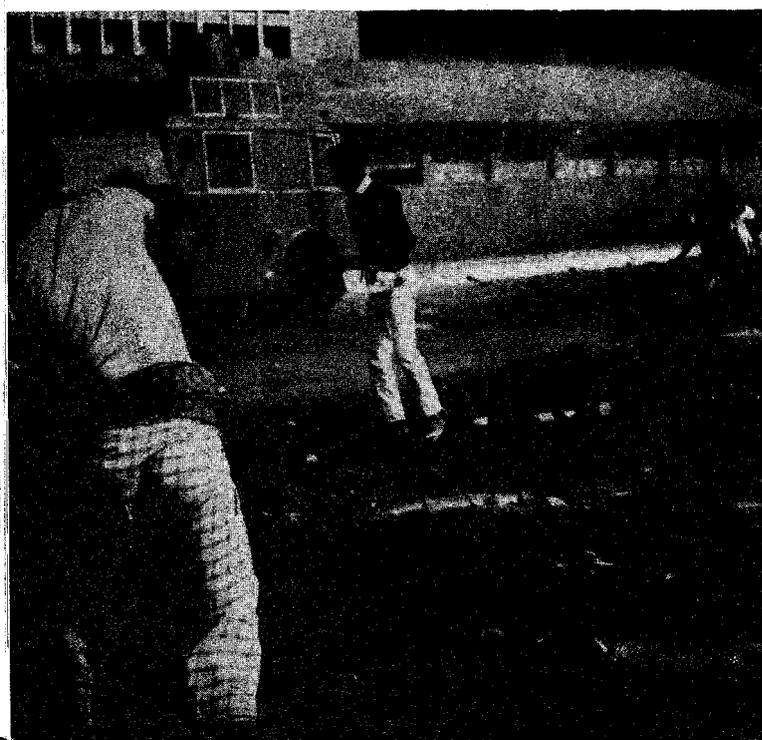
What is the political importance of West Bengal in relation to the rest of India?

The political importance of West Bengal is very great, but the only way you can appreciate this is if you understand the political and historical background and tradition of this province. For instance during the days of British imperialist rule over our country, it was in Bengal where the terrorist movement and the revolutionary movement was born. If a proper survey were conducted, I think you would find that one family in twelve would be able to boast a martyr who died for the cause of national liberation. They fought bravely against British imperialism and made Bengal the spearhead of the anti-imperialist struggle. That is why Bengal was the part of India which the imperialists disliked and feared the most and that is why they institutionalised a racist discrimination against the Bengalis. They could not trust us to serve in the British Army and in this of course they were right. If the Bengalis had been armed it is possible that a revolutionary leadership would have emerged to lead them.

Yesterday they fought against the British, today they lead the struggle against capitalism itself, that is against the Indian Congress and its allies. It was in West Bengal where the popular discontent and revolutionary fervour of the masses was channelled into popular frontism by the so-called left parties. Today a big mass movement is developing against the betrayals of these parties and, in my opinion, West Bengal will be the place from where the spark or rather the flame of socialist revolution will begin to set the whole of India ablaze, and thus bring about a change in the social structure of the country.

What is the present situation of West Bengal, in other words the state of the peasantry, working class movement, etc.?

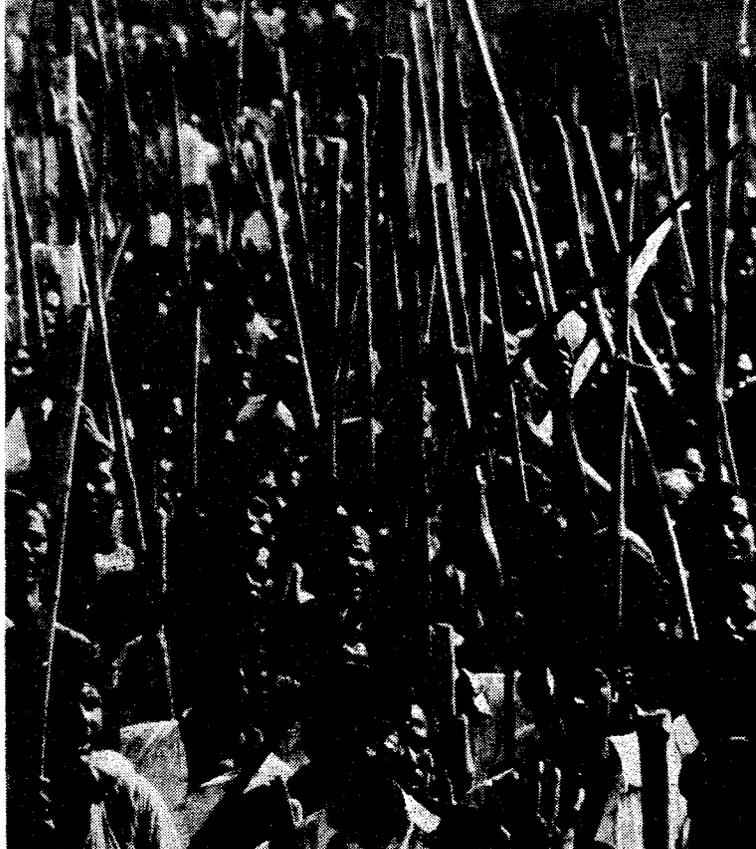
There is a very serious crisis facing capitalism in West Bengal and there is a general feeling which has pervaded virtually every strata which shows us that the people are simply not prepared to be oppressed any longer. From a revolutionary point of view the situation couldn't be more opportune. The capitalists are aware of this and they have started shifting their industries from West Bengal to "safer" parts of India. This withdrawal of capital symbolises the pre-revolutionary situation which exists in Bengal today. The leading Indian industrialist, Birla, recently stated that he preferred Bombay to Calcutta because the latter was a "hell" as far as he was concerned. He is, of course, correct.



The level of political consciousness inside the working-class is very high. They fight on the streets today on all issues and not only their economic demands. Last December the jute mill workers came out on strike and the employers locked them out. This resulted in solidarity actions by all other workers and poor peasants. A General Strike was proposed in order to defend the jute workers. The central government capitulated before the strike could take place. Of course the working-class movement is faced with certain problems. The level of unemployment is constantly rising and at the moment the average rate of unemployment is 65% throughout the provinces in both the cities and the countryside. The second problem is the trade union bureaucrats who are by and large in the pay of the capitalists. These parasites have created in many areas an atmosphere of fear and they are constantly victimising socialist and radical workers. They act openly as the Trojan horse of Indian capitalism. But despite the growing poverty and constant fear of unemployment, the workers refuse to be intimidated and are in the fighting line of the struggle.

As far as the peasantry is concerned, as you know throughout India 70% of the population is agricultural. In West Bengal the figure is slightly less. Between 60% and 62% of the population depends on agriculture. Because of the famine conditions in the countryside and the drought, even among the peasantry the largest grouping consists of what can only be described as a rural proletariat. This class owns nothing except the mud and straw huts and their eating utensils. These people are today prepared to fight and go the whole way to smash the existing structures and change the social relationships which exist in the countryside. Thus we see that the demand for seizing the land today becomes extremely popular. This demand in some places was so powerful that we have seen the Naxalite movement winning a great deal of support and forcing both the right-wing reformist Communist Parties to make a show to the people in their short-lived "land grabbing" exploits. But they failed miserably and no one was taken in, not even the right-wing press.

According to the law there are no landlords. But of course this is a complete farce because in India it is the unwritten laws which operate. On paper a landlord might only own 25 acres, which is the limit, but in practice he can own land under several fictitious names. But this type of landlord has more of an upper-class kulak mentality rather than that of an old feudal landlord (this is in Bengal, of course). So as far as the class structure



of the Bengali countryside is concerned, you have the kulak-landlords on the top, and then you have the middle peasants, but they are also in a state of decay because of the poverty, unemployment and the famine. Virtually every alternate year brings us famine or drought. Even today we are living in famine conditions. From April to October the agricultural labourers will therefore have almost nothing to eat. They will have only one meal in 24 hours and that meal would surprise even the most ardent revolutionary living in the developed capitalist countries. It consists of rice with salt and if they're lucky some cooked vegetables. The number of people who eat meat or fish is very limited. The agricultural labourers are on the lowest rung of the ladder. They comprise a large and growing majority and represent an extremely potent revolutionary force in the Bengali countryside. In any future struggle they will be a decisive component and that is why our comrades are working in the countryside and leading struggles.

East Bengalis
Demonstrate for
Independence

Could you tell us something about these fake left parties which believe in electoral fronts. What concrete results have their capitulations had on the consciousness of the Bengali masses?

The "left" parties were undoubtedly very popular because of their propaganda and agitation which was undoubtedly quite

effective. But 1967 marks the great divide because it was in this year that these parties completely exposed themselves. These same parties which had in the past fought for some of the demands of the people, when they came to power in 1967, their lust for power and their desire to hold office overshadowed everything else. They openly went over to collaboration with the capitalist class. In the years when they were in power they behaved like any bourgeois government. The people saw for themselves that nothing had changed. Corruption, high food prices, unemployment, disease all remained the same and in times like these even the most violent revolutionary rhetoric cannot mask the fact that the condition of the people remains unchanged. Despite all their big talk, they failed to arrest a single black-marketeer or property speculator. In 1969 when they came to power again there was yet another chance for them to mobilise the masses against the bourgeois state and expose the central state apparatus. Once again they failed miserably. They weren't even capable of implementing an existing law regarding the amount of land any one person was entitled to own, though they know full well that many landlords are defying or disregarding this law, which after all was framed by a capitalist government. The least the United Front government could have done - after all it included two parties which call themselves communist - was to implement this law. The only actions the two CPs could carry out was restricted to a mock occupation of Indira Ghandi and Birla's gardens. It could be that some of the CP leaders knew the geography of these gardens well as they are entertained there on certain occasions. These attempts to bluff the people have failed.

I think that these parties have ceased to be left parties in any meaningful sense of the word. They are working hand-in-glove with the ruling Congress Party, with other parties like the Muslim League and in places even with semi-fascist parties like the Jan Sangh. These parties have become a part of the established order. Today in West Bengal there are only two existing revolutionary tendencies: the Maoists and the Trotskyists. These are the only currents who oppose both the capitalist and the sham opposition of the "left" parties. Of course the Maoists are much better known than us because of the great weight of the Chinese Revolution, but don't be too deceived by appearances because in some parts of Bengal we are much stronger. You can ask any member of the repressive state apparatus in the district of Bankura who are the Trotskyists of the Fourth International. He will tell you. He knows because he and his friends have been trying to defeat us and have failed. Our comrades continue to occupy the land.

What is the attitude of the Trotskyist movement in India towards the General Election?

You probably know that the Indian Constitution is the longest in the world. It has 395 Articles and innumerable clauses and appendices, etc., but this constitution or any other capitalist constitution is incapable of solving the problem which the country is now facing. The number of elections is increasing both on a provincial and the central level. Looking at it from a purely practical point of view, it would be impossible for revolutionaries to participate because in India to participate in an election costs a lot of money and we are poor and all our funds are anyway put to better use. To run one candidate alone would cost us a minimum of Rs. 20,000 (\$2,000 approx. on the black market exchange rate). As you can see, no real revolutionary tendency would be able to spare that amount of money just for an election.

Of course, there is a more important and political side to the question. After all, a bourgeois election is a hoax, a farce, particularly as far as we are concerned. The toiling masses of West Bengal have seen through this farce. Large numbers of workers and poor peasants today have no illusions about the elections. They have seen many elections. They and others like them, particularly the youth, feel that there is only one way and that is the way of revolutionary struggle. This atmosphere has been enhanced by the two revolutionary movements who operate there, namely the Maoists and the Trotskyists. And now our party, the Socialist Workers Party in Bengal, has decided from both a tactical and strategical point of view not to participate in the elections. This doesn't mean that we extend the slogan of boycott like the Naxalites have done to every sphere of life without any regard for the level of consciousness of the masses. We have also decided to use the election period to go to the masses and explain to them the meaning of the election and why we are not participating in it.

What has been the role of the Naxalites or rather the CP (M-L) and what do you think their evolution is likely to be? Have they a future?

The Naxalites or the Maoists could be in fact one of the biggest parties in India, but because of their adventurism and because of their indecision and because of the internecine battles which take place inside their leading bodies, they have not been able to build an all-India party. Already they have disintegrated into different factions and groups all claiming their right to the true heritage. There are about 30 small groups and 13 different newspapers in West Bengal alone.

They're saying almost the same things. Same strategy, same Mao Tse Tung, same ideas. They are divided on the question of who is the real leadership. The main party of course is the CP (M-L). They had a strategy of going to the countryside to start an agrarian revolution and this they tried, but never on the basis of the class struggle in the particular locality or on the basis of the masses in that locality. They tried it on the basis of individual terror by killing individual landlords and individual jotedars in Bengal. They failed because they failed to understand the role the masses play in any meaningful struggle and this despite all their "serve the people" propaganda. Their emphasis on individual terror brought upon their heads the entire might of the state and they suffered serious casualties. Many brave and heroic militants were killed. The repression has had a demoralising effect on many of their cadres and has caused some disintegration. I don't think that their future in the sense is very bright.

"cultural revolution" in India. They have started attacking colleges, schools and universities. They have ransacked and burnt many libraries containing extremely valuable books and manuscripts which would be of importance to any Marxist historian. They have even attempted to burn the entire library of Calcutta University where there are many books which are not available anywhere. The lunatic reasoning behind this is that Mao's writing is sufficient for everyone. You don't need to study anything else. This attitude has nothing in common with Marxism; it is in fact reminiscent of another ideology. They have also destroyed science laboratories in which useful apparatus has been destroyed and they also sometimes tend to kill teachers. Anyone who thinks I'm exaggerating should read the posters the Naxalites stick up all over the place in which they openly admit this. If anything I've underplayed some of their more "heroic" activities. In the name of the cultural revolution they have committed acts which would sadden the heart of any Marxist-Leninist who has read both

East Pakistanis in Indian Refugee Camp



Only recently they have changed their strategy. They have left the rural sector, but alas, without a Red Army, and are now concentrating on the industrial sector. Here, too, they have a plan of individual terror which they proclaim quite openly. So far they have not been able to kill any big or leading industrialist. They have only executed some medium-size traders. They should know as well as anyone else that the laws of property mean that the dead man's bounty goes to his descendants and relatives or to the government. This property would never go to the people.

Another point on which we disagree with them is on their method of furthering the

Marx and Lenin. These acts serve no real purpose. They tend to lower the political prestige of the revolutionary movement as a whole. In a country with mass illiteracy you don't endear yourselves to the masses by burning books. This is why I tell you they are on a suicidal course which can lead only to total disintegration.

Could you tell us something about the Trotskyist movement in Bengal? What work is it doing and what is the present situation in the areas which are under their control?

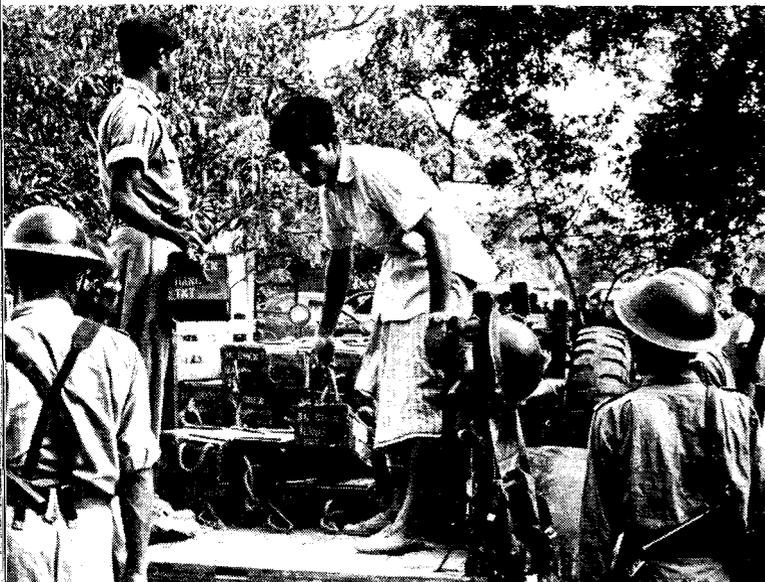
Trotskyists of the Fourth International only began functioning in West Bengal at the end of 1968 and the beginning of 1969. After studying the situation and analysing the bal-

ance of class forces we decided to concentrate all our modest forces in the rural areas. If we can organise properly in one area and bring it under our control, the spark from this area would act as an inspiration for the rest of the country and point the way forward. So in one district called Bankura and in its rural area which is not very easy to reach because of no proper communication system. There is only one bus route and even on that you have to walk three miles where there isn't a road. In such an area, the Trotskyists started a movement. First we carried out simple, agitational political propaganda and were pleasantly surprised by the response we got. Then later we issued a call for a strike in that area. Everyone knows what a strike is in the cities. But a strike by agricultural workers in a country like India is virtually unheard of. The response of the rural poor to the strike was amazing and took us all by surprise. It was too big for the small Trotskyist force in Bankura. For ten whole days the labourers didn't work. Despite the suffering they still refused to go. Finally their main demand was accepted. In this way our first strike was a success. Then we decided that simply to stop at wage demands was to pander to economism and this was the last thing that the poor peasants needed. So we decided to go further. The next step was to seize the land, and we proceeded to do so. The capitalists said this was illegal, etc, but in fact it wasn't because in some cases the land didn't belong to the landlord and he was occupying it illegally. We explained this and the agricultural labourers seized the land as a class, as a mass aware of its rights and its place in history. We have occupied over 300 acres of land in three different localities, and the lands

belong to either the government or to the landlords. While the seizures were taking place there was a clash between the landlords and the police on the one hand, and our comrades and their supporters on the other. But our numbers were so large that the rural authorities were frightened of a confrontation. The real crisis that we had to face was in November and December of last year. This is the harvesting period and the local authorities were scared. So the local police station was reinforced; it was given a special wireless set and many other subsidiaries. Then semi-military forces also brought to this area so that our movement, a new type of movement as far as India was concerned, could be halted. What was this movement and what was it engaged in doing? The land that we have occupied and which is well over 350 acres was not given to individual peasants. A committee known as the "Collective Farming Committee" with an elected leadership of 21 people, all of whom are agricultural workers, runs the entire area. There is a chairman of this committee as well. This form of organisation is new to Bengal if not India. Most of the other groups and tendencies who seized the land gave it to their peasant supporters to cultivate. We Trotskyists refused to encourage, especially in a place like West Bengal, individual ownership. Land belongs to the collective and its committee organises collective cultivation, etc. While the amount of land we have seized and which is under our control is nothing compared to the vastness of the province, it represents a far bigger potential, and it is the new form of organisation and its example which frightens the ruling-class.

We have had many clashes with the authorities and have not been intimidated, but of course our resources are limited compared to the force of the bourgeois state's apparatus. The police have attacked villages and beaten up women and children, tortured peasants, etc. They claimed that the Trotskyists had launched an offensive against their special camp, but this was a blatant lie. From the beginning of November to December 24th 1970, there were eight clashes between the Trotskyists on one side and the police and rich peasants on the other. There were a few of our comrades wounded, many were arrested and 200 have had to go underground, and against our leading comrade Jagdish Jha the police have registered 50 different cases, all of a serious nature. The police have offered an unofficial reward for comrade Jha, dead or alive, of £50. This is a description of the reign of terror in the Bankura district of West Bengal. We have begun to start in some other districts also a similar movement and it will have its effect in the near future. Of course our aim is to generalise the struggle, but our resources are

Bengali Guerrillas
Load Ammunition
Truck



not great and the Fourth International does not have state power as yet. Despite this we think that comrades in Europe and North America could do considerably more to aid us.

What are the relations between the Trotskyists and the Naxalites?

We have one big agreement with them. Like us they are also opposing the capitalists and the whole role which the left parties so-called are playing in India. But there are some big difference also. For instance the Naxalites still believe in the bloc of four classes theoretically and they try and impose Mao's cult everywhere. They believe in individual terrorism and thus underrate the importance of the class struggle. We believe in increasing the struggle, in mass terrorism. But in the struggle when we see that the Naxalites are being oppressed by the police, we help them in every possible way. In that sense they are comrades engaged in a similar struggle. Most of the Naxalite workers are sincere and honest militants who are dying for their ideals.

What is the importance of the national question in West Bengal, particularly bearing in mind the fact that in East Bengal (Pakistan) it has acquired a phenomenal importance?

Yes, it is important . . . but we cannot simply restrict it to that as we don't want to replace one oppressor with another. We have no real differences with East Bengal. We speak the same language, share the same culture, etc. The differences that exist have been fostered artificially. On its own, Bengal is a sizeable country with a population of over a hundred million. Therefore the only slogan we can give is that of a Socialist Bengal and that is the way we hope to develop consciousness on the national question.

Knowing as we do and understanding the tremendous impact which the Chinese revolution has had in Asia and ourselves being outside the Maoist movement, do you think it will be possible in the near future to build a large section of the Fourth International in India?

Surely and certainly. I do not doubt it. What we lack and what both the orthodox Maoists and the pro-Moscow Stalinists possess is the backing of state power. In a country which is backward and a majority of whose people are illiterate like India today, simple propaganda in pictorial form or in films etc. on a large scale undoubtedly has a big impact. We, alas, do not as yet have the resources to match these efforts on our own. Our newspapers, etc., are very modest aff-

airs compared to those of the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking tendencies. Also the financial resources of these states enable them to maintain full-timers, get printing presses and the like.

However, we must not be pessimistic in the face of this. What is always decisive



is politics, and even as Mao has said, politics must be in command. We agree. We say that the programme and the politics of the Indian Fourth International today are an extremely important weapon and we shall ensure that this weapon is used well. The existing political vacuum makes it all the more imperative for the Trotskyists to develop roots in the masses and thus lay the foundations of a revolutionary party. I think we are beginning to do this and therefore I can say with a certain amount of confidence that the Fourth International has a big future ahead of it in India.

This interview is reprinted from 'Red Mole', British Trotskyist Newspaper. Enquiries about subscriptions, or single copies, should be sent to Box 186, Haymarket P. O., N. S. W.

J'accuse!

'J'ACCUSE!' BY M.EJLERSEN
(TANDEM, 80c), REVIEWED

It is interesting that the preface to this book was written by Inge & Sten Hegeler, authors of 'The ABZ of Love', in that in some ways it is a logical development from that book. 'The ABZ of Love' received a great deal of publicity when released in Australia. It was not, however, a sexually revolutionary work, but simply a book of rational, scientific, plain common-sense about sexual matters, and as such, welcome.

It is significant of the times that the book has been (correctly) panned in 'Mejane', and a re-reading reveals that their attitude is indeed heavily tinged with male chauvinism throughout, an impression borne out by their recent visit to Australia where they affirmed notions of monogamy, marriage, romance and family.

Nevertheless, 'The ABZ of Love' did have a role to play - in it, the Hegelers argued that sensual and sexual pleasure could and should be pursued as an end in itself (as opposed to reproductive ends). They argued that the highest sexual expression could be achieved by unashamedly using the body of the sexual partner to achieve personal satisfaction, and that this in fact made for the highest mutual satisfaction.

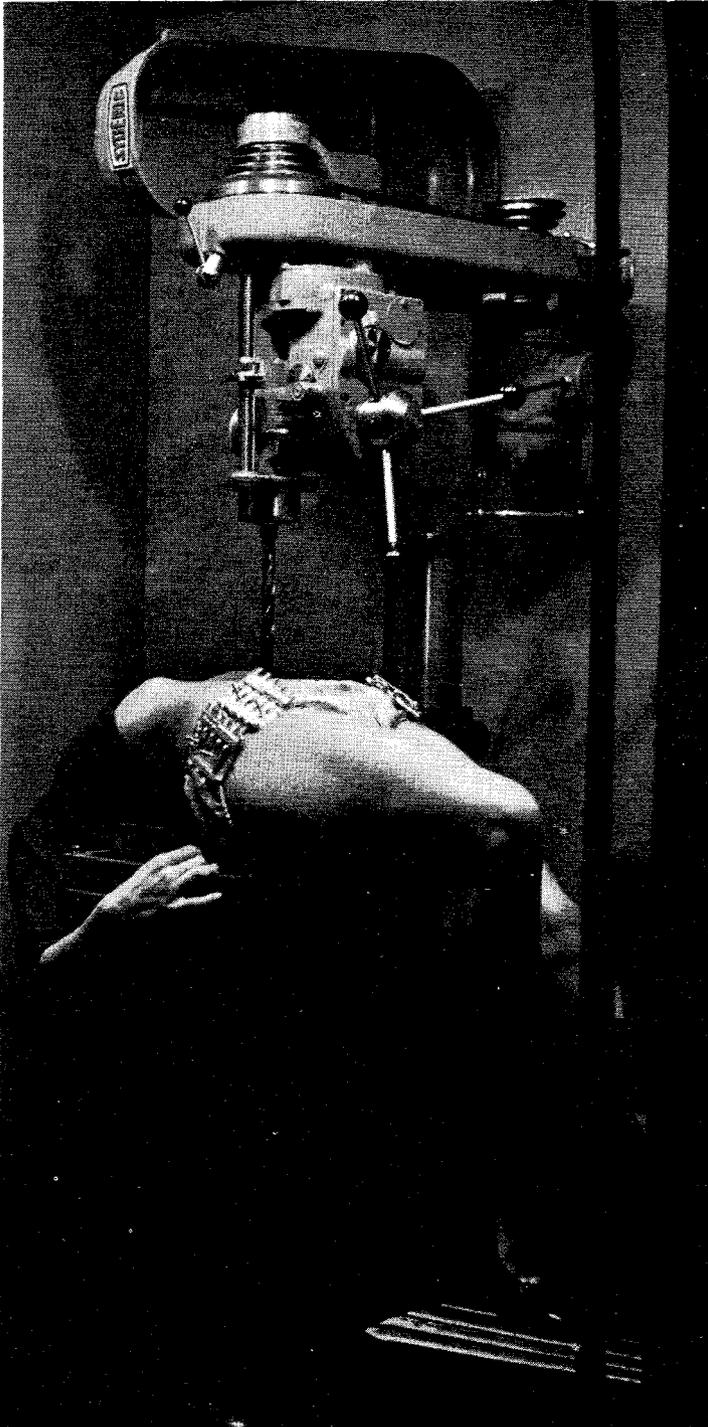
They also put the erect male penis in its place. That so much importance should be placed on this supposed mark of virility is an absurd notion that cripples human personalities, they argued. Why should sexual satisfaction depend on this one phenomenon when there are so many possible varieties, combinations and zones of human sexual pleasure?

Above all, they stated that the seat of female sexuality, of orgasm, was the clitoris, and not the vagina, as commonly believed.

And it is from this latter point that Mette Ejlersen develops the thesis of her book:

'It is a stupid superstition that something, which could be called a vaginal orgasm, should exist. It is a stupid and dangerous belief because it has given hundreds of women an inferiority complex, because they thought they 'only' had clitoral orgasms. All women's climaxes are brought about by stimulating that little spot just above the entrance to the vagina. It is that spot-the clitoris - that arouses the feelings of pleasure and happiness. To destroy that superstition would be to cause a revolution!' (p. 13)

On p. 50 she quotes Dr. Albert Ellis, a



noted sexologist who recognised the role of the clitoris:

'... a man with no penis could be 'an excellent lover' for the average woman and ... a woman who had no vagina could wholly satisfy the average man- provided that the partner of each were not overly prejudiced in favour of so-called 'normal intercourse'.'

The writer claims that an enormous fraud has been perpetrated against women - that countless women, because they accept the myth of the vaginal orgasm insisted upon by the average sex manual (e. g. the average 'learned' Penguin), believe themselves to be frigid or 'abnormal' because they do not experience orgasm as their male counterparts do.

Consequently, according to Ejlsen:

'... the woman simulates. Therefore she plays the farce that is performed in most matrimonial beds the world over ... having been advised by a woman doctor and editor of the readers' problems page in a women's magazine.' (p. 25)

The tragedy of the situation is compounded over generations:

'... the mother has over the years resigned herself to sexual intercourse without a climax, and it may not occur to her to touch on the subject when talking to her daughter'. (p. 17)

More than this, because the mother feels she is the exception, because she believes that she is frigid and therefore abnormal, she feels that she cannot give her daughter accurate information on the subject. In fact, the writer claims, the travesty of their sexual lives is common to most women.

The tragedy is one of enormous proportions, well conveyed by this book: a story of thousands of women leading a sex life of continual disappointment, who come to believe that this is the norm, that women aren't expected to experience orgasm a la men. And of the insensitivity and arrogance of partners who don't care. Women in the liberationist movement have a need to educate and help men understand the myth of vaginal orgasm - in their own interests. Only those men who want women to be chattels dull, subservient vegetables, would be resistant to undergoing this revolution in their own lives.

How has this situation arisen? Firstly, centuries of economic dependency within the prison that is the nuclear family and of socialisation to her subservient role, have led women in our society to accept their secondary, inferior, sexual role, to accept the idea of the 'submissive woman' afraid to speak out lest she lose her partner's love.

Secondly, the author points out that most

of these knowledgeable sex manuals that deny the role of the clitoris, have been written by men. Up until now the sexual destiny of women has largely been controlled by ignorant male medicos. It is significant that the breakthrough represented by this book has been made by a female, lay person. The mystification surrounding the medical profession, its superstitious mumbo-jumbo, has reinforced the role of women for too long.

A recent survey of medical students at Monash University (reported in the 'Age' of 27th May) showed that 70% of the students could answer only 6 out of 29 questions of simple sexual knowledge (e. g. only 40% knew what the rhythm method was, only 56% knew that pregnancy was likely to occur during the 11th-15th days of a woman's cycle). 40% of the students thought it was all right for men to be promiscuous, but only 30% thought it was all right for women. (This of course, meant that the other 60% and 70% respectively, presumably opposed 'promiscuous' or pre-marital sex). 40% said they wanted to marry virgins, but only 30% wanted to be virgins. The sex ratio of the survey was 78% male students and 22% female.

These are the quacks who exercise enormous daily influence on the lives of women! The nuclear family and the patriarchal structure of society are integral structures of capitalism. Socialists have an obligation to fight for at least a framework in which the possibility of women leading a full sex life, developing themselves to their fullest expression as human beings, can be realised. The oppression of women in their sex lives is indivisible from their political, economic, social and cultural oppression. Engels saw the woman under capitalism as the proletariat of the nuclear family.

Women, of course, must determine the framework and nature of their own struggle, but it is vital that all socialists understand the woman question and develop their ideas accordingly. Not only women, but also men, must read this book. It may lead to a disturbing revolution in your personal life, but that's what it's all about!

Don't be put off by the gauche journalistic style of the book, or by the Hegelers. Their contributed chapter is concerned with discussing how, given the knowledge of this book, can couples save their marriage from ruin? Surely, if the marriage is antithetical to honesty and equality, to speak in these terms is merely to perpetuate the tragic farce Mette Ejlsen describes! Their position is, in fact, in dire contradiction to the uncompromising, scathingly honest spirit of this pioneering book.



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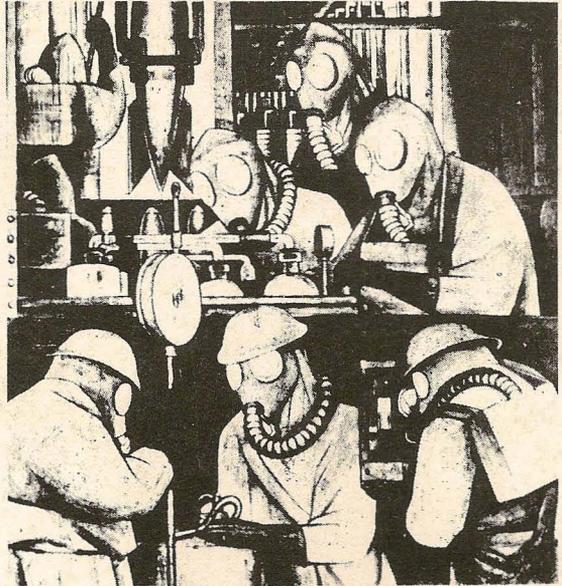
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