



## Spain: powder keg of Europe



The Guardia Civil, Spain's hated internal security police.

### Stalinists sabotage general strike for amnesty

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JANUARY 6 -- "Of course, it's going to be the same, isn't it?... Spain is Spain, after all. Why should it change?" For the last 40 days, ever since the death of the aging dictator Franco, virtually the entire Spanish ruling class has been muttering the same anxieties as a well-heeled expatriate resident whispered to a companion during gala New Year's festivities in the Costa del Sol resort town of Marbella.

While jet-setters, tycoons and generals are nervously trying to reassure themselves, the volcano they sit atop has been rumbling away. Every city and whole regions are seething with massive social discontent. A clandestine "junta democratica" is publicly proclaimed in the Basque country; demonstrations calling for amnesty for political prisoners multiply throughout the country. So long as there isn't a major explosion the rudderless government is content to

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### After the defeat — leadership squabbles in the ALP

## Socialist Left backs Whitlam

Amidst the ruins of the parliamentary Labor Party the bitter ex-ministers of the former Labor Government have launched a vindictive campaign to replace Gough Whitlam as party leader. None better deserves to get the boot than the class traitor Whitlam, the foremost Labor advocate of saving capitalism by giving away workers' jobs and living standards. But that is furthest from the minds of Whitlam's opponents who are motivated either by vindictive spite (Cairns and Cameron), or by envy and ambition (Uren and Crean). Whitlam is accused by them not of pursuing treacherous -- or even erroneous -- policies, but of being a "one man band", that is, excluding them from their fair share of the perks and power. While Fraser and the employers stall for time and coldly manoeuvre for an advantageous position from which to launch an attack against the unions on the wages front, the official leaders of labour bicker over who will have the privilege of leading the impotent and irrelevant parliamentary "Opposition" to Fraser -- who will have the opportunity to prove to the capitalists that he deserves to be made their next prime minister.

For the time being, Whitlam appears to have reconsolidated support for his continued leadership. Bill Hayden refused to stand and Hawke is unavailable until he can wangle a safe seat. Whitlam has gained the support of the party apparatus and that of the bourgeois press. But he has also received support from another quarter: the "Socialist Left" faction of the Victorian Labor Party (represented on the ALP's federal executive by Bill Hartley).

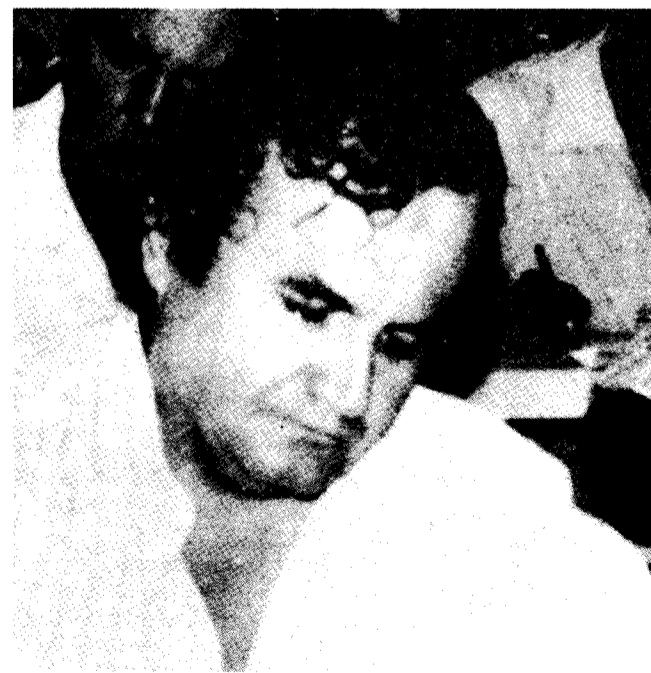
Only four days after the election Hartley responded to the anti-Whitlam broadsides of Cairns and Cameron with a statement of support for Whitlam, saying "I think he is the man to lead a comeback" (quoted in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1975). And, reports the *National*

*Times* (5-10 January 1976), "A delegation of members of the socialist left faction recently visited Canberra and gave Mr Whitlam a private pledge of full support." Yet it was Whitlam who led the federal ALP intervention into the then Socialist Left-controlled Victorian branch in 1970. And just twelve months ago, Hartley denounced Whitlam's watering down of the ALP's program and his general anti-worker policies at the Terrigal ALP Federal Conference! The appearance of an about-face by Hartley is illusory; on fundamental questions they have always been in full agreement.

The Socialist Left was formed when a section of the Victorian ALP bureaucracy moved left, in the context of the Vietnam Moratoriums and the



Left: Aspiring prime minister Bob Hawke.  
Right: Socialist Left leader Bill Hartley at Terrigal, 1975.



mass strike against Clarrie O'Shea's imprisonment, in order to mobilise a rank-and-file base of support against the intervention by the Federal ALP bureaucracy. Thus, largely by accident, for a short time these bureaucrats were mistakenly seen as a class-struggle alternative to the timid, technocratic reformism of Whitlam by a significant section of the Victorian working class. When the purge succeeded, the fake lefts prepared their re-integration into the party bureaucracy by deliberately demobilising their own supporters. The end result was the reduction of the Socialist Left to the current handful of bureaucrats engaged in behind-the-scenes intrigues, retaining, however, an aura of radicalism. Now,

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## Spain . . .

do nothing but issue empty promises of future change. But the explosion is coming, and when Spain blows the tremors will shake all Europe.

The first focus of popular agitation has been the demand for freeing thousands of left-wing prisoners rotting in Spanish jails. This is not only demanded by radicals, but widely regarded as a precondition for consideration of Spain's long-standing request to enter the Common Market. When two Basque nationalists and three Maoists were executed in September, sharp diplomatic protests were delivered by almost every West European government. In November the ruling Labor Party in the Netherlands took the unusual step of sending a parliamentary delegation to hold a clandestine press conference in Madrid demanding amnesty for political prisoners. All this was not the product of any humanitarian impulses on the part of the "democratic" capitalist governments, of course, but was a direct response to the massive anti-Franco demonstrations which swept Europe.

### Indulto Insulto

Consequently, one of Prince Juan Carlos' first acts as Franco's successor was to announce a token pardon (*indulto*) including a few well-known political prisoners. In Spain the pardon was universally regarded as a farce. A blessing for common criminals, it excluded a priori all those serving sentences of more than three years as well as those convicted of violating the draconian "anti-terrorist" law decreed last August. Since political "crimes" rarely receive less than three years' imprisonment, and the "anti-terrorist" decree includes among the punishable offenses membership in all "communist", "terrorist" or separatist organizations, it was obvious that the pardon would do nothing for most victims of Franco's rightist repression. Thus of 3,302 prisoners released as of December 4, only 235 had been arrested for political offenses, and only 76 of them had already been sentenced. Even official government figures show that this is less than 5 percent of the total number of prisoners convicted of political offenses.

The well-publicized case of Marcelino Camacho illustrates the precarious situation of even those who were released under what has become known as the "*indulto insulto*" (insulting pardon). The head of the illegal workers commissions and a leader of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), Camacho was convicted in trial number "1001" in late 1973 and held since then in Carabanchel prison outside Madrid. He was released on November 30, among the first recipients

of the pardon, as the government sought to appease the left and thereby avoid disruptive protests around the coronation of Juan Carlos as king. But a week later, in response to a PCE-led demonstration (at which he was not present), Camacho was rearrested. Although he was again freed on December 12, the labor leader returned home to find an anonymous death threat.

The pardon did succeed in obtaining a degree of international support for the regime. While the only heads of state present at Franco's funeral were a trio of butchers -- Pinochet (Chile), Banzer (Bolivia) and Hussein (Jordan) -- the coronation of Juan Carlos drew presidents Scheel of West Germany and Giscard d'Estaing of France.

### "Two Weeks, Two Months, Two Years"

The theme of the post-Franco regime in Madrid has been *continuismo* and the most token concessions to popular demands. As the Maoist Revolutionary and Anti-Fascist Patriotic Front (FRAP) put it: Juan Carlos I -- Franco II. Evidently calculating that the only way to gain at least a measure of toleration for an imposed Francoist monarchy is to have it appear utterly irrelevant, the king himself is taking little direct role in political decisions. But many bourgeois liberals had hoped he would appoint a prominent "moderate" to form the government. Frequently mentioned candidates were former chief of staff Manuel Diez Alegria and former ambassador to Washington, the Count of Motrico, Jose Maria de Areilza.

However, pressure from extreme-right Falangists (the so-called Bunker) prevailed instead, and Franco's last prime minister, Carlos Arias Navarro, was maintained in office. Arias is not eager to continue as head of government, however, and the most active elements in the new cabinet are Areilza, now minister of foreign affairs, and the interior minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne. In addition to the Count of Motrico, both justice minister Antonio Garrigues and information minister Gonzalez Posada are considered close to the US, particularly to Rockefeller.

Before being named interior minister, Fraga put forward his timetable for the new government: "Two weeks to decide, two months to plan, two years to carry out". In its first statement, the cabinet hinted at cautious reforms: institutional recognition of local autonomy, "widen the bases" of representative bodies, adapting institutions to reflect the "development of one people" (*New York Times*, 16 December). Behind this indecipherable vagueness is the fact that the heirs of Franco want to change only the bare minimum of the corporatist state structure -- not so much out of dedication to Francoist traditions, however, as from the recognition that with anything approaching democratic freedoms they and their ilk would be swept away in a matter of hours.

There are also notable divisions in the government. The foreign minister announced in a Paris news conference, for instance, that Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo could obtain a passport and return to Spain. The PCE leader, said Areilza, "is a citizen who will not suffer discrimination as a result of his ideology". But Falangist ultras in the Cortes, the largely appointed "parliament", vigorously denounced the foreign minister's statement. A few days later the interior minister announced that henceforth the police would distinguish between "adversaries" of the regime, who would now be tolerated, and "enemies" who resort to violence and would be punished. At about the same time ultra-rightist gunmen (assumed to be "off duty" police) opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside a Madrid prison, wounding a professor and a student.

With a government committed to maintaining the Francoist, bonapartist rule of a strong state (although without the Bonaparte, which makes their job considerably more difficult), it is obvious to even the most timid liberals that there will be no democratization without mobilizing mass opposition in the streets. Thus even though leaders of the social-democratic Socialist

Workers Party of Spain (PSOE) had earlier been inclined to a policy of benevolent neutrality toward Juan Carlos, during mid-December they staged several demonstrations in the capital, calling for amnesty of all political prisoners and exiles.

Although the first demonstrations were dispersed by the police, around New Year sizable demonstrations were held in Guernica, where 5,000 people met to announce the formation of the "Democratic Assembly of Euzkadi" (Basque region), and in Barcelona, where 500 surrounded the city's main prison, without police interference.

These are but small change. To win democratic liberties only mass, militant working-class action on the scale of a nationwide general strike is adequate. The conditions for its initiation have been there for months: the workers are eager to strike (and did so, repeatedly during the past two years, so that Spain has the second highest strike rate in Europe even though every single one is illegal!), large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are sympathetic, the regime lacks a firm leadership.

What is lacking is a revolutionary, Trotskyist party with the recognized authority among the masses to lead it. Under the present conditions in Spain, such a strike would represent an immediate life-and-death contest for power with the government. Its victory would topple the Francoist regime, creating a situation of dual power and placing proletarian revolution on the immediate order of the day. That is why the cringing reformists of the PCE and PSOE have repeatedly refused to call a general strike.

Instead they have talked of one-day "democratic actions" as a form of protest which they hope could be contained. In order to put off pressure for immediate action during the [northern autumn], when Franco lay dying, the PCE (along with the workers commissions controlled by it and the popular-front "Junta Democratica" it dominates) issued leaflets talking of a future "jornada de lucha" (day of struggle) against the regime.

### PCE sabotages general strike

In early December, the Stalinist leadership finally issued the promised call. On December 9 the Madrid Junta Democratica and the "Platform of Democratic Convergence" (another popular front, dominated by the PSOE) issued a joint call for peaceful demonstrations for a "democratic breach". In Barcelona, the National Workers Commission of Catalonia went even further calling for a "24-hour general strike" on December 11 to protest the "indulto insulto" and the imposition of Juan Carlos as king, calling for "no to the wage freeze", "immediate amnesty" and "political and trade-union liberties".

This call clearly reveals the reformist misleadership of the PCE, since it was limited to a single day (ie, meant as a symbolic protest) and was deliberately held on different days in different areas in order to avoid any threat to the government on a national scale. But this does not end the treachery of the Communist Party: after calling a general strike, *it instructed workers from the key factories not to go out!*

In Barcelona there was a demonstration of several thousands in front of the women's prison (where the inmates had been on hunger strike). According to the *Noticiero Universal* (12 December), more than 100 work locations were hit with strikes and almost 17,000 walked out. But at the key SEAT auto factory (subsidiary of Italian Fiat) -- the site of repeated political wildcat strikes -- whose workers commission is controlled by the PCE, 25,000 workers punched in just like any other workday! The same was true at the other major PCE-influenced factories -- Olivetti, Enasa, Solvay and Motor Iberica -- all of which were reported free from strike activity.

Madrid was no different. Some 20,000 metal and construction workers (among whom Maoist influence is strong) stopped work for various periods to protest the "fascist king". Yet at the big Chrysler complex, led by the PCE, the workers commission did not call for a walkout. When the workers arrived at the plant and refused to work anyway, they were cleared out by the police. At the Standard Electrica plant (another PCE bastion), the 12,000 workers struck without official leadership. There were also reports of 10,000 to 15,000 coal miners on strike in the traditionally militant Asturias region.

The press described the turnout during the three-day staggered protest as a "defeat" for anti-Francoist forces. The working class did suffer a defeat on December 10 to 12, but it was above all due to a stab in the back by the Stalinist misleaders. The fact that the PCE sabotage was so effective underlines the continuing strength of its apparatus (despite large numbers of workers, numbering in the thousands, who place themselves to the left of the Communist Party), and underlines the urgent necessity of constructing a Spanish Trotskyist party which is able to break this bureaucratic stranglehold. ■

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CL appeals to den of thieves

# How not to defend East Timor



CL blocked with AETA leader Bill Roberts (left), representative of church-based Action for World Development, in calling for UN intervention.

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## Socialist Left . . .

with the Socialist Left's support to Whitlam, this fake radicalism stands exposed as an empty deceit, and the Socialist Left as merely the left face of Whitlamism.

The left wing of the union bureaucracy in Victoria, forming the loose coalition of "Socialist Left unions", is however careful to maintain a militant facade. Despite the paradoxical appearance, it is entirely consistent for the Socialist Left within the ALP to rally behind Whitlam while its industrial wing shifts its rhetoric to the left -- attacking Fraser in order to cover up the worst betrayals of Whitlam. Left union officials realise that without a Labor Government rank-and-file union militants see little reason to show any deference to governmental authority. Due to the credit extended the ALP by the majority of workers, reflecting both illusions in the reformists and a degree of class-conscious distrust in the bosses' parties, the removal of the Labor Government eliminates a restraining influence on many rank-and-file militants, forcing a section of the labour bureaucracy to put on a more militant face to retain their own influence.

On the other hand the central core of the trade-union bureaucracy, represented by Bob Hawke (currently playing "labour statesman" in order to enhance his future chances of becoming prime minister), wants at all costs to prevent a serious clash between the working class and the Fraser government, a clash which would threaten their domination of the labour movement. Hoping to profit from the unpopularity of Hawke's moderation the left bureaucrats now pose as the champions of the class struggle. But replacing Hawke with this treacherous crew of left talkers will not advance the working class one iota; they will only use their radical image to head off a leftward motion of the base and prevent it from moving in a revolutionary direction.

### For communist caucuses in the unions!

A close symbiotic relationship exists between the Socialist Left and the reformist organisations formally to the left of the ALP, such as the Communist Party of Australia. Leading CPA trade-union official John Halfpenny is so indistinguishable from the Socialist Left that the bourgeois press openly speculates whether he will split from the CPA (see, for example, Bob Mills in the 17 December issue of *Financial Review*). In fact, Halfpenny is just playing out the logic of the CPA's appetite for a "coalition of the left".

It is obvious that these experienced fakers cannot be exposed through appeals to greater industrial militancy alone; nor will they allow themselves to be bypassed by new rank-and-file bodies or organisational measures of any description. A real opposition to "militant" reformism can only be an alternative leadership in the unions -- the only existing mass workers' organisations -- and not a more radical version of Halfpenny and Hartley, but communist caucuses organised around a program which clearly stands for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system, which includes a series of transitional demands adequate to show how the fight for workers' elementary needs leads urgently to the need for workers power. Such caucuses, acting as disciplined arms of a revolutionary party, can demonstrate in practice the bankruptcy of all the reformist traitors. ■

In the wake of the invasion and attempted annexation of East Timor by the Indonesian junta the defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET) is critically important. The need for a working-class defence has been underlined by the "defence" being proposed by the Australia-East Timor Association (AETA), dominated by petty-bourgeois liberal humanitarianism. Founded in Melbourne shortly after the formation of the DRET in order to "encourage friendly relations between the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, as initiated by Fretilin, and the people of Australia" (undated leaflet "The Timor Tragedy"), the AETA numbered among its supporters at an initial 7 December meeting Ken Fry (the Liberal Party candidate for Canberra), Community Aid Abroad, Pax Christi (a Catholic organisation of self-styled "concerned Christians"), and several other church groups, a number of union officials, student organisations -- and the fake-Trotskyist Communist League (CL).

The CL handed out the AETA's initial leaflet, "The Timor Tragedy", sub-headed "We Should All Feel Ashamed and Angry", at a vigil outside the Indonesian airways office on December 14. Full of liberal moralism, it declared, among other things, that "Australians should be ashamed that our [?!] government has kowtowed [sic] to the Indonesian authorities and abandoned the people of East Timor!"

AETA's "strategy" for defence of the DRET, outlined in this leaflet and in a series of resolutions, is in line with its class-collaborationist composition. It calls for delegations and telegrams to various bourgeois politicians (including US Senator Edward Kennedy!), and intends to "prepar[e] information on East Timor for distribution to companies, government, agencies, unions, churches, embassies and interested parties overseas". It endorsed AETA leader David Scott's demand that Fraser and Whitlam undertake to "actively and ceaselessly work at the United Nations (UN) for a peace-keeping [!] and fact-finding mission to be sent to East Timor".

All these proposals were supported by the CL at the AETA's 14 December meeting. Spartacist League supporters present as observers attacked AETA's and the CL's betrayal of the East Timorese, pointing out the UN's role as a counter-revolutionary agency of imperialism as evidenced in the Congo and Korea.

The only force powerful enough to smash the Indonesian invasion and open a path to the com-

plete social liberation of the Timorese masses is the Indonesian proletariat. Its struggle to overthrow the reactionary Suharto junta must be at the centre of the DRET's defence. FRETILIN is incapable of appealing to the class interests of the Indonesian proletariat. Any political support to, the slightest confidence in the nationalist FRETILIN leads to an appeal to its hoped-for allies in the Australian ruling class. Those who promote FRETILIN's bourgeois nationalism cut themselves off politically from the Indonesian workers.

The widespread trade-union bans on military goods to Indonesia by Australian workers are a powerful and exemplary demonstration of the effect class action can have in striking at the Indonesian junta. But declarations by the union bureaucracy, such as that of the Victorian Trade Union Peace and Solidarity Committee, denouncing the invasion of East Timor as a "threat to the security of Papua New Guinea and Australia" and calling on the Australian government to take action (*Age*, 3 January 1976), only undercut the enormous potential of the black bans for advancing international class consciousness. Due to this reformist treachery what is conveyed to the Indonesian masses is not an appeal for their solidarity with Australian workers in defence of the DRET, but a fraudulent declaration of Australian workers' support for the "security" of the hypocritical Australian bourgeoisie, its expansionist appetites and its traditional "White Australia" hostility to Asia.

Moreover a popular-frontist "defence" of East Timor must lead, as it has done with AETA, to "humanitarian" pleadings for direct military intervention against Indonesia (in the guise of UN "peacekeepers") by imperialism and the Australian bourgeoisie. The fact that these pleas fall on deaf ears does not make them any less treacherous and destructive; politically disarming the working class by building illusions in "democratic" capitalism.

The CL has tried to cover for their contemptible opportunism by a lying and slanderous "polemic" against the SL in the latest *Militant* (16 January 1976) -- a "polemic" which proves nothing except the CL's complete cynicism and Pabloist liquidation of Marxism. The fact remains that to the extent the CL's line has a significant impact, these revisionists will, as a Spartacist spokesman told the Melbourne AETA on 14 December, have the blood of the East Timorese masses on their hands. ■

## Melbourne printers' strike

# Pickets fined

The December 12 trial in Melbourne of LaTrobe Spartacist Club member Andrew Georgiou, on a charge of assaulting a police officer, was the last of the frame-up prosecutions launched against the nineteen militants arrested for defending the picket lines during the August *Age/Herald-Sun* printing strike. Initially, a number of the arrested militants were given the option of being booked as "drunk and disorderly" rather than face a charge, a telling commentary on the fraudulent nature of the original arrests. Of those that went before the court two cases were dismissed and six militants received fines ranging from \$25 to \$200.

The testimony of Georgiou and the independent defence witness, Vida Little, completely contradicted the "evidence" of the arresting cops. But this did not disturb the magistrate who, after Georgiou had told the court that he attended the picket to "solidarise with the unionists" (the *Age*, 12 December), found him guilty, fined him \$100 and proclaimed the comrade "a menace to the community"!

While the trial was in progress a picket line organised by the Committee to Defend the Pickets protested against the frame-up outside the court. The Committee, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) in late August 1975, had continually pointed out that the arrests were an attack on workers' right to picket and that the only effective way to defend the victimised militants from capitalist injustice was through a campaign of industrial action and militant protest. The Committee raised funds for the defence, publicised the cases and organised courthouse pickets for each of the trials. Its defence effort had been endorsed by a wide range of union, student and left groups (see *Australasian Spartacist* no 24, October 1975 for a partial listing).

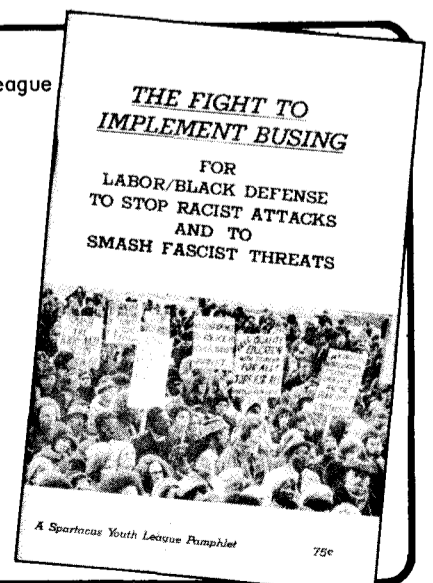
However none of the officials who verbally endorsed the Committee were willing to translate

this into action. While the Waterside Workers and the FEDFA gave important financial support to the Committee their officials interpreted this as excusing them from responsibility to politically mobilise the unions in defence of the arrested militants and the right to picket. The only organisation apart from the SL to consistently participate in the work of the Committee was the Socialist Workers Action Group. With this exception the entire left criminally abstained from this elementary defence work (aside from the occasional appearance of an individual supporter of the Socialist Workers League or Communist League at the Courthouse pickets). The trial completed, the Committee has turned over its remaining funds (\$85.75) to the PKIU strike fund as a contribution toward the expenses incurred by the union in providing representation and paying the legal costs of those (including the non-union members) arrested. ■

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## Down with imperialist butcher Rockefeller!

In July of last year Prime Minister Whitlam, paying tribute to departing imperialist diplomat Marshall Green, announced that US Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller will visit Australia sometime in April for an imperialist celebration and propaganda exercise disguised as US independence bicentennial commemorations. Nelson Rockefeller, more than any other individual, personifies the greed, corruption, hypocrisy and brutality of the American ruling class. The Rockefeller family, based on the Standard Oil company and its affiliates, is one of the two or three richest in America, with substantial interests in some \$250 billion worth of multinational corporations (including the notorious United Fruit and the Chase Manhattan Bank), whose worldwide tentacles also penetrate key companies in Australia in oil, computers, petrochemicals and telecommunications.

From John Davidson Rockefeller II who in 1914 ordered the murder of dozens of striking miners,



Attica prison, NY, in 1971 following slaughter ordered by Rockefeller to smash prisoners' revolt.

their wives and children in Ludlow, Colorado, to Nelson Rockefeller who in September 1971, as the Governor of New York State, ordered the butchering of 39 prisoners and hostages by police and national guardsmen at Attica prison -- the Rockefeller wealth and empire have been drenched in blood and held together by vicious capitalist exploitation. During his 1970 tour of Latin America, Rockefeller was met with bombings, strikes and militant demonstrations in every country he was scheduled to visit, revealing the hatred in which he and his class are held by the oppressed. Neither is this butcher and imperialist insect wanted here. The Spartacist League calls on the entire labour and socialist movement to protest vigorously against his visit.

"Mobilisation Against Rockefeller" committees, around the slogans "Stop the Rockefeller Visit!", "Oppose the US Bicentennial Celebrations!" and "Oppose and Expose US Imperialism in Australia!" have been initiated in Sydney and Melbourne by the Maoists. But the followers of Mao Tse-tung do not intend to fight the imperialism that Rockefeller represents within the framework of class struggle, to unite all workers for the overthrow of international capitalism. Instead they postulate a "struggle" for an "independent" Australia, to unite *all* Australians, all "patriots" against the "interference of the multinational in the political, economic and cultural affairs of [capitalist!] Australia" (undated "Mobilisation Against Rockefeller" leaflet). This patriotic populism is totally alien to Marxism. In subordinating workers' political independence to bourgeois ideology it can only lead to betrayal.

### Bureaucratic feuding aids imperialists

In the epoch of imperialism, when the chief imperialist powers have completely divided the world amongst themselves, the slump and stagnation of the capitalist economies and the resulting struggle for resources and new markets inevitably leads toward imperialist war. As the Ford/Rockefeller/Schlesinger gang made clear with their open war threats to the Arab oil sheiks during the oil "crisis", the motion towards a third imperialist war is accelerating. It can

only be halted by the overthrow of capitalism through international proletarian revolution.

But the Stalinist bureaucracies that rule over the deformed workers states in Moscow and Peking, ever-hopeful of finding a utopian "détente" or "peaceful co-existence" with the imperialist robbers, have attempted to outbid each other for imperialist favours. Their inter-bureaucratic feud is exploited by the imperialists to play off one against the other. Not surprisingly the Maoists' grovelling entreaties to "contain" the USSR have been quickly exploited by American imperialism. Thus the former "number one enemy of the peoples of the world" has now become number one ally of China!

In Portugal the main opponent of the reformist, pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) has been the right-wing Socialist Party of Mario Soares which has attracted not only US and CIA

funds but support from the Portuguese Maoists who hailed the burning of PCP offices by right-wing mobs as a "peasant uprising against social fascism", even going so far as to join in the reactionary terror (*Workers Vanguard* no 88, 5 December 1975)! In Western Europe the Chinese bureaucracy has agitated for the strengthening of NATO and applauded German rearmament, all in the name of containing Soviet "social-imperialism". And in Angola it has until recently, along with the US, provided arms and support to the murderously anti-communist, CIA-backed FNLA and the South African-backed UNITA against the Moscow-supported MPLA!

### Not patriotic bombast but workers' revolution!

The Maoists' open alliance with counter-revolution stems from the inherently nationalist material interests of the privileged Chinese bureaucracy. Ideologically this is expressed in an anti-Marxist world outlook which sees the "main contradiction" not between *classes* but between "super-powers" (US and the Soviet Union) and "independent nations" (led by China and including such "progressive" butchers as the Shah of Iran and Mobutu of Zaire). The Soviet bureaucrats with their "peaceful co-existence" are in essence no different. What both the Chinese and the Russian bureaucracy fear, and will unite to defeat, is the international proletarian revolution, and its threat to bureaucratic privilege. Real communist unity against imperialism will only be possible when the "socialist" bureaucrats in both Moscow and Peking are ousted by working-class political revolution, to replace bureaucratic privilege and treachery with workers' democracy and internationalism.

In Australia, due to the absence of any noticeable Soviet "social-imperialist" influence other than the stodgy, reformist Socialist Party of Australia, the Maoist "independence" struggle has been able to concentrate its fire on US imperialism. The Maoist/Stalinist strategy of "revolution by stages" is utterly reformist. It in fact reduces to one stage -- the "struggle" to "throw out" the imperialists; to achieve, in consort with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie, an "inde-



Nelson Rockefeller.

pendent" Australia. The second stage of socialist revolution is left for the indefinite future.

The Maoist strategy assumes Australia to be an underdeveloped colony fighting for its independence from imperialism. Marxists unequivocally stand for the self-determination of all oppressed nations, for their right to an independent state. But Australia is scarcely an oppressed nation. In real life Australia is an advanced capitalist country with one of the highest living standards in the world. To give national independence any meaning other than political self-determination is, as Lenin noted, ridiculous:

"... finance capital in its drive to expand can 'freely' buy or bribe the freest democratic or republican government and the elective officials of any, even an 'independent' country." (Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination", *Collected Works* vol 22, p 144)

Far from being under the thumb of imperialism, the Australian bourgeoisie is a "junior partner" in the imperialist network with its own mini-imperialist ambitions in New Guinea and the Pacific.

### For internationalist class consciousness!

Undoubtedly the Australian bourgeoisie nurses certain ambitions to become a stronger power in its own right. But all these aspirations are still bound firmly into the imperialist framework; they seek only more room to manoeuvre. Crude Maoist demagoguery about "Australian independence" only provides a potent ideological weapon to drag the working class behind these bourgeois ambitions completely against the true interests of the working class: political independence from *all* sections of the bourgeoisie, in common cause with the world proletariat. As Stalin noted in 1913, when he was still a Marxist:

"Whether the proletariat rallies to the banner of bourgeois nationalism depends ... on the class consciousness and degree of organisation of the proletariat. The class-conscious proletariat has its own tried banner, and has no need to rally to the banner of the bourgeoisie" (J Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, Progress Publishers pamphlet, p 28).

As part of their reactionary social-patriotism, the Maoists demand the protection of "Australian culture" from "US cultural imperialism". Traditional Australian culture is racist, male chauvinist, parochial and nationalist. Australian workers have nothing to gain from protecting this Australian *bourgeois* culture from its American equivalent. Their interests lie in striving for the widest possible co-operation and inter-relationships between cultures, to break down, not perpetuate, the national, traditional and racial barriers that presently divide workers, to pave the way for a new, higher, *world* culture which will develop on the basis of classless society.

Rockefeller's visit must be opposed not as part of a reformist fantasy of the "Australian independence struggle" but on behalf of the brutally oppressed and impoverished masses in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the true victims of US imperialism's *real* crimes -- in South East Asia, Latin America, Africa -- and in solidarity with US imperialism's strongest and most dangerous enemy, the American proletariat. But for victory the proletariat must be conscious both of its international class unity and the need for political independence from the class enemy, and organised under the leadership of a world revolutionary party, a reborn Fourth International. ■