

Australasian SPARTACIST



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TWENTY CENTS

Election victory for "reformed" Francoism

Spain before the storm



Despite the adulatory (and hopeful) praise of the bourgeois press for the "Spanish democracy" of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, Spain's first parliamentary elections in 41 years resolved none of the questions threatening to tear Spanish society apart. And though 80 percent of the electorate turned out to vote (for anyone under the age of 64, it was their first election offering a choice of candidates), the so-called "free" elections were far from a "victory for democracy". The "Suarez reforms" which led up to them were mere token concessions designed to win acceptance for the post-Franco regime from "democratic Europe", and to foster illusions among the Spanish working masses who, week after week for the last year and a half, have demonstrated their hatred of the autocratic state bequeathed by the "Caudillo".

No amount of wishful thinking by the bourgeoisie and the reformist traitors can change the fact that the elections farce will neither dampen the deep-going class tensions nor satisfy the masses' burning thirst for full democratic rights and proletarian justice for the untold crimes of Francoism against the workers. Spain is in serious economic trouble: inflation is running at 30 percent and rising, the rate of unemployment is nearly 8 percent. A "social pact" is already being seriously mooted about, to reduce strikes and institute some sort of wage freeze.

Suarez personally entered the campaign for the Cortes (parliament) in the hopes of building an ostensibly "centre" political apparatus -- in reality somewhere to the right of Italian Christian Democracy or the French Gaullists -- which could through a combination of tough police measures, "democratic" rhetoric and mini-reforms, contain the masses while dismantling the outlived corporatist structures of the Francoist order. He chose as his electoral vehicle the Union of the Democratic Centre (UDC), founded by former Franco ministers Areilza and Pio Cabanillas.

To boost his government's desired image of democratising the encrusted Francoist structure, Suarez legalised the Socialist Party (PSOE) and, more importantly, the Communist Party (PCE). This crucial measure was strongly resisted by Falangist ultras and army hardliners, and would never have been won without the militant strikes and demonstrations by the workers. Yet the elections demonstrated, if nothing else, the extent to which the leadership of these reformist parties would betray workers' interests in order to demonstrate their grateful loyalty to Suarez -- and the extent to which Suarez' political survival depends on their class treachery.

Though the UDC garnered a 34 percent plurality



Prime Minister Suarez (top) unleashes cops against Basque demonstrators in Renteria month before "democratic" elections.

of the popular vote and 165 of the 350 seats in the lower house, its strength resided mainly in the countryside, where the fabric of Francoist rule -- represented by the Guardia Civil and the *caciques* (local political bosses) -- remains intact. The industrial areas voted heavily for the reformist workers parties. The PSOE outpolled Suarez in Barcelona, Valencia, Seville and the Basque country and ran a draw in Madrid to capture 119 seats and nearly 29 percent of the vote nationwide. The PCE, though it received only 9 percent of the vote and 20 seats, also ran well in industrial areas like Madrid, Catalonia and Andalusia. The popular contempt for Franco's memory was illustrated by the poor showing of the Alianza Popular (AP), led by the former minister of the interior, Manuel Fraga Iribarne. The AP, which presented itself as the inheritor of the "forty years of Francoist peace", won only 17 seats and slightly more than 8 percent of the national vote.

The heavy opposition vote indicated the widespread popular dissatisfaction to the shaky dictatorship. But far from exposing the anti-democratic intent of the government's plans to shore up the Francoist monarchy, the PSOE and PCE leaders were Suarez' strongest supporters. PCE leader Santiago Carrillo strove to reassure the bourgeoisie about his newly legalised party, stating in a public press conference, "Not only am I not neutral to Suarez, I am *pro-Suarez*!"

While Fraga may have a better claim on blue-

shirt traditions, Suarez' forces -- no less than the AP -- were the face of Francoism in the elections. Suarez preserves his ties to the clerical-reactionary Opus Dei, leading industrialists and representatives of foreign investors who were the economic backbone of the Franco regime. Moreover, since breaking with Fraga and co-opting the UDC, Suarez concentrated on lining up the local government functionaries and *caciques* whose main interest is to be on the side of the government.

The Francoist elections do not usher in a period of bourgeois democracy in Spain. Not only is the electoral mechanism patently undemocratic -- eg, small rural areas have up to four times the representation of comparably populated neighbourhoods in urban centres such as Madrid -- but the Cortes is based on acceptance of the monarchy, the army and the "inviolability of the Spanish state". The king retains the right to appoint up to 20 percent of both houses of the Cortes. The prime minister is appointed by the monarch and in turn appoints the council of ministers -- who have the right to enact decree laws. There remain 67 parties which are illegal and were denied participation in the elections.

Suarez' reforms certainly carry little weight in the Basque region (Euzkadi). The electoral period in this northern region arrived outfitted in the same colours as before: the dull grey of

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Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky.

Soviet dissidents and cold-war politics

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Pro-czarist mystic, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Protests defend Chilean migrants



Spartacist contingent in Sydney demonstration.

Spirited demonstrations were held in Melbourne and Sydney last month to protest against the Fraser government's cold-blooded plans to ship "illegal" Chilean migrants back to the torture chambers of Pinochet's dictatorship. Both demonstrations were initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) around two united-front slogans: Stop the deportations of Chileans! Full citizenship rights for all Latin American migrants, legal or "illegal", in Australia! The urgency of the protests was underscored by reports that 30 migrants have already been issued deportation orders and at least four have already been returned to Chile. One of those has since disappeared and is feared dead or incarcerated. Agents of DINA, Pinochet's secret-police torturers, operating here are reportedly particularly interested in at least twenty migrants.

In Melbourne, some fifty militants picketed the Immigration Department on 24 June, after which they were addressed by Ted Innes, ALP shadow minister for immigration, and representatives from endorsing organisations, including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Communist League (CL), Australian Clerical Officers Association (ACOA) Reform Group and the SL. While Innes and the SWP and CL speakers echoed each other with choruses of unity-mongering, only the SL spokesman offered concrete strategies for fighting deportation attempts as well as the junta. He pointed to the necessity for mass protests and industrial actions to stop threatened deportations; to the necessity for the independent mobilisation of the Chilean workers and a break with popular frontism to smash the junta through proletarian revolution. The Melbourne picket received television coverage on the Channel 7 news that night.

A day earlier in Sydney, some 70-80 people marched from the Immigration Department building in Chifley Square, where a smaller number had picketed, to Town Hall, where they heard speakers from Antorcha, the SL and the CL. The SL had initiated this principled united-front campaign at a meeting a month earlier called by the CL/Antorcha-backed "Latin American Solidarity Committee". The Spartacist contingent carried placards reading, "No popular front illusions" and "Free all class-war prisoners in Chile", among other slogans.

The demonstrations could in all likelihood have been even more successful but for the criminal obstructionism of those who place their petty opportunist interests before the safety of migrants threatened by the bloodthirsty junta. Though the SWP and the International Socialists were formal participants in the united front, neither even bothered to carry placards at the Sydney demonstration, much less mobilise more than a handful of paper sellers. Weeks after the united-front slogans had been agreed upon the SWP attempted to sneak its liberal call for open-ended trade boycotts, a call supported by the CL as well, into the united-front literature. Then SWP'er Jon West refused even to distribute the SWP-produced leaflets at Sydney University because, he claimed, he was too busy with AUS. The Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) in Melbourne not only refused to support the demonstration but also persuaded union officials who had endorsed it to withdraw their support!

The sectarian behaviour exhibited by the CSC, SWP and their ilk must not be allowed to prevent the urgently necessary, effective, united campaign to mobilise the entire labour movement around the watchword: Not one Chilean migrant back to Pinochet's torture chambers!



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Spain. . .

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the armed police and the olive drab of the Guardia Civil. Repeatedly, the mass demonstrations demanding amnesty and an end to the police state of siege have been set upon by these bloody thugs of Suarez/Juan Carlos.

The pervasive police terror has failed to diminish the overwhelming sense of anti-government militancy and solidarity that has swept the Basque country for months. In April, the government banned any celebration of the Basque national holiday, Aberri Eguna. The demonstrators who assembled in defiance of the ban were met with an occupation force of 5000 Guardia Civil in the town of Vitoria who filled the central square with smoke and tear gas and then viciously set upon any civilians they found in the street. Despite the rubber bullets and water cannon of the anti-riot brigades, barricades were built and the demonstrations persisted.

During the course of only four days in May five Basque demonstrators were killed by police bullets and over 50 were wounded. In response, a massive strike wave erupted, culminating in a 600,000-strong general strike on 16 May. Moreover, on 20 May a former Franco-loyal Bilbao mayor and personal friend of Juan Carlos, Javier de Yberra y Berge, was kidnapped -- presumably by ETA nationalists -- and was held hostage to demand the release of the Basque political prisoners. Several days after the elections,



Fascist rally in Bilbao.

Yberra was killed, reportedly because his family failed to pay a \$15 million ransom demand. Such impotent terrorist acts are counterproductive, but unlike the Basque "socialist" and nationalist leaders who have used the opportunity to denounce the ETA, we shed no tears for this industrialist and defend the ETA against bourgeois repression.

As the electoral period was about to open on 24 May, Basque political organisations -- ranging from the left to the nationalists -- announced their intentions to boycott unless the police terror was halted and the remaining political prisoners amnestied. In the hope of rescuing the elections, the government backed down and released the vast majority of political prisoners.

Once again assisting Suarez in successfully heading off mass protest was the PCE. For the past two years, since the massive demonstrations at the time of the death of Franco and the execution of the five nationalist prisoners, the PCE has attempted to hold back any and all popular struggles in search of bourgeois "respectability", repeatedly boycotting and betraying even its own demonstrations to appease the present government. In their response to the 16 May Basque general strike the Stalinists again displayed their capacity for the most craven treachery. In Madrid tens of thousands of workers heeded the call for solidarity with the Basque demonstrations against the government. But the PCE openly refused to endorse any solidarity strikes and urged the Basques to return to work so as not to "jeopardise the elections". The PCE leaders of the Workers Commissions (trade unions) called on the Basque workers "not to further aggravate the situation in Spain" (*Le Monde*, 18 May).

Carrillo's grovelling is utterly shameful. No longer does the PCE oppose the Francoist monarchy. Now the PCE central committee declares, "if the monarchy continues to advance on the track of re-establishing liberty and democracy, the communists seated in the next Cortes will be able to consider the crown as the constitutional regime" (*Rouge*, 18 April 1977). As symbolic evidence of their faith in "the crown", the party has accepted the red-yellow monarchist flag -- what Republicans call the flag of "blood and gold" -- as "their own" and that of "all Spaniards". The PCE has come to be known in Spain as the "Royal Communist Party". Nor is the "Euro-communist" PCE now opposed to NATO and American bases in Spain, or entry into the Common Market.

Throughout the pre-revolutionary situation in Spain, both the PCE and the PSOE have amply demonstrated their fundamental commitment to the politics of class collaboration. Each coalesced popular-front alliances with bourgeois forces ranging from nationalists to christian democrats (including the butcher of the 1934 Asturian miners' insurrection, Jose Maria Gil Robles) to the Borbon and Carlist monarchists. For the PCE it was the Junta Democratica, for the PSOE the Platform of Democratic Convergence. In March 1976, the Junta Democratica and the Platform of Democratic Convergence merged to become the Coordinacion Democratica -- better known as the "Platajunta".

Since January, when Carrillo was released from his brief imprisonment and the "Platajunta" was drawn in for joint discussions with Suarez over the application of Francoist "democracy", and in particular in the wake of the legalisation of 156 political associations, the Coordinacion Democratica has fallen into disuse. With the exception of the indigenous Catalan popular front, the Asamblea de Catalunya, the legalised parties pursued formally independent electoral campaigns -- but explicitly committed to the continuation of class collaboration. The candidacies of the PCE and PSOE are the direct continuation of the popular-frontist policies which paved the way for Franco's seizure of power.

In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency refused critical support to the Portuguese Communist Party both for its class-collaborationist alliances and for its explicit support to the bonapartist MFA control of the state apparatus. In Portugal, as in Spain today, not only organisational independence but a campaign directed against the incumbent government regime must be a precondition for critical electoral support.

The fake-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), affiliated to Ernest Mandel's centrist majority wing of the "United" Secretariat, on the other hand, attempted to coax the reformists into running "United Workers Candidates around a four-point minimum platform" (*Impreco*, 9 June). The platform was indeed so minimum that it did not even call on the reformist parties to denounce Suarez' "reformed" Francoism or repudiate their class-collaborationist practice. In fact none of the four points went beyond bourgeois-democratic demands, and the last -- "for free elections to a constituent assembly which would proclaim a republic" -- amounted to a call for a bourgeois government!

It is precisely because of the raging pre-revolutionary situation in Spain that political activity is spreading to previously passive regions and sectors of the population. Strikes, which Trotsky noted in the 1930s were the elementary form of the proletariat coming to political awareness, have increased dramatically. Last year's strike activity -- all of which was illegal -- was greater than that of the previous ten years combined.

The mainstay of the mass demonstrations, however, has been political, focusing on democratic issues. Marxists do not stand aloof from these struggles but actively champion the democratic demands of the working masses. Repeatedly we have raised calls for the abolition of the special repressive apparatuses of Francoism -- the Guardia Civil, the anti-riot brigades, the armed police, the Tribunal of Public Order, the Social-Political Brigades, etc. We have demanded the immediate release of all victims of reactionary Francoist repression. The Spanish people must have the right to free assembly and expression, and an end to censorship; the working class must win full trade-union freedoms and the final abolition of the CNS, the Francoist, corporatist "vertical unions".

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Spartacist League/US on FBI "hit list"

EDITOR'S NOTE: the following article combines and abridges two articles from Workers Vanguard no 151 (1 April 1977), "FBI targets the Spartacist League" and "What is the ADEX file?"

Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark got the full blast of "human rights" American syle in Chicago in 1969. The secret police infiltrated their organization, set them up, and then in the dead of night the cops kicked their door down and machine-gunned them in their beds.

The rest of us have been luckier. For most of us in the left, labor and black movements, relations with the American political police have been more routine. We have had our phones tapped, our mail opened, our offices burgled, our garbage "covered", our organizations "penetrated", our leaders tailed and jailed. We have been the victims of systematic attempts to deprive us of our livelihood. We have been personally and collectively slandered by "anonymous" letter-writing campaigns and by planted lies disingenuously called "disinformation". We have been witchhunted by the grand jury and "selectively audited" by the IRS [Internal Revenue Service]. The FBI has talked to our friends, neighbors, landlords and especially employers. Some of us have been framed up and jailed. But what the Panthers met was the full-blown terror which stands behind the shadowy routine of FBI/CIA snooping, harassment and disruption.

"I find it inconceivable that a covert agency is expected to obey all the overt orders of the government."
- James Angleton, former CIA chief of staff

"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply."
- CIA document

In the post-Watergate era, exposes of the FBI's illegal and sinister conspiracies have become commonplace. Most often, the stage-managed exposures do not outrun the carefully contrived cover-ups. But sometimes "clean-ups" are pro-

claimed. The liberals, sunk in the blissful ignorance of complicity, are smug in their conviction that the promised "reforms" show that the "democratic process" has triumphed again. But what really happens? The government's covert operations may be reshuffled and reorganized, streamlined and prettified, renamed and swept further underground. But the FBI continues to carry out its dirty work of spying, intimidation and harassment, slander and disruption of the political and personal lives of people whose only "crime" is their political convictions.

During the Nixon administration, the practice of keeping secret records of "subversives" -- against whom no criminal activity need be proved, or often even alleged -- came under fire. In 1971 Attorney General [John] Mitchell promised that he would reduce the list to under 10,000 names. This shortened list became known as the "administrative index" (ADEX). In 1974, at the height of the Watergate revelations, FBI head L Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX file would be dismantled entirely.

But in 1976 a politically active left-wing lawyer filed for his dossier under the Freedom of Information Act. Among other materials, he obtained his supposedly "abolished" ADEX file card, no doubt through some unusual bureaucratic error. This information was reprinted by *CounterSpy*, a liberal/New Left magazine animated partly by former CIA agents whose aim is to impede the conspiratorial machinations of the CIA and FBI. *CounterSpy* estimates that the FBI now maintains files on 6,500,000 people!

The ADEX form included a category designated by the letters "SPL" as one of the 16 organizations given top priority for FBI "special" treatment. *CounterSpy* speculated that "SPL" could mean Spartacist League [of the US (SL)]. Documents subsequently obtained by an individual through the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act confirmed *CounterSpy*'s guess. "SPL" is indeed the FBI's computer code for the SL; we are on their "hit list".

It is anybody's guess why the FBI in 1971 sel-

ected the SL as a target of its "special" attention. The 16 groups in the ADEX code (which includes a few ultra-rightist groups) encompass among others the [pro-Moscow] Communist Party, the [US] Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Panthers, Progressive Labor and [the New Left Students for a Democratic Society] SDS (under which category some Maoists were probably subsumed). But why the SL, which at that time had not yet begun widespread involvement in the labor movement, nor made the major breakthroughs that were to create significant international ties? We do not know. Nor can any firm answer be pro-

FBI ON "SPL"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1964 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U. S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

vided for the interesting omission of groups like the International Socialists and [Healyite] Workers League which were at the time bigger and louder than the SL.

The ADEX file is a recent atrocity in the long and ugly history of FBI list-making. In 1948 the FBI began a program of burglary of the homes and offices of left-wingers, initiating "lock studies" for its agents. It was at this time that it began what came to be known as the "Do Not File" file, which was either destroyed on a yearly basis or shuffled in a way that made it inaccessible to the uninitiated.

The McCarran Act of 1950 officially legitimized secret FBI record-keeping on "subversive" individuals. It called for the registration of organizations and individual members who "advocated violent overthrow" of the government, thereby providing by their own self-incrimination a basis for prosecution under the Smith Act as well. It authorized the preparation of "detention camps" in case of "national emergency", and the keeping of lists of those to be interned. It also provided for deportation of aliens found to be Communists at any time in their lives.

The Smith Act of 1940 had provided for the prosecution of political dissidents for "advocating" or "teaching" revolution in the US and for membership in organizations deemed guilty of such "advocacy". Its first victims were the Trotsky-

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ASIO exposure gets nation-wide attention

"Already, Janet Langridge's claims that she was a paid ASIO agent have caused a stir in Canberra", reported the newsreader for the 6.30 pm Channel 9 news on 20 June. "But the only official reaction so far from ASIO and the federal Attorney-General's Department", he said, "has been a curt 'No comment'".

The attorney-general's curtness evidenced the government's discomfiture as the new revelations of its illegal spying on the Spartacist League (SL) and other left-wing political organizations hit the major bourgeois media in Canberra and the mainland state capitals. The SL's exposure of ASIO was carried by at least ten daily papers across Australia on 20-21 June and all four television news programs in Sydney, as well as one in Melbourne, on the evening of the 20th. Channel 9 news ran an interview with an SL spokesman, as did a talkback show on 2UE radio earlier that afternoon.

The nationally broadcast "Willesee at Seven" program on Channel 7, 20 June, featured lengthy interviews with Langridge and SL Central Committee member, Marie Hotschilt. The anti-communist Willesee attempted to sidetrack Hotschilt's attacks on the duplicity of capitalist "democracy" by unsuccessfully baiting her about the KGB, the Russian secret police. Hotschilt noted that we certainly didn't agree politically with the KGB -- the gang responsible for "the murder of our founder", Leon Trotsky. But, she said, as Trotskyists we firmly defend the Soviet Union militarily as well as those actions the KGB takes "against imperialism and the capitalist class enemy". The KGB, and the Stalinist bureaucracy it works for, is criminal not because it engages in espionage against the imperialist bourgeoisie, but precisely because it is incapable of effectively defending the Soviet Union. In implementing the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its most important activities are directed against socialist opponents of the bureaucracy and not against the class enemies of the Soviet workers.

In an interview on Channel 10 news on 21 June, Lionel Bowen, ALP shadow attorney-general, admitted that the Langridge exposure "adds additional weight" to the arguments for abolishing ASIO. But while "deploring" the "clandestine operations" of the "anti-labour" ASIO in a later telephone interview with *Australasian Spartacist*, Bowen maintained the necessity for "intelligence security". Bowen's concern for the "security" of the bourgeois state is not surprising, since it was the ALP -- in their role as loyal servants of the bosses' interests -- which established this anti-labour outfit in the first place.

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The collage features several newspaper clippings with the following headlines and content:

- ASIO "sponsoring political spies"**: A Canberra article reporting on a claim by a Sydney student that she was paid \$600 a month to spy for the ASIO.
- The spy who put herself out in the cold**: A report on a girl student who spied for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) and was paid \$600 a month.
- I was ASIO spy: girl**: A headline from TONY O'LEARY reporting on a Sydney girl who claimed she was paid \$600 a month to spy for ASIO.
- Gietzelt: ASIO has political spies**: A Canberra article reporting on Senator Gietzelt's claim that ASIO was spying on political organizations.
- Student says she spied for ASIO**: A Sydney article reporting on a 21-year-old student's claim that she was paid \$600 a month to spy for ASIO.
- THE AUSTRALIAN**: A headline from the newspaper.
- The Canberra Times**: A headline from the newspaper.
- I spied for ASIO, girl student says**: A Sydney article reporting on a 21-year-old student's claim that she was paid \$600 a month to spy for ASIO.
- The Sydney Morning Herald**: A headline from the newspaper.
- ASIO paid me to spy**: A Sydney article reporting on a 21-year-old student's claim that she was paid \$600 a month to spy for ASIO.
- The Advertiser**: A headline from the newspaper.
- THE AGE**: A headline from the newspaper.

Imperialists howl over "human rights"

Soviet dissidents and cold-war politics

In the months since he took office US president Jimmy Carter has clearly signalled his intention of pursuing a vigorously anti-Soviet foreign policy. No sooner had this racist plantation owner moved into the White House than he launched into an anti-communist "crusade" for "human rights" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Blustering State Department warnings over the victimisation of Russian and Czech dissidents were followed by a well-publicised "private" letter to pro-imperialist Soviet physicist



Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile on Bolshevik Revolution anniversary. Centre banner -- "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" -- depicts Lenin and Trotsky.

Andrei Sakharov and a cordial White House reception for Vladimir Bukovsky, recently released by the Soviet bureaucracy in a trade-off for incarcerated Chilean Communist Party leader, Luis Corvalan.

The State Department's diplomatic protest on Czechoslovakia was occasioned by the Husak regime's harassment and arrest of a number of signatories to the liberal "Charter 77". The response of the Husak regime, which came to power behind the Soviet tanks that crushed the "liberal" Stalinist Dubcek regime in 1968, was predictable. But the charter, signed by some 300 intellectuals and former party members associated with Dubcek, calls for little more than the implementation of the rights ostensibly guaranteed to Czech citizens by the country's constitution and the "human rights" convention contained in the Helsinki agreement of August 1975. At the time, the Stalinist bureaucrats hailed the Helsinki accords and insisted they were legally binding, only to have this "victory" for "detente" now used as a bludgeon against them by the cold warriors in Washington.

Carter's "sympathy" for dissidents has not extended to the combative Polish workers who engaged in massive, highly disciplined industrial action in June 1976. The strikes succeeded in rolling back the Gierek regime's attempt to impose huge price increases, especially for foodstuffs, but not before heavy rioting in the industrial city of Radom led to the murder of a dozen workers and large-scale arrests. When a Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression, including such well-known socialist intellectuals as Jacek Kuron, was formed the regime began a guerrilla campaign of repression against its supporters. Gierek fears the consequences of a frontal assault on the committee for he sees behind it, with good reason, the immense potential strength of a proletariat that has twice before -- in 1956 and 1970 -- shaken the Polish

bureaucracy to the core. On the other hand, Carter's failure to send "morale-boosting" messages to the workers of Radom illustrates the imperialists' own fear that such struggles could well spill over into Western Europe, threatening the rule of capital itself.

Carter's attempt to portray the imperialist regime responsible for the mass murder of millions of Vietnamese, the assassination of black militants at home and the installation of numerous military dictatorships around the world as crusaders for "morality" requires both colossal gall and a well and truly kept "free" press. It ranks with such examples of imperialist doublespeak as the unabashed admissions by US military "advisors" that they were burning down Vietnamese villages "in order to save them".

Behind Carter's hypocrisy lurks a more sinister and sober aim. At the time of the Angolan war last year, then president Gerald Ford was unable to get public support for large-scale US aid to the anti-MPLA forces, much less for direct US intervention. The Carter administration's ideological offensive to refurbish the "moral authority" of US imperialism is designed to whip up anti-communist sentiment in preparation for a new military build-up. Pre-election promises to cut down military expenditures have all been scrapped amidst a flurry of CIA and State Department reports calling for the US to maintain "maximum military capacity" against the Soviet Union.

Ultimately what stands behind the "human rights" rubbish is the determination of the American ruling class to militarily open up the Sino-Soviet states to the "freedom" of capitalist exploitation and oppression. It is therefore not surprising that the Carter administration has been quite discriminating in selecting the subjects for its "concern" from among the broadly heterogeneous Soviet-bloc dissident movement. Sakharov's appeal to Carter to take up the cause of "fighters for human rights" in the Soviet Union, and dissident historian Andrei Amalrik's admonishment to "use technology, credits and grain as leverage to insure progress towards more democratic policies" (quoted in *New York Times*, 7 January), provide valuable political ammunition to the imperialist brigands.

The repression of those who openly criticise the ruling cliques in the Soviet-bloc countries



Plyushch (right) with cold warrior Jackson (centre) at New York rally for dissidents.

is a brutal reality. The totalitarian Soviet regime with its massive apparatus of secret police, political prisons, "psychiatric" detention, etc is a gift of incalculable propaganda value to the imperialists. One of Stalinism's greatest crimes is to provide international capitalism with the opportunity to hold up to the oppressed masses as the face of "socialism" the repulsive features of state repression in the deformed workers states. But the main target of this repression is not the dissidents of Sakharov's ilk who openly espouse reaction and who are scarcely capable of gaining significant mass support, but the proletarian masses from whom the bureaucrats have usurped political power and who are the real internal threat to bureaucratic privilege. Thus our opposition to bureaucratic suppression means we defend even reactionary *ideologues* like Sakharov against it.

Those dissidents who openly bloc with imperialism aid not only Carter but at another

level Brezhnev as well. For it is by appealing to the need to defend the conquests of the workers state against imperialism that Brezhnev et al justify before the masses as a necessary evil their privileges and the suppression of workers democracy. As Trotskyists, we fully recognise the need for the workers states to suppress counterrevolutionary activity which militarily endangers the dictatorship of the proletariat -- including, for example, the passing of military secrets to the imperialists. But we emphatically reject the Stalinist slander that all dissent against the bureaucracy is "counterrevolutionary activity" in this sense. The harassed, imprisoned and exiled dissidents stand accused of nothing worse than expressing ideas and criticisms. The *ideological* defence of workers power has no need of repression but can rest solidly on the real achievements of the revolution. That Eastern European and Soviet intellectuals who start out fighting for socialist ideals can be driven to embrace openly or implicitly counterrevolutionary ideas represents in itself a damning confirmation of the criminal character of Stalinism.

The dissident movement demonstrates with particular clarity the unique validity of the Trotskyist analysis and program for the degenerated/deformed workers states. The Stalinist misrulers, with their nationalist strategy of building "socialism in one country" (ie, defending their privileged bureaucratic sinecures) and "peacefully co-existing" with imperialism (by selling out the workers at home and internationally), themselves pose the greatest threat to the workers states upon which their privileged positions rest. To preserve and extend internationally the social gains associated with the October Revolution -- the nationalised property, planned economy and state monopoly of foreign trade -- they must be ousted through a revolutionary struggle for workers -- ie soviet -- democracy.

Unlike the ostensibly Trotskyist reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Trotskyists counsel pro-socialist dissidents against any bloc with bourgeois restorationists. Only through the program of Trotskyism -- intransigent military defence linked inextricably to the struggle for workers political revolution -- can proletarian democracy be established in the

advance toward a world socialist society. To reject either crucial element of this perspective is inevitably to fall into the camp of either imperialism or bureaucratic nationalism. While the SWP and its American model and namesake uncritically tail all the dissidents, including the Sakharovs, as "fighters for democracy in the USSR" (*Intercontinental Press*, 18 April), their centrist factional opponents in the United Secretariat (USec) regularly adapt to illusions in the reformability of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

It is crucial to recognise the vast differences which exist among the dissident currents. The dissidents are impelled by far-ranging motives: petty-bourgeois appetites for personal aggrandisement; hatred for Great Russian chauvinism in areas like Georgia, the Ukraine and Eastern Europe; genuine (albeit politically unclear) desires for socialist democracy. They run the gamut from the arch-reactionary pro-czarist crackpot and religious obscurantist, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn; through openly capitalist-restorationist elements like Bukovsky, Sakharov and Amalrik; to pro-socialist reformists like recently released Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch, East German songwriter Wolf Biermann and Russian writer Roy Medvedev; to ostensibly revolutionary Leninists like former Soviet army general Piotr Grigorenko. Though none of the known dissidents has made a clear political break with both capitalism and reformism, and the political unclarity of the reformists at times leads them to lend their support to imperialist

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efforts, it is nevertheless necessary to recognise that there is a class line between those who are openly pro-imperialist and those who defend socialism.

Contemporary Russian dissidents suffer from a total lack of continuity with the earlier opposition movements in Russia -- especially Trotsky's Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition of the 1920s and 1930s, but even the later underground groups such as The True Work of Lenin. Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* is apparently unknown to them, as is the Trotskyist concept of a degenerated workers state. This can be explained in part by Stalin's systematic physical elimination of the cadre of the earlier movements and by the near-total absence of documents and writings of earlier anti-Stalinist oppositions.

The origin of much of the current Russian opposition can be traced to a response among elements of the intelligentsia to the bureaucracy's own feeble denunciation of Stalin and his crimes. In the aftermath of Khrushchev's "secret speech" at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in 1956, the supposedly "liberal" wing of the bureaucracy, which included Kosygin, covertly (and sometimes openly) encouraged the reformers in their exposure of Stalin's excesses. Falsely believing that such exposure would bring about increased democracy and respect for personal rights, they grew discouraged when even the "liberal" bureaucrats eventually balked at rehabilitating all of Stalin's victims and at publishing the numerous historical and literary works exposing the Stalin era. They turned instead to the already flourishing underground *samizdat* journals.



Prague, August 1968: defiant Czechs carry national flag past burning Soviet tank.

The arrest and trial of *samizdat* writers Siniavsky and Daniel in 1965, and later in 1967 of Siniavsky and Galanskov, signalled the newly installed Brezhnev regime's crackdown on the spreading democratic opposition movement and its concern that the post-Stalin liberalisation was getting out of hand. The opposition which came together around the Siniavsky/Galanskov trial was strongly influenced by Dubcek's campaign of bureaucratic reform -- the "Prague Spring" movement -- then being carried out in Czechoslovakia. When Soviet tank treads smothered the "Prague Spring" -- and even "liberal" bureaucrats like Kosygin supported the invasion -- the liberal intellectuals were shocked into a more openly anti-bureaucratic stance.

The bureaucracy's celebrated "socialist intelligentsia" is actually a petty-bourgeois stratum with close ties both to the bureaucracy and to bourgeois intellectuals and scientists in the West. The social origins of the current opposition -- devoid as it is of a working-class orientation -- are reflected in the arrogance and contempt, hallmarks of the bureaucracy itself, with which the right-wing/restorationist elements treat the working masses. Asked to comment on the 1973 bloodbath in Chile, Sakharov refused, saying it was "too far away". The hostile contempt these "fighters for democracy", as the SWP calls them, reserve for the masses is well typified by Amalrik:

"... two ideas that the masses understand and accept -- the idea of force and the idea of justice -- are equally inimical to democratic ideas, which are based on individualism...." (*Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*)

Pro-socialist dissidents would certainly repudiate such openly reactionary views. While professing loyalty to the communist ideal, however, many of them accept the basic framework of Stalinism and the possibility of reforming the bureaucracy. They identify in particular with Dubcek's liberalisation campaign -- Stalinism "with a human face" -- and the increasingly independent "Euro-communist" parties in Italy, France and Spain. Their personal courage and commitment must not be allowed to excuse their fundamentally false conceptions that the parasitic bureaucracy can be pressured into forsaking its privileges or that political distance from the Kremlin necessarily leads in a revolutionary direction.

Stalinism, be it Brezhnev's or Dubcek's, is fundamentally hostile to the spread of the proletarian revolution. The struggle for socialist revolution in the West is inseparable from the necessity for political revolution in the East.

Though the "Euro-communists" have openly opposed the Stalinist regimes' victimisation of dissidents, their parting with the Kremlin is not motivated by a new-found interest in workers democracy but by the nationalist/reformist logic of Stalinism. They are following the path which led the Communist Party of Australia to break from the Stalinist orbit entirely toward social democracy. With bourgeois cabinet portfolios dangling enticingly before them, they want to demonstrate to their bourgeoisies that they can be trusted at least to be neutral in any conflict between Western imperialism and the Soviet bloc. "Euro-communism" can more properly be labelled "NATO-communism"! Despite their subjective intentions, dissidents like Biermann and Medvedev who laud "Euro-communism" are defending the Eastern European workers neither against the bureaucracies nor against imperialism.

Not recognising the necessity to mobilise the working masses in *political revolutions* to oust the bureaucracies, even many of the socialist dissidents end up fuelling the imperialist propaganda machine. Many of the charters, manifestos and appeals are directed particularly to that imperialist den of thieves, the United Nations. And self-avowed "neo-Marxist" Plyushch, though an advocate of soviet democracy, finds himself speaking from the same platform as "super-hawk" US politician, Senator Henry Jackson, against Soviet political repression. While Sakharov

turns a blind eye to the brutal slaughter in Chile, Plyushch naively calls on Jackson to exert his influence on behalf of victimised Chilean militants. Plyushch's dangerous view that the Sino-Soviet regimes are "state capitalist" can rapidly lead him to embrace the virulently anti-communist brand of American social democracy.

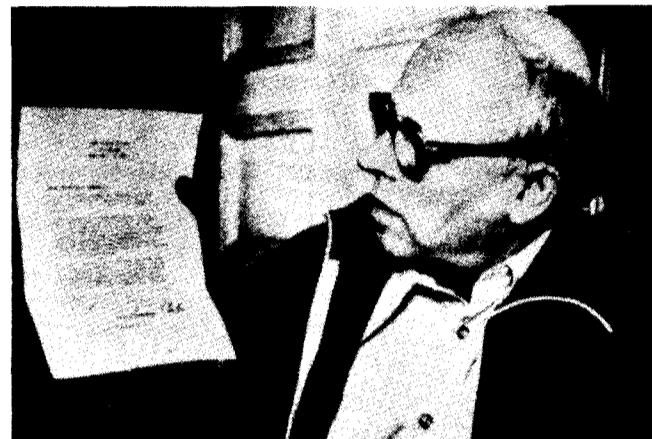
It is clearly a burning necessity to acquaint the current generation of dissidents with the Trotskyist program of political revolution. The fake-Trotskyist SWP, in amalgamating every variant of dissident under the rubric of "democracy", is criminally obstructing the process. For the social-democratic SWP, democracy -- gutted of the class distinction between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the rule of workers soviets -- is brought to the fore as the central political question in every conceivable situation: racist violence in Boston, Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe, pre-revolutionary confrontation in Portugal, etc. "Far from being counterrevolutionary", claims the US SWP, "the demands for democratic rights made by Andrei Sakharov and others express the historic interests and aspirations of the Soviet working people" (*International Socialist Review*, March 1977). Presumably, then, Sakharov's friend Carter is also fighting for the "historic interests" of the Soviet masses!

The SWP labels the dissident movements "objectively Trotskyist" because their demands for free political expression and trade union organisation "are a central part of the Transitional Program" (*Direct Action*, 26 May). But Sakharov is advocating not a return to unfettered soviet democracy but the restoration of bourgeois "individual rights". The central slogans of the Trotskyist Transitional Program for the Soviet Union are not minimal democratic rights but political revolution and unconditional military defence. Yet *not once* in some eighteen articles in *Direct Action* on the dissident question over the past year or so is military defence of the USSR even mentioned! Writing in the US *Militant* (24 June), US SWP leading light Joseph Hansen "corrects" a similar omission ... by lambasting Brezhnev for "failing to seize the initiative" on nuclear disarmament (ie, for failing to negotiate away the military strength of the degenerated workers state). Hansen proclaims two forms of defending the Soviet Union -- "political" and military -- and, given the threat of nuclear holocaust, projects "political" defence (by encouraging Soviet disarmament!) as more important than military. He thus openly renounces the Trotskyist position:

"Military defense' has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable -- its extinction...."

While the Hansenites march in step behind Sakharov's appeal for the "democratic" imperialists to enforce "democratic rights" in the workers states, their factional opponents, led by Ernest Mandel, adapt to illusions that the

Pro-imperialist dissident Vladimir Bukovsky (right), feted at White House after leaving Soviet Union in exchange for release of Luis Corvalan from Pinochet's jails. Bukovsky would gladly exchange Brezhnev for Pinochet, he joked. Below: Sakharov holding "private" letter from Carter.



bureaucracy is reformable. The Mandeliste Communist League's paper, *Militant* (May 1977), recently published an appeal -- without criticism -- by Czech dissident Peter Uhl, whom they characterise as a "revolutionary socialist". While admitting that Charter 77 is "aimed rather at the interests of intellectuals than workers" and expresses "efforts towards class conciliation" and a "conception of peaceful co-existence", this "revolutionary socialist" calls on the international "revolutionary left" to support it, as he himself does. *Revolutionary* socialists must unflinchingly defend the democratic rights of Charter 77 signers, but not at the expense of lending credence to this anti-revolutionary statement of liberal Stalinism.


In their hot pursuit of the petty-bourgeois radical "new mass vanguard", the centrist Mandelites have frequently bounced the other way and capitulated to popular anti-Sovietism. In a 1975 election campaign statement, the Canadian Mandelites roundly denounced the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the USSR without a mention of military defence (or, for that matter, political revolution). Their French and German co-thinkers have done likewise.

To topple the bureaucracies and spread the revolution internationally -- to achieve a world soviet republic -- requires above all an international proletarian-revolutionary leadership, a reborn Fourth International. The cadre for its future sections in the Sino-Soviet states may well come from the ranks of the current generation of dissidents. We are not blind to the difficulties that block the path to political clarity for even those dissidents who genuinely seek to stand with the working class. But such cadre can be won only through an intransigent struggle for the Trotskyist program. This lends added urgency to our commitment to politically exposing and destroying the revisionist United Secretariat and all other betrayers of the banner of the Fourth International in the struggle for its rebirth.■

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Spain. . .

Continued from page two

A crucial democratic demand in Spain today is recognition of the right to national self-determination for the oppressed nationalities in Spain, notably the Basques and Catalans. And we demand an end to government prohibitions on political parties and the right of all parties to participate in the elections.

So long as the state apparatus remains intact, the repressive corps the same and the autocratic politicians the same -- although thinly disguised now in "democratic" garb -- "reformed" Francoism will only serve to prolong the "strong state" which has oppressed the overwhelming mass of the Spanish people for the last 40 years. The demand "No to 'reformed' Francoism -- For a democratic constituent assembly elected on universal suffrage!" can win the support of large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie to the workers' leadership, as well as expose the treacherous negotiations of the bourgeois democrats and the reformists who would preserve much of the bonapartist apparatus out of fear of the consequences of a truly revolutionary upheaval.

As Marxists we point out that these democratic demands will be won not by polite negotiations with the Francoist dinosaurs in their gilded staterooms but through militant working-class struggle in the streets and factories. Thus we have called for turning the sporadic "jornadas de lucha" (days of struggle) into an unlimited general strike to win the democratic freedoms which the Spanish working people are fervently fighting for; and for building through such a strike the workers councils (soviets) which could unite the power of the proletariat to topple the Francoist regime, replacing it with a workers government which alone could guarantee these rights of the exploited and oppressed.

To confine the Spanish revolution to a chimerical "democratic stage", rather than struggling for workers power, is to condemn it to certain defeat. The reformists and their centrist hangers-on must not be allowed to lead the Spanish proletariat yet another time into the nightmare of the past forty years. A Spanish Trotskyist party -- section of a reborn Fourth International -- must be built to embed in the consciousness of the masses the lessons of the last defeat -- the lessons of the popular front. Should that happen before the next decisive clash with the bourgeoisie, the Spanish proletariat will take its place at the head of a workers republic and avenge its martyred heroes. ■

FBI. . .

Continued from page three

ist leaders of the SWP, who were jailed in 1943. Later the Communist Party, which had applauded the victimization of the "counterrevolutionary Trotskyites", became the law's main target.

The Smith Act and McCarran Act, together with the Voorhis Act which made international political association a crime, were the three-pronged weapon of legislative anti-Communism.

FBI witchhunting has never been fundamentally affected by the conveniently oscillating niceties of bourgeois law. It is surely more than coincidence that at the very time the courts were making "speech crimes" prosecutions more difficult, the FBI in 1956 began its now infamous COINTELPRO ("counter-intelligence program") against the Communist Party and "related organizations". In 1961 COINTELPRO was expanded to include the Socialist Workers Party, against which the FBI conducted an admitted 92 burglaries between 1960 and 1966.

The documents obtained [following the recent ADEX revelations] show that the FBI had manufactured for ADEX and related activities a standard definition for the "SPL". The FBI wants to portray the Spartacist League as some sort of criminals, the category of individuals the FBI has a legal license to hunt. But everyone knows that the SL is not criminal and does not engage in felonious acts. So the FBI's definition of the "SPL" includes a "fallback": the "SPL", says the FBI, "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government at this time". This of course is explicitly true, but the implication is false and nefarious: that the SL is conspiring to insurrect. With the one word "openly", the FBI seeks to justify its spying and disruption activities directed at our organization.

In line with this need to turn the victim into a "criminal", part of the FBI's standardized definition of the SL attempts to invoke the "speech crimes" provisions of the Smith Act; the FBI claims the "SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable".

Marxists have no position on violence as an abstract principle. For us it is not a question of "belief", but of recognizing reality. As Trotsky said, "A disbelief in violence is equivalent to a disbelief in gravitation ... renunciation of the use of force for purposes of liberation is equivalent to giving support to force used for oppression which now rules the world" (*Where Is Britain Going?*). Marxism has never refrained from speaking the plain truth about violence. But Marxism has done more than that. Marxists analyzed class society as the source of violence and developed a program to root it out at the source once and for all.

In the introduction to the second English edition of *Terrorism and Communism* Trotsky was quite clear that Marxists have no sympathy with the fetishization of "revolutionary violence". Discussing the Fabian socialists' position that the English proletariat could come to power peacefully through parliament, he said:

"... The Fabian hope must, I fear, be held from the very beginning to be out of the question. I say 'I fear,' since a peaceful, parliamentary change over to a new social structure would undoubtedly offer highly important advantages from the standpoint of the interests of culture, and therefore those of socialism. But in politics nothing is more dangerous than to mistake what we wish for what is possible."

It should be evident that Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and the SL share a common approach to the question of violence: that it is not a matter of principle but of specific concrete historical estimations.

This approach was shared by the Socialist Workers Party when it was still a revolutionary organization. When the SWP was prosecuted in the first Smith Act trials, party leader James Cannon put forward the Marxist position:

"Q: Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied by violence?"

"A: It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence...."

"Q: Then the theory of Marxists and the theory of the Socialist Workers Party, as far as violence is concerned, is a prediction based upon a study of history, is that right?"

"A: Well, that is part of it. It is a prediction that the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict."

"Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority." (*Socialism on Trial*)

In this stacked "debate" in a bourgeois courtroom, Cannon defended the basic principles of Marxism. These principles have now been renounced by the SWP, which has come to believe along with classical social-democracy that the proletariat in "democratic" countries can simply electioneer its way to power.

Beginning in December 1974 the SWP won a series of important legal victories compelling the government to disclose some of COINTELPRO's "disruptions" against the SWP. These ex-Trotskyists' cringing prostration before the bourgeoisie was, however, as important as the Watergate climate of opinion in securing the "landmark" ruling. It was not merely that the SWP wallowed in the legalistic illusion that court decisions would seriously impede the FBI's extralegal machinations. The SWP evasively but unmistakably renounced the party's Trotskyist traditions in its testimony. The deposition by SWP organization secretary Barry Sheppard disclaimed violence in terms which preclude the right to self-defense:

"The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity...."

"The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

The SWP introduced into evidence its social-patriotic telegram of condolences on the occasion of the assassination of JF Kennedy:

"The Socialist Workers Party condemns the brutal assassination of President Kennedy as an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief...."

It also provided the government with evidence of the expulsion of its left-wing minority faction. Both the telegram and the ouster of the minority were cited in the judge's decision as proof of the SWP's "current non-violent beliefs".

The overwhelming perpetrators of violence are the bourgeoisie, with untold millions of dead, maimed and starved proletarians sacrificed on the

altar of profit. It is the bourgeoisie which left ten million dead in the nationalist irrationality of World War I and then cried bloody murder when the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution claimed a handful of victims on the streets of Petrograd. The real violence came later when the counterrevolutionaries mounted a concerted war against the proletarian state.

In Russia in February 1917, the tsar could no longer rule; by November, Kerensky could no longer rule. War-ravaged Russia needed the Bolsheviks -- they were Russia's best chance. Then as now it is the bourgeoisie which represents criminality and chaos and the revolution which represents law and order: real international law and the order of workers democracy. It is the revolutionists who struggle for a state which will wither away; it is the bourgeoisie which concocts an ever more grotesque terror apparatus for its oppressive state.

The FBI's vicious campaign against the SL is criminal. That the FBI has targeted the SL, lined it up in the cross-hairs of its "disruptive" artillery, marked it for the concentration camps is criminal not just in terms of the bourgeoisie's own self-serving laws. It is criminal in the largest historic sense. For the SL is a very precious commodity in its infancy; like the Bolshevik Party for Russia, the SL may be America's last best hope. ■

ASIO exposure . . .

Continued from page three

Pat Gorman, a leader of the Young Socialist League (youth group of the Socialist Party [SPA]), Langridge's "target" prior to the SL, was also interviewed on Channel 10, 20 June. In contrast to SL spokesmen, who consistently linked ASIO's spying against the left to its integral role in the capitalist class's apparatus of repression against the workers movement, Gorman was primarily concerned that "taxpayers" were paying for ASIO's activities and resented "the intrusion of our democratic and our human [!] rights". The SPA's paper did not even bother to run an article on the Langridge exposure. In fact when SL supporters attempted to distribute an *Australasian Spartacist* special supplement detailing the ASIO revelations outside the public opening of the SPA's new offices, they were manhandled by SPA goons and prevented from doing so.

As for the rest of the left press, only the Healyite *Workers News* and the reformist Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* ran articles. A lengthy article in *Workers News* uncritically quoted our material detailing Langridge's activities but neglected to explain, of course, why those they have consistently slandered as provocateurs and CIA agents had exposed real cop agents. The brief article in *Direct Action* failed to mention our expulsion of Langridge, presumably to avoid the embarrassing contrast with the SWP's own handling of exposed cop agents.

Though the Communist Party (CPA) paper, *Tribune*, itself had nothing to say about the exposure, the 29 June issue carried a viciously scurrilous letter from prominent CPAer and former lieutenant of the arch-revisionist Michel Pablo, Denis Freney. Freney's letter is essentially an alibi for ASIO. He not only implies that the revelations are false, expressing doubts that ASIO would want to infiltrate "such an insignificant group", but condemns the SL -- not ASIO! -- as a security threat to the workers movement. Freney's ridiculous argument is that SL members, in taking notes at public political gatherings for later use in our press, are essentially doing ASIO work for free! He calls on "the whole left and progressive [!] movement" to "demand of the Spartacists that such files be destroyed".

Freney is a despicable slanderer! The absurdity of such tripe only heightens the criminal character of this classical Stalinist mud-slinging. He well knows that we expose the *political betrayals*, not the personal habits and identifying characteristics, of ostensible socialists. Freney has not forgotten that it was the SL which publicised to the workers movement his treachery in *actively assisting* the destruction of an incipient Algerian dual power movement -- the "*comites de gestion*" -- in 1963-65 by the bourgeois nationalist government (see *Revolutionary Communist Bulletin* no 6, "Workers control -- for revolution or counterrevolution?").

Freney has simply carried to a gross and repellent extreme the reformists' practice of covering up their own betrayals of the working class by smearing their *revolutionary* opponents. We have publicised Langridge's revelations in order to protect the workers movement -- including Freney -- from this self-confessed former police agent and to hamper ASIO's spying activities. And we will continue to expose the betrayals of the "labour lieutenants of capital" -- including Freney -- in order to protect the working class from their treachery. ■

ASIO. . .

Continued from page eight

tivities -- there were particular questions ASIO had for Langridge with regard to the SL. Poulus wanted her to determine the method of elections to and the composition of the SL's leading bodies, detailed information on floor plans and locks in the SL offices, what relations the SL had with international co-thinkers -- particularly from a financial aspect. ASIO wanted to know about the personal lives of individual members and any personal tensions that might exist; they could use such information, Poulus told her. Curiously, ASIO's interest showed a distinct sexist bias, focusing overwhelmingly on information concerning male comrades.

Indicating the high level of routine ASIO surveillance of the left and in this case the SL, ASIO told Langridge that they already had the names and addresses of numerous Spartacist members and supporters even before her infiltration. They also had at least one photograph of an SL supporter, which was shown to her for identification.

ASIO took measures to cover up Langridge's income, augmenting it indirectly in the process. They encouraged her to accept her TEAS allowance and not reveal her ASIO salary. To make sure she didn't appear to be living beyond her means and draw suspicion, most of the money would be banked in her account at St George's Building Society in Crows Nest and ASIO would keep the passbook, showing it to her regularly to verify that deposits were being made.

ASIO also began paying Tiernan up to \$75 per month in cash for giving Langridge "moral support". Tiernan, an apprentice electrical fitter at Delairco, 90 Sussex Street, Sydney (he attends courses one day a week at North Sydney Technical College), was fully aware of Langridge's spying activities from the start. Though he accompanied her to SL classes and social events and for a time expressed interest in joining the SL, Tiernan did not have the fibre necessary to infiltrate the SL, with the rigorous demands of bolshevik professionalism SL membership would impose. But this lackey remained loyal to ASIO to the end. When Langridge phoned him to say that she was about to turn herself in to the SL on the Friday evening, Tiernan warned ASIO, thereby making further exposure difficult. On Sunday, 12 June, he met with Poulus to report on Langridge's confession, and then accompanied Poulus on a visit to Langridge's home.

On the second visit on Wednesday, 15 June, Poulus and Pollard attempted to persuade Langridge to repudiate the confession she made in the taped interview. Assuring her there were no hard feelings, Pollard (who did most of the talking) sneered that all the left groups jump on the bandwagon of popular issues. (Evidently he was thinking of the SWP.) He affected an attitude of social concern: some of these popular issues were very fine. During the Vietnam Moratorium days, he whinged, it was difficult to get anyone to infiltrate left groups because everyone supported the Moratorium -- even he did. Consider how the revelations would affect ASIO's public image and the work of its field agents and the embarrassment they would cause "poor" Poulus, he pleaded. This time she refused.

Langridge revealed her spy role to the SL, she claims, because she came to "respect them and ... what they stand for and I don't respect myself for what I've been doing". This may well be true. The truth of the class struggle and the honesty, dedication and commitment of those fighting for the cause of proletarian revolution have often proved more attractive than the bourgeoisie's blood money. ASIO's "major fear", according to Langridge, was that she might follow in the steps of ex-ASIO agent Lisa Walter, who exposed her ASIO connections after infiltrating the SWP in Adelaide and then "turning".

But the social democrats of the SWP, instead of expelling this self-confessed former police spy, trumpeted her conversion to socialism and kept her in the organisation. In fact when Ian Gordon, a long-time SWP member, last month confessed to the SWP leadership to having been bought off by ASIO money, even he was not expelled -- his resignation was "demanded" (*Direct Action*, 2 June). Unlike the SWP, there is no place in our organisation for "turned" agent Langridge. For a fistful of dollars and a few kicks Langridge and Tiernan were prepared to hand working-class militants over to the ruling class's apparatus of repression. They cannot be trusted. Principled socialist militants will not want to have anything to do with these people -- yesterday's or today's police pimps. Tiernan's co-workers should want to purge their workplace of infection by this unrepentant ASIO accomplice. The Electrical Trades Union should keep him out of its ranks. He is a conscious enemy of the workers movement.

What broke Langridge was the SL's bolshevik discipline and programmatic integrity. Langridge noted that ASIO considered the SL a "hard target" because our politics "went into a lot more depth and there's a lot more expected of a person". But apparently basing their observations of Trotskyist organisations on the menshevik SWP, ASIO hardly comprehended what that meant. When Langridge complained of overwork they suggested that she stop attending an internal SL class series. She replied that she could not do that -- that wasn't how the SL functioned.

Despite the utmost vigilance on the part of revolutionists, it must be assumed that the bourgeoisie's secret police agencies can penetrate our ranks. But the promiscuous slander mongering and paranoid cop-baiting of renegades like the Healyite Socialist Labour League create an atmosphere of apolitical mistrust within the entire workers movement which only facilitates the work of the secret police. The best defence against police infiltration into the workers movement is

STATUTORY DECLARATION

I, JANET LANGRIDGE of 8/10 Coulter Street Gladesville do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

- On or about the 10th August, 1976, I was interviewed by 2 persons who identified themselves as working for ASIO.
- Those names were Terry Poulus and a person called Ken. I was asked to attend meetings of the Young Socialist League and later made contact with the Spartacist League, and report on a monthly basis for which I was paid personally in cash \$50 per month.
- From February 1977, I was offered a full time salary, and was given to understand that I should not mention to the TEAS Authorities that I was in receipt of this income.
- My salary was \$600 per month which sum was initially paid in cash to me but more recently partly in cash and partly into the St. George Building Society account number 17-351849 directly by the organisation (A.S.I.O.).
- In return for this remuneration I understood my duties were to report on the identities of the members of the Spartacist League and substance of the debate and resolutions passed at their meetings.
- I was led to believe that reports on the personal associations of the members, relationships and habits, would be of use to the organisation.
- On the 11th June I voluntarily informed Mr. Tom Kelly Solicitor of my involvement with A.S.I.O. and with my consent a tape recording of the interview was made.
- On the 12th June 1977 I spoke to Terry Poulus and indicated that I no longer wished to continue my association with the organisation.
- On the 15th June Terry Poulus and Laurie Pollard, both as members of A.S.I.O. visited me at my flat and indicated that they wanted me to sign a statement refuting the unsigned transcript in the possession of Tom Kelly.
- I am making this declaration at the offices and in the presence of Senator Arthur Gietzelt.

AND I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the provisions of the Oaths Act of 1900-1953.

Subscribed and Declared at
Caringbah this 17th day of
June, 1977.

Before Me: *J. Burt J.P.*
Arthur G.P.

Langridge's signed confession, witnessed by Sen Gietzelt.

arrest and assassination when defence of the "security" of capitalist class rule requires it, as it inevitably will -- however remote this eventuality may seem in wealthy, social-democratic Australia. The only law for the bourgeoisie's secret police is always and by any means necessary to maintain and defend the de-

Letter to Attorney-General

19 June 1977

Hon R J Ellicott, QC, MP,
Attorney General,
Parliament House,
Canberra, ACT.

An individual by the name of Janet Langridge has recently admitted to having been paid up to \$600 a month by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to spy on our organisation. Documentation of her admissions is being made available to the public. These spying activities, carried out over a period of eight months, constitute an intolerable violation of our democratic rights. We are a fully legal political organisation, entitled to carry on our activities, openly propagating our political views, without subversive infiltration by government bodies. The government has no right whatsoever to pry into our internal affairs, seeking information the only conceivable purpose of which is to facilitate harassment and repressive action against us.

This is the fourth exposure of ASIO spying on left-wing groups in Australia in a little over two years. Left-wing groups are singled out for special treatment and "surveillance" solely on the basis of their political

views. This systematic, politically discriminatory activity is clearly intended to intimidate the left and attack the labour movement as a whole.

At a time when your government is demanding workers give up their rights and submit to "austerity", at a time when your government brutally slashes social service provisions for working people, ASIO lavishes money on its hired informers and snooping operations, to harass critics of these anti-labour policies.

We demand an immediate stop to all government spying on, infiltration and harassment of the socialist and labour movements. We demand the opening of all ASIO's files to the victims of its outrageous prying, and a complete revelation of ASIO's activities against the left and labour movement. We demand that you release full details of ASIO's surveillance and infiltration of the Spartacist League at once. We demand the abolition of ASIO and all political police agencies.

David Scott, for the
Spartacist League

copy: Hon Malcolm Fraser, MP,
Prime Minister

to maintain a high level of political debate unmarred by slander and violence. Genuine revolutionists respond to police infiltration not by coddling inherently untrustworthy "turned" agents, nor by spreading vicious, unsubstantiated rumours, but by exposing actual, known agents to the entire left and workers movement.

Symptomatic of ASIO's cynical disdain for the bourgeois legality it claims to defend is its non-payment of taxes on its hirelings' wages. Nor does ASIO's charter, as defined by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation Act of 1956 (quoted in *National Times*, 16-21 May), "to obtain, correlate and evaluate intelligence relevant to security ..." on any rational interpretation encompass investigations of the personal habits of left-wing activists or infiltration of socialist organisations. Social democrats and liberals will raise a hue and cry over such "excesses" and demand that the secret police be reformed. For Gough Whitlam it is sufficient for ASIO to be run by a judge to guarantee its propriety. The Liberal Committee for the Abolition of Political Police, headed by Joan Coxsedg, would like to see "All crimes ... defined and offenders prosecuted by the existing police apparatus" in order to do away with the need for ASIO (quoted in *Scope*, 26 August 1976). In other words, once the bourgeoisie declares some aspect of left-wing activity to be "criminal", then suppression is justified.

For revolutionists, ASIO's real crimes do not consist in its violations of bourgeois standards. Nor is its real charter defined by acts of Parliament. Its real charter determines that it will daily commit crimes against the working class. Its surveillance and harassment of working-class militants and organisations are carried out with the purpose of preparing their

crepit, destructive system of capitalism.

Unlike the stealthy would-be assassins of ASIO, we have nothing to hide. We stand proudly under the red banner of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. We state our aims openly and explicitly: the abolition of capitalism and all class society around the world. To this end we fight for an international revolutionary leadership of the working class, for the rebirth of the Fourth International. We demand that ASIO, ASIS and all the other secret police agencies be abolished, that all infiltration into and harassment of the workers movement cease. But we also recognise that the bourgeoisie will never do away with its political police, an essential part of the repressive apparatus on which its state power and class dictatorship rests. Only after the proletarian revolution, mobilising the great toiling majority against the privileged capitalist minority, destroys that apparatus and installs the working class in state power will ASIO and all the bosses' spooks and spies meet the fate they deserve. ■

(first published as a special supplement, 24 June 1977)

TRANSCRIPTS, PHOTOS AVAILABLE

Copies of the 38-page transcript of the 11 June interview with Langridge are available from the Spartacist League for \$3.00 each (includes postage within Australia). Photographs of Langridge and Tiernan are also available at \$2.00 each.

Order from/pay to: Spartacist League,
GPO Box 3473,
Sydney, NSW, 2001
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"Turned" agent exposes infiltration

ASIO targets Spartacist

Since its establishment by the Labor government of Prime Minister Ben Chifley in 1949, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) has devoted the overwhelming bulk of its resources to surveillance, infiltration and harassment of radical and labour organisations. In the last two years, three ASIO agents have been uncovered in the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP): Max Wechsler, Lisa Walter and Ian Gordon.

On Friday, 10 June, the shroud surrounding ASIO's nefarious campaign against the left was pierced again when Janet Langridge, a candidate member of the Spartacist League (SL) since April, voluntarily confessed that she had been a paid agent of ASIO for almost a year. Langridge, 21, was a first-year student at Sydney University and had been a member of the campus Spartacist Club. Together with her boyfriend and accomplice, Mark Tiernan, who was never a member of the SL, Langridge had been submitting reports to ASIO on the Spartacist League since last November. Langridge was expelled by the Spartacist League the same night as she made her confession. The following day Langridge provided further details of her ASIO connections in a taped interview with a solicitor, Tom Kelly, and a Spartacist spokesman.

Since her confession and subsequent expulsion, Langridge has returned all her internal documents to the SL. She has also co-operated in documenting her ASIO activities by signing the transcript of the interview, providing a statutory declaration confirming her work for ASIO, and revealing further information. After the first interview on 11 June, Langridge was subsequently interviewed by Senator Arthur Gietzelt, George Petersen, NSW MLA, and John Edwards, a journalist for the *National Times*. A week later her exposures of ASIO received widespread coverage in the bourgeois press, television and radio. But her co-operation has been inconsistent and vacillating; her break with ASIO has been shown to be incom-

plete and untrustworthy. After agreeing to break off all relations with both ASIO and Tiernan, Langridge continued seeing Tiernan, who in turn fed information to ASIO, and even allowed herself to be visited by ASIO agents twice.

In the initial interview Langridge recounted that she first applied to ASIO two years ago when Tiernan dared her to do it as a lark. ASIO acknowledged her application with two letters, noting only that it had been considered but that there was no "suitable vacancy" to which she could be appointed. As later became clear, this was a cover for ASIO's covert recruitment methods.

Almost a year after the letters arrived, Langridge was visited at her flat by two ASIO agents several times and offered a part-time job spying on "targeted" left-wing organisations. They drove Langridge around town, pointing out the headquarters of the SWP, the Communist Party of Australia and the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (SPA). According to Langridge, the agents told her that her first target "would be very soft

Council of Auctioneers and Agents in St Leonards to receive her written reports and pay her \$50 per month in cash, tax free. She signed receipts for the money under a pseudonym supplied by ASIO, Jan Thomson.

In October 1976, Poulus directed Langridge to visit the SPA bookshop and make contact with the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the SPA. On her first visit Langridge was invited to an SPA barbecue and shortly thereafter started attending YSL meetings and other events.

It was over a month later, in late November, that Langridge bought a paper from an *Australasian Spartacist* seller. ASIO was pleased; they told her the SL was an important "target", having never before been infiltrated. She was encouraged to contact the SL through the phone number listed in the paper. Following the initial contact Langridge was invited to attend an SL public class series on Marxism which lasted from December until mid-January, during which time she also came to several personal contact sessions and social events. Poulus had warned her that the Trotskyist groups were generally harder to infiltrate than other organisations, and that the SL was an "extremely hard target". According to ASIO's "expert" on left-wing organisations, Poulus said, the SL was politically the hardest of the left-wing groups in Australia.

When, in January, Langridge was accepted to go to university and the SL began making increasingly heavy demands on her time, she began to express doubts to ASIO about continuing her involvement with either ASIO or the SL. Poulus offered her a twelve-month contract at \$600 per month, again tax free, and arranged a meeting at the Artarmon Motor Inn for her and the head of the Sydney office and a special agent flown up from the head office, who were introduced to Langridge as Bill and Laurie. Laurie's surname was subsequently given as Pollard. (Another unconfirmed report indicates Pollard may actually be the head of ASIO in Sydney.) Langridge again accepted.

In addition to the sort of information she had gathered on the SPA/YSL -- names, addresses and car license numbers, reports on meetings and ac-

Continued on page seven



Janet Langridge and Mark Tiernan -- paid to spy on the Spartacist League.

Asp photos

ASIO agents exposed by Langridge

Terry Poulus

Field officer. Home phone, 625-5660. ASIO office phone, 92-7920. Described as about 34, short, stocky, blond hair. Phone book lists TJ Poulus, same number, 45 Westminster St, Rooty Hill, NSW. Electoral roll lists Terrance John Poulus, "clerk", same address.

"Ken"

Field officer. Described as middle-aged, slim build, with dark hair and a moustache.

"Bill"

Introduced as the head of the Sydney office. Has been reached at the 92-7920 ASIO number. Described as about 52, with silver-blond hair.

Laurie Pollard

Introduced as a special agent from the ASIO head office in Melbourne. Described as about 35, tall, slim, dark hair. Claimed to have been exposed two years ago.

just to give me background". She would start on a part-time basis, with relatively meagre pay. She accepted. She was given a declaration to sign committing her not to divulge any information about her connection with ASIO.

Of the two agents who initially visited Langridge, one, known to her only as Ken, stopped coming after the first few visits. The other, named Terry Poulus, was to be her ASIO "contact". Langridge was given a special direct phone number, 92-7920, to reach Poulus at ASIO headquarters without having to go through a receptionist, as well as Poulus' home phone number, 625-5660. Poulus would generally pick her up in an unmarked car after she left work at the

Langridge speaks

"(Poulus) said that it was going to be very difficult (to infiltrate the SL)... Because it was an extremely hard target... Because they were a Trotskyist organisation and their politics were a lot harder; their entire organisation was a bit more difficult and a lot more demands would be put on a person who was involved in their activities...."

"... (their politics) went into a lot more depth and there's a lot more expected of a person."

"(ASIO said) they didn't know anything about it (the SL) and that's why it was so important that I infiltrate it.... They knew of it, that was all...."

"(They were curious to find out about it) especially because it was a Trotskyist organisation.... They had information from the (fake-Trotskyist) SWP and they just wanted to see what the Spartacist League was like in comparison."

"... I had to work my way into their confidence; become a member, do everything that was expected of me, go to the local meetings, make thorough reports of the people, how many were there, the positions they held."

"... they promised that if I did okay that they would make sure that I could get to university which was my dying ambition to do."

"It was exciting, it was stimulating, I had to work in the public service and I wanted to go to the university and I wanted to have plenty of money."

(Question: "So what happened?")

"I had to be honest. I couldn't stand what I was doing anymore...."

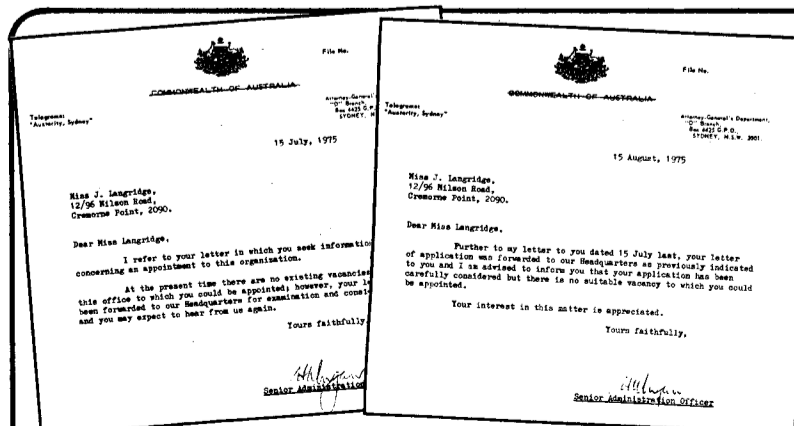
"It's just the fact that I respect them and I respect what they stand for and I don't respect myself for what I've been doing."

-- Interview with Langridge, 11 June

(Question: "In your so-called career as a spy, what do you regard as your biggest triumph?")

"Confessing."

-- Channel 2, ABC News, 20 June



ASIO letters to Langridge; "D" Branch indicates security agencies. Langridge's bank passbook, no 17.351849: last three entries are ASIO payments, deposited under the name of T Poulus. According to Langridge, prior entries, in March, included a transfer from her cheque account, superannuation from previous job and TEAS payment.

PASSBOOK SAVINGS RECORD						
DATE	REF.	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE	INTEREST	TOTAL
02-09-76	31A					
15-09-76	99B		50.00	50.00		100.00
15-10-76	90C				10.00	90.00
30-09-76	31B		50.00	10.00		100.00
15-11-76					10.00	150.00
19-04-77	31A		390.00			2452.48
02-05-77	31B		400.00			2852.48
19-05-77	31A		400.00			3252.48