

Guardian Embarrassed by Peking Bloc With U.S. Imperialism

Criticizing Mao to Defend Maoism

U.S. Maoists are in trouble. Many are finding Peking's overt military political bloc with U.S. imperialism too embarrassing to defend. Chinese intervention in Angola was too unashamedly counterrevolutionary to be explained away in traditional Maoist double talk as "correct state relations" or backing "the enemies of our enemies." The cynical Stalinist apologists around the *Guardian* are among those Maoists who have come down with a severe case of cold feet.

A literary battle has been initiated in the pages of the *Guardian* between Peking loyalists and the "critical" Maoists of this "independent radical newsweekly." The latter are charging China with "recent mistakes in foreign policy." But the debate is not likely to be very illuminating. China's class-collaborationist foreign policies are neither of "recent" origin nor can they be described simply as "mistakes." And the new-found "critical" facility of the *Guardian* hacks will necessarily be very circumscribed indeed, for they are constrained to ignore their own history as long-time apologists for Stalinism's 50-year record of betrayal.

Let a Hundred Artificial Flowers "Bloom"

The 5 May *Guardian* presents a cautious "comradely critique" of China's "current foreign policy" by staff writer Wilfred Burchett. Alongside it is published an interview with William Hinton of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. Hinton offers a brazen defense of the reactionary dogmas guiding Chinese foreign policy, without the customary veil of Maoist mystification and diplomatic indirection:

"There was a period when the superpowers were seen as more or less equal enemies threatening not only the emerging nations of the third world, but also the independence of the lesser industrial nations of the second world.... Today... between the two superpowers, one the Soviet Union is more dangerous than the other. It is, in fact, the main danger confronting the whole world today.... China judges world leaders by how well they understand this new relationship of forces. Thus they prefer Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

Guardian managing editor Jack Smith, in his column of 26 May, greets Hinton's pronouncement with wide-eyed incredulity:

"Is Hinton suggesting the possibility of an alliance between a more rightist,

more anticommunist administration in the U.S. and China, joined by certain other rightist regimes (Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt) in Western Europe and a handful (to be realistic) of anti-Soviet governments in the third world?"

He is indeed. Smith's tone is better suited to Alice in Wonderland than to a Maoist politician, "critical" or otherwise. Or perhaps he is unaware that "orthodox" Maoists in Germany are marching under the slogan, "Germany for the German People." Perhaps he has never heard American Maoists complain that Kissinger is "soft" on Communism in allowing the Soviet "superpower" "free play" in Eastern Europe. Where could Hinton possibly get such ideas, the "critical" Maoists naively inquire. Where, indeed, but from the entire body of Mao-thought which the *Guardian* has been defending for years.

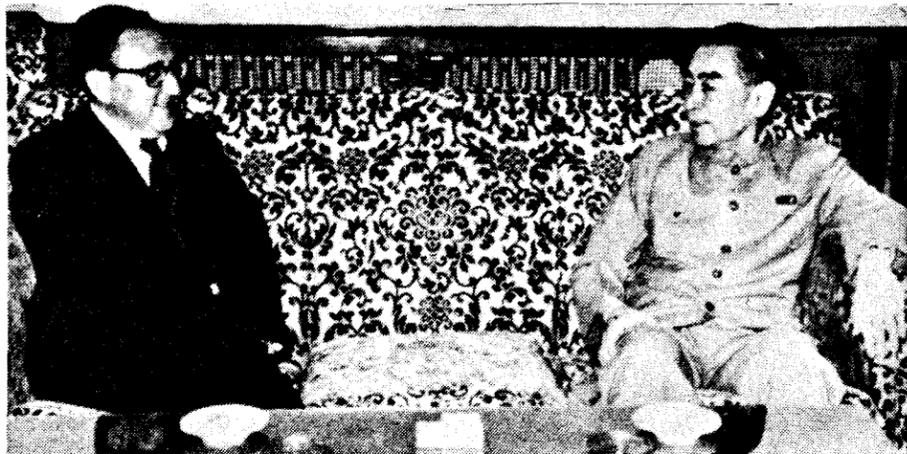
To Japanese militants protesting both the revanchist schemes of their "own" bourgeoisie and the oppressive U.S. military presence, Hinton counsels: "Until Japan is able to build up adequate defense forces, it is necessary for the Japanese people to continue to rely on the alliance with the United States." To West European opponents

will find it very difficult to unite with the wide coalition of popular forces necessary to contain the Soviet threat."

The eclectic Stalinists of the *Guardian* try hard to locate the origin of the "mistake" in China's "recent" shift from "viewing the two superpowers as equal enemies of the world's peoples to seeing the Soviet Union as the principal enemy." But nearly four years ago the Chinese regime was already denouncing

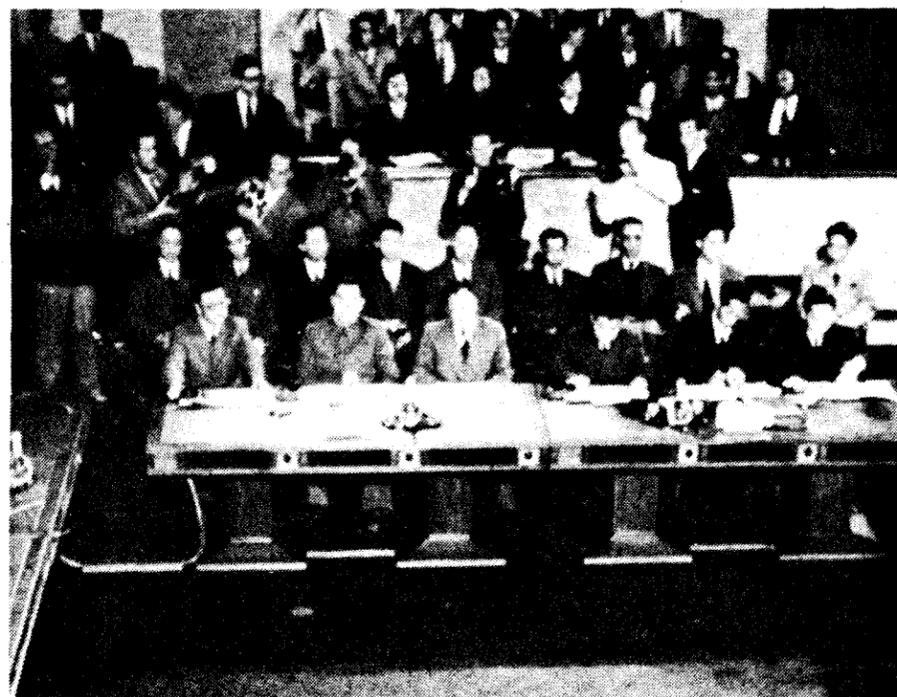
bureaucratic ruling caste, codified as the "theory" of "socialism in one country."

The "critical" Maoists' ploy is to pretend that it all began yesterday. Thus Burchett's article is summed up by his declaration of Angola exceptionalism: "China's policies in Angola and some other areas have got on the wrong track...." And Smith's column prescribes the limits within which the discussion is to be kept: "The Angola



Chou En-lai chats with Henry Kissinger.

Pictorial Parade



Chou En-lai (second from left) in China's delegation to the May 1954 Geneva Conference.

Felix Greene

of the anti-communist NATO pact, the Peking mouthpiece warns: "There is no European country that can stand alone against overt and covert pressure from the Soviet Union.... Therefore it is necessary for them to maintain their NATO alliance with the United States."

Hinton's championship of NATO is certainly appalling, but it is by no means new. Chinese support to NATO was part and parcel of its blossoming romance with U.S. imperialism. For several years Mao has been campaigning for a build-up of NATO to force the Russians to withdraw troops from Siberia and strengthen the Warsaw Pact forces. *Peking Review* (21 December 1973) carried a propaganda tract entitled "NATO Need for Improved Military Forces." A few months earlier, a Sino-French communiqué called for military unity of the NATO countries "for the preservation of their common security" (*Peking Review*, 21 September 1973). Where was the *Guardian* then?

Hinton also parrots Peking's fear that the current crop of sabre-rattling American cold warriors may not be sufficiently staunch anti-Communists: "New Munichs are already in the making. America's traditional leaders, even when confronted with this lethal threat,

the USSR as "even more deceitful than old-line imperialist countries and therefore more dangerous" (*Peking Review*, 6 October 1972).

Implicit all along in China's characterization, developed in the late 1960's and faithfully upheld by the pro-Maoist left, of the Soviet Union as "a dark, fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" was a justification for just such an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Russians. Six years ago the Spartacist League wrote: "Given this premise, there should be no 'principled' reason why the Chinese do not extend the old Stalinist policy of the united anti-fascist front to encompass a deal with U.S. imperialism against the USSR" (*Spartacist*, April-May 1970). At the time, of course, the *Guardian* was busy playing dumb.

Born Yesterday?

Hinton points out that Peking's Angola policy is fully consistent with the rest of Maoist historical practice. This is what the *Guardian* above all must seek to obscure. Chinese foreign policy flows directly from the Stalinists' global accommodation with imperialism to protect the privileged nationalist-

situation has disturbed a great many of China's friends.... At question, though, is not just Angola but the entire pattern of China's foreign relations that has been coming into perspective since about February 1975."

The consummation of an alliance with U.S. imperialism, symbolized most vividly in Angola, is not some recent "mistake," but rather the product of a shift in the attitude of the American ruling class, which in the early 1970's began to appreciate Peking's usefulness in undercutting Russian influence in Africa, the Near East and southern and western Europe. Nixon's 1972 trip to Peking was no "tribute-paying visit," as Burchett crowed at the time. The clinking of the champagne glasses marked a formal announcement of the new bloc.

China had demonstrated its reliability the previous year by extending economic aid and political accolades to the Nimeiry regime in Sudan, which smashed the pro-Moscow Communist Party; to Mrs. Bandaranaike of Ceylon, who ordered the mass slaughter of the JVP youth rebels; to Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan, who presided over the genocidal suppression in East Pakistan.

As the Spartacist League has consistently explained, Chinese foreign policy in the 1950's and 1960's was substantially identical despite Mao's denunciation of Soviet revisionism (later termed "fascism") to that practiced by the Russian deformed workers state under Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The guiding premise of both the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies is "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The greater verbal militancy of the Peking regime flowed from China's more limited ability, due to U.S. intransigence, to put this appetite into effect.

But the Maoists never lost an opportunity to betray when one was presented. China did its part to force the Viet Minh to give away the fruits of military victory at the 1954 Geneva sellout. Armed with the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" propounded by Chou En-lai at Bandung in 1955, the Chinese continued to practice class treason. It was Mao's instruction to the Indonesian Communist Party to collaborate with "anti-imperialist" Sukharno

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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tial for possessing a pro-government newspaper!

Greek reactionaries find consolation in the fact that the trade-union movement is securely centralized under the thumb of the government in accord with the interests of the capitalists; that dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, who are generally sympathetic to the junta and in many cases linked to the fascist fringe of the army, are accorded an eminent position by the constitution of 1975 and are free to act as a significant pressure group on various parliamentary fractions. They are also pleased that troublesome oppositionists often seem to "disappear" or meet with unfortunate "accidents." A recent case in point was the death of Alecos Panagoulis, a symbol of liberal opposition to the junta, whose automobile crashed on May 1 under extremely suspicious circumstances.

Greece's old allies, too, have been able to accommodate themselves to the new regime without undue inconvenience. While Greece withdrew its troops from NATO's military commission in 1974 as the result of a dispute with Turkey over Cyprus, it continues to declare allegiance to the North Atlantic Treaty which spawned the anti-Soviet alliance. More importantly, NATO's bases and its political commission remain on Greek soil, and U.S. troops conducted NATO exercises in Greece in 1975.

On 15 April Greece and the United States announced an agreement to allow the U.S. continued use of four military facilities (including an intelligence "listening post") for four years in return for \$700 million in American military aid. The agreement stipulated that all intelligence received from the "listening post" will be shared with the Greek government.

Stalinists and Pabloites Support Karamanlis Government

One force, however, that is far from satisfied with the Karamanlis regime is the Greek working class. It has demonstrated this through countless strikes and the formation in a number of cases of illegal unions and parallel factory committees. But the proletariat lacks the revolutionary leadership which could win to its banners the oppressed peasants and exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie by waging a resolute struggle to topple the semi-bonapartist Karamanlis regime through workers revolution. Instead both reformist Stalinists and social democrats tie the masses to the present regime.

Since 1968 the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has been split between the "interior faction," led by Leonides Kirkos, and the "exterior faction," led by longtime exile Florakis. The "interiors," who solidarize with the "Italian line," reproach the "exteriors" for unconditional obeisance to the Kremlin and also for the collusion that existed between various "socialist" countries and the junta. The "exteriors," who are reportedly better organized and give the appearance of greater militancy, are therefore more successful at the moment among the youth.

In fact, however, both sections of the KKE have pursued the same opportunist course of attaching themselves totally to the Karamanlis operation in the hope that a popular-front government, similar to the one in Portugal, might be established, in which they would be included.

From the time that their press began to appear legally, both factions softened their positions on purging the government of junta supporters, adopted a chauvinist position on the question of Cyprus and refused to raise the slogan of ending government control of the trade unions. In short, they did everything in their power to convince Karamanlis of their "responsibility." Even the *Washington Post* (24 August 1974) felt compelled to comment: "So far the

Communists are acting like saints in hopes of having a 1947 ban lifted so they can contest the elections." Only their inability to make separate deals with Karamanlis (and a bit of pressure from Moscow) forced the two KKE factions to form a bloc for survival despite their deep hostility. This new formation, the Enomene Aristera (EA) also includes leftovers from the Union of the Democratic Left (EDA), the old KKE electoral front which also included petty-bourgeois democratic elements.

Karamanlis held elections on 17 November 1974—the first anniversary of the junta attack on the Athens Polytechnic in which 34 students were murdered. Playing on people's fears of the restoration of the junta, his "program" was that things could always get worse. Many left parties protested that they had not been given a chance to participate and that they were being asked to choose between "Karamanlis and the tanks," but the KKE found this program of bonapartist maneuvering entirely supportable. In "The Goals of the Nation in the Transition Period of Democracy," dated 3 September 1974, the KKE (interior) stated:

"The threat of a new dictatorship and the great dangers that flow from the Cypriot situation requires us to maintain a phalanx of social forces and the broadest possible alliance of classes and social strata.... Therefore, we support the Karamanlis government, despite the fact that the left is not included in it and despite certain negative aspects of its policies.

"The KKE (interior) calls on the Greek people to work together on the basis of a broad unity of leftists, centrists, rightists, and patriots all together until our start on the democratic road is well underway and irreversible."

—quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 23 September 1974

At that time the Revolutionary Trotskyist Movement, allied with the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USeC), refused to take part in the elections because it would have had to submit to the Supreme Court a statement that its principles were opposed to any activity whose aim is the forcible seizure of power or the overthrow of "the free democratic government." Rather than compromise its integrity vis-à-vis the Supreme Court, the Revolutionary Trotskyist Movement chose... to give critical support to the Enomene Aristera, i.e., to the KKE, i.e., to Karamanlis!

More recently, USeC supporters in Greece, the Organization of International Communists of Greece (OKDE) have decided that the government of their man Karamanlis is, in effect, no different from the junta. This analysis has provided them with the perfect excuse to concentrate on democratic demands, crowned by the call for a constituent assembly (OKDE May Day Manifesto, *Ergatiki Pali*, 28 April). It is perfectly correct for Marxists to demand a constituent assembly (without, of course, dropping the call for a workers government, or turning the latter into a second "stage" in classic Stalinist fashion) in the context of bonapartist regimes, such as the Francoist dictatorship in Spain, for example. But it would be a serious error to equate the post-Franco regime in Madrid with the post-junta government in Athens.

While the state apparatus continues to be infested with partisans of military dictatorship and political liberties are quite circumscribed, the Karamanlis regime maintains formal appearances of bourgeois democracy. Thus there exists an elected parliament for which the major workers party (the KKE) was allowed to run, albeit only through an electoral front. Rather than the misleading demand of a constituent assembly it would be appropriate for Trotskyists in Greece to demand new elections and abolition of all anti-communist and anti-democratic electoral regulations or constitutional provisions.

For its part, the Workers International League of Greece (EDE), which supports Gerry Healy's Interna-

tional Committee, zigs and zags its way through Greece as the IC does everywhere else. For instance, it originally characterized the Karamanlis government as a continuation of the colonels' junta, then abruptly changed its characterization to that of a bonapartist regime which could not return to a junta government "without a new civil war to bloodily defeat the workers and peasants."

Democratic demands can play an important role in mobilizing the working masses of Greece in struggle against their capitalist oppressors. Thus the demands for *people's tribunals* to try military and police officers for the barbarous crimes committed under the junta; for a *break with NATO* and *expulsion of all imperialist military bases* from the country; for the *abolition of all anti-communist laws*, *repeal of the new anti-strike law* and *smashing state control of the unions* would challenge the very existence of the Karamanlis regime.

Yet the alternative is not a "progressive" popular-front regime which purges a few of the most notorious criminals and torturers while leaving the capitalist state intact. It is necessary to combat such class-collaborationist Stalinist programs for defeat. Not by spreading dangerous illusions in bourgeois democracy, but only through revolutionary mobilization of the working masses around their own class interests can a return to bloody military dictatorship be prevented. Sacrificed on the altar of "peaceful coexistence" and "anti-fascist unity" by Stalin and his Greek lieutenants at the end of World War II, Greek workers must draw the lessons of this bloody defeat, by building an authentic Trotskyist party infused with the revolutionary spirit of proletarian independence, in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Criticizing Mao...

(continued from page 3)

which disarmed that party before the reactionary onslaught that left over half a million dead, including the loyal Maoists, in 1965.

Where were the "critical" Maoists when the Shah of Iran was being feted in the Great Hall of the Peoples in 1971? In August 1971 a joint communiqué announced the Sino-Iranian rapprochement:

"The government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the just struggle of the imperial government of Iran to safeguard its national independence and state sovereignty and protect its natural resources."

Chi Peng-fei, then Chinese foreign minister, communicated his government's approval of Iran's membership in the imperialist CENTO pact. Soon after, China withdrew all material and military support from the insurgents in Dhofar (*Le Monde*, 7 October 1973).

But the *Guardian* "critical" Maoists do not want to hear of such matters. They are incapable of seriously dealing even with the recent "mistakes" they purport to criticize. Burchett, for example, writes that "Many friends of China have been troubled by what has appeared to them to be Peking's abstention from the international diplomatic and economic boycott of the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile." In this single cryptic reference to Chile, Burchett sidesteps the incriminating details which amount to direct aid to the junta.

After the 1973 coup, Peking refused to break diplomatic relations with Chile, although virtually the entire Soviet bloc and even many bourgeois regimes did so. The Chinese embassy in Santiago closed its doors to persecuted militants threatened with torture and death, including Chilean Maoists. In October 1973, China and the U.S. were the only two countries which could not bring themselves to vote for a mild resolution adopted by UNESCO ex-

pressing "profound concern" over the Chilean bloodbath.

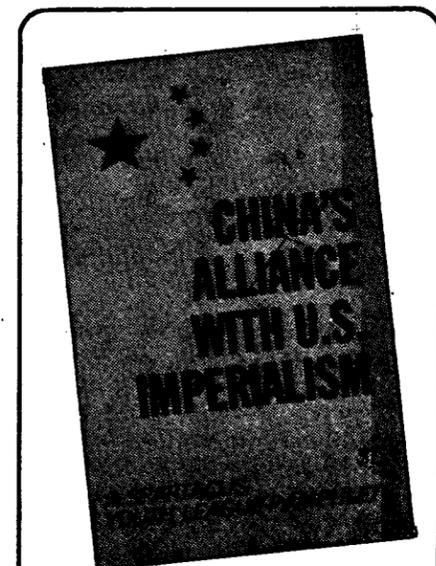
Last year, the London *Observer* (23 November 1975) reported that China was sharply increasing its imports of Chilean copper from 8,000 tons in 1975 to 34,000 tons in 1976. Pinochet told C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* that the junta was negotiating a \$58 million loan from Peking. "China has behaved well," said the butcher of the Chilean proletariat (*New York Times*, 29 November 1975). Meanwhile the *Guardian* notes only what "has appeared" to be "abstention" from the "boycott."

Spectre of Trotskyism

The Stalinist hacks of the *Guardian* will not succeed in keeping serious militants' examination of the recent excrescences of Chinese foreign policy confined within the bounds of "comradely criticism." One perceptive Peking loyalist wrote to the *Guardian* (19 May): "To completely reject China's foreign policy is, at the very minimum, to call into question the revolutionary politics from which it emanates." Those Maoists who go beyond the cynical superficialities of *Guardian*-style debates will be forced to choose between serving as running dogs for U.S. imperialism or embracing the revolutionary analysis and program of Trotskyism.

The convergence of the frenzied anti-Sovietism of the Chinese ruling elite with the strategic goals of U.S. imperialism is forcing the Peking loyalists to drink to the dregs of class treason. As the Stalinist apologists vie ever more openly with one another in courting imperialism at the expense of their rivals, the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the gains of the proletarian property forms of both Russia and China stands out clearly as the only program for communist unity against imperialism. The historic gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions can be safeguarded against the onslaughts of rapacious imperialism only through political revolution to oust the nationalistic Stalinist bureaucracies and institute proletarian democracy based on soviets and a foreign policy aimed at extending the conquests of October to the destruction of capitalism worldwide.

The "independent Marxist-Leninists" of the *Guardian* cannot undertake a consistent class analysis of the origins of Peking's bloc with U.S. imperialism: the Stalin Mao "theory of socialism in one country" and its roots in the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the bureaucratic deformation from birth of the Chinese workers state. Instead, they hope to reserve their niche within the left as a literary mouthpiece for a vacillating layer of radical fellow travelers unwilling either to break with the counterrevolutionary heritage of Stalin or to forthrightly embrace his legitimate heirs in Moscow and Peking. ■



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