

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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Black Freedom Struggle Needs a Workers Party!

South African Powder Keg



Time

Economist

Deepen, Extend Union Bans Internationally!

Hayden/Hawke No Friend of South African Oppressed!

SEPTEMBER 30 — Eight years ago black nationalist leader Steve Biko died, after being tortured and beaten into a coma by apartheid's racist killer cops. Today as the apartheid butchers shoot down black people, in the words of black bishop Desmond Tutu, as if they were "swatting flies", the black masses of South Africa are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the kind of "nonviolent negotiated solution" preached by the Tutus is impossible — apartheid must be overthrown.

The massive anti-apartheid upheaval poses pointblank the question of power: *Who shall rule?* "Tutu's brand of moderate leadership is rapidly losing ground among the street fighters", wrote *Newsweek's* Robert B Cullen and Ray Wilkinson. "Their revolution awaits its Lenin." For stating this simple truth, the apartheid regime threw Wilkinson out of the country. But precisely what is lacking, and is more urgently required in South Africa than anywhere else in the world right now, is a party of the kind that Lenin built in tsarist Russia: an internationalist and multiracial revolutionary workers party that can mobilise the giant of South Africa's black proletariat for its own *class* dictatorship as the emancipator of all the oppressed. The black proletariat last November in the Transvaal showed its power in the most massive general strike in the history of South Africa. But since then



Apartheid Fuhrer P W Botha (Top). Gold miners: workers need Leninist party to lead black freedom struggle.

that proletariat has been kept on the sidelines in isolated skirmishes with the racist regime and the capitalist *baas*, as was demonstrated in the aborted mine strike in September.

And never have conditions been more ripe in South Africa for the crystallisation of a Leninist party. By all accounts, there exists a widespread hatred for capitalism as it has been experienced and openness to communism as it is understood. Botha's "divide and conquer" constitution, which was supposed to divide coloured and Indian from black by offering the

former a fake franchise and the latter nothing, served instead to unite the non-white population as coloureds and Indians massively boycotted elections for their "parliaments". In Natal province where the Indians, mainly engaged in commerce, are concentrated, 1,000 striking black rubber workers were locked out in June. When they called a one-day general solidarity strike in July, Pietermaritzburg, Natal's political capital, was completely paralysed as more than 90 percent of the black workforce stayed home and *every Indian business closed*.

Now Botha's Zulu chieftain Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha thugs have declared open war on the African National Congress (ANC). As the situation polarises Buthelezi has become a brazen defender of the apartheid regime, fearing the collapse of the little kingdom granted him on

the backs of the country's six million Zulus. What is necessary to combat this fifth column is trade-union led multiracial defence guards, in particular drawing on Durban's powerful black and Indian proletariat in Natal province to defend the Indian communities and ANC supporters and in the process teach Inkatha a much-needed lesson.

Botha's State of Emergency targeting black townships around Johannesburg in the Transvaal and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape has caused the anti-apartheid upheaval to spread west to Cape Town. The Cape coloured, precisely because they are oppressed by apartheid and concentrated in the urban proletariat (in many ways culturally Europeans), are that section of the oppressed which can most easily transcend nationalism.

Continued on page two

Wall Street and the Apartheid State 6

Sth Africa

Continued from page one

It is no accident that in the 1930s and 1940s Trotskyism had a base among coloured teachers in South Africa. Today the coloured population are still a key strategic component for crystallising a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard.

Cape Town has also been the centre of multiracial anti-apartheid protests that have included white students, especially around the demand to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Sections of the white population do not want to live in a garrison state, a white *laager* dominated by backward, bigoted Afrikaner nationalism. It is imperative that the revolutionary movement reach out to co-opt this layer, pledging in advance a place for whites in the future anti-racist society. This is particularly important as the white population constitutes an indispensable reserve of technical skill needed for the socialist reconstruction of the country.

The apartheid system remains unbroken and unyielding. This was underscored by Botha's infamous hardline speech of August 15. One has to live in the land of Reaganite myth or be willingly naive to see in Botha's latest "concessions" anything else than cosmetics for foreign consumption. The proposal to give blacks South African "citizenship" is just hot air, since blacks will still be barred even from voting and the separate black "homelands" will be maintained. The proposal to abolish the pass laws is largely a recognition of reality, namely that hundreds of thousands of blacks have illegally flocked to the urban areas anyway. The "reform" would replace the passbooks with a national "identity document" for everybody, including whites, thereby expanding police surveillance powers. One thing is certain: there will be no dismantling of apartheid so long as the present rulers remain in power, and they will not go peacefully.

Hayden/Hawke: Beating Botha with a Feather

Here in Australia, Reagan's token "sanctions" on South Africa were echoed by the measures announced in August by the Hawke government. Closure of the Trade Commission in Johannesburg, a ban on Krugerrand imports, restrictions on government business dealings with South Africa and so on — it didn't come to much. For those on the left devoted to pressuring Labor to translate its highly "moral" anti-apartheid rhetoric into action, this package was an index of how little progress they have made along their chosen road. For revolutionary Marxists it illustrated once again that the working class should have no illusions that this government is motivated by anything other than imperialist self interest. Hawke and

Hayden are no friends of South African black labour!

For a start, they're not going to let their well-known "abhorrence" of apartheid disrupt Australia's growing trade with South Africa, worth \$312 million in exports and \$166 million in imports last year. Nor can it obscure the fact that Australia, as regional sheet-anchor and policeman of Reagan's global anti-Soviet war drive, is in de facto alliance with the South African white supremacist regime. South Africa is an indispensable ally of the US-led "free world" guarding the strategic Cape sea lanes, and is periodically involved in military clashes with the Soviet-backed regime in Angola which is defended by Cuban troops.

The Australian sanctions are above all directed at supporting Western imperialism's efforts to force Botha to implement cosmetic "reforms", hoping thereby to avert the threatening revolutionary explosion. Their fear of the revolutionary potential of the six-million strong black proletariat was reflected by their treatment in late August of the visiting secretary-general of the South-West Africa Peoples Organisation, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, a man who spent sixteen years in Robben Island prison along with Nelson Mandela. Though the government itself had paid part of the cost of his trip, it demanded for his entry visa a written undertaking not to "espouse or promote armed struggle or violence as a necessary means of bringing about change in South Africa, Namibia or elsewhere".

Extend the Bans on South African Shipping!

At this crucial hour, when the white racist rulers of South Africa think they can do anything and get away with it, it is the urgent duty of the international labour movement to

go into action. International working-class solidarity, reaching out to link hands with the insurgent black masses and their allies, can help win concrete advances and direct the struggle towards a revolutionary class-struggle axis and away from a disastrous confrontation along race-national lines that brings with it the likelihood of a pointless bloodbath. The aim of international labour solidarity must be to strengthen the class independence and fighting capacity of the black proletariat on the road to the destruction of the apartheid system and the establishment of a black-centred workers government.

Against the reformists' clamour for government sanctions and capitalist divestment, Marxists fight for concrete acts of labour solidarity — protest strikes, blacking of all military cargo, and more generalised bans and strikes in specific circumstances such as the present State of Emergency. Our goal is not to "isolate" apartheid South Africa but to help the black masses overthrow it. Victorious workers revolution is the only "divestment" that will benefit the black workers.

Over the past two months in Australia, bans by maritime and waterfront unions have continued to hit the South African freighters, Sasocean Mildura and Sasocean Nederburg as well as the Lloyd Australia and other vessels in ports from Sydney to Fremantle. In Fremantle, the Seamen's Union and the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) banned the Nederburg in protest at both the State of Emergency and the arrest in Pretoria on 16 August of officials of the black dockers union, the National General Workers Union. The painters and dockers in the port also banned the ship until the living conditions of the crew were improved. However, in between stoppages, South

African cargo continues to be worked — the bans actually only delay the ships. When the WWF lifted bans on cargo left behind by the Mildura, it was loaded on another ship. As one maritime worker told the WWF's August *Maritime Worker*, "I don't think it's right. We shouldn't be working it at all."

While providing an important example to workers throughout the world, the union actions in Australia have been limited by the union bureaucracy, which ties them to pressuring the government to impose stronger sanctions. The September ACTU congress was "strong on rhetoric but left decisions on bans and sanctions to future union meetings and appeals to government" (*Australian*, 12 September). The week-long bans on trade and telecommunications begins on 21 October, giving South Africa plenty of time to ensure its ships and aircraft are clear.

As well, the Australian capitalists see opportunities to turn the South African crisis to a tidy profit. South Africa is a major trade rival of Australia in the supply of a number of important raw materials — wool, coal, manganese, uranium, mineral sands etc. And as the price of South African gold shares have plummeted, so have Australian gold shares soared, as investment managers in the US and Europe look around for somewhere stable to re-invest their "divestment" funds. This sentiment also fuels sections of the trade-union bureaucracy like Transport Workers head Ivan Hodgson, who demanded the South African De Beers diamond monopoly be "kicked out" of the new Argyle diamond venture in Western Australia "to prevent one of the richest resources being managed and profited by the racist South African

Continued on page four

Vengeance for Victor Simpson!

On 25 August in the West Australian wheatbelt town of Mullewa, racist murder claimed the life of yet another young Aboriginal man, Victor Simpson, a well respected 25-year-old father of two girls. That night Simpson had been thrown out of the Railway Hotel after an argument with the publican sparked by racist insults. When the five-foot-tall Simpson returned he was attacked by the over six-foot-publican, an ex-cop, who held him in a headlock for five to ten minutes until he was dead. The official cause of death was given as "asphyxiation". Like John Pat, killed by cops in Roebourne, and Robert Walker and Charlie Michael in WA prisons, this case is racist murder pure and simple. The workers movement and all anti-racists must demand: Vengeance for Victor Simpson! Jail his murderer!

Straight after Simpson was killed, angry blacks confronted the cops demanding they arrest the killer. When they got no satisfaction they exploded, storming the hotel while chanting the name of John Pat. The cops called in reinforcements and eventually whisked the publican, Brian Williamson, away in a car to Geraldton, charged him with "unlawful killing" (manslaughter) and then let him go. This kid glove treatment contrasts with the Gestapo-like dawn raids launched on Aboriginal homes in Mullewa the next day, when 25 blacks were dragged out of their beds and arrested — including six boys and one girl aged from 13 to 16!

Aboriginals can expect no "justice" from the capitalist courts or cops. Even Simpson's funeral — a restrained and respectful demonstration of Aboriginal



Spartacist contingent at protest on second anniversary of cop killing of John Pat, 28 September.

anger as 1000 turned out from as far away as Darwin and South Australia — was used by the racist media and WA Burke Labor government to praise the cops' conduct and rail about rampant alcoholism as the cause of Simpson's death, effectively blaming the victim for his own murder. The white preacher at the funeral had the same message: "The grog got him." "That's bullshit!", a mourner replied.

There's nothing for blacks in racially exclusionist, capitalist White Australia. As for land rights, WA premier Burke is leading a revolt in the ALP against the federal Land Rights Bill, insultingly inadequate though it is. The ABC's Four Corners program of 23 September for once truthfully exposed some of the racist terror routinely meted out to blacks. The murderous cops and screws are secure in the

knowledge that government forensic ghouls like Derek Pocock, ex-Scotland Yard, will find their victims died of "natural causes" and the courts will back them up. Now the arrogant cops are trying to intimidate the ABC with "bans" and are also going after the Aboriginal Legal Service.

At the 28 September Sydney demonstration on the second anniversary of the killing of John Pat, the Socialist Workers Party reformists tried (unsuccessfully) to censor the Spartacist League. To our demand "Avenge the Murder of John Pat" they have always counterposed appeals to the bosses' state for "justice". But as revolutionary integrationists we look forward to the day when the working class in power will avenge Victor Simpson, John Pat and all victims of racist terror. ■

Australasian Spartacist

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Greenpeace Murder : French Trotskyists say — We Accuse Mitterrand!

Abridged from Le Bolchevik No 57, September 1985, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency.

PARIS — On July 10, in the New Zealand port of Auckland, a double explosion ripped the hull of the Rainbow Warrior, a former trawler chartered by the ecology organisation Greenpeace for a protest campaign against French nuclear testing in the Pacific. A victim of two magnetic mines placed against its hull, the ship went down within minutes. A member of Greenpeace who was aboard, Fernando Pereira, 36 years old, was killed by the explosion of the second mine. But the death toll could have been much higher. *Le Monde* (13 July) wrote that Greenpeace officials "are convinced the perpetrators of the bombing were extremely well informed and intended to wipe out the movement's leadership: the movement's seven international leaders were, in fact, due to meet on board the Rainbow Warrior to coordinate the campaign [against the French nuclear tests] and it was only at the very last minute that they decided not to spend the night on board, preferring instead a seaside hotel."

There is no longer any doubt: this murderous terrorist act was committed by agents of the Direction Generale de la Securite Exterieur (DGSE), the French spy agency, under the authority of the defence ministry. Two teams from the DGSE's "action department" set the mines which killed Fernando Pereira: the couple posing as Swiss tourists — "Mr and Mrs Turenge" now in custody in New Zealand — were in reality two French officers, Captain Dominique Prieur, from the "special cadres" (female personnel) and Major Alain Mafart, until recently second in command at the Training Centre for Combat Divers — and the crew of the windjammer *Ouvea*, which included three more diver-saboteurs.

French Spies Caught in the Act

This despicable act is unfortunately not out of the ordinary. The hired killers of French imperialism have chalked up quite a few other terrorist operations, particularly in the remnants of its colonial empire and the African neo-colonies, where French undercover agents and paratroopers make and unmake governments with impunity. But in this case, the DGSE agents made the mistake of believing that in New Zealand they would benefit from the quasi-absolute impunity that normally covers them in Chad, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Polynesia or *France*.

For this region is now a "hostile environment" for French imperialism. First of all, Australia, which is home to American spy and communications bases central to the US' nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, would be happy to be rid of France in order to fulfill its ambitions as the hegemonic mini-power in the region. In New Zealand, the Labour government of David Lange is currently the object of active destabilisation efforts on the part of the White House, in retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock US nuclear ships. For Lange, the anti-Greenpeace



Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, sunk by Mitterrand's murderous spooks in Auckland Harbour, killing crew member, Fernando Pereira.

bombing was a golden opportunity: Greenpeace's liberal illusions and pacifist disarmament propaganda finds a ready ear among a New Zealand population which has just begun to discover that it can no longer opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon and who understandably don't appreciate being sprinkled with nuclear fallout for the benefit of the arrogant French (*Le Monde's* special correspondent called the New Zealand prime minister "a little emperor of the coconut palms").

But at least it now seems that the French agents will be put on trial in New Zealand. (In France, none of the implicated agents can be charged with anything, since they are in the military.) This is a good thing and a good opportunity for the working class of this country to learn a thing or two about the dirty tricks of the sordid capitalist state apparatus running the country. This sort of "affair" offers the possibility of a brief glimpse of what goes on in the secret police cesspool. But it will take nothing less than a social revolution to bring to light the crimes of these secret tools of the imperialist state, as did the October Revolution of 1917, which, by overthrowing the old state apparatus, permitted the uncovering of those of the sinister tsarist secret police, the Okhrana. In the meantime we demand that the entire trial of the French agents be broadcast on prime time on French state-owned television.

Mitterrand is Guilty

Mitterrand and his government have tried to absolve themselves of any responsibility by means of the Tricot report, which relies on misleading arguments and a phony naivete, written in pompous language whose absurdity is matched only by its cynicism. "Tricot Washes Whiter" ran the headline of the August 27 *Liberation*. The responsibility for this premeditated act of *state terrorism*, carried out with important material and financial means, belongs above all to Mitterrand, the head of the army — as he himself repeats on every possible occasion — to his government and to his war minister Hernu. The Tricot report quotes a note from Admiral Pages, commander of the Pacific nuclear testing center, to the

Islands Business

are to be feared from the French army.

And Mitterrand is not exactly a beginner. Minister of the Interior in 1954 at the time of the outbreak of the struggle for Algerian independence, Justice Minister in 1956 and in this office personally responsible for the execution of Algerian Communists, he's a long-time servant of French imperialism who fully merits the hatred of all victims of this racist and colonialist state. And he continues in this role as president of the popular front, responsible for the sending of paratroopers to Lebanon to disarm Palestinians in the face of invasion by the Israeli war machine, responsible for repression in the West Indies and New Caledonia, the mercenary-style invasion of Chad last year and now the Auckland murder.

Anti-Soviet Consensus

All through this affair, Mitterrand and his clique have benefited from a near-total "sacred union" [national unity]. Since the beginning, the press and the bourgeois politicians have been embarrassed because the DGSE agents got caught, and not because they had murderously attacked (and in another country) a legal organisation which was peacefully exercising its right to protest French nuclear testing. Without forgetting the Socialist Party, the party of front men for the current denizen of the presidential palace, which prudently waited until August 21 to condemn the Auckland bombing, all the rightist dignitaries are ostentatiously lining up behind Mitterrand. The rightist parties have no interest in meddling

effect that the DGSE should "anticipate" the pacifists' activities. This brings to mind Eloi Machoro, the leader of the [pro-independence] FLNKS assassinated in New Caledonia by a bullet in the chest from a gendarme after the French government gave orders to "neutralise" him. The army brass acted in the political framework that the government gave them — which in no way removes their own responsibility in this despicable crime.

Mitterrand is not giving an inch. On August 18 this horseman of nuclear apocalypse reminded French soldiery that Greenpeace is still the enemy. In a "directive" addressed to the armed forces, he launched this sinister



French gendarmes in New Caledonia.

Bulletin

warning: "I repeat the order given to the armed forces to prevent, by force if need be, any non-authorized entry into French territorial waters and French airspace in the Polynesian atolls of the Mururoa and Fangataufa sector. . . . I give notice that nuclear testing in the Pacific will continue as long as it is deemed necessary for the defence of the country by French authorities and solely by them" (*Le Monde*, 20 August). The French navy will thus await Greenpeace's flotilla, due to arrive in mid-October in the vicinity of the French nuclear atolls, and more murderous assaults

with the mechanisms of a state apparatus that they suppose will once again be theirs in 1986, whether it be the secret police or the bonapartist powers of a president who is literally above the law. (Article 68 of the Constitution stipulates, in fact, that "the President of the Republic is not responsible for acts accomplished in the exercise of his functions except in the event of high treason", and that "he can only be indicted on the basis of an identical vote by both Assemblies after a public ballot and by an absolute majority of the members comprising them".)

Continued on page four

Racist Fees and Quotas Must Go!

Overseas Students Fight Deportation

Over 150 overseas (Asian) students and their supporters, including the University of New South Wales Spartacist Club, struck a blow against Federal Government attempts to reintroduce tertiary fees by occupying the Overseas Students Office of the Education Department in Sydney, 27 September. The department was immobilised for four hours while students demanded an immediate halt to moves to deport those who have not yet paid the discriminatory "visa" fees. The fees, applied to overseas students only, were increased to a whopping \$3500 early this year and will be increased in short order to \$10,000 in the government's scheme to make the "user pay" for education in Australia. Most overseas students simply cannot afford the fees and their leadership began a "Delay the Fees" campaign last April.

While delegates from the demonstration began negotiating for a halt on all deportation actions pending talks with ALP ministers Hayden, Hurford and Ryan, the demonstrators sang "We are the World" for a bevy of TV cameras. While some begged Education minister and one-time feminist pin-up Susan Ryan to "stop those fees applyin'" others called out "deport Susan Ryan!" One Spartacist placard put it clearly: "Break with the ALP! Build a revolutionary workers party!" A Spartacist speaker reported to the sit-in on the cases of a Tamil (see page nine) facing deportation to the bloody Sinhala chauvinist regime in Sri Lanka; and the five Irian Jayans who fled Indonesian army terror only to be refused asylum in this country. We made the point that the pro-Reagan Hawke government is deeply committed to racist imperialist order at home

and abroad and that it will take a determined and united struggle to beat them.

When the Department heads made their final "offer" which contained no real concessions, the decision to stay put and face arrest if necessary was unanimous. Police (including Wran's Tactical Response Squad) moved in to evict us from the building at 6.15 but made no arrests. Clearly Hayden/Ryan/Hurford did not want the embarrassment of 100 arrests lending notoriety to their cowardly attempt to victimise overseas students.

This struggle has potential to spark a hard fight on campuses against the creeping reintroduction of fees and against White Australia racism. Hawke & Co singled out overseas students after being forced to *back off* wholesale reintroduction of tertiary fees early this year. Ryan used racist

Blaineyite lies to scapegoat overseas students for the extreme government-imposed shortage of university places. We demand a massive increase in TEAS coupled with a program of *open admissions* to all universities and CAEs and *no racist quotas!*

The government picked on overseas students believing them to be isolated from Australian society, an easy target. But these students came here to get an education often at great financial sacrifice by their families and are prepared to fight. For the majority, from repressive anti-communist states like Malaysia, this takes real guts. Further actions are planned and all those who have chafed under Hawke's Accord — militant unionists, blacks, immigrant workers who have also experienced the racist backlash — must rally to the defence of overseas students. ■

Mitterrand ■■■

Continued from page three

In the midst of this disgusting orgy of "raison d'etat", now that it is out of the government the French Communist Party (PCF) at least had the merit of being blunt. "It's a question of state terrorism", declared Andre Lejoinie at the National Assembly on August 10, adding: "It is impossible to pretend in this Fifth Republic, where everything proceeds from the summit, that the decision to commit this bombing didn't get the green light from the highest authorities of the state" (*L'Humanite*, 23 August). They also denounced the sacred union by the SP and the reactionaries around this crime. *But beware of those who preach the possibility of a "clean" and "democratic" national defence.* This sacred union around Mitterrand is based, above all, on a *nuclear consensus* around France's anti-Soviet "force de frappe" [nuclear arsenal], which the PCF supports. It is now 50 years since the PCF degenerated into a reformist party, and the sign of that reformist degeneration was its support to French national defence in 1935. Similarly, to cement its entry into the "Union of the Left" and try to make itself accepted as a "party of government" by the bourgeoisie, the PCF, from 1973 to 1977, had to accept piece by piece the anti-Soviet nuclear force.

Force de Frappe and Colonialism

France is a second-rate imperialist power. It's only thanks to the remnants of its colonial empire, transformed into so many military bases and naval stations, and its independent nuclear arsenal that it can still pretend to play at being a world military power and occupy something a little bit better than a back seat in the Western bloc, engaged, under Reagan's sway, in a war drive against the Soviet Union. Here we have the real secret of this obscene sacred union.

And if the guardians of the "grandeur of France" think themselves able to get away with such action against a mainly white and well-organised organisation like Greenpeace, all those who fight in the French colonies against colonial oppression can expect worse. The sentencing of 17 pro-independence militants in Tahiti on August 27 to prison terms of up to five years, after

a demonstration held in Papeete in March during which a policeman was wounded, is an example.

The Pacific nuclear test center thus represents the symbiosis of colonialism and anti-Sovietism. We Trotskyists demand immediate independence for all of the remaining vestiges of the French colonial empire, on the one hand because we want the liberation of the still-enslaved peoples, and on the other because in this country the existence of colonies has always been a powerful encouragement to reaction and bonapartism. Since the days of General Cavaignac [who slaughtered the insurrectionary French workers in 1848] up to the Algerian War, the gangrene always ends up reaching France itself. We say: Down with the *force de frappe*, NATO, ANZUS and the other imperialist war alliances! We stand for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against Reagan and Mitterrand's war drive.

Mitterrand has shown his willingness to defend the military capacity of French imperialism, whatever the cost. The popular front of May 10 [1981, date of election of the Mitterrand government], like all popular fronts, from the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917 to Allende's Chile, must give explicit guarantees to the bourgeois army,

Sth Africa ■■■

Continued from page two

government" (*Daily Commercial News*, 1 August). This Laborite "more for master, more for us" mentality is the enemy of real working-class solidarity.

The Australian reformist left, true to its mission of prettifying its "own" ruling class as somehow capable of playing a "progressive" role, has all plumped for the "pressure Hawke and Hayden to do the job" line. At the largest anti-apartheid action to date, the 2000-strong march on 24 August in Sydney, neither the Communist Party, the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia nor the Socialist Workers Party had much representation, let alone contingents. While the official speakers at the march urged the crowd to step up pressure upon Hawke to impose stronger sanctions and apply pressure to Reagan, a militant Spartacist contingent stood out behind a banner reading: "Black workers must take the lead — Smash

whatever "reforms" it has promised the masses, that it will never touch the sacrosanct core of the bourgeois state — the armed bodies of men which defend private property and in particular the officer corps. "Democratic" France's history has been marked by quite a few near and real coups d'etat (such as de Gaulle's takeover on 13 May 1958). One of Mitterrand's first gestures on coming to power was to amnesty all the officers imprisoned by de Gaulle for participating in the coup d'etat against Algerian independence. And now he is seeking to use his prerogatives as "chief of armed forces" to keep as many as possible of his bonapartist powers after the inevitable electoral defeat [of his current parliamentary majority] in '86 — as shown by the recent nomination of General Saulnier, his personal chief of staff at the Elysee [the French White House], to the post of chief of general staff of the armed forces.

What Justice for Fernando Pereira?

No "justice" can be expected from the investigations now going on in France, nor from the PCF's attempts to set up parliamentary committees to "oversee" the secret police. The French regime is one of the most

bonapartist of all the advanced capitalist countries and in general parliament becomes virtually irrelevant as soon as things get hot. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine the French army giving PCF deputies access to "defence secrets" so that they can poke their nose into DGSE or DST [French counterintelligence] business.

The calm in the social climate this fall is extremely fragile. The colonies, from New Caledonia to Guadeloupe, are in turmoil. The workers of this country, French and immigrant, are far from resigned to being sacrificed on the altar of [economic] "restructuring". What is holding back the struggle, that of the working class in France and of the oppressed peoples of the colonies, is not so much fear of a right-wing government replacing Mitterrand, but the social-chauvinist and reformist line of the PCF. The government is discredited on all sides and everything it touches falls apart in its hands. The only progressive and realistic way out of the current disastrous situation is to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the capitalist class and try all the war criminals of French imperialism before a jury composed of their surviving victims. Vengeance for the martyred victims of French imperialism! ■

Apartheid Slavery! Unions: black all South African cargo!"

Extending and deepening these labour solidarity actions, ie, going beyond the government's hypocritical posturing, will inevitably draw the class line against the Hawke government. Sanctions by the imperialist governments and independent workers action are counterposed. In 1935 when the Stalinist Comintern tried to combine "workers sanctions" with appeals to the League of Nations over fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Leon Trotsky, Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Trotskyist Fourth International, wrote:

"The truth is that if the workers begin their own sanctions against Italy, their action inevitably strikes at their own capitalists, and the League would be compelled to drop all sanctions. It proposes them now because the workers' voices are muted in every country. Workers action can begin only by absolute opposition to the national bourgeoisie and its international combinations. Support of the League and support of workers

sanctions are fire and water; they cannot be mixed."

— "Once Again the ILP",
Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1935-36

Nowhere is this clearer than in the ACTU's excuses that they are constrained by section 45D of the Trade Practices Act, directed against secondary boycotts and picketing, as former ACTU president Cliff Dolan told the 24 August march. For example the WWF and maritime union leaderships — in Sydney dominated politically by the pro-Moscow Stalinist Maritime Unions Socialist Activities Association (MUSAA) — have tried to evade a legal confrontation with 45D by limiting the bans to a few days, as different unions hit the ships in succession. But the shipowners are threatening to prosecute them anyway. This political alibi of the labour bureaucracy is not limited to Australia. In an open letter to members of the US West Coast longshoremen (wharfies), the ILWU, veteran militant and Spartacist supporter Stan Gow took this question up head on:

Continued on page ten

Australasian Spartacist

Australian SWP Splits from USec, Embraces Stalinist Butchery

We Honor the Vietnamese Trotskyists



Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau, murdered by Stalinists in 1946.

When it comes to betraying revolutionary principle, the Australian Socialist Workers Party always likes to go their US counterparts one better. Where the American SWP politely debates fascist Klansmen on TV, the Australian SWP apologizes for the genocidal Croatian fascist Ustashi. And when Jack Barnes denounces Trotsky and the doctrine of permanent revolution as ultraleft dogma, Jim Percy openly glories in one of the ugliest episodes in the annals of Stalinist butchery: the 1945 murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, martyred for their militant opposition to the reinvasion of Vietnam by imperialist troops at the end of World War II. Now these Australian reformists have renounced Trotskyism altogether.

The disparate, and increasingly desperate, groupings that make up the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) have long lived with the glaring contradiction between their professed Trotskyism and their actual political practice of sucking up to social democrats, nationalists and Stalinists. In the case of the Australian SWP, that contradiction has finally resolved itself. The August 28 issue of their paper *Direct Action* announces they are splitting from the USec, openly expressing the dream of reformists everywhere, to obtain "mass influence" on the cheap, renouncing and denouncing Trotskyism in the most categorical terms. SWP national secretary Percy proclaimed:

"In the end, our political position is a total negation of the whole reason for the existence of the Fourth International . . . I think it was wrong to form the Fourth International in the first place . . . In the end the organizational form cut off Trotsky and the Trotskyists from any other possibility of development of the Communist movement."

Today, says *Direct Action*, the Cuban Communist Party, the Salvadoran FMLN, the Nicaraguan FSLN and the Vietnamese CP are "dynamically and creatively" dealing with political developments. Percy and Co neglect to mention other "creative" organizations they have embraced lately, including the Croatian pro-fascist HDP and the American Democratic Party. Australian SWP conferences heard speeches by Peter Camejo, a consummately cynical former honcho of the American SWP, and John Trinkl, the resident anti-Trotskyist and anti-Spartacist for the rad-lib Stalinoid New York *Guardian*. Last year, Camejo and Trinkl supported black Democrat Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition", and the *Guardian* endorsed the Mondale-Ferraro Democratic Party ticket against Reagan in the '84 elections.

The latest issue of the American SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (23 September) has 27 pages devoted to the split by their Australian ex-comrades. An article by Steve Clark labels a 1984 pamphlet by Australian SWP leader Allen Myers on *The Viet-*

namese Revolution and Its Leadership an "Accommodation to Stalinist positions". That's putting it mildly. Myers shamelessly defends the murder of hundreds of Vietnamese Trotskyists, the leaders of workers militias who 40 years ago fought against the British and French colonialists welcomed with open arms by the Stalinist-led Viet Minh. Myers writes of the August-September 1945 Saigon insurrection:

"During this extremely perilous period for the revolution, the Saigon Trotskyists appear to have outdone themselves in pursuing a sectarian, ultraleft line that would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy (!). During the mass demonstration on August 21, for example, the Trotskyists unfurled a huge banner of the Fourth International. According to an observer sympathetic to the International Communist League, they carried banners and placards reading:



Spartacists always fought for military victory of the NLF/DRV forces against imperialism.

"Down with imperialism! Long live the world revolution! Long live the workers and peasants front! People's committees everywhere! For the people's assembly! Arm the people! Land to the peasants! Nationalize the factories under workers control! For a workers and peasants government!"

According to Myers, the fact that 30,000 people joined the Trotskyists only made this "ultraleftist posturing" of the Trotskyists more "dangerous"!

"The decision to disarm the Trotskyists before they went from words to action was obviously a wise and necessary one"

"It was at this time that leaders of the Trotskyists and of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed. According to most sources, the executions were ordered by Tran Van Giau.

"The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."

Tran Van Giau, says Myers, was forced to go through "*kiem thao* (self-criticism)" because of "ex-

cesses". But not the Australian SWP — they hail this murder.

Percy and Co indulge in a little *kiem thao* themselves for their past "misjudgement" of the Vietnamese Communist Party as Stalinist and apologize for their former adherence to "the false schema of the theory of Permanent Revolution". Myers' pamphlet, unanimously adopted by the Australian SWP leadership in October 1984, rivals the dirtiest Stalinist frame-ups against Trotskyism from the time of the 1930s Moscow trials. Today *Intercontinental Press* says this is an attempt to justify "a crime against the revolution that can have no justification" Yet this vile anti-Trotskyist diatribe was openly distributed at the USec's "12th World Congress" earlier this year without a peep from any of the participants!

We Spartacists, who seek to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, published a pamphlet in 1976 defending the Vietnamese Trotskyists

against such despicable slanders. *Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam* was dedicated: "to the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists. The most uncompromising fighters against imperialism, they led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against the reinventing colonialists. For this heroic struggle they were massacred not only by the French and British expeditionary forces, but above all by the Stalinist Viet Minh. Today renegades from Trotskyism hail the Vietnamese Stalinists . . . absolving them of responsibility for the vile murders of Ta Thu Thau and hundreds of other Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists. But the international Spartacist tendency proudly upholds the banner of Vietnamese Trotskyism."

The 1945 Saigon Insurrection

Following Stalin's line of collaboration with the Allied forces in World War II, the Stalinist-led Viet Minh cooperated with Kuomintang China against the Japanese. When the defeated Japanese withdrew their occupation forces in 1945, the Viet Minh held effective state power. Be-

traying the aspirations of the Vietnamese masses for independence, the Viet Minh openly welcomed the return of British and French troops to Saigon. Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau declared: "Those who incite the people to arm themselves will be considered saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic allies." On September 7 Giau issued a decree disarming all non-government organizations, in particular aimed at the factory-based self-defense militias organized by the Trotskyists.

According to one right-wing historian, the Trotskyists "did not agree with the Viet Minh that by negotiation alone they would be able to maintain independence. They did not trust the Viet Minh; they refused to give up what weapons they had. The Trotskyite International Communist League held meetings demanding arms for the people" (E J Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina, 1940-1955*). Far from being ultraleftist, the Vietnamese Trotskyists' political weaknesses in fact lay in the direction of underestimating Stalinist treachery, which left them unprepared for the betrayals and bloodbaths which cost them their lives.

When British and Indian troops landed in Saigon on September 10, they were welcomed by the Viet Minh. The Saigon People's Committee and the Trotskyists of the International Communist League issued a joint manifesto denouncing this treason; in response, the Stalinists sent troops to surround the People's Committee meeting and arrested the Trotskyist leadership on September 14. On September 22, the British moved to rearm the French colons, who unleashed a wave of terror against the Vietnamese; the Viet Minh sought "negotiations" with the British and opposed "violence" while the masses of Saigon insurrected against the colonial troops. Armed contingents of workers led by the Trotskyists were in the forefront.

The Viet Minh, meantime, were busy negotiating the return of the French, whose expeditionary force under Leclerc landed on October 5, moving to crush the insurgency and "restore order". The Stalinists assisted, arresting the Trotskyists of the *Struggle (La Lutte)* group, who were imprisoned and shot as the French approached. In the North a well-organized Trotskyist group, which published a daily paper in Hanoi, *Tranh Dau* (Struggle), was also wiped out by Stalinist repression. Ta Thu Thau, one of the most prominent leaders of the Trotskyists, was arrested on orders of the Viet Minh.

Continued on page eight

The prominent white South African liberal Helen Suzman recently observed that no one has to call for divestment anymore. It's already happening. Foreign investors do not want to touch South Africa right now. The blood-soaked racist apartheid state has been hit by a massive flight of capital. Stocks of South African companies, even goldmining shares, are going for a song. The value of the country's currency, the rand, plummeted to an all-time low of 35¢ late last month, half its value at the beginning of this year, a quarter of its value in 1981. American and West European banks have called in their loans to the tune of \$2 billion. They even threatened to seize the foreign assets of Nedbank, South Africa's largest domestically owned bank, if it did not meet its international obligations.

In just a few weeks David Rockefeller and his fellow bankers have upset the South African economy far more than decades of activity by the divestment/sanctions lobby. "We are being asked to pay all our debts in a minute — no country can do that", exclaimed the chief economist of Anglo American Corp, the giant mining and industrial conglomerate in South Africa. After temporarily shutting down both the stock exchange and foreign-exchange markets, Pretoria announced a four-month freeze on the repayment of principle on its \$19 billion in foreign bank debt. As if he represented some bankrupt Third World regime, the head of South Africa's central bank journeyed hat-in-hand to London and Washington, pleading with international financiers to roll over their loans.

While the actions of foreign bankers have made front-page news, the South African financial crisis was actually triggered by the flight of domestic capital. Whenever the unrest in the black townships threatens to spill over into their suburbs, well-to-do whites cache more liquid assets in Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Zurich. Last year \$2 billion fled the country. As one Wall Street economist put it, "At the first sign of trouble, locally held funds move out" (*Business Week*, 26 August). And no one doubts that South Africa is in big trouble.

To be sure, no one who looks at the situation soberly also doubts that the white supremacist regime can drown in blood a black upheaval at this time. But in the longer run international capital is deeply pessimistic about the future — and not just the distant

future — of the apartheid state. Foreign investors ask themselves: "How much longer can a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites totally subjugate and hideously superexploit 26 million black Africans, coloureds [people of mixed race] and Indians?" Sooner or later, they figure, the white police state is going to crack, and after that the deluge . . . possibly a descent into anarchy and prolonged racial, ethnic and tribalist bloodletting.

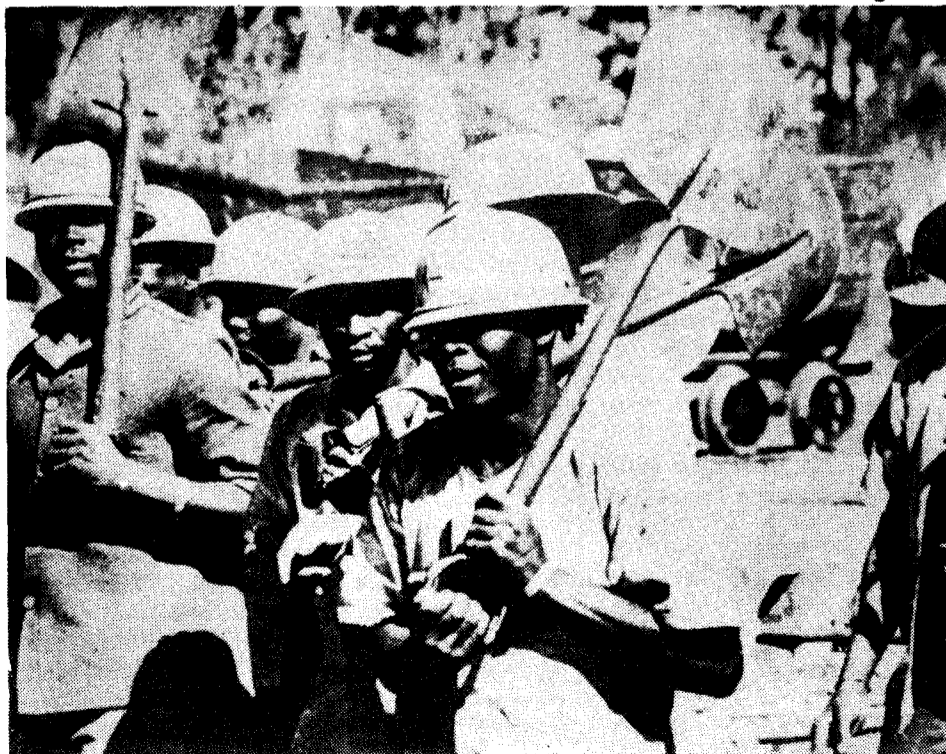
But that is not the only alternative to apartheid capitalism. South Africa's mines and factories, its railroads and gold reserves, were produced by the sweat and blood of black, coloured and Indian labor, especially the black migrant workers from the bantustans and neighboring black states who are hideously superexploited in the mines. To paraphrase Marx, apartheid has created in a six-million-strong black proletariat, stripped of every democratic and human right, its own gravedigger. The wealth of South Africa belongs not to the capitalist — the Wall Street, Frankfurt and London bankers or Johannesburg mine magnates — but to the toilers who created it. And the only kind of "divestment" that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution, and the expropriation of these riches by a black-centered workers government as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa.

The spectre of communism in South Africa also haunts Wall Street. *South Africa: Time Running Out* was the title of an influential 1981 study commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation. The commission was headed by Ford Foundation president Franklin Thomas (Ford is a major investor in South Africa). This study concluded that "all the ingredients of a major crisis are present there. The dangers of political instability, large-scale racial conflict, and the growth of Communist influence are real."

At the same time, Western capitalism cannot write off South Africa as hopeless. The stakes are much too high. The ruling classes in the US and West Europe have convinced themselves, in the face of South African realities, that there is a reformist solution which will preserve their interests. Thus the Rockefeller Foundation study urges the US government "to promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa".

However, these days South African "power-sharing" futures are selling

Socialist Organiser



Black miners: International monetary system rests on their sweat and blood.

Behind South Africa

Wall Street Apartheid

at a large discount on Wall Street and other Western financial centers. The attitude of international capital toward South Africa is, let's get what we can while we can. *Business Week* (23 September) reports: "In the face of escalating strife and the deaths of more than 700 — mostly blacks — since rioting broke out a year ago, nearly every American corporation in the country has an escape plan." Foreign capital in South Africa is highly volatile and invested in ways designed to minimize the risk when time finally does run out for the apartheid state.

The Land Where Gold Is King

While South Africa is the only industrialized country in sub-Saharan Africa, in one fundamental way its role in the world capitalist economy is similar to that of a backward Third World country. It is an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactured products. And one raw material quite dominates the economy: gold. It accounts for 50 percent of South Africa's foreign-exchange earnings and almost 20 percent of its gross national product. As gold goes, so goes the South African economy. When the price of gold plunged from \$850 an ounce in 1980 to less than \$500 an ounce in 1983, hitting a low of \$285 earlier this year, apartheid capitalism plunged into the worst depression in 50 years.

It is above all, a golden chain which binds the apartheid state to Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Zurich. South Africa supplies world capitalism with 60 percent of that commodity Marx called "the universal medium of payment" and "the universal embodiment of wealth". For a century the rich veins of gold on the Witwatersrand and superexploited black African labor have been a powerful magnet attracting capital — originally British, in the postwar period increasingly American — to southern Africa. The dominant mining company, Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corp, is well named, since half of it is owned by Englishmen and Americans. Fifty percent of the stock of the seven mining groups which control South African gold production is in the hands of foreign investors (or was until they started selling off like crazy a few months ago).

The enormous wealth of apartheid capitalism and, indeed, the international monetary system rests upon the naked back of the black African miner, who daily risks being killed or maimed digging in 110 degree heat and darkness of the deep pits, who when not working lives in males-only barracks under prison-like conditions, who faces being sent back to starve in the bantustan hellholes at any show of resistance.

Thus the threat of black revolt triggers international financial panic.



Checeni/Business Week

South African rand plunges as capital flees.

This is the third time South Africa has experienced massive capital flight. The 1960 Sharpeville massacre provoked militant nationwide protests and mass stayaway strikes. The African National Congress (ANC) abandoned passive resistance and attempted armed insurrection. It looked for a moment like the long-anticipated black uprising was at hand. A billion dollars was withdrawn from the country in the space of weeks. The apartheid state faced the worst balance-of-payments crisis in its history.

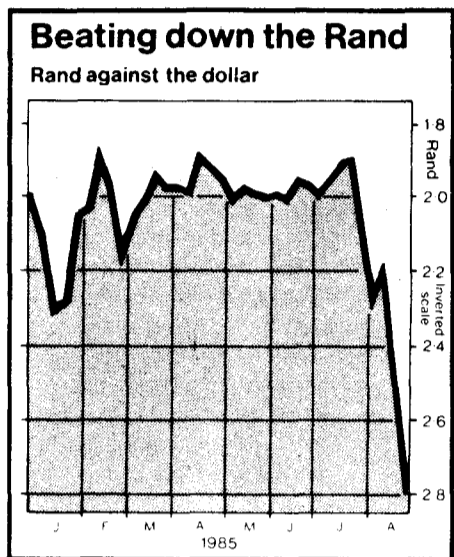
In 1960, US imperialism came to the aid of its beleaguered South African ally by arranging emergency loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). But it was not timely IMF loans which restored foreign investor confidence, however, it was the crushing of all resistance to white racist rule. Eleven thousand militants were arrested and every major anti-apartheid organization, including the ANC and Stalinist Communist Party was driven underground, their leaders killed, imprisoned or forced into exile.

In the decade following Sharpeville a totalitarian police state reigned supreme over the defenseless, atomized and demoralized black masses. This was the perfect climate for foreign investment, which poured into the country.

The 1960s and early '70s marked the golden age, so to speak, of apartheid capitalism. Since then troubles have increasingly accumulated for the Randlords and their partners on Wall Street and in the City of London. In early 1973 the black working class shattered the police-state calm as the city of Durban was paralyzed by a mass strike. The rising level of workers' struggles converged with a new generation of black student militants in the 1976 Soweto uprising. Mass stayaway strikes in solidarity with the rebellious black youth embraced 70-80 percent of the labor force resident in Soweto, whose two million inhabitants make it the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa. At the height of the unrest capital once again fled the country. And Washington

South Africa's Financial Crisis

Capitalism and the Apartheid State



Source: The Economist

once again pumped money into South Africa via the IMF, almost half a billion dollars, to quiet down the panicky financial markets.

The Soweto rebellion inspired a rising line of black resistance on almost all fronts, most importantly the emergence of a black workers movement. In 1979 the official Wiehahn Commission warned that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralyzed at any given moment."

At the same time, another fundamental contradiction of apartheid capitalism came to the fore. Industrial expansion was blocked by a growing shortage of skilled workers, traditionally and legally restricted to the white labor aristocracy. In 1979 the Chamber of Mines projected that by 1982 there would be a shortage of 50,000 skilled artisans throughout the economy. But to scrap the industrial color bar and develop a large pool of skilled black workers would enormously strengthen the increasingly powerful and combative black labor movement.

Apartheid Capitalism in Depression

South Africa's manufacturing sector stagnated in the late 1970s, but the effect was offset and partially masked by the inflationary boom in gold. Then the bottom fell out for the South African economy. As monetarism/austerity swept Western capitalism — Reagan's America, Thatcher's Britain, Mitterrand's France, Kohl's West Germany — the price of gold plummeted. The world depression also hit South Africa's other metal exports (eg. platinum, manganese). And to make matters worse, a severe drought has devastated agriculture throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Black unemployment in South Africa soared to over 20 percent of the labor force. The hideous poverty of the townships became even more so. Famine and disease ravaged the bantus-

tans. Even white South Africa did not escape the effects of the economic crisis. At the lower end of the white caste, unemployment reappeared for the first time in decades. At the upper end, well-to-do families now hired their black servants on a part-time basis as an economizing measure.

The Botha regime responded to the depression with a racist version of Keynesian deficit spending. The government budget jumped from 22 percent of gross national product in 1981 to 29 percent in 1984. Needless to say, this vastly increased expenditure did not go to the black masses starving on the bantustans. Rather billions of rands were pumped into the growing military sector, fueled by the war in Namibia; to subsidize the drought stricken Afrikaner farmers (the original Boers); and to increase the salaries of civil servants by 30 percent. The state bureaucracy employs a third of the entire white labor force.

The effects of this apartheid Keynesianism were predictable. Inflation took off. So did borrowing from foreign banks. International debt jumped from \$12 to \$19 billion between 1981 and 1984. Half this money was owed by the government and its panoply of state-controlled companies. The rand steadily depreciated, which further fueled domestic inflation.

The business community was not amused at the effects of Bothanomics. Bankers denounced the regime for borrowing abroad to pay inflated government salaries. The *Business Times* demanded "hack the public service". The liberal *Rand Daily Mail* (which has since folded) editorialized:

"Wishful apartheid thinking lies at the root of our economic misery. The government is taking too much money from the productive sectors of the economy to pump into that overweight, overpaid, inefficient monolith that was created to administer the disastrous policies of the [ruling] National Party."

— quoted in *Wall Street Journal*, 5 February

The Botha regime responded to these business pressures by imposing a monetarist/austerity program last year, driving interest rates to a historic high of 25 percent and further depressing the worst depression in 50 years.

The depression naturally also affected the multinationals operating in South Africa. The return on direct foreign investment slid from 20 percent at the beginning of the decade to 5 percent in 1984! Suddenly, the idea that divestment in South Africa might be a good thing, after all, began to be heard in corporate boardrooms from Detroit to London. Early this year Ford, then the largest carmaker in South Africa, sold 60 percent of its operation to Anglo American. Coca-Cola, likewise, sold off a majority interest, and International Harvester sold its truck operation outright. The British-owned Barclays, the largest

foreign bank in South Africa, has reduced its holding by 20 percent. Overall, direct US investment has fallen from \$2.8 billion in 1981 to \$2.3 billion.

The notion of rad-lib activists that divestment means multinationals will no longer profit from apartheid displays a woeful ignorance of how capitalism works. Foreign companies can sell off every last asset and still continue to superexploit South Africa's black workers. A major business enterprise, a large factory or big bank, for example, is almost never sold for cash. It is usually paid for with interest-bearing notes. And when profits are at depression-level lows and interest rates near historic highs, divestment is good business. Over the past half decade international capital has significantly shifted the way in which it shares in the superexploitation of South Africa's black toilers.

Smash Apartheid Capitalism Through Workers Revolution!

Even before the present black revolt erupted last summer, the South

A small furor was created a couple of weeks ago by the private publications of a report entitled 'How You Can Get a Second Passport' — how in other words, sanctuary can be arranged elsewhere if apartheid collapses."

While not many whites have as yet been leaving South Africa for sanctuaries elsewhere, they have been sending their money to sanctuaries elsewhere. The outflow of South African-owned funds tripled between 1983 and 1984, from \$700 million to \$2 billion.

Most of this white capital flight comes from middle- and upper-class English speakers rather than Afrikaners. It is not simply that the English are more fearful about black revolt. They do not relish living in a garrison state under a diehard Afrikaner regime which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the Great Trek of the 1830s. What is involved is not just a clash of national cultures and historic enmities. A diehard Afrikaner government would likely turn the country into an economic laager, restricting the import of luxuries and the export of capital. The Botha regime has already moved in

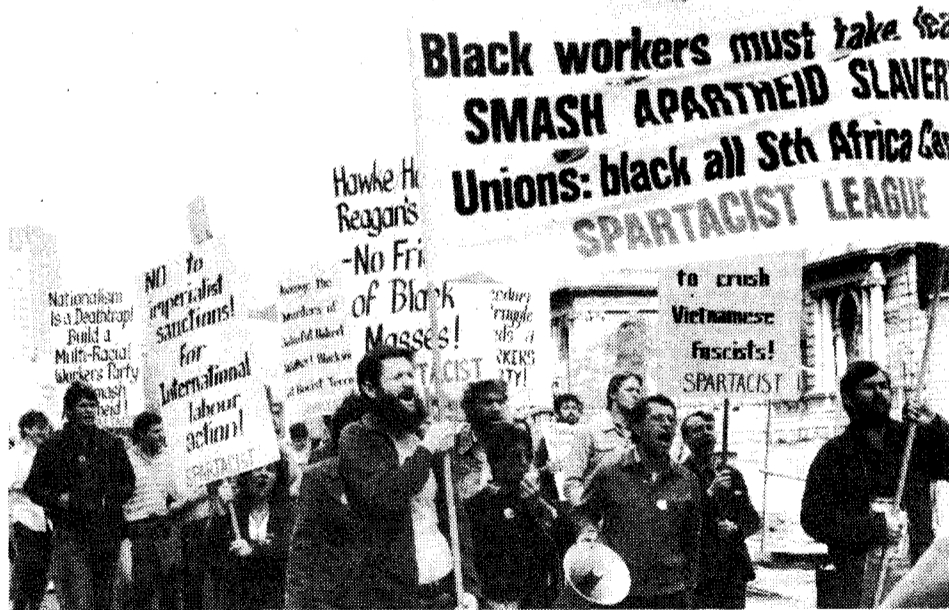
Le Bolchevik



Le Havre, France, 24 August, 400 union militants occupy ship carrying South African coal.

Spartacist contingent at Sydney anti-Apartheid demonstration, 24 August.

ASp photo



African economy was in deep trouble: unemployment, investment and profits were stuck at depression levels; inflation was accelerating, and international debt was building up rapidly. What turned this severe conjunctural crisis into a wholesale financial panic is, of course, the prospect of bloody civil war.

Significantly the panic button was first pushed not by the multinationals and Wall Street banks but by South Africa's own white moneyed classes. Reporting from Johannesburg early this year, the *Wall Street Journal* (5 February) wrote:

"Many whites here, clinging to their privileges and luxuries, nevertheless exude apprehension about the future.

this direction by imposing a two-tier foreign-exchange system.

As massive white capital flight drained their reserves, South African banks were forced to borrow abroad ever larger amounts on ever shorter terms. Of South Africa's \$19 billion in foreign bank debt, two-thirds falls due within a year, almost half within six months. Such a lopsided debt structure is exceptional even by Third World standards.

Normally, there would be no question about rolling over these South African loans. But the situation in South Africa is anything but normal. The state of emergency imposed in late July and Botha's hardline speech

Continued on page ten

Vietnamese Trotskyists . . .

Continued from page five

"Tried three times by local People's Committees, he was acquitted each time — a tribute to the Trotskyists' reputation in Vietnam at that time. Finally, he was simply shot in Quang Ngai in February 1946, on orders from the southern Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau" (*Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam*).

Myers claims that the Saigon Trotskyists' "ultraleft line . . . would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy". Yet as we have seen, the Stalinists welcomed the Allied imperialists. In March 1946 Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement for limited "independence" within the French Union, permitting the stationing of 15,000 French troops in the North. It took eight more years of bitter struggle to drive the French colonialists out of North Vietnam. And only in 1975, thirty years and two million dead later, was imperialism driven from the peninsula. The Vietnamese Trotskyists, who fought for a workers and peasants government in 1945, were champions of the Indochinese revolution. We honor their memory and their struggle.

These days the Vietnamese Stalinists themselves don't talk much about how they executed their Trotskyist compatriots. Tran Van Giau was purged from his post and demoted to academic historian. But when French socialist Daniel Guerin interviewed Ho Chi Minh in Paris in 1946, he was clear enough about Ta Thu Thau: "He was a great patriot, and we mourn him," Ho told me with unfeigned emotion. But a moment later he added in a steady voice, 'All those who do not follow the line I have laid out will be broken'."

Corollary of Menshevism: Murder of Trotskyists

The Australian SWP pamphlet is explicitly Menshevik, openly defending the reformist "two-stage revolution" dogma and the consequent need to rely on the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The corollary of this class collaboration is murdering Trotskyist "ultraleftists" who might threaten the preservation of capitalist exploitation. Says Myers:

"The CP was also being realistic and sensible when it attempted to establish a broad national united front . . . and when it made the compromises and concessions necessary to secure such an alliance . . . The main enemy at that time, the enemy who had to be defeated if the revolution was to go forward, was foreign imperialism, not Vietnamese landlords or capitalists — their turn would come later. This is why one southern party official, Nguyen Van Tao, issued the warning during August: 'All those who have instigated the peasants to seize the landowners' property will be severely and pitilessly punished . . . We have not yet made the Communist revolution which will solve the agrarian problem. This government is only . . . a bourgeois-democratic government, even though the Communists are now in power'."

Here Myers goes to the heart of the historic division between the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution and Stalin's pipedream of "socialism in one country". In the debate over China in the 1920s, Trotsky fought Stalin's disastrous policy of collaboration with the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-Shek, a policy which ended with the 1927 massacre of thousands of Communists and militant workers who had volun-

USec/LCR Howls with Imperialist Wolves Over Vietnam

While the Australian SWP hails the 1945 murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, the French section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, is equating recent espionage trials in Vietnam with the Moscow Trials. Even though there is no evidence contradicting Hanoi's assertions that the accused were in fact plotting armed counterrevolutionary activities, an LCR article, incredibly, argued that it is necessary to "howl with the wolves", to join the imperialist hue and cry over these trials.

In the days of the Vietnam War, the gung-ho vicarious guerrillaists of the LCR were pursuing radical youth. In 1968 they ran through the streets chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!" and trying to pull down pictures of Vietnamese Trotskyist martyr Ta Thu Thau as "irrelevant". Most contemptibly, they refused to support their own Vietnamese section, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam, keeping its existence secret and refusing to print its documents (see *Workers Vanguard* no 72, 4 July 1975).

Today things have changed a bit: the European Mandelites are busy sucking up to Mitterrand and the anti-Soviet social democrats, championing counterrevolution from papists in Poland and mullahs in Afghanistan to former Saigon puppet officers who yearn to crush the hard-won revolutionary victories of the Vietnamese people. Having long ago abandoned the struggle for prolet-

arian revolution, today all wings of the USec demonstrate their virulent anti-Trotskyism over the litmus test of Vietnam.

We reprint below excerpts from an article by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, published in *Le Bolchevik* no 52, February 1985.

Last December 18 a court in Ho Chi Minh City sentenced to death five men accused of espionage and attempting to organize attacks on French and Soviet diplomats: since then three of them have been executed. On the 26th, in the city of Song Be, it was the turn of three former officers in Marshal Thieu's army, held since 1975 in a re-education camp, who were accused of seeking to set up a reactionary organization inside their camp. In France, only a few of the most discredited professional anti-Communist renegades bestirred themselves on this occasion to denounce the "Vietnamese gulag". The imperialist government of Mitterrand, while turning up the diplomatic pressure, has waged a veritable anti-Vietnam campaign demanding they be pardoned.

But the so-called "Trotskyists" of the LCR had no such scruples. In an article titled "Must We Howl with the Wolves?" (*Rouge* no 1142, 11-17 January), one "Louis Couturier" — after having explained that "it is equally plausible that not all is false in Hanoi's charges: some of the accused appear to actually have been in liaison with Vietnamese

groups preparing armed actions from abroad" — unhesitatingly compares this trial to the Moscow Trials: "When in a stammering voice he [the accused] 'sincerely repented' his crimes, you could imagine in elaborate detail the sinister procession of 'sincere repenters' from Zinoviev to Slansky."

To make this comparison is to adopt the standpoint of the liberal or social-democratic philistine for whom there is no difference between convicting a revolutionary militant and a partisan of counterrevolution, for whom there is nothing here but an attack on "human rights". But no, gentlemen, there is all the difference in the world: the Moscow Trials signaled the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy through the physical elimination of an entire generation of "Old Bolsheviks", the professional revolutionaries who had made the October Revolution. That was a tragedy for world revolution.

But Monsieur Couturier isn't thinking about world revolution. He is worried about what his pals in the Socialist Party and CFDT [Socialist-led union federation] think about him: "How then can one protest when dictatorships or pseudo-democratic regimes condemn communists to death?" And this personage concludes with a cry from the heart: "Whatever be the howls of the wolves, it is necessary to fight against those methods [the trials] knowing they will be used tomorrow when popular discontent gives birth to a Vietnamese Solidarnosc." ■

tarily turned their arms over to their bourgeois "allies".

But why stop there? Don't forget those Spanish "ultralefts", assassinated by the People's Front because Stalin was more interested in preserving an empty alliance with "democratic" British and French imperialism by maintaining capitalist rule in Spain than in winning the Civil War against fascism. And what about that most dangerous "ultraleft sectarian", Leon Trotsky, alleged agent of the Mikado and Hitler? We are awaiting a tract by the Australian Ustashi-lovers about how Trotsky, too, had to be eliminated in the name of the popular front of all progressive freedom-loving anti-fascists.

A few months ago the author of *The Vietnamese Revolution and its Leadership* snarled at one of our comrades in Sydney, "We support the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists and we support the murder of some Australian Trotskyists." Myers' poisonous sectarianism is particularly dangerous in the present context in Australia, where rightwing Vietnamese gusanos have violently attacked anyone who speaks out in defense of Vietnam. This includes gatherings of trade unionists and public appearances of representatives of the Vietnamese government, as well as forums of both the SWP and Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. This deadly threat must be met by a united defense of the workers movement (see "Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, US" *Workers Vanguard* no 380, 31 May; [also "Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!", *Australasian Spartacist* special supplement, 4 June]).

In Defence of Trotskyism!

The Spartacist tendency resolutely upholds the principles of revolutionary Trotskyism. We proudly defend our Vietnamese martyrs. Increasingly we are coming to be recognized as the Trotskyists. Certainly in Australia there is no contest. In our final pamphlet on the American SWP, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary* (1984), we noted that SWP leader Jack Barnes' 1982 speech explicitly renouncing the fundamental principles of Trotskyism at least clarified the left political landscape. Against the anti-Trotskyist revisionism of the USec, we uphold the perspective of permanent revolution:

"... Under certain exceptional conditions (including centrally the absence of the organized working class as a contender for power in its own right), Stalinist- or petty-bourgeois-led peasant-based guerrilla movements have come to power in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam. The result has been new bureaucratized workers states on a national-Stalinist program. . . . Yet these deformed social revolutions are themselves partial confirmations of the theory of permanent revolution, as these leaderships were forced — in opposition to their stated programs — to go over to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the adoption of the socialized property forms first established by the victory of the October Revolution, as the only way to achieve genuine national liberation and to address classically bourgeois-democratic tasks like land reform."

Today in Sandinista Nicaragua, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution again takes on a burning relevance, expressed in our call to "defend, complete, extend the

Nicaraguan revolution!" The alternative is not a "realistic" policy, but bloody defeat, as in Spain. Throughout the war in Vietnam, our tendency fought consistently to mobilize the power of the labor movement in strikes against the Vietnam War; we agitated for military victory to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces; we warned of the dangers of Stalinist betrayal. As we wrote in our Vietnam pamphlet:

"It has been left to the international Spartacist tendency to uphold the struggle of our martyred Vietnamese comrades and call for the formation of authentic Trotskyist parties in Indochina as part of a reborn Fourth International. While unconditionally defending the new deformed workers states . . . we have called for extending the revolutionary conquests and opening the road to socialism by political revolution to replace Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the democratic rule of the working class (supported by the exploited peasantry) through soviets."

The Australian SWP's denunciation of Trotskyism, lock, stock and barrel, is the logical culmination of decades of deepening reformist degeneration by the various factions of the United Secretariat, which broke with authentic Trotskyism a long time ago. The component groupings of the USec long ago lost the ability — and desire — to distinguish between Menshevism and Bolshevism, between Trotskyism and Stalinism, between revolution and counter-revolution. One of the few positions shared by all the competing factions is their "anti-Stalinist" unity with the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc — pet "union" of the pope, the

Australasian Spartacist

No Trust in the Indian Bourgeoisie!

Defend the Tamil People!

Even as Sri Lanka president J R Jayewardene's representatives were meeting with Tamil nationalist leaders at talks in Thimpu, Bhutan in early August, J R's Sinhala-chauvinist troops carried out a bloody massacre of hundreds of Tamils in the occupied northern town of Vavuniya. When, several days later, the sham "negotiations" finally broke down, Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi retaliated in anger against the Tamils, deporting three spokesmen for the Eelamist organisations, Dr Anton Balasingham, C S Chandraghasan and N Satyendra from their refuge in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu has since erupted in massive demonstrations of outrage and protest against the central government, including school boycotts and protest strikes on the railways, and leading to massive arrests. Indeed the Gandhi government has been forced to rescind the deportation order of Chandraghasan, who demanded to be returned to India after being flown to the US. We print below a slightly edited transcript of a speech by Spartacist League speaker Cheryl Myall to a 100-strong demonstration in London, 1 September in protest against the recent massacres.

I want to bring you greetings and express the solidarity of the international Spartacist tendency with the struggle of the Tamil peoples. The brutal massacre of Tamils at Vavuniya recently demonstrated that the only deal that J R wants to negotiate is a deal that is signed in Tamil blood.

I am particularly proud to be able to speak to you as a representative of the Spartacist tendency, because to the best of our resources in every country we have sought to mobilise in defence of the Tamil people.

Now we are internationalists, we see the struggles of the working class and of all the oppressed peoples around the world as part of the same struggle.

Jayewardene is not only the butcher



Spartacist League protests J R Jayewardene's anti-Tamil pogroms; Sydney, 23 July 1983.

of the Tamil people, he also oppresses and exploits the Sinhala working class. Now we know that it is the labour of the Tamil estate workers that has earned the profits for the Sinhala-chauvinist capitalists in Lanka. That is why we chant along with you, "Ceylon tea means Tamil blood!" [applause] But the Tamil workers have been denied and stripped of all their citizenship rights. We in the Spartacist League fight for full citizenship rights for all workers, of Tamils in Lanka, of black South Africans who are foreigners in their own country, of black and Asian people in Margaret Thatcher's racist Britain. And we demand the right of asylum for all Tamil refugees who are fortunate enough to escape Jayewardene's bloody terror and make it to Britain.

In Lanka we have fought for solidarity with the Tamil people amongst those sections of the Lankan population who have good cause to hate Jayewardene and his class. Notably

the predominantly Sinhalese women workers in the Free Trade Zone who are superexploited for the profits of the multinationals. We believe that there are people amongst the Lankan population, the Sinhala population, like these women, who can be won to the struggle for Tamil freedom.

Now I want to say something about the events of the last few days. The deportations of Tamil leaders from Tamil Nadu, unfortunately confirms something which we have warned against, and indeed which we have had many discussions about with many of you here today and that is — that the Tamil people must not rely on the Indian capitalist class to aid their liberation struggle. If you look at the situation created by the Indian bourgeoisie in places like the Punjab or in Assam, then you can predict that any capitalist solution to these communal conflicts will necessarily lead to a bloodbath. India's role in the region is one of divide and rule. This is the

role they inherited from the British. Remember the Sirima-Shastri pact!

But the other side of it is that the Tamil people do have real allies. They have allies in the working people of India. The struggle for Tamil liberation is a source of inspiration for all the workers and oppressed throughout the whole region. For example, in Tamil Nadu, following the deportations, there were rail strikes and there have been thousands of arrests of people who have undertaken protest actions in support of the Tamils from Lanka. Here are the real allies of the Tamil people. With an internationalist and revolutionary perspective, the Tamil struggle can be the leaven for socialist revolution throughout the entire region.

Lastly, we're internationalists and what I said previously about the Tamil workers in South India being a springboard to revolution throughout the whole continent ties in with what we put forward, and that is for a federated workers republic of Lanka and Eelam in the context of a socialist federation of South Asia.

Lastly, every atrocity committed by Jayewardene and his army thugs is aided and abetted by Margaret Thatcher's SAS advisors and by her arms [applause]. These are the things that go towards Jayewardene's bloody pogrom against the Tamil people. Then there is Reagan who wants Trincomalee. He wants it as a base alongside Diego Garcia and he'll have this base over the blood and over the corpses of the Tamil people. And of course, he wants Trincomalee because it is part of the international capitalists' aim to wage war against countries like the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

Today, comrades, in South Africa, black gold and coal miners start a strike against apartheid terror. We in the international Spartacist tendency have sought and have organised international solidarity with these struggles as we have done with yours. That's why we say, "Same enemy, same fight, workers of the world unite!"

Thank you. ■

— Reprinted from *Workers Hammer*, no 72, September 1985, published by the Spartacist League/Britain.

Stop Deportation of Tamil Refugee!

Roben Arumugam Alahantham, a 33-year-old Tamil, faces imminent deportation to Sri Lanka where J R Jayewardene's right-wing UNP government has been waging a massive campaign of communalist terror against the island's oppressed Tamil minority. Alahantham has been held for six weeks at the Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre in Melbourne after being arrested as an illegal immigrant. A ship's deck-hand, Alahantham returned from a voyage following the anti-Tamil pogroms in 1983 to find his home burnt down. The Melbourne *Sun* (17 September) quoted him: "My wife has written to me saying I should not return to Sri Lanka as the police are presently looking for me as a sus-

pected terrorist."

For Jayewardene's Sinhalese racist regime, any young Tamil is a "suspected terrorist"! The Australian government's deportation order — the first served on a Tamil refugee in this country — must be vigorously opposed by the labour movement. Upon hearing of Alahantham's plight the Spartacist League sent telegrams to immigration Minister Hurford and Foreign Minister Hayden demanding that he "be freed at once and given immediate political asylum. Deportation order against this Tamil refugee from J R Jayewardene's racist terror in Sri Lanka is a cold blooded death sentence." The Victorian branches of the Building Workers Industrial Union and Water-

side Workers Federation have also sent protests to the government. Should the government refuse to reverse its order, trade union action must ensure that any plane intended to transport this Tamil refugee back to face his would-be murderers remains grounded. At last report, the order had been "deferred" for the time being, but the Lankan High Commission and local Sinhalese chauvinists are pressing for it to be carried out with lying claims that he has nothing to fear!

Many thousands of Tamils who fled to Europe and North America in the wake of the 1983 massacres face the same fate as Alahantham. Like Thatcher's Britain, Kohl's West Germany and other European capitalist states,

the Hawke Labor government refuses to grant political asylum to Tamil refugees. The reason is simple; Hawke supports Jayewardene, whose mass killing of the Tamils is closely connected with US imperialism's appetite to secure Trincomalee harbour — historically a heavily Tamil area — as a base for its anti-Soviet war drive.

In Hawke's Australia Polish reactionaries fleeing a failed attempt to restore capitalism, South African whites looking for a safer white racist country, and Vietnamese contras escaping social revolution are welcome. But refugees from Hawke's regional allies like Lankan Tamils or Irian Jayans from Indonesia are to be sent back to their tormentors. The Spartacist telegram concluded: "Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Political asylum for all Tamil refugees!" ■

CIA and the Western bankers.

In contrast, we Spartacists know the difference between genuine Leninist-Trotskyists, whose opposition to Stalinist bureaucracy is based on defending and extending revolutionary gains, and counterrevolutionaries who ally with world reaction and religious obscurantism to restore capitalist rule. And we are not necessarily opposed to all repressive measures carried out by Stalinists. If

the ultra-Barnesite Australian SWP teams up with their Pilsudskiite Solidarnosc papists and Ustashi Croatian fascists to bring "democracy" to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we would most assuredly hail the verdicts brought by the Stalinist-run trials which uphold the prior decisions of a justly enraged populace to execute these counterrevolutionaries on the spot.

Our tendency which has gained a

reputation as the orthodox, hard-core Trotskyists, lays claim to the tradition and continuity of revolutionary Leninism today. Our solidarity with the revolutionary victories won by the Vietnamese workers and peasants is underlined by our defence of the courageous struggle of the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists, who died fighting against the re-introduction of imperialist rule. Only the program of Trotskyist internationalism and proletarian

revolution can ensure the survival of those victories, won at so great a cost.

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE

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Sth Africa

Continued from page four

"Compared to what the courageous black people in South Africa are faced with right now, this is all just cowardly legalistic bullshit. Furthermore, given the international outcry against the 'state of emergency' right now, however hypocritical and self-serving, the employers and courts would be very reluctant to take any legal action against long-shoremen, many of them black, stopping ships to protest apartheid."

— *Workers Vanguard*, 6 September

How true this is! Class-struggle militants in this country should see this as the perfect opportunity to kill two birds with one stone. By extending the bans on South African ships and cargo to their fullest potential the Australian trade unions can act as a beacon and example to the rest of the world's workers to advance their own actions. And by openly flouting 45D the capitalist offensive intended to "break union power" can be dealt a humiliating blow before it gains momentum. What stands as an obstacle to this road of struggle is the ACTU and trade-union bureaucracy who are desperate to maintain "class peace" under their Accord with the government, recently blessed again by the ACTU congress. Crean, Kelty & Co know that a political challenge to 45D over South Africa would be a crisis for the Hawke government, would quickly expose their real class allegiances and bring into sharp focus the critical need for labour's fighting class independence, at home and abroad.

Apartheid and White Australia

Hawke's "strong stand" against apartheid merely continues that of his predecessor Fraser, and before him, Whitlam. But the ruling class of this white imperialist outpost on the rim of Asia also uneasily perceive they have much in common with apartheid South Africa. After World War II, both Labor and Tory governments consistently opposed sanctions and breaking relations with South Africa in the UN, fearing repercussions for Australia's racist immigration policy and its New Guinea colony. Later, however, as the apartheid system was being erected, Australia went the opposite way to adjust to the newly emergent South-east Asian neo-colonial regimes to its north. It deleted the overt racism from the White Australia Policy and eventually "de-colonised" Papua New Guinea. What the cleaned up "non-racist" immigration policy meant was unintentionally caught by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, commenting that almost all South Africans granted residency in Australia are white: "Although the criteria are non-racial, the blacks just do not fit them" (7 September).

Particularly after the Vietnam war, opposition to apartheid was essential



70-strong waterfront picket against Saffocean Mildura, Melbourne 5 August.

to the "enlightened" image the ruling class wanted to project. It went down well in "third world" capitals and the stormy protests against the 1971 Springbok Rugby tour showed the depth of feeling at home. (There was even a two-day general strike in Queensland, when Bjelke-Petersen declared a State of Emergency over the issue). But the ugly reality of White Australia, apartheid's brother beneath the skin, is nowhere more starkly revealed than over the position of Aborigines. After the endless promises, legislation and government welfare, the overwhelming majority of blacks in Australia are no better off than they were twenty years ago — shunted onto the rubbish dumps and rural backwaters of this racially exclusionist "white man's country". Ex-PM Malcolm Fraser, stumping South Africa under UN auspices denouncing apartheid's horrors, got hot under the collar when a South African minister said his cops are no worse than those in the US or Australia. Yet the names of John Pat, Eddie Murray, Charlie Michael, Robert Walker — Aborigines murdered in prisons and police cells like Steve Biko and hundreds of anti-apartheid fighters — testify to the essential truth of this.

The South African revolution will have worldwide repercussions. The self-liberation of South Africa's black toilers, led by a multi-racial communist vanguard, would be the most powerful inspiration for workers around the world, and not least the millions of black workers in Reagan's America. Revolutionary struggle against the apartheid dictatorship can shake world imperialism to its core. ■

Wall Street

Continued from page seven

on August 15 finally convinced international capital that South Africa was fast heading toward a bloody abyss. "The speech was so far removed from South African reality it breeds a sense of fear among businessmen", said a South African consultant for many US firms. More starkly, a West German banker exclaimed, "I fear a blood-bath in which there will be no winners" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 Sep-

tember). If the apartheid state succeeds in restoring the social peace of the graveyard, as it did after Sharpeville, the Wall Street loans and multinational investments will flow back. In the meantime ...

For decades liberals and reformists in the West have demanded "Divest, divest, divest!" in order to pressure the Afrikaner nationalist regime into reforming apartheid. Now they have divestment — as much as they're ever going to get — for exactly the opposite reason. Foreign investors are convinced that the Botha regime will not make the concessions, even verbally, which they hope will dampen black unrest.

The flight of capital can only further depress the South African economy. As revolutionaries, we do not believe in "the worse, the better" in South Africa or elsewhere. Except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed, isolation from the world market is likely to result in massive dislocation and deprivation of black toilers, weakening their capacity to struggle.

Wall Street is not only concerned about saving white supremacy from itself in South Africa. It hopes, as do its political representatives in city halls, Congress and the White House, to exploit the "sanctions" and "divestment" issue to defuse the anger of a deeply alienated black population that sees all too clearly the parallels between racist terror in Soweto and in Harlem. Corporate America wants to convince black people that they have a "friend in Chase Manhattan".

But from Wall Street to the White House, the main enemy is at home! And every blow struck against that enemy by workers and their allies in this country is a real blow for black freedom in South Africa. As communists, we seek to unleash the power of the American proletariat for socialist revolution. The tremendous wealth and technology of this country, which have served to crush the oppressed of Africa and the rest of the world, must be placed in their service to build a socialist future free of want, exploitation and war.

— abridged from *Workers Vanguard*, no 387, 20 September 1985

For the anti-communist nuts in the Pentagon bunker, already obsessed with the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, the once secure Southwest Pacific rim has become an "arc of instability", while the Philippine social volcano rumbles on, threatening the critical US bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field. So the Reagan gang will stick with the French and their planned New Caledonian "unsinkable aircraft carrier", and Australian mini-imperialism will just have to live with it.

To these squalid inter-imperialist rivalries between Washington's second and third-rate allies, revolutionary Marxists say: the main enemy is at home! Australian imperialism is the mortal enemy of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. The present show of trans-Tasman sympathy for the island peoples in face of French "intransigence" is a smokescreen for the appetites of Australian and New Zealand capitalism. Mitterrand's neo-colonial scheme for New Caledonia closely resembles Australia's "decolonisation" of Papua New Guinea. There the state power is all but in name the direct extension of the Australian bourgeois state apparatus, behind which the mining companies and expatriate plantation owners ruthlessly superexploit the black masses. The Somare government's imposition of a "State of Emergency" in Port Moresby is a confession of the utter bankruptcy of ten years of neo-colonial Westminster "democracy". Hawke's professed concern over "safety" at Mururoa is a grim mockery of the Australian Aborigines who were treated literally as human guinea pigs when Australia hosted the British nuclear program at Maralinga in the early fifties. We oppose French nuclear testing in the Pacific just as we opposed Hawke's (foiled) plans to participate in US MX-missile tests last year. Down with the *force de frappe*, NATO, ANZUS and other imperialist anti-Soviet war alliances! US bases out of Australia and the Pacific! For the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and Vietnam!

The Mouse That Roared

David Lange seized on the Rainbow Warrior bombing to once more bestride the world stage as "the mouse that roared". Currently Lange is pushing through a ruthless anti-working class austerity program, winning him rave reviews from the IMF and Wall Street but also causing difficulties with his timid "left" supporters in the trade union bureaucracy, and real rage amongst sections of the working class. He's also trying hard to appease the Pentagon but is skewered between the US demand for abject surrender and the need to maintain his nationalist credentials at home. When Mitterrand embarked on a lightning trip to the colonies including Mururoa in mid-September, Lange launched a verbal firestorm of vituperation, denouncing the tour as an "obscene gesture" and adding: "It is not just that we're adversaries but really, I think, it should be properly translated enemies". But Lange too is bound to the anti-Soviet imperative underpinning ANZUS and the US/French Pacific entente, and it is within this framework that he seeks to pursue the particular aspirations of the New Zealand bourgeoisie in the Pacific. After bribing Tuvalu not to accept a Soviet fishing deal he explained, "any escalation of the Russian presence in the immediate Pacific area is in the end not in New Zealand's interests" (*Islands Business*, July 1985).

Hawke's role as Reagan's local bully
Australasian Spartacist

South Pacific

Continued from page twelve

But the "great arbitrator" in the White House is not listening. Reagan's former ambassador, the "dragon lady" Jeane Kirkpatrick, frankly defended the Rainbow Warrior "hit". This is not simply mutual admiration from one gang of imperialist terrorists for another. Along with Thatcher's Britain "Socialist" France is a key anti-Soviet ally in Europe. Both France's conventional and nuclear forces are increasingly integrated into NATO's first strike plans.

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boy was on show at the August South Pacific Forum meeting where he pushed through a "nuclear free Pacific" proposal that could have been written by US war minister Caspar Weinberger. Only Vanuatu's Walter Lini dared hold out against this "no nukes but US nukes" line. To placate Paris Hawke blocked the seating of the Kanak FLNKS as observers and pronounced himself well satisfied with the "pace" of "de-colonisation" in New Caledonia. And in the backrooms Hawke attempted to strongarm Kiribati into abandoning a proposed

fishing agreement with the Soviet Union. Hawke's obsession is not just with the spectre of increased Soviet diplomatic influence, but the sophisticated electronic detection equipment that comes with the Soviet fishing fleet. The US navy has long regarded the Pacific and Indian Oceans as secure zones for its nuclear submarines, especially the new Ohio class subs with their first-strike capable Trident ICBMs.

The Australian reformist left has sought to channel the outrage over the state terror bombing of the Rainbow

Warrior into vile anti-French chauvinism. They demand a yet more ambitious role for Australian imperialism in the Pacific. The dissolving rump of the Communist Party of Australia and the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) shamelessly beat the jingo drum in support of the Greenpeace call to boycott all things French. The SWP's social imperialism is without even a figleaf:

"If France left it would create a power vacuum Australia would be unable to fill. Hawke is quite happy to vocalise his opposition to nuclear tests as long

as it doesn't have to be translated into action aimed at removing French imperialism."

— *Direct Action*, 25 September 1985

While the reformists dream of Australian imperialism "removing" its French rival, we Trotskyists look to the Australian proletariat to "remove" through socialist revolution its own bourgeoisie, thereby playing a vanguard role in liberating the oppressed peoples of the South Pacific from capitalist-imperialist enslavement — be it under the US, France or Australia and New Zealand. ■

AIDS Hysteria ■■■

Continued from page twelve

the scaremongering and threats fuel the deep fear of social backlash in the gay community and, by guaranteeing in advance that positive results will lead to social ostracism and victimisation, in general keep people away from existing test facilities, thus assisting in the spread of the disease. In fact there has been an 80 percent drop in detection of AIDS recently. The Wran legislation protects no one and must be opposed by all defenders of democratic rights and human decency! It will be used as a mechanism for witchhunting and targetting for right-wing attack one of the most vulnerable sectors of the oppressed, homosexuals.

AIDS and Cold War Reaction

Those who contract the AIDS virus are tarred as lepers. What should be seen as a private tragedy for the ill to be combatted with all available scientific and technological resources has instead become a means to shore up the anti-sex poison of reactionary bourgeois morality. The media message has been loud and clear: homosexuality is a dangerous aberration that produced AIDS; monogamy ("safe sex") for everyone is the wave of the future. As the *British Guardian Weekly* put it, "It is amazing how fear can transform even a sexual revolutionary into a social conservative." (8 September, 1985)

In this political period of Cold War anti-Sovietism all manner of social reaction flourishes. The deep sexual repression enforced by capitalist society is a means to maintain the stultifying institution of the nuclear family — to which homosexuality is seen as a threat — and to reinforce generalised submission to authority to shore up class rule. The products are emotionally agonised, guilt-ridden human beings in fear of enjoyable sex and life itself. So it's no surprise that there's such a widespread neurotic reaction, what the French have labelled "AIDS psychosis", to a truly terrible disease — particularly one that can be sexually transmitted.

While homosexuals remain the main target others in the "at-risk" categories for AIDS — haemophiliacs, intravenous drug users, blood recipients — have also been subjected to a public reaction ranging from the ignorant to the malicious. Take the case of Eve, a three-year-old girl who was infected with AIDS through a blood transfusion and forced out of her pre-school by 120 frenzied parents. For some reason Australia has a higher proportion of transfusion cases than any other western country. It's been postulated that possibly 50 percent of severe haemophiliacs have acquired the infection, and for the first time in the world four women have been infected through artificial insemination. In other words there are men, women and children dying. But

this hasn't allayed the "god's wrath against sodomy" tripe.

For gays, "coming out", an often deeply felt personal need and act of defiance in the face of oppression is becoming an unaffordable luxury for those with jobs to protect, not to mention their skins. The Anti-Discrimination Board gets 90 calls per month regarding AIDS — 25 of those are from people who've been dismissed or forced to resign from their jobs; the others have faced harassment. Most are homosexuals and none have actually had AIDS. People "perceived" to be gay seeking medical or dental attention are being turned away. The Immigration Department has strengthened its refusal to recognise homosexual relationships for family immigration. A spokesman said they don't want to "embarrass" the government. More ominous is the dramatic increase in street bashings of homosexuals by gangs of marauding youths in the gay ghettos, and a spate of murders recently in Adelaide and in Sydney — once heralded as the gay mecca of the southern hemisphere. Last July psychopathic killer, Andrew Tregurtha, was given front-page coverage in the Sydney dailies and prime-time television slots to blame his victims for their own deaths. This ex-Kings Cross hustler was promoted by the media as an innocent corrupted by "perverts".

More recently there have been reports of warders at Sydney's Long Bay Gaol subjecting prisoners suffering with AIDS to taunts of "bring out your dead" as they patrol the cells in the isolation wing. Wran's screws "struck" for two days last month demanding compulsory blood testing for all prisoners, while issuing bloody-minded refusals to even consider allowing the distribution of condoms, let alone sterile syringes, to prisoners — because homosexual activity and drug use are illegal in NSW jails! These are basic measures of public hygiene, especially in the closed environment of a prison and we demand that prisoners have access to them. And we would've welcomed

Wran's offer of free condoms to the general public if he hadn't reneged.

Science versus Decaying Capitalism

Since the first case of AIDS in Australia — which was transmitted via the US — was diagnosed in March 1983 there have been 113 notified cases of Category A (fullblown) AIDS with 51 resulting deaths. There are likely to be 200 known cases by the end of this year and 600 by the end of 1986. By comparison 45,000 people died of heart disease in Australia in 1984.

AIDS is caused by a virus which attacks the immune system leaving its victims defenceless against a range of opportunistic and sometimes fatal infections. Endemic to equatorial Africa it is believed to have been present in animals and humans there, for how long and in what form is unclear. Of course AIDS only became an issue after it had infected white Europeans. There are a couple of credible theories as to how it migrated to Europe and the US: either via guest workers returning from Zaire to Belgium, and Zaire to Haiti where it was then transmitted to American tourists; or more directly by the pharmaceutical companies leeching contaminated blood from the desperately poor of black Africa for sale in the centres of western imperialism.

Compared to hepatitis, malaria and a host of other infectious diseases including the common cold it is distinctly uncontagious, requiring direct transmission into the bloodstream of another person for them to become infected. Blood and semen are the only two body fluids proven capable of transmitting the virus intact. The major mode of transmission is sexual. Anal intercourse is somewhat more likely to result in infection than vaginal intercourse owing to fragile blood vessels closer to the surface. In Zaire the disease is widely spread among the population and evenly distributed among men and women. One can only suppose that homosexuals entered the infection cycle partly by accident and having got there are stuck with it.

Of those who come into contact with the disease, an estimated 20,000 to 50,000 men in Australia now, only a small proportion develop Category A AIDS resulting in death or develop the less fatal AIDS-related illnesses like lymphadenopathy. Once infected it can take anywhere from six months to five years to develop symptoms. This adds another dimension to the agony of those who have to live with the fact that they have contracted the virus.

While the number of confirmed AIDS cases doubles every six months the US Health Department and the Pasteur Institute of Paris are squabbling over patent rights to the AIDS virus and the AIDS diagnostic kit. Now, as part of the drive to shore up American capitalism by dismantling the social welfare programs, the budget axe has come down on the Atlanta Center for Disease Control — one of the main centres for AIDS research. There ought to be multi-millions poured into AIDS research internationally!

Medical research and health care, like everything else in this society, have always been class biased. Stephen Jay Gould — a real gem of a biologist/palaeontologist/dialectician with a social conscience — in his essay "The Nonscience of Human Nature" captures this nicely:

"How satisfying it is to fob off the responsibility for war and violence upon our presumably carnivorous ancestors. How convenient to blame the poor and the hungry for their condition — lest we be forced to blame our economic system or our government for an abject failure to secure a decent life for all people. And how convenient an argument for those who control government and, by the way, provide the money that science requires for its very existence."

If there is any illusion that capitalist Australia has the interests of society at heart, one need only look at the decrepit state of hospitals and health care in this country. Then there are those for whom the ruling class' arrogant indifference has been a miserable fact of life — the poor, the elderly, and particularly the Aborigines whose infant mortality rate, malnutrition, incidence of trachoma and on and on, rivals that of the most underdeveloped nations.

The bourgeoisie would like to keep this a virulently racist and homophobic society. But their myth of a healthy, sports minded, clean white *herrenvolk* enjoying their place in the sun immune to the rest of the world, has been shot full of holes — from MX missiles to AIDS. There may be a cure found for AIDS or time may render it less virulent, but the fight for the right to something as fundamental as free quality health care for all means a fight for a workers government that acts in the interests of all the oppressed. And it will take the social overturn of workers revolution to even begin to undo the legacy of deforming sexual guilt drummed into everyone in this sick and dying class society. ■



The "AIDS crisis": fear and loathing in the bosses press.



French Terror Bombing, US Destabilisation in NZ—

Australia Hands Off the South Pacific!

The Main Enemy is at Home!

The international furore over the murderous bombing of the Greenpeace Rainbow Warrior ship by the French secret service (DGSE) in New Zealand's Auckland Harbour on 10 July has been a mixed blessing for the Hawke Labor government.

Whether administered by Labor or the Tories, Australian imperialism has an historic appetite to divest France of its Pacific colonies from New Caledonia to Tahiti and become the hegemonic mini-imperialist power over the entire region. But it is also the slavish junior partner of US imperialism. From hosting US first-strike spy and communications bases to collaborating with US destabilisation of David Lange's "no-nuke" New Zealand Labour government, Hawke is Reagan's foremost regional enforcer. Canberra is painfully aware that Washington values the French dominance of the Pacific micro-states as a barrier to Soviet influence and supports the *force de frappe* and the Mururoa test program as an essential adjunct to the "free world" anti-Soviet armoury.

Hawke maintained a deafening silence in the immediate aftermath of the Rainbow Warrior atrocity, riding out the disquiet of ALP left-nationalists. But more than diplomatic silence is involved here. The *National Times* (30 August) reported that Australian Federal Police held and then let go one of the three French sabotage squads as it passed through Norfolk



"No nukes but US nukes" at 1985 South Pacific Forum: petty Imperialist overlord Hawke signs treaty as his island yes-men look on.

Island 24 hours after the bombing. Likewise with yet another of the DGSE spooks who passed through Sydney. And there have been persistent reports that ASIO had been forewarned of the French strike by the

CIA and/or MI5, but kept their New Zealand cousins in the dark — withholding intelligence is now policy, intended to punish New Zealand for its veto of US nuclear ships.

Mitterrand's Cold War "Socialist"

government looks to be in real trouble (see article page 3). His war minister Charles Hernu and DGSE boss Admiral Lacoste have been thrown overboard. French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius said he is "truly sorry" to Lange and finally admitted what everyone knew: that the order to bomb the Rainbow Warrior — just like the cold-blooded murder of Kanak independence leader Eloi Machoro early this year — came straight from the Elysee Palace. These social-democratic dwarfs masquerading as latter day De Gaulles hope to be saved by their "sacred union" with the rightist opposition over retaining the "confetti" of France's empire, the *force de frappe* and the traditional bonapartist powers of the state apparatus.

Cold War Allies, Pacific Rivals

With Mitterrand on the defensive at home and his neo-colonial scheme for New Caledonia likely to be still-born in the face of the explosive Kanak independence struggle, the Hawke government is making its bid for Australian overlordship of the South Pacific under the ANZUS banner. In a carefully timed speech Hawke's ambassador to the US, Rawdon Dalrymple, laid Canberra's cards on the table, warning the US: "If you want the South Pacific to become an area where the Soviet Union, Cuba and others of that stripe can find fertile ground for anti-United States, anti-West propaganda and activity... then continue with a policy of indifference to what the French are doing there" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September)

Continued on page ten

AIDS Hysteria Targets Gays—

Down with Wran's Witchhunt Legislation!

Anti-gay bigots of every stripe may have their dream of institutionalised victimisation of homosexuals passed in the New South Wales (NSW) Parliament. The pretext is "Wran's war" on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), called the "gay plague" by much of the bourgeois media. While AIDS is neither specific to homosexuals nor a disease of plague proportion or type, its victims (overwhelmingly homosexuals in Australia) are persecuted as "guilty" for catching — and spreading — the disease.

Crawling before and stirring the mounting reactionary hysteria, NSW Labor boss Wran is pushing legislation that would expose patients with positive AIDS antibody diagnosis to criminal prosecution. When three Queensland babies died last year after being given blood transfusions from an unknowingly AIDS-infected young male donor, the howling of the wolf pack for the blood of gay "babykillers" echoed around the world. A bill against "unsuitable" blood donors with a penalty of \$10,000 and/or two

years in prison was quickly passed in the Queensland parliament in November 1984. Wran immediately threatened laws "twice as tough" as Queensland's.

Under the proposed legislation the Health Department would have the power to require names and addresses of patients found to have AIDS antibodies. Doctors refusing to turn fink on their patients would be fined \$1,000 for each "offence" and threatened with prosecution and deregistration. As Wran put it, "The law will be

obeyed and if it's not strong enough I'll make it stronger." (*The Australian*, 10 September, 1985)

It would be a punishable offence with a \$5,000 fine not to inform a sexual partner of having AIDS or antibodies — something impossible to prove in a court of law. "Contact tracers" in the Department of Health would be increased, and AIDS carriers could be forcibly ordered into hospital where the cruel joke of "no frills" health care awaits them. Moreover,

Continued on page eleven