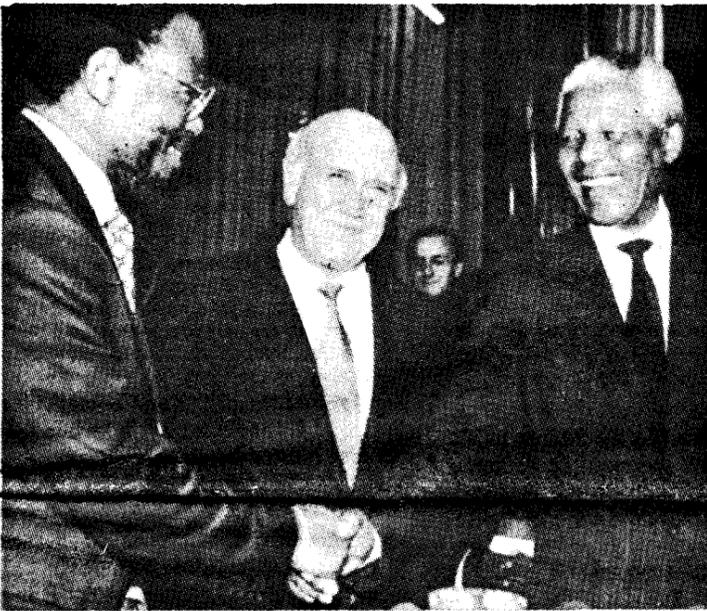




South Africa Elections

ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom



Reuters



Motlala/COSATU

Buthelezi, De Klerk and Mandela shake hands on elections. "Power-sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled through nationalist popular front with bourgeoisie.

The first nationwide multiracial elections in South African history have been concluded. The outcome of the election was in fact determined well before it took place. There would be a coalition "government of national unity" between the African National Congress (ANC) and F. W. De Klerk's Afrikaner-based National Party (NP), the architect and upholder of the apartheid system. But the future of South Africa will not be determined by the outcome of these elections or the carefully crafted "power-sharing" arrangements between the bourgeois nationalist ANC and the National Party. Whatever the promises of "moderation" and class collaboration by Mandela & Co., the black masses believe that at long last they have a government which represents their interests and aspirations. In townships from Cape Town to the Witwatersrand, black residents say they will have "patience"—for about two months. The Mandela/De Klerk regime will confront strikes and protests by workers in the powerful and combative black unions, the occupation of white-owned residential property by homeless squatters, demands to distribute white-owned land to the impoverished blacks long trapped on the bantustans.

In the vote results, Mandela's ANC got some 12 million votes, a little under 63 percent of the total; De Klerk's NP, 4 million votes, or 20 percent; and Buthelezi's Inkatha supposedly received 2 million, or ten percent of the vote. The ANC took an overwhelming majority in six out of eight provincial legislatures. In the Western Cape (centred on Cape Town), the Nats won 53 percent against the ANC's 33 percent, by crudely stoking

For a Bolshevik Workers Party! For a Black-Centred Workers Republic!

fears among the "coloured" (mixed race) population over the prospect of a black government. In KwaZulu/Natal, where Inkatha is credited with over half the total while the ANC received one-third, there is evidence of massive voter fraud. However, Mandela refused to challenge this, raising speculations of a "deal within the deal," to let Buthelezi have enough votes to bring him into the cabinet. The London *Guardian* (7 May) bluntly asserted:

"The Independent Electoral Commission and the African National Congress conspired to hand control of KwaZulu/Natal to Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the hope of buying peace in the blood-soaked province."

The composition of the new cabinet tells a story about the betrayal of aspirations for black freedom and the class nature of the state. While Mandela is president and the ANC's chief yuppie Thabo Mbeki is first deputy president (and likely successor to the 75-year-old chief of state), De Klerk is now second deputy president. The ministry of finance will stay in the hands of Derek Keys, former chief executive officer of Gencor, the second-largest mining house in South Africa, who held this key position in De Klerk's NP government. The ANC's 15 cabinet ministers are heavily loaded with members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long played a leading role in the Congress. Longtime SACP chief Joe Slovo is Minister of Housing and Welfare: nothing "red" about him—but his

trademark red socks, Slovo transformed himself from hardline Stalinist to soft-core "market socialist." So after the collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule ushered in counterrevolution across the Soviet Union and East Europe, the CP gets to join in administering a country in coalition with and in the interests of apartheid capital!

The ANC came within a couple of percentage points of the two-thirds majority that would enable it to change the new constitution and prevent vetoes by the white right in the cabinet and new parliament. The ANC showed evident relief at this outcome, as the *New York Times* (7 May) noted of Mandela's response: "today he professed to be pleased at the shortfall. 'I feel very relieved we did not get the two-thirds majority, because already tensions were building up that we were going to write our own Constitution,' he said." What Mandela is worried about now is the looming confrontation with the black labour movement. A dispute between the ANC and its union allies broke into the open two weeks before the election, after a call by ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Slovo for a strike moratorium. Under pressure from its ranks, COSATU reacted sharply, saying it "would not in principle support any call for a general moratorium on strike action, even for a limited period" (*Weekly Mail*, 15 April).

Some of the most controversial clauses in the constitution include one that

limits the right to strike to purely "economic" issues and another that sanctifies the employers' "right" to lock out workers. Last November, the black unions marched on the "power sharing" negotiations and were preparing for a general strike to knock these clauses out of the constitution. The unionists were strong-armed into calling off their strike by Slovo and COSATU head Sam Shilowa (also SACP), who promised them if they voted for the ANC, with a two-thirds majority they would immediately rewrite the constitution.

As the article printed below explains, for communists: "A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed race) and Indian toilers in a different political form." No "power sharing" with the Randlords! Break with the ANC! Those who toil must rule!

APRIL 25—Yesterday a powerful car bomb exploded near the headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC) in Johannesburg, killing ten and injuring over 100; damage extended for five blocks. Today more than a dozen taxi stands and polling stations were bombed in several areas of South Africa. These vile racist attacks are almost certainly the work of hard-line white right wingers assisted or planned by recalcitrant elements within the army or the intelligence services.

The bombings, aimed at the ANC, the organization supported by the

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April 14: From Sydney (left) to London (right), PDC-initiated demonstrations protest in defence of the Kurdish people.

International Campaign Protests Repression of Kurds

In a coordinated series of actions around the world, on April 14 demonstrators picketed German consulates and embassies in Sydney, London, Paris, Toronto and New York with chants of "Racist Fourth Reich hands off the Kurds!" The protests were initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) and other fraternal social and legal defence organisations affiliated to sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) to demand an end to the German government's ban of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and 35 other Kurdish organisations, as well as the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol, and to raise the alarm against the threat of mass expulsions of Kurds to near-certain torture and death in Turkey.

In the last year, some 4,000 have been killed in Turkey's genocidal war on the Kurdish national minority of 15 million. To back up its NATO ally, Ankara's imperialist patrons in Bonn outlawed a wide range of Kurdish political, cultural and social organisations last November, subjecting the 500,000 Kurdish immigrants in Germany to a virtual state of siege (see "Protest Germany's Anti-Kurdish Repression!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 598, 15 April). In March, cops in Berlin surrounded the Technical University to prevent a celebration of the Kurdish New Year, beating and arresting people. Several hundred Kurds were arrested for blocking Autobahns.

Meanwhile, five Turkish and Kurdish members of the group Antifascist Gençlik languish in a German prison, grotesquely accused of having killed a Nazi terrorist. Our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the KfsV defence organisation have played a prominent role in protesting every assault by German imperialism on the rights of Kurds, Turks and other immigrants, demanding freedom for the Gençlik militants and calling for worker/immigrant mobilisations to smash the Nazi thugs.

The urgency of this international protest campaign was underlined by the

threat that Kurds arrested in protests face imminent deportation, as demanded by Christian Democratic chancellor Kohl and ordered by Bavaria. While the federal justice minister, Free Democrat Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, expressed reservations about this (she wants speeded-up trials), now the Social Democratic (SPD) candidate for chancellor, Rudolph Sharping, has come out for "deportation of violent Kurds" if Turkey promises not to mistreat them (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9-10 April). Challenged by a Spartacist League spokesman at an April 14 press conference in New York, Sharping defended Germany's racist attacks against the Kurds.

The crackdown is an election campaign issue in Germany. Kohl wants to send Bundeswehr soldiers to Bosnia and deport immigrant "troublemakers" to Turkey. Aspiring to be co-rulers of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, the SPD wants to show it isn't "soft on Kurds": at least one of the arrested Kurds was reportedly deported by the SPD state government of Baden-Württemberg, while

more than 30 Kurds have been "forcibly repatriated" by the SPD-led government of Lower Saxony to Turkey where they face what one German foreign ministry official genteelly referred to as "intensified interrogation methods"...not to mention death squads (*Der Spiegel*, 11 April).

The Toronto protest brought out a contingent of PKK supporters, as did the protest in Sydney, which was also attended by supporters of the Australian Kurdish Association. From Melbourne the Union of Australian Kurdish & Turkish Workers endorsed the action, as did Don Gunn, NSW Assistant Secretary of the Media, Entertainment & Arts Alliance, in a personal capacity. In London, the demonstration was joined by a number of British leftist groups and a sizeable contingent from Devrimci Sol. Turkish leftists from the CIK and ACTIT organisations also took part in the Paris protest. The demonstrations denounced the anti-working-class Turkish regime of prime minister Tansu Ciller, which has mounted a murderous offensive with

300,000 troops for a "final solution" against the Kurds.

This unity in action against the common class enemy represented a significant departure from the sectarianism and nationalism which permeates the Turkish and Kurdish left, including support by the PKK for attacks against Turkish restaurants and cultural centres. As a demonstration spokesman remarked in New York, such indiscriminate terrorism is not only criminal but suicidal:

"In order to achieve the national liberation of Kurdistan, it will require the overthrow of four capitalist governments in the Middle East. This can only be achieved through the closest revolutionary unity of all the workers throughout the region."

Signs raised the call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" while protesters chanted "1, 2, 3, 4—Down with Turkey's terror war! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Emphasising the internationalism of these protest actions, demonstrators' signs demanded U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans! Protesters in New York chanted, "Haiti embargo—we say no! Racist Clinton's got to go!" In Paris, the Mitterrand/Balladur government was denounced for its attacks on Kurds and police terror against youth of North African origin. Demonstrators in Sydney and other cities carried signs attacking the racist anti-immigrant policies of their "own" bourgeoisies. As the PDC press release announcing the demonstration here stated:

"Drawing the parallel to Germany's actions, demonstration organisers in Sydney also denounced the Keating Labor government's racist incarceration and deportation of refugees, predominantly Asian, as well as its systematic racist brutality against Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. This is of a piece with Canberra's braintrusting and arming of its Papua New Guinea neocolony in the war against the Bougainville people. The Australian jackal imperialists have also eagerly enlisted in the racist imperialist terror unleashed against the peoples of Iraq and Somalia."

Down with Germany's ban of the PKK and All Kurdish Organisations! Down with the Ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol! Stop the Deportations! ■



Germany, December 1993: Banner of class-struggle defence organisation KfsV reads "Down with the Ban on the PKK and All Kurdish Groups!"

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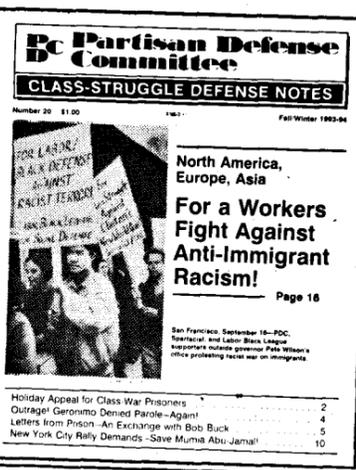
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ISO Peddles Popular-Front Illusions

Cops Protect Fascists in Melbourne

MELBOURNE—An ominous, rising tide of racist and fascist attacks in this country demands concerted, mass militant action by the organised workers movement and all the oppressed. While the fascist resurgence in Europe in the wake of the destruction of the former Soviet Union and capitalist counter-revolution throughout Eastern Europe is on a qualitatively larger scale, skinhead fascist bands here spawned from the decay of "White Australia" capitalism have been stepping up their race-hate violence. On the last Saturday in February, 20 Nazi skinheads rampaged through Adelaide's Rundle Mall, targeting Asians and immigrants and bashing a dozen people while they waved swastika flags and yelled "Sieg Heil." On 9 April some 50 supporters of the fascist National Action (NA) rallied in the Adelaide suburb of Prospect, protected by the police from a 1,000-strong counter-demonstration. Prospect is in the Federal electorate of Bonython where the sinister outfit known as "Australians Against Further Immigration" won seven percent of the vote in the recent by-election. In Melbourne on 4 January four Asian girls were savagely beaten and robbed at Bayswater railway station by a white female gang shouting "Romper Stomper" and sporting skinhead regalia. On 15 March some five fascists attacked the student union offices at LaTrobe University in reprisal for the students' participation in an anti-fascist rally in Brunswick three days earlier.

The fascists take their cue from the bourgeois and Labor politicians whose policies fuel anti-immigrant hysteria. The Keating regime's continued detention of hundreds of Indochinese "boat people" in virtual concentration camps at Port Hedland and Villawood is a green light for the NA fascists. And federal Labor has nestled in its caucus one Graeme Campbell, the member for Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. Campbell campaigned openly for the reactionary Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) in the recent NSW by-elections. This "White Australia" Labor racist has not even been rapped over the knuckles by his ALP cohorts. For their part, after recent by-election "successes," the AAFI leadership—Rodney and Robyn Spencer and Denis McCormack—have been doing the media rounds attempting to deny that they are racists and giving themselves environmental "airs." An exposé in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 April) documents, however, the extensive links between AAFI leaders and racist organisations such as the "League of Rights," as well as the viciously anti-Semitic and anti-Asian publication the *National Reporter*. The *Herald* exposé describes the filth contained in this rag, to which the AAFI's Spencers are connected:

"Published in NSW, the *Reporter* is virulently racist. On the cover of a recent edition there appears a caricature of a mean-looking, hook-nosed man clutching a sack to his breast which would not have been out of place in *Der Sturmer*. On the sack are the words: 'Multiculturalism', 'International Finance' and 'World Government'. 'Caricature aside, the *Reporter* has a particular beef with Asians. Articles are given headings such as 'Two Wongs Still Don't Make a White'."

Wretched Appeals to the State: Suicidal Trap for Anti-Fascists

The recrudescence of fascist activity in Victoria has been met by a series of mobilisations consisting in the main of

anti-racist youth in Melbourne's northern working-class and immigrant suburbs. On 20 November 1993 demonstrators in Northcote took advantage of the balance of forces—including a light police presence—to acquaint Nazi skinheads with the pavement. The Spartacist League was proud to be in the forefront of defence of that anti-fascist action.

The anti-communist Laborite reformists of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) opposed militant action against the skinheads on 20 November. (See "ISO Reformists Cringe/Nazi Skinheads Routed in Northcote, Melbourne," *ASP* No. 152, Autumn 1994). As we noted then:

"Twenty million Soviet people died fighting to crush the Nazi horror in World War II and it was the Soviet Red Army that liberated Europe from the fascist scourge. But the ISO and its forebears, capitulating to the imperialist pressure of Cold War I, denounced 'bloody Russia.' The ISO cheered the forces of capitalist restoration—from the fascist-infested Baltic nationalists to the Yeltsin/Bush counter-coup in Moscow, 1991. The class-collaborationist appetites that underpinned these reformists' virulent anti-Sovietism can be seen in their supine response to the fascist terrorists here."

In order to repair their tarnished "anti-fascist" credentials, the ISO staged a cynical stunt on 18 December when it mobilised some 150 people to present a petition to a local publican begging him to stop serving fascists wearing Nazi regalia on his premises. The National Action scum counter-mobilised and, under police protection, were able to carry out their obscene provocation. We in the Spartacist League mobilised a contingent sharply politically counterposed to the ISO's reformist crawling. Our banner read: "Not Wretched Appeals to the Capitalist State! For Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascists!"; we also raised the slogans "Not petitions to ban the fascists, but worker mobilisations to crush the Nazi scum!" and "ALP: racist, anti-immigrant, pro-capitalist!"

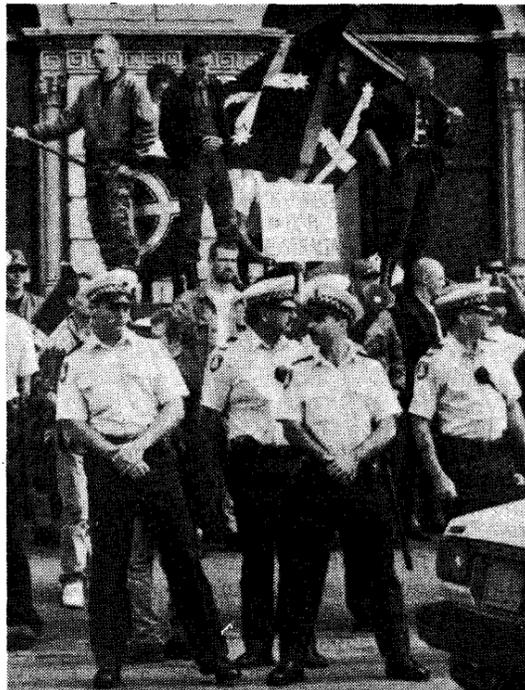
National Action proceeded to announce a demonstration outside Brunswick Town Hall for 5 March, a deadly provocation timed to coincide with Brunswick Council's "multi-cultural" street festival. In response, the ISO and sundry other left groups (including the Democratic Socialist Party [DSP], Militant Socialist Alliance and Freedom Socialist Party [FSP]) set up a formation called "Brunswick Against the Nazis" (BAN). The acronym neatly gives the game away. BAN petitioned the Labor-dominated Brunswick Council to condemn the NA rally. Spartacist spokesmen pointed out at BAN planning meetings that this was

Melbourne, 5 March: Spartacist League contingent raises the call for the independent mobilisation of the working class and oppressed to smash the fascists.



ASP photo

Melbourne 12 March: Hired thugs of the capitalist class protect National Action fascist scum from 800 anti-fascist protesters.



ASP photo

a soft-core call for the Council, an appendage of the capitalist state, to ban the fascist rally.

Reliance on the state is criminally stupid and ultimately suicidal. The state and its armed bodies of men are defenders of the bosses' system; their task is to coerce and crush working-class struggle, to terrorise minorities, to protect and aid the fascist "dogs of war" of the bourgeois rulers. Meanwhile, any so-called "anti-extremist" laws enacted will invariably be used against the left, workers movement and anti-fascist activists. Thus, at the same time the Brunswick Council refused to grant a permit to the National Action filth, it began to flag laws banning all future demonstrations in the vicinity of the Town Hall.

After receiving police guarantees of future protection, National Action did not rally on 5 March. The BAN rally went ahead, bringing out some 600. The speakers' platform at the Town Hall gave a taste of the ISO's popular-frontist appetites—featuring among others, Australian Democrat Sid Spindler, Halfpenny aide Barbara Lewis and a local ALP MP. In a small way, the ISO/BAN action replicated the popular-frontist "Anti Nazi League" (ANL) of the ISO's big brothers in the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The ANL's defining act of scabbery on the anti-fascist struggle took place in 1978 when, in order to maintain "unity" with the likes of then-Labour leader Neif Kinnock, Anglican bishops and assorted celebs, the ANL/SWP kept tens of thousands of anti-fascists "rocking against racism" at an ANL Carnival miles away from where the fascist National Front was marching in London's heavily immigrant East End. Today, the ANL Mark II lays the deadly trap of appeals to the British bourgeois state before would-be militant anti-fascist youth.

Here, on 5 March, after Spindler & Co. had spoken at Town Hall (Spindler's speech was cynically "disappeared" from the *Socialist Worker* coverage of the demonstration), the ISO along with the DSP, FSP and Militant trooped off to the Coburg office of the U.S. crackpot ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche where the left

groups who had been "banned" by the ISO from the Town Hall platform were able to indulge in some "Sunday afternoon socialist speechifying."

On 12 March over 100 police—including mounted cops—protected 30 National Action fascist thugs from a demonstration of 800 anti-fascists in Brunswick. While the fascist chants were drowned out and the NA were pelted with rotten fruit, NA were able to hold their rally and the cops successfully escorted these vermin to the local train station. For the ISO it was a "brilliant victory." But for the cops: "from our point of view it was a successful operation" (*Melbourne Times*, 16 March 1994). On the morning of 12 March the *Age* quoted Federal Labor Attorney General Michael Lavarch announcing that Labor's "Racial Vilification Law" would not be applied against National Action swine; the day before, the local police made it clear that anti-fascists would be victimised in the case of any "trouble." These are the very cops who for the ISO are part of the workers movement—as their British co-thinkers in the SWP put it: "When coppers strike, they stop behaving like police and rejoin their class"! Workers, youth, immigrants, Aboriginal people and all the intended victims of the fascists must know that cops are no "workers in uniform" but in fact the hired thugs of the capitalist class.

For Mass, Militant Union/Minority Mobilisations to Crush the Fascists!

Capitalist economic decay is a breeding ground of fascism. Keating & Co., while seeking to "enmesh with Asia"—the better to exploit the peoples of the region—also have a use for the virulent "old-style" racism and "new-style" Australian nationalism at home. Vile nationalism (and, for elements of the Laborite trade-union misleadership, protectionist poison) is a mainstay of the "class peace" these "modernising" Labor traitors so desperately desire on the home front. Meanwhile, the Hawke/Keating Labor governments have presided over a decade of relentless wage-cutting, union-busting

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Wharfies Knifed on Altar of Keating's "One Australia"

Break With Labor! Build a Revolutionary Party!

Dragging itself from the deepest economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, Australian capitalism now finds its already battered export market caught in the crossfire of escalating trade war between U.S. imperialism and Japan Inc. The bourgeoisie's answer is to further drive down the price of labour "at home" while seeking new markets and labour to exploit in the Asia-Pacific region. For the working class and oppressed in Australia this means union-busting austerity. For the toiling masses of the region it means an intensification of the drive for imperialist profit—from the brutal war against the people of Bougainville to the imperialist designs to undermine and overthrow the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions which resulted in the creation of the North Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese deformed workers states in order to re-establish imperialist subjugation of these countries.

Labor—in government for more than a decade first under Hawke and now under Keating—has carried out the most far-reaching shift of wealth from poor to rich and presided over the creation of the highest level of unemployment since the 1930s. The Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) and airline pilots' union were busted as the ALP stepped up its offensive against the trade unions. Under Labor, brutal and sustained attacks on the oppressed have been carried out: cop killings of Aboriginal people continue to take their gruesome toll, women's rights to abortion are in the cross-hairs, White Australia capitalism's anti-immigrant racism finds its expression not only in the concentration camps where refugees from Southeast Asia are detained but on the streets where fascist filth have spawned (see articles, pages 16 and 3).

In March, Keating introduced a major new industrial law which decreed state regulation of union-busting "enterprise agreements" and codified existing anti-union laws (e.g., bans on "secondary strike" action). Keating has also unveiled a "job creation package" (with ACTU blessing), the centrepiece of which is a sub-minimum "training" wage designed to throw youth off unemployment benefits and to bring down union-level wages. When the Balladur government in France attempted the same thing in

March, a massive revolt in the streets, encouraged by the victory of Air France strikers five months earlier, forced the government into a humiliating backdown.

Throughout Europe, the "death of Communism" bluster has been taken out of the bosses' sails as their plans to dismantle social gains in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union have run up against significant class struggle. Here, recent major strikes on the waterfront and in the coalfields point to the potential power of key sections of the proletariat to resist union-busting austerity.

But the hidebound union bureaucracy, the labour lieutenants of capital, have done everything in their power to quash class struggle. Their services to Keating's

capitalist misleaders of the labour movement have acted as an instrument to subordinate the workers to capital—with disastrous results for the unions themselves.

As was made crystal clear in the recent strike of storemen at Franklins in Sydney whose picket lines were met with brutal attack by an army of police, the bosses' state is no "neutral" arbiter. The fight for the *complete independence of the unions from the state* is a key component of our class-struggle program to mobilise the immense social power of the trade unions against job-slashing, union-busting attacks of the bosses.

A revolutionary internationalist party offering a program of struggle for the

flowed in from the Philippine KMU union federation and the Japanese seafarers union, while a visiting South Korean trade union delegation joined the picket lines.

The Coombs and Donovan bureaucracy of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) fought down sentiment to spread the strike, leaving the Sydney AS strikers to fight alone. Hiding behind Keating's anti-union laws and bowing to the "necessity" of maintaining the bosses' profitability, they actually encouraged AS to divert its cargo to Conaust. Instead of mobilising mass militant picket lines that mean nothing crosses, strikers were instructed by the MUA tops to allow and in fact to carry out work themselves behind their own picket lines!

The officials kept cargo moving even after AS started sacking the strikers and issuing termination notices to AS workers at other ports who had been locked out for placing bans on casual labour and "double-headers." In the return-to-work deal, the sacked 55 were initially banned from the job, on pay, until the union took "verifiable steps" to come up with another list of 55 names and/or equivalent cost offsets. Sending their members back to work without many of their elected representatives was a betrayal by the MUA bureaucracy. The AS bosses at the same time did not get everything they wanted on this round, including the "right" to fire whoever they wanted, whenever they wanted.

Declaring this an "historic victory" for "non-compulsory redundancies" on the waterfront, the union tops proceeded within the next three weeks to enforce the quit or transfer of another 44. As soon as the bureaucrats had finished this culling, AS then demanded another 37 redundancies! A class-struggle leadership would fight to shorten the workweek for all at full pay—for a sliding scale of wages and hours! In contrast, the MUA bureaucracy has contained, demobilised and isolated a potentially explosive struggle. The recent bureaucratically-derailed strike not only failed to spike the union-busting "casualisation" of the workforce on which the AS and Conaust bosses are hell-bent but left the wharfies weakened in the face of the next battle which will surely come.

While the MUA tops patted themselves on the back for taking out attempts by the AS bosses to whip up racism during the strike (AS grossly threatened to bring in "a planeload of Maoris" to scab), the union misleaders peddled the same Australian nationalism that fuels the bosses' racist "divide and conquer" schemes. Thus, the *Sydney Port News* of 22 March headlined "Australian Stevedores Not Very Australian!" The threat of mass casualisation of waterside workers still hangs over the MUA and the government is now moving to bust industry (as opposed to company) employment for seamen. Instead of fighting this the union tops are preoccupied with "saving" the government's shipping line, ANL, from being sold to "multinationals" and crewed by "foreign seamen." It is this sort of jingoism and protectionism that in 1988 led 400 cement workers, paid by the bosses and under the leadership of the Laborite Australian Workers' Union tops, to stage an infamous racist attack against Japanese seamen in Port Melbourne.

One of the clearest examples of how the protectionist schemes of the union



Zoe Reynolds

Visiting Korean unionists join wharfies' picket line, Sydney.

"one country" entail tying the unions to the capitalist state through the Accord and Arbitration and selling the nationalist lie of a partnership between labour and capital. Leon Trotsky, who led the Russian Revolution together with Lenin, wrote in 1940 that "Either the trade unions of our time will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers and to obstruct the revolution or, on the contrary, the unions will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). Today the pro-

objective interests of the proletariat which, in their totality, challenge the power of the bourgeoisie, must be built in opposition to the Labor lackeys of imperialism and their hirelings within the mass organisations of the working class. This cannot be done on a narrow economist basis, but requires that the workers movement acts as the champion of all the oppressed sectors of society. It means a fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for defence of Aboriginal people against racist terror and for the rights of women and youth. It means a fight against the protectionist poison that would divide us from our class brothers and sisters throughout Asia and opposing the capitalist state down the line.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The recent three-week strike on the Sydney wharves earlier this year could have been the catalyst for a class-wide fightback. In February, Australian Stevedores (AS), one of the big two bosses on the waterfront, provocatively sacked 55 unionists—including 25 union reps. The ensuing strike represented a key test of strength in the on-again, off-again battle by watersiders (including a four-day national strike last September) against escalating attempts by the bosses to break the union.

When the waterfront bosses made their declaration of war we said: "What's urgently necessary now is to form strike committees, set up flying pickets to bring out the entire union, seamen included, and shut down all the ports tight!" (*ASP* No. 152, Autumn 1994). The strike elicited widespread support, including internationally. Messages of solidarity

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misleaders are used to divert the working class from struggle is the miners' union bureaucracy. Tony Wilks, general secretary of the Mining & Energy Division of the union bragged: "Extensive changes in work practices and the introduction of the seven-day rosters in our industry over the past five years have given the coal owners the bonanza they have craved for years" (CFMEU [Construction, Forestry, Mining & Energy Union] *Amalgamated News*, March/April 1994). Having accepted the sacking of a *quarter* of the workforce ten years ago and having allowed massive attrition since, the CFMEU bureaucracy's beef with Australian mining magnates is that they have acceded to price cuts by the Japanese steel industry. For them the main enemy is Japanese importers, not the Australian mine bosses who have laid siege to miners' jobs and conditions.

The bureaucrats appealed to their "mates" in Canberra for a National Coal Authority to ensure a "fair price" for coal exports. After the recent national black coal strike in April—the third such strike in seven months—Wilks & Co. got their answer from Keating's minister for industrial relations, Laurie Brereton. Threatening the union with sanctions, he said it was "high time" the union was reined in for its "contempt" of the Coal Industry Tribunal (*Australian*, 23-24 April).

The Main Enemy is at Home!

The trade union bureaucrats' protectionist schemes complement the vile Aussie nationalism which is the ALP's stock-in-trade. And this nationalism is racist to the core. Murderous terror

Sydney, 5 May: Police launch vicious assault on picketing Franklin's storemen.



Channel 9

against and dispossession of the indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples along with rabidly anti-Asian xenophobia has been the bedrock of Australian capitalism. As the masters of this ex-penal colony sought to carve out a white European enclave in Asia behind massive protectionist walls, they carried out the expulsion of the sizeable Chinese population in the 1800s, accomplished through racist pogroms coupled with reactionary legislation and followed by the virtual blanket exclusion of Asian labour.

Since the early 1980s, however, the Hawke/Keating Labor government has drastically lowered tariffs, floated the Australian dollar on the international money market and opened the financial markets to foreign banks in order to attract capital investment from overseas. As inefficient Australian firms failed in the face of overseas competition, with

many smaller outfits going under and others drastically reducing the workforce, the Labor government embarked on a renewed union-busting assault to make Australian exports more "competitive."

Labor's move to "enmesh with Asia" has also necessitated cleaning up Australia's image for international consumption. In April Keating, the Labor statesman for jackal Australian imperialism, made a visit to Vietnam—the first by an Australian prime minister since the U.S./Australian imperialists' losing, dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Having been among the first to exploit the market openings there before the U.S. lifted its starvation embargo, Australia is now the third largest foreign investor in that beleaguered deformed workers state. As we wrote in our last issue:

"It is a good thing that this punitive embargo against the Vietnamese deformed workers

state has been lifted. However, the Clinton administration's action occurs in the context of an imperialist drive to destroy the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution from within—i.e., through the potential massive influx of foreign investment and concomitant pressure on the ruling Stalinist Communist Party to extend and deepen its experiment with 'market socialism' and ultimately to surrender state power to the imperialists and their local henchmen."

—"Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!" *ASP* No. 152, Autumn 1994

Having revered Australian war dead while in Thailand, Keating was asked by a journalist whether Vietnam veterans could expect him to honour them in Vietnam and replied, "...frankly why should they?" The right-wingers went bonkers. Make no mistake: Keating's calculations here had everything to do with *reversing* the verdict of the historic defeat of imperialism in Indochina.

Keating first took the opportunity to pin the blame for Australia's role in the defeated imperialist war against Vietnam on the Liberals. But the truth is that while the ALP were in "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition," despite a brief period in 1966, for years Labor refused to call for withdrawal of the Australian troops. The Whitlam ALP leadership did so only in 1969, after the Tet Offensive broke the back of the imperialists' war machine which in turn led to the emergence of a defeatist wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie—a bourgeois defeatism which found its reflection here. By the time Labor entered government in 1972 most of the Australian forces had in fact already been withdrawn.

In the end, Keating responded to the reactionary hoopla by announcing his *continued on page 15*

SPA: Labor's Loyal Left Lackeys

The most prominent left group on the Sydney waterfront is the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). Its supporters were among the 55 wharfies, including union reps, who were singled out for the sack by Australian Stevedores (AS) in February. This union-busting provocation sparked a major three-week waterfront strike in Sydney. But throughout the strike the SPA outdid themselves in grovelling apologies for the treachery of the Coombs maritime union bureaucracy (indeed Sydney branch secretary Jim Donovan is an SPA supporter). Thus the SPA-supported *Maritime Bulletin* (23 February) commented:

"A commendable feature of this strike has been the flexibility which has marked the Union's tactics. For instance, the willingness to work certain cargoes; the decision for workers in other ports to return to work." This treacherous undermining of the strike enabled the officials to impose a return-to-work without the 55 on the job. It also enabled the bosses to extract even more concessions and jobs in their fight to gut the union.

Clinging to the Laborite corporatist straitjacket which ties the unions to the bosses' state, the SPA praised the Industrial Relations Commission (IRC) decision directing the striking wharfies back to work (*Guardian*, 23 March). Under the title of "Strong words" they gave IRC commissioner Williams half a page of their paper to expound on capitalist industrial relations after he slapped AS on the wrist (*Guardian*, 30 March).

This kowtowing to the IRC, the ALP's favoured instrument for burying class struggle, is but one piece of the SPA's fundamentally Laborite vision. The SPA also lectures the bourgeoisie and its ALP government on "real security," worrying that "military spending steals the resources" from more "significant" aspects of "security." Looking for the "peace dividend" in the post-Cold War II period, the SPA writes with unabashed national chauvinism:

"Australia must rethink what security really is, develop different relationships with regional states, reassess the weapons systems

required to defend our continent, develop conversion programs and increase aid to our regional neighbours."

— *Guardian*, 23 March

The SPA welcomed Keating's recent foray into Vietnam—"his forthright and welcome statement" that "the war in that country should never have taken place"! The imperialists certainly now wish it never had; *they lost*. For the workers and oppressed of the world, Vietnam was a victory! We say: two, three, many defeats for imperialism! Keating's trip was conducted in the service of trying to do economically what imperialism *failed* to do militarily—destroy the Vietnamese deformed workers state. The SPA goes on to say:

"...some in the west still hope for the overthrow of Vietnam's socialist system—not by direct military aggression but by economic means.

"It is to be hoped that Australian aid and investment does not harbour this hidden agenda but genuinely intends to right the wrongs of the past."

— *Guardian*, 20 April

The SPA's touching faith in blood-soaked Australian imperialism should nauseate class-conscious wharfies who have good reason to recall with pride their militant internationalist actions against the Australian bosses in defence of the Vietnamese revolution.

For decades the reformist SPA offered their loyalties both to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and the Labor lackeys of White Australia imperialism. When the Soviet bureaucracy disintegrated under the weight of its bankrupt politics and imperialist-backed counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state, this left the reformist SPA with but one master to serve.

In 1935, at its Seventh Congress, the Stalinised Comintern codified its support to the all-embracing class collaboration of the "people's front against fascism." Trotsky wrote then:

"Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the tra-

ditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn....

"But there remains the question of the traditions of the two closed bureaucratic apparatuses and of the material interests of a considerable number of people who are bound up with the apparatuses. Whether the united pressure of fascism and Moscow diplomacy will prove sufficiently strong to overcome this secondary but very considerable obstacle on the path of fusion, the future will show."

—"The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," August 1935, *Writings* (1935-36)

The complete historic vindication of Trotsky's analysis can be seen today in Germany, for instance. There, the former ruling party of the DDR deformed workers state, the PDS, capitulated full-bore to capitalist reunification and has now become a "left" social-democratic outfit working in the shadow of the SPD mainstream social democracy—the loyal "opposition" to the German bourgeoisie.

In the face of imperialist-backed counterrevolution, the CPSU itself utterly collapsed and the perestroika coup "hardliners" lifted not a finger to mobilise the Soviet working people to stop Yeltsin & Co. We in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) said: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" in an August 1991 leaflet distributed in the tens of thousands in the Soviet Union. But after seven decades of Stalinist misrule, the Soviet working class, atomised and bereft of any anti-capitalist leadership, did not rally in resistance against the encroaching capitalist counterrevolution.

Today the SPA supports the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRK), one of the many fragments of the CPSU. The RKRK is part of the despicable "red-brown coalition" with a wing of the counterrevolution which includes virulent Russian nationalists, monarchists and outright fascists. As we wrote in our August 1993 pamphlet *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*:

"Behind the capitulation of these self-styled 'communists' to nationalist counter-

revolution is their fealty to Stalin/Bukharin's nationalist lie of 'socialism in one country.'...From the RKRK to the SPT, the various degeneration products of the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy all trace their origins to this bankrupt, treacherous program. Thus, RKRK 'ideologue' Sergeev dismisses the idea of 'international collectivism' while claiming that 'the idea of Russian, or Great Russian, if you please, collectivism will work'."

From defence of the workers states of China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea—now greatly imperilled in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union—to the defence of workers unions, the decomposing Stalinist SPA with its servile Laborite nationalism stands as an obstacle. What's needed is a revolutionary *internationalist* party committed to the overthrow of capitalism, built in irreconcilable struggle against the Labor misleaders and their "left" partners in betrayal. ■

SPARTACIST PAMPHLET 52

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

overwhelming majority of the black population, come one year after the murder by state-connected fascists of South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hanu, who was also head of the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The bombings are an attack on the very idea that the black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian peoples of South Africa should have any democratic rights at all.

The elections to the new, common National Assembly, which will be held over three days beginning tomorrow, are the first time that a vote of any kind has been given to the black African majority who make up *three-fourths* of the total population. The white ruling class has been forced into this concession by the long years of determined struggle by the oppressed South African masses, first against the British colonial rulers and later, after 1948, against the Afrikaner-dominated system of apartheid.

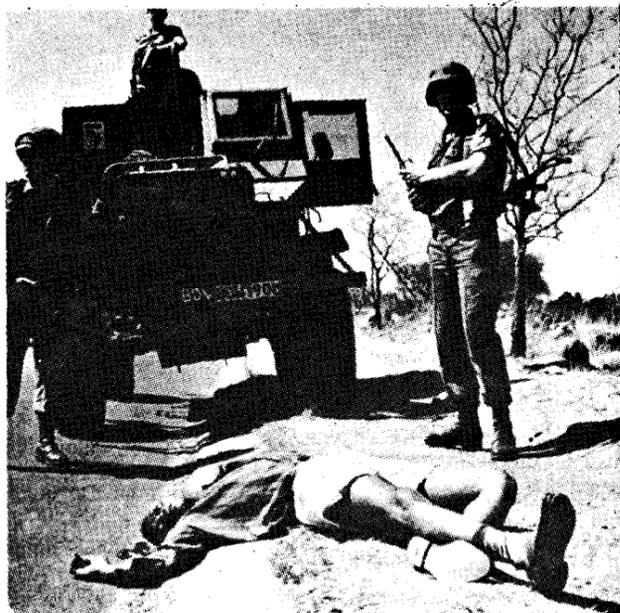
The threat of white-supremacist revolt against the ANC-dominated government which Mandela will head after the elections is real and dangerous. But the enormously wealthy white mine owners, industrialists and financiers and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—the real owners and rulers of South Africa—are staking their future on the National Peace Accord, their deal with the ANC leadership. They correctly calculate that the ANC (already installed in the corridors of power since last December through the Transitional Executive Council—TEC) will uphold and administer capitalist rule in government. Speaking last week at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Mandela declared: "The economy must be built on sound and market principles. If you look at our program, there is not a single sentence about nationalization."

The white capitalist rulers know that the ANC's vast political authority is the strongest tool at their disposal for suppressing and denying the hopes and demands of the black masses. And the expectations are enormous. The huge formerly disenfranchised nonwhite majority sees these elections as opening the road to "freedom" and a share of the wealth produced in South Africa. A comment by one grandmother in a squatter camp in the Western Cape indicated the limits of the "patience" of the downtrodden: "We will be patient once he [Mandela] is elected, and so maybe the first improvements won't be seen here for one or two months" (*New York Times*, 21 April)!

Although the elections are billed by the ANC as the "transition to democracy," in fact they are a far cry from "one person, one vote." *Whatever the outcome*, the main party of the white ruling class, the National Party, led by President De Klerk, is guaranteed a place in a "Government of National Unity" for a five-year period. This is included in the "sunset clause," agreed to by the ANC, which gives a cabinet seat to any party obtaining 5 percent or more in the ballot, and then imposes the need for approval by two-thirds of the cabinet on "certain issues." The National Party and the other main white party, the Democratic Party, will thereby have effective veto power over all major decisions.

Mandela has bent over backward to reassure and conciliate the capitalists, whose junior-partner he has now become. All the radical talk of the years of struggle—the rhetoric of "socialism" by the SACP and the COSATU union federation—has evaporated, to be replaced by the language of "moderation" and compromise. The rights of capitalist property are incorporated into a "Bill of Rights"!

The South African Police and the South African Defence Force (SADF)—the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto and the former colonial occupation forces of Namibia and Angola—will be left



Der Spiegel

South Africa's army of racist killers will be preserved under neo-apartheid regime.

under their existing command. Meanwhile the ANC's military wing, the MK, is dissolved and partially incorporated into the SADF or the impotent National Peace-keeping Force, charged with policing the black townships. And at one of his final campaign rallies Mandela "vowed that gun control would be firmly enforced by the new government that he expects to lead" (*New York Times*, 24 April). This means leaving blacks defenseless in the face of racist army, police and fascist paramilitary killers.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Zulu Inkatha movement has allied with the Conservative Party and white reactionaries even further to the right, has for months been attempting to sabotage the elections. Inkatha forces have whipped up and perpetrated horrendous attacks on ANC supporters, seeking to exploit tribal divisions. But last week Mandela guaranteed Buthelezi's cousin, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini, the status of a "constitutional monarch," complete with king-sized personal subsidies, in a successful effort to get Inkatha to end its boycott of the elections.

The capitalists are gambling on an ANC-led government as their best hope of obtaining stable conditions for continued extraction of southern Africa's natural resources and superexploitation of its black proletariat. The dominant white caste, making up 13 percent of South Africa's population, owns 86 percent of the land, 90 percent of all productive wealth, and on average has an annual income ten times greater than that of the blacks. Three out of every five blacks live in rural areas where over 80 percent have no electricity and over 90 percent have no sewage. Fully *half* of the black labor force has no permanent regular employment.

Faced with these appalling conditions, the ANC is promising a five-year "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP), including building one million new homes, supplying electricity to 2.5 million households, ten years of free schooling for all, and the creation of two million jobs through the public works program. But the bourgeoisie has no intention of financing this scale of public works. The chief economist of the Johannesburg Nedbank pointed out:

"With limited resources and limited taxable capacity it can't be done. The problem facing the incoming government is whether the new electorate is going to accept the shortfall between what they expect and what is actually going to be delivered."

Genuine universal suffrage, universal schooling, equality of all the peoples of South Africa, full citizenship rights (including the right to vote) for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers drawn from neighboring countries and their families, equal pay for equal work, the right of the rural black population (particularly in the barren bantustans) to land stolen over the centuries, first by Afrikaner colonial settlers and then by the British imperialists, equality for women—to realize all these elementary democratic demands requires that

capitalist rule be overthrown by workers revolution.

South African capitalism's viability, its ability to compete in the world market, is based on the system of superexploitation symbolized by the lives of the mine workers. The core of the economy has been and remains gold mining. With the richest veins having run out, the "Randlords" like Anglo American are left with vast quantities of low-grade ore that they can mine profitably only by paying slave wages. Over the last 90 years, nearly 90,000 South African miners have died at work: apartheid capitalism is blacks' blood transmuted into gold. And for the apartheid bosses, that is not negotiable.

ANC/SACP: Black Front Men for Neo-Apartheid Capitalism

The understanding that in a country like South Africa it is impossible to satisfy the many unfulfilled revolutionary democratic tasks short of the seizure of power by the socialist proletariat is central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This was demonstrated by Lenin's Bolshevik Party as it led the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat



Mandela at Johannesburg Stock Exchange reassures racist rulers of ANC's commitment to capitalism.

in October 1917. Securing basic democratic rights, let alone the huge economic expansion and redistribution required to give a decent life to all the people of South Africa, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing houses through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for an economy planned under the rule of workers councils.

South Africa requires a *black-centered workers government*, not the installation of aspiring black exploiters in the antechambers of *verligte* [enlightened] apartheid power—which is what the ANC offers and desires. As we said last issue:

"A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and super-exploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form."

From being a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement in opposition, the ANC is in the process of integrating its leading elements into the South African ruling class as it becomes a bourgeois-nationalist ruling party. The *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) reports, "Blacks Enter South African Boardrooms." South

African corporations, especially those looking for government contracts, are falling over each other to recruit ANC cadres as managers. They are also prepared to buy off sections of the black middle class and skilled workers by widening pay differentials in the black workforce.

Today the ANC leaders are no doubt getting fitted for top hats and morning coats on London's Saville Row. Nelson Mandela will perhaps ride to his presidential inauguration in the red Mercedes-Benz armored limo built for him by the combative Mercedes workers in East London before the ANC tops with the aid of the SACP sold out their militant 1990 strike. As the ANC tops become increasingly estranged from the township masses, the SACP and COSATU leaders are playing a vital role in defusing discontent. The SACP's Stalinist theory of "two-stage revolution" (democracy first, socialism in the sweet by-and-by) is a reformist rationale for subordinating the working class to the nationalist ANC.

The ANC sellout to the South African ruling class is so blatant, including the open repudiation of its liberal-nationalist Freedom Charter, that most groups claiming to be Trotskyist have criticized the Mandela/De Klerk "power sharing" deal. But, mesmerized by the popular support for the ANC and the SACP, several of these groups share the practical conclusion of the Stalinist reformists. The Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), which sees itself as part of the ANC, calls for voting ANC. "Kick out the Nats!" they headline, proclaiming: "The elections give us the chance to crush the party of apartheid and dictatorship. Every vote must be used to close the door on the old South Africa" (*Congress Militant*, February-March 1994).

The MWT are the co-thinkers of the British Militant Labour group, which likes to posture as a thoroughly orthodox Trotskyist tendency. Yet one of Trotsky's crucial fights in the formation of the international Left Opposition to Stalin was against the latter's policy of entry into the Kuomintang (the bourgeois-national-

ist party in prerevolutionary China). The Stalinist policy led straight to disaster in the bloody Shanghai massacre of 1927 in which thousands of worker communists were slaughtered by KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek.

Organizational *separation* and political independence from the nationalists are the bedrock of a working-class revolutionary party. And those who today call for votes to the ANC are assuming the political responsibility for the inevitable massacres of South African workers by the ANC/De Klerk neo-apartheid regime.

Other smaller groups have also directly capitulated to the ANC/SACP in these elections. The International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), acolytes of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, call for a vote to the ANC. ISSAer Terry Bell, in an article in *Work in Progress* (reprinted in *Socialist Organiser*, 21 April), argued:

"In this particular battle, the working class is lined up behind the ANC alliance against the NP [De Klerk's National Party].... Since revolutionary socialists stand for the self-emancipation of the working class, the Left should argue that we vote—without illusions in party or parliament—with the class on April 27."

So since many workers have illusions in the bourgeois nationalists, these consummate opportunists call...for feeding their illusions.

One small South African grouping, the Comrades for a Workers Government (CWG), who publish *Qina Msebenzi* and are affiliated with the British Workers International League, has in the past been identified with the demand for a "mass workers party." But as the elections approached they switched gears and came out for a "Vote ANC" line which echoes that of the MWT. Describing themselves as "supercritical" supporters of the ANC, the CWG points out: "The ANC will not be able to implement even the most minimal social demands of its RDP and the popular demands of the masses because the ANC leaders have bound themselves hand and foot to the capitalist class." From this premise they draw the conclusion that the "ANC leaders must cut ties with the bosses!" and that "the bosses must be driven out of the ANC" (whoever and whatever that means).

The CWG's punch line is: "We must put demands to the ANC leaders and the in-coming ANC government—demands such as the scrapping of all power-sharing agreements; the expulsion of the open bourgeois elements in the ANC and in the ANC-led election front." In effect, they treat the bourgeois-nationalist ANC as if it were a reformist workers party which had entered a popular front, rather than a force outside the workers movement. The bottom line is that an ANC government—like other bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World, such as Peronism in Argentina, the Mexican PRI, the Ba'athists in Iraq and Syria—could (and may be driven to) smash the unions, whereas for a reformist workers party, which bases itself on the labor movement, this would be suicidal.

Meanwhile, the militant nationalists of AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation), derived from the "Black Consciousness" movement, are calling to boycott the elections. While the ANC/NP "power-sharing" deal, on which these elections are based, violates even the elementary principles of bourgeois democracy, nonetheless the black masses are determined to participate in their first-ever chance to vote in any way on the South African government. Proletarian revolutionaries seek to use the elections, as the Bolsheviks sometimes did with the votes for the tsarist Duma, as a platform for their communist program. In particular, Marxists would counterpose the fight for a workers party to voting for the ANC, the co-rulers of a capitalist "new South Africa."

Critical Support to the Workers List

One of the groups running is the Workers List Party (WLP), initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). After examining the program and statements of the WLP that are available to us, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) call for *critical support* to the Workers List Party in the April elections. The platform of the WLP can be summarized by its opening sentence:

"The WLP enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a 'Mass Workers Party' (MWP). We believe that only such a Workers' Party will be able to carry forward the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses of South Africa. We do not believe that any of the white or black nationalist parties can solve the crisis of unemployment, homelessness, disease, illiteracy and poverty that afflict the urban and rural poor; those who live in the crime-ridden townships and squatter settlements of our cities, in the rural slums in the Bantustans and in the slave-like conditions on the white farms and in the dorps [small farming towns]. These parties cannot do so because they accept the capitalist system."

—"Manifesto of the Workers' List Party of South Africa," reprinted in *Socialist Organiser* [London], 17 March

The WLP calls for "nationalisation under workers control of the monopoly companies, banks, mines and land



Shariff/Work in Progress

COSATU union federation met in 1991 under banner of "socialism." Today ANC wants black unions to prevent strikes on behalf of "government of national unity."

without compensation." The party's manifesto also "reject[s] the idea of a Government of National Unity that includes the racists." It says that a "genuine constituent assembly could be no more than a stepping stone to a Workers' Government." (We have in the past polemicized against WOSA for "constituent assembly fetishism" when it failed to connect this revolutionary-democratic demand to the fight for workers soviet rule.) The WLP claims to be standing some 80 candidates in all regions. With an electoral system based on national and regional party slates (rather than constituencies), a vote for the WLP will be counterposed to a vote for the ANC.

The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC.

At the same time, we emphasize that the platform of the WLP is left-reformist. *Never once* does it define itself in reference to the ANC, nor even mention it, which takes some doing in South Africa today. Nor does it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid ANC/NP capitalist regime. While calling for "self-defence and a workers' militia," the WLP platform does not call for smashing and replacing the existing capitalist state machine which is the direct continuity of the apartheid state. Union-based workers militias, composed of all ethnic groups, are needed to overcome the Inkatha thugs, defend strikers and smash white racist terror.

While the WLP speaks of "a socialist democracy" and "democratic planning process," this is in the spirit of European social democracy rather than the kind of revolutionary regime based on workers councils (soviets) that would be needed in order to expropriate the wealth of the Randlords and crush the bitter-end resistance of the apartheid racists backed by international imperialism.

Yet in South Africa today, more directly and immediately than anywhere else on the planet, virtually every social and democratic struggle necessarily poses the question of workers revolution. WOSA/WLP has campaigned heavily on the right to a job, and reportedly plans a march for jobs on May 6, at the opening of the National Assembly. But while their platform calls for "a 35 hour week without loss of pay, an end to retrenchments, scab labour and lockouts," it presents these demands in a pressure campaign directed toward the capitalist parliament rather than calling for sharp-class struggle such as plant occupations, establishing genuine workers control (dual power in the workplace), and demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to create jobs for all.

Although the WLP makes ritual reference to "internationalism," in reality this tendency has long stood for a certain

species of South African "nation-building." WOSA's principal leader, Neville Alexander, has written: "The existing South African state forms the boundaries of the potential nation, not the particular existing cultures" (in Alex Callinicos, ed., *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists* [1992]). The WLP platform's call for "a united socialist nation" reflects an understandable reaction to the divide-and-rule policies of apartheid (most visible in the alliance of the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha with the most reactionary, fascist supporters of an *Afrikaner Boerestaat*).

The colonial-derived South African state consists of different national, racial and ethnic groups, with the whites on top, the black Africans on the bottom and the coloureds and Indians occupying an intermediate position. The goal of communists is not to forge "one nation" in the borders of the 1910 Union of South Africa but to achieve political and social equality for *all* of South Africa's diverse peoples. This requires a racially integrated Leninist party. We call for a socialist federation of Southern Africa, with regional autonomy, should they desire, for such peoples as the Ovimbundu in Namibia/Angola, the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe and the Zulus in Natal.

In giving critical support to the WLP slate, we note that we are not able to judge the reality of its campaign on the ground in South Africa. We also point out that groups with centrist politics like WOSA (whose demand for a workers party is consciously confined within the framework of a social-democratic labourite program) are highly susceptible to calls to pressure the popular front, or to vote for the "workers parties of the popular front." One may ask: under a constituency-based electoral system, were

WOSA and its allies unable to stand candidates everywhere, would the WLP have opposed the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, including its COSATU/SACP allies? This goes to the heart of the debate over a workers party in South Africa which has been raging in the black union movement over the last year.

In an article last fall, we noted that in pushing this issue, WOSA consciously looks to the example of the Brazilian PT (Workers Party) of Luis Ignacio da Silva ("Lula"), as a Third World variant of the British Labour Party. We noted that many "workerists" within COSATU, the main political current toward which WOSA is now orienting, talked of forming a workers party only *after* the April elections, in order to *not* break with the ANC at this crucial juncture. "We emphasize that the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism," we wrote, "but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 587, 5 November 1993).

A party of the Bolshevik type, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International, is necessary for the South African masses, like the workers of all countries, to make a successful socialist revolution. A revolutionary workers party can come about only through the intervention of a Marxist nucleus, committed to sweeping away every vestige of apartheid capitalism and dedicated to the cause of international socialism. There can be no justice in South Africa until the non-white majority has power in a revolutionary workers state which would unite Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, with ample room and full democratic rights for those whites who would join in building a society based on genuine equality.

A proletarian revolution in the industrial powerhouse of South Africa would be a beacon to the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, helping to lift the continent out of imperialist-enforced starvation and poverty. It would be an inspiration to the hundreds of millions—black, Asian, Latin American—across the world who have suffered the violence and degradation of racial arrogance at the hands of the haughty white ruling classes of the Western powers—whether in the colonies or within the imperialist metropolises themselves. Black people in the U.S. in particular see in apartheid slavery the mirror of their own oppression. Socialist revolution in South Africa is not just a matter for South African workers—no less than the Russian Revolution of 1917 it would be the cause of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

For a black-centered workers republic!
For a socialist federation of Southern Africa!
For a South African Trotskyist party as part of a reformed Fourth International! Those who labor must rule!
Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 599, 29 April 1994.

Spartacist Forums

Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule

**For a Bolshevik Workers Party!
For a Black-Centred Workers Republic!**

The superexploitation of black labour is the bedrock upon which South African capitalism rests, but black labour is also its Achilles' heel. Apartheid capitalism has created its own gravediggers, the black working class, which has the power, organisation and self-interest to sweep away the Randlords and those who would defend them. What it needs is revolutionary leadership.

Melbourne
5 p.m. Wednesday, 25 May
Undergraduate Lounge
2nd Floor, Union Building
University of Melbourne

Sydney
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MEWU Council, Room
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Surry Hills (Sydney)

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Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!

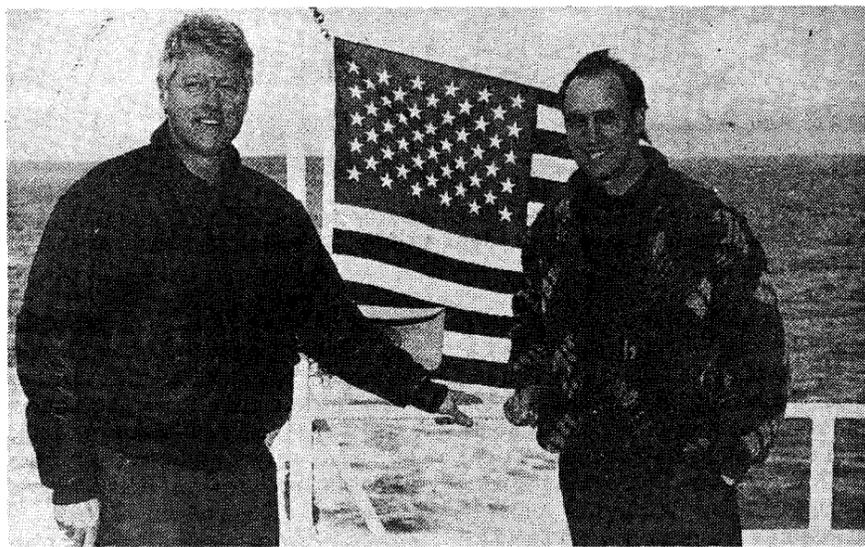
We print below a slightly edited translation of the article which appeared in *Japanese Spartacist No. 16* (May 1994), publication of our comrades in the *Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ)*, section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*. The article pre-dates the governmental crisis which led to the downfall of the Hosokawa-led popular-front government and subsequent shifts in the alliance of ruling parties in the country.

For revolutionaries in Australia, the question of unconditional military defence of North Korea against imperialist attack is again today an acid test. Australian jackal imperialism was the first "ally" to commit troops to the U.S.-led attempt to destroy the North Korean deformed workers state in the early 1950s. North Korean and Chinese forces fought U.S./Australian imperialism to a standoff as Washington and its allies devastated the country, mercilessly bombing the Northern capital of Pyongyang, as well as other cities in the north, and killing more than two million people in its neo-colonial war disguised as a United Nations "police action." Just as our comrades in the *Spartacist League/U.S.* have done, so does the SGJ in its defence of the North Korean deformed workers state today underline the revolutionary internationalism for which the ICL fights.

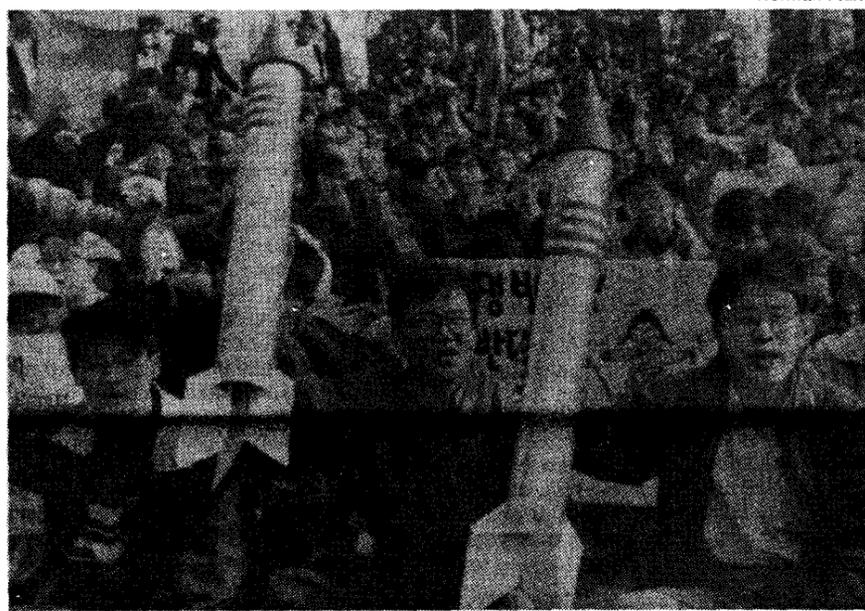
From Japanese Spartacist

Imperialism's relentless drive to destroy the deformed North Korean workers state, created in 1945 when the Soviet Red Army ran Japanese imperialism out of Korea, is once again heating up. U.S. imperialism, citing the alleged development of nuclear weapons in the North, is beefing up its military armament while demanding that North Korea disarm, roll over and play dead. Last July Clinton stood at the heavily militarised Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) and threatened the annihilation of the North if they "attacked." In November 1993 the U.S. government declared that North Korea could not be allowed to develop nuclear weapons and the capitalist news media branded North Korea as an "outlaw" state, as they did Hussein's Iraq on the eve of the Gulf War.

Japanese imperialism, just as much a mortal enemy of the Korean working class, gives verbal support to the American threats but strongly differs with its more bellicose imperialist rival on who should be the dominant imperialist power in Asia and has a different scenario on how capitalism should be restored in the North. Japan is the major investor in Korea, South and North, and hardly supports the U.S.' war moves as it seeks a slower, more methodical economic transformation of the North. U.S. imperialism, however, the predominant gendarme in the region, also has designs on China and Vietnam, and its military build-up is primarily aimed at Japan, its



Norman Plant



AP

Top: U.S. President Clinton and admirer; U.S. imperialism assisted by Australian jackals whip up war fever against North Korea. Above: Seoul, April 4: Students protest imperialist war threats against North Korea and the dispatch of Patriot missiles to the 38th parallel.

major imperialist rival in the Pacific. The Japanese working class must defend North Korea against imperialist threats and oppose any attempts on the part of the Japanese bourgeoisie to rearm as it seeks to revive its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere; the main enemy is at home. This nuclear brinkmanship on the Korean peninsula must be seen through the lens of growing inter-imperialist rivalry in Asia, i.e., the New World "Disorder" in the Pacific.

Being constantly bullied by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) demands for inspections of its power facilities, North Korea, at first, refused to allow these inspections and even threatened to pull out of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) they were strong-armed into signing in 1985. But under the constant pressure of Operation Team Spirit, in which the U.S. and South Korea rehearse military maneuvers against the North, Pyongyang agreed to IAEA inspections, offering more than the treaty requires. Not satisfied with anything but abject surrender, U.S. imperialism keeps demanding new "conditions" every time the Kim Il Sung government makes a

concession. What imperialist arrogance! The U.S. has nearly 1,000 nuclear warheads aimed at the North, will place Patriot missiles on the 38th parallel and has sent its nuclear powered aircraft carrier, *Carl Vinson*, into the region.

It's unfortunate for the working class that imperialism's hysterical claims that North Korea possesses nuclear weapons are probably untrue. The international working class must defend the right of North Korea and the other deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals who carried out the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the rape of Nanking. The truth is that North Korea has only produced a few grams of plutonium and the warmongering in the bourgeois press and news releases from intelligence services can hardly fathom more than one nuclear bomb. The Pyongyang regime told the UN General Assembly in October 1993 that it didn't have any nuclear weapons nor the financial resources to build any.

Japanese imperialism likewise calls for North Korea to "obey" the provisions of

the NPT, but Tokyo has been exempted from many of the treaty's provisions and has been stockpiling enriched plutonium that by early next century should reach 85 tons! Japan is also making noises about withdrawing from the NPT as it seeks to create its own nuclear weapons and, unlike North Korea, does have the technology and financial resources for nuclear weapons development. The H-II, one of the world's most advanced rockets with inter-continental missile capability, was recently launched and the bourgeois press beams with pride as this rocket was built solely from Japanese resources. Indeed, Washington's frenzied push to "guarantee" that there are no nukes in North Korea is, in part, to take away one of Japan's rationales for developing its own nuclear armament capability. The Hosokawa government, the coalition parties and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) all support the levying of economic sanctions against North Korea, and are willing to pay lip service to U.S. demands for a "nuclear free" North to grease the skids for its own propaganda assault on the strongly felt post-World War II pacifist sentiments at home against the Japanese military developing nuclear weapons. Defence Minister Aichi Kazuo said "If managed well, [the North Korean standoff] is a wonderful opportunity. It could be used as an opportunity to expand Japan's role" (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 23 March 1994).

In Tokyo the "get tough with North Korea" rhetoric is quite different from the U.S. as Japanese imperialism seeks a solution more in line with its interests. Japan is the primary capitalist investor in North Korea and has ¥13 billion invested in 122 joint venture projects, way ahead of its competitors. Editorial commentary in the bourgeois press continually implores North Korea to adopt a more conciliatory posture towards the U.S. and wants the Beijing regime, further down the market-socialism road, to exert similar pressure on Pyongyang. But trade war with the U.S. is looming as the American government, in response to its declining trade deficit with Japan, keeps threatening to impose retaliatory measures under its "Super 301" measures, while right-wing bourgeois leaders here, like Ishihara Shintaro, are calling for scrapping the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

U.S. sabre rattling is also not popular in Seoul as the Kim Young Sam regime is caught between a rock and a hard place. South Korea does have to pay lip service to U.S. imperialism's aggressive military stance but is not anxious to go to war. The North's ground forces are far superior to Seoul's puppet army and a new Korean War could easily wipe out the *chaebols* [big monopolies]. South Korean capitalism is also much weaker than Germany economically, cannot afford a rapid economic *anschluss*, and sides with Japan's desires for a slower pace of capitalist restoration. The main roadblock to imperialist appetites, however, is the combative working class

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea Through Socialist Revolution in the South and Workers Political Revolution in the North!

in the South that would quickly make its presence felt in any social upheaval.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea

While the imperialists threaten North Korea and maneuver with each other on how best to carry out capitalist counter-revolution in Asia, the working class can alter this relationship of forces through concerted class struggle. A socialist revolution in the South, linked to proletarian political revolution in the North, is needed to once and for all drive imperialism off the Korean peninsula. The international working class, especially in Japan, the U.S. and China must fight together to defend North Korea against imperialism's counterrevolutionary designs. A "democratic," i.e., capitalist, solution to the division of the Korean peninsula can only lead to widespread immiseration that would be even worse than the social disintegration of the former DDR.

With the collapse of the USSR and China heading down the road of capitalist restoration, the North Korean workers state is militarily isolated and in great peril. Proletarian political revolution in the North is the only pro-socialist solution, would have enormous impact on the working class and militant student movement in the South and inspire outbreaks of class struggle throughout the region. Political revolution in North Korea would send shock waves through China and Vietnam, where the working class also needs to fight against the immiseration of market socialism. And here in Japan, whose powerful industrial proletariat is key to a socialist Asia, the revolutionary reunification of Korea would inspire working-class resistance to austerity and propel the sizeable Korean population to not only support revolutionary developments in Korea, but fight for their own liberation in Japan.

The most volatile social factor on the Korean peninsula has been the militant and combative South Korean working class, from the strategic Hyundai workers in Ulsan to militant teachers in Seoul. The honeymoon has been long over for the "reform" Kim Young Sam regime as last summer's strikes at Hyundai and the banning of the student group *Hanchongryon* show that while the regime might have changed, the state apparatus based upon naked military and police terror has not. Austerity cutbacks, represented by the government slogan "Money is Sin, Poverty is Pride," is what the bourgeoisie put Kim Young Sam in office to carry out as the *chaebols* want to drive wage rates below the inflation rate. In anticipation of this year's *shuntŏ* [Spring wage offensive], the government has arrested workers' leaders, issued threats that torture could be used against "thought suspects who hold anti-state ideas," and a more conservative labour minister was appointed who promised to be more forceful in dealing with unions. What is needed is the creation of a Leninist/Trotskyist party that can link these



Lee Sung Duk

Striking Hyundai workers rally at Ulsan, June 1993. Combative workers in the South must unite with North Korean proletariat for revolutionary reunification of Korea.

proletarian fights into a common struggle, win the student movement and rural population to its side, and overthrow the venal puppet government of U.S. imperialism, whether it be represented by Roh Tae Woo or Kim Young Sam.

Juche vs Political Revolution and International Communism

The revolutionary reunification of Korea is also dependent upon the working class in the North ousting the cultist Kim Il Sung and his nepotistic regime that is undermining the defence of socialised property forms. Now that the USSR has collapsed and China has turned off its aid spigot, the Stalinist Kim Il Sung regime faces a grave economic crisis and sees no alternative but to open their economy, like China and Vietnam, to imperialist penetration. The North Korean government enacted a joint management law to allow the entry of foreign capital and in December 1993, at a ruling Workers Party plenum, additional measures were taken to draw in more Western capital. This sharp turn to market socialism was underscored by Kim's 1994 New Year's address: "the whole party, military and the people will have to be mobilised for the country, dubbing this year as a reformative turning point toward a new stage of development of North Korean socialism." What this "new stage" means for the working class is an expansion of the free trade zones, like the ones created in Nampo, Rajjin and Sonbong where North Koreans will be directly employed by foreign capital and surplus value, i.e., profit, extracted from their labour.

Kim Il Sung wants a "peaceful" reunification of Korea but this can only mean a giant free trade zone, the dismantling of the planned economy and the restoration of capitalism in the North. The world capitalist market has proved itself far stronger than Stalinist rhetoric and the *Juche* doctrine of "self-reliance," stripped of its Korean nationalist parables, is the same old Stalinist crap

that socialism can be built in a single country and that to achieve this, peaceful relations with imperialism must be maintained at the expense of socialist revolution elsewhere. North Korean Stalinism's version of socialism in half a country, *Juche*, is based not on the international extension of socialism but on an illusory notion of self reliance, that has its social origins in feudal obscurantism, reactionary Confucianism and stands politically counterposed to the internationalist traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the first four congresses of the Communist International. Unchecked by political revolution, *Juche* will be the gravedigger of the North Korean workers state.

Juche is antithetical to the early years of Korean communism which had a rich internationalist tradition rooted directly in the Bolshevik Revolution and the founding of the Communist International in 1919. Dispersed by Japanese imperialism's 1910 occupation, pioneer Korean communists played an important role in four Asian communist parties: the Bolshevik party in the Soviet Far East and the Chinese, Korean and Japanese communist parties. Koreans in the Soviet maritime district eagerly joined the Red Army to fight against the White Guards and Japanese imperialism during the Civil War and many Korean communists died defending the Russian Revolution, like Alexandra Kim, born in a Korean village in the Primorsk region, who was a Bolshevik commissar when she was executed by the Japanese army after they invaded Khabarovsk. Koreans in China and Manchuria were an important component of the Comintern's Shanghai Far Eastern Bureau. The first Comintern representative to set foot on Japanese soil was a Korean and many Korean youth studying in Tokyo were attracted to communism and joined the Japanese party. Courageous Korean communists, dispatched by the Comintern from the USSR, China and Japan, tried to organise an indigenous Korean party but

these attempts were thwarted by the efficient Japanese occupation police.

The Korean contribution to early Asian communism was reflected at the 1921 First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow, where 52 of the accredited 144 delegates were Korean. These founding Korean cadres were committed to international revolution, not the nationalist doctrine of *Juche*, a doctrine that could only predominate in the Korean party after its internationalist traditions were purged, first by Stalin and his destruction of the Comintern and later by Kim Il Sung's nationalism. But the working class has a long memory and the greatest tribute we can pay to the founding internationalist spirit of Korean communism is to build a new, Leninist/Trotskyist, Korean communist party.

Why We Defend North Korea!

Today North Korean school children learn by rote epic fairy tales about how Kim Il Sung "led" the Korean revolution. Nonsense! The North Korean workers state was created, not by *Juche*, but by the rout of fleeing Japanese imperialism by the Soviet Red Army. The workers state created in the North, despite its Stalinist deformities, represents an historic gain for the working class. Within the first year of liberation from Japanese rule, the northern half of Korea had abolished land tenancy and the land was redistributed. Industry was nationalised and labour laws providing for the 8-hour work day, social security system, higher pay for difficult or hazardous work and equal pay for men and women were implemented. Formal equality for women was established which did away with concubinage, prostitution, female infanticide and numerous other practices which exploit women, many of which still exist in the South. An article from the southern newspaper *Kinyok Chubo* (*Korean Weekly*) reported on 26 November 1945:

"The Soviet Army's policies are different from American Army policies. Immediately after entering North Korea, the Soviets disarmed the Japanese army, stripped off the Japanese people's fine clothes ... gave Japanese-owned houses to homeless Koreans, gave their assets to the Korean people, and put political and economic authority completely in the hands of the Korean people."

This is what the Japanese left refuses to defend and what imperialism desperately tried to overturn during the bloody 1950-53 Korean War. When North Korean troops advanced south they were welcomed as liberators and popular support for the Northern side in the war was often expressed in strike action. When MacArthur, under the bloody UN flag, led imperialism back into Seoul his reception was anything but warm and to this day most South Koreans despise the U.S. troops that have occupied their country for more than 40 years. Many of these early gains have certainly been eroded by the parasitic Stalinist regime but communists must defend the foundations of this

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Bruce Cumings



Pantheon Books

Left: North Korean troops are welcomed into Seoul in June 1950, hailed as liberators by the populace. Right: Pyongyang, the Northern capital, at the end of the war after imperialist bombs laid waste to city.

North Korea...

(continued from page 9)

planned economy. Leftists who can only whine about the unsavoury and bizarre character of the current Pyongyang regime, and use this to justify an abstentionist or neutral position on North Korea, do so in the interests of their own bourgeoisie.

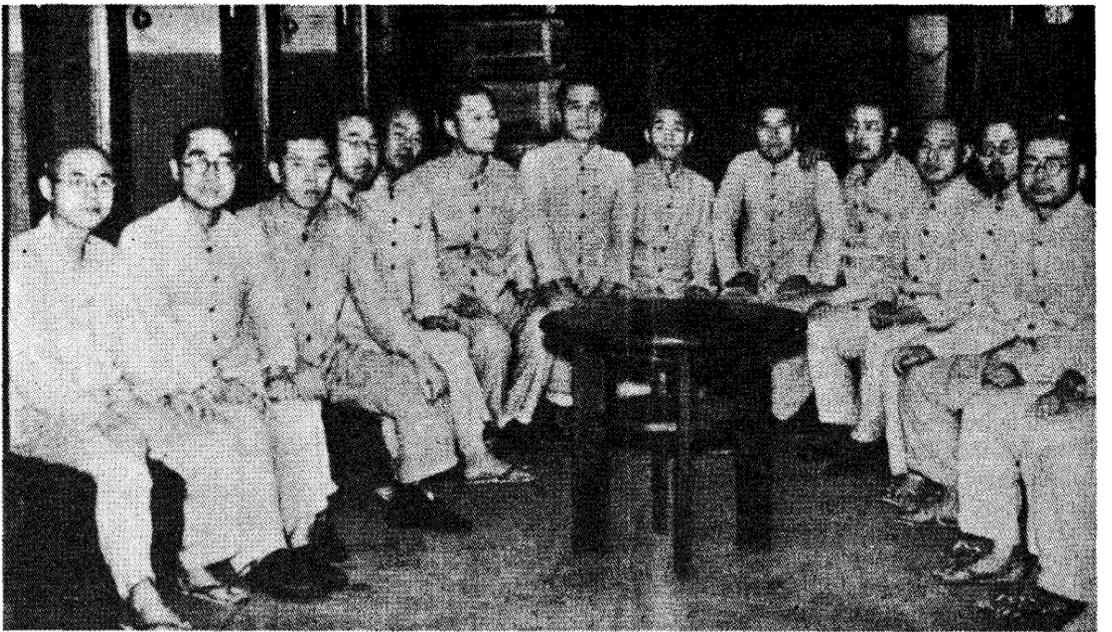
The Korean Question and the Left

The Japanese left has a wretched record on defending the USSR and the deformed workers states against imperialism. During the Vietnam War the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to decades of imperialist aggression was popular. But the understanding that the USSR was the main obstacle to imperialist aggression rarely penetrated the narrow and chauvinist Stalinophobic politics that predominate here. Now that the USSR is gone the remaining deformed workers states in Asia are in great danger. Cambodia is now a capitalist UN protectorate and China and Vietnam are opening their doors to imperialist investment with capitalist restoration looming as a real possibility. Korea has a long history of being exploited by Japanese imperialism and it is particularly disgusting that most Japanese leftists have historically failed the acid test of defending North Korea and Koreans in Japan.

If economic sanctions are levied against North Korea, a prelude to a new war, this will also produce attacks against Koreans in Japan. The government is considering passing legislation making it illegal for Korean residents in Japan to send money to North Korea and U.S. imperialism is pushing this measure. If such a law were enacted it would particularly target *Chosen Soren* [General Confederation of Korean People in Japan], the main pro-North Korean social organisation in Japan. Most of the Japanese left ignores this crucial connection between defending North Korea against imperialist attacks and defending Koreans in Japan against the racist government. Leftists who might utter a few empty words about Koreans usually tail the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) which had advocated a "liberal" imperialist view of extending diplomatic recognition to North Korea. But times have changed!

For the JSP to have entered the Hosokawa Coalition government they had to support austerity measures directed against the working class, and by virtue of their cabinet appointment to the Home Affairs Ministry, must also enforce these measures by arresting and prosecuting labour militants, leftists, Japanese Koreans and by deporting foreign workers. And to maintain their unity with the bourgeoisie they will have to support trade sanctions against North Korea. But doing the dirty work for the ruling class is nothing new for these *Sanpō* [social-patriotic] socialists. The 1947-48 popular-front anti-communist government derailed strikes and passed an anti-strike law for public employees. In June 1950 the JSP used the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)/government red purge to build the anti-

October 1945, Fuchu Prison, Tokyo: Japanese and Korean leaders of Japanese Communist Party before their release from prison. In post-WW2 Japan, JCP had about 4,000 Korean members, but now it has none. Why?



no credit

communist labour federation, *Sōhyō*, which supported the imperialist side in the Korean War.

Why the JCP Has No Korean Members

The JCP, in its pre-war and early post-war years, recruited a sizeable number of Koreans but left wing and militant Koreans today hate the JCP. The current Fuwa/Miyamoto leadership, while weakly opposing the proposed sanctions to be levied against North Korea, uses a wretched no-nuke pacifism to justify their refusal to defend North Korea having nuclear weapons. Fuwa and company have no intention of overthrowing imperialism, as they declare that democracy,

Before World War II hundreds of thousands of Korean workers were brought here as forced labourers and in the early post-war period over 4,000 Koreans joined the JCP believing this was the historic party of the Japanese working class and would fight for their interests. On 10 October 1945, a number of central JCP leaders, like Tokuda and Shiga, were released from Fuchu prison and the public meetings to greet the released JCP leaders attracted large numbers of Koreans. Among those released leaders were central committee member Kim Chon He who played a central role in organising the militant Korean organisation *Chouren* [Federation of Korean People in Japan] and toured the country

defeat led to attacks on Koreans during the Cold War and the GHQ/Japanese government anti-communist witchhunt outlawed *Chouren* in September 1949. Political events on the Korean peninsula have a direct impact on Koreans in Japan but the JCP then, and the left today, doesn't recognise this. After the Korean War broke out *Chouren* was reorganised as *Minsen* [United Democratic Front of Korean People in Japan] in January 1951 and called for victory to the North Korean side of the war while the Japanese CP leaders wanted a bloc with the centrist and nationalist forces in the South to push for a democratic revolution (socialism to be sometime later) and didn't want to alienate bourgeois public opinion in Japan. This line was so rightwing that even the Cominform complained.

After the imperialist division of Korea *Minsen* tried, unsuccessfully, to get the JCP to adopt an anti-Syngman Rhee position. This cowardly refusal, fuelled by the JCP's developing nationalism and chauvinism, was the final straw for Korean militants who tried to work within the JCP for nearly ten years. In February 1955 at a *Chou Mintai* central committee meeting (the internal JCP commission for Korean work), Korean JCP leaders voted to resign and approximately 4,000 Koreans left the party never to return. Because there was no revolutionary internationalist wing of the JCP, Korean communists in Japan saw no alternative but to turn to Kim Il Sung's brand of Stalinism. In May 1955 *Minsen* dissolved and a new organisation, *Chosen Soren*, was formed that supported the Kim Il Sung government. Kim Il Sung, who launched his own nationalist *Juche* campaign the same year, promised the Japanese bourgeoisie that *Chosen Soren* would not interfere in internal Japanese affairs.

Today *Chosen Soren* dutifully subordinates itself to the "Great Leader's" dictates and rarely takes up issues central to Koreans in Japan, like full citizenship rights for all non-Japanese residents. But the responsibility for the degeneration of the post-war militant *Chouren* to the abstentionist and narrowly Stalinist *Chosen Soren* must be placed squarely at the feet of the JCP's chauvinist leadership. The JCP today has no Korean members and their trade-union federation, *Zenrōren*, refuses to organise Koreans and other non-Japanese workers into common industrial unions. JCP members who hate racism and chauvinism need to understand that they are in the wrong party!

New-Left Moralism and the Class Line

New leftists, whether fake Trotskyists, phoney new-left militants or cowardly state capitalists, often try to take a neutral position by criticising both the economic sanctions against North Korea and the possibility of North Korea having nuclear weapons. *Senki's* Communist Alliance, probably the best of this bunch, is critical of imperialist sanctions, and

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Japanese Spartacist

Tokyo, March 1994: Spartacist Group Japan calls for defence of North Korea from imperialist attack. Placard in Korean reads: "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party."

not socialism, is on the agenda, and therefore sow illusions in the imperialist UN, as long as they carry out their counterrevolutionary objectives "peacefully." Domestically they support protectionism, take the side of their own government in the trade war between Japan and the U.S., have never fought for full citizenship rights for non-Japanese residents and have done nothing to defend foreign workers from government and right-wing attacks. What thinking Korean militant would want to join such a nationalist and chauvinist party?

urging Koreans to join both the JCP and *Chouren*. But this widespread Korean support was betrayed by the JCP leadership over a ten-year period.

The JCP leadership's cancellation and betrayal of the 1 February 1947 General Strike has had a debilitating negative impact on the post-war history of the Japanese working class, and a golden opportunity to forge powerful links between Japanese and Korean workers was missed. JCP members and sympathisers in *Chouren* meant business and in preparation for the general strike had collected money and organised strike support committees. On the morning of 1 February 1947 (unbeknown to them the general strike was called off before midnight) an editorial appeared in *Chouren's* newspaper, *Kaihō Shimbun*, that powerfully proclaimed their solidarity:

"The February general strike struggle planned by the Japanese working class, which is in our mutual interests, should be our struggle. Their victory will be our victory and their defeat will be our defeat. Our Japanese working class brothers have begun to rise up against our enemy, the forces of Japanese reaction. We must organise ourselves to keep step and fight this mutual struggle."

The JCP's betrayal not only squandered a potential pre-revolutionary situation but also reinforced the segregation of Japan's minorities from major industry and union organisations. This

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International Green Left Conference:

The Unspeakable in Pursuit of the Inedible

Over the 1-4 April weekend in Sydney, the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) sponsored its first "International Green Left Conference." Behind the talk of "socialist renewal" was the reality that the conference luminaries comprised nearly every variety of class-collaborationist and/or social-democratic species on the international left. These included, among others, the Italian Party of Communist Refoundation (RC); the Workers Party of Brazil; leaders of those splitting from the Philippine Communist Party in a social-democratic direction and the U.S.-based "Committees of Correspondence," along with outright capitalist parties such as the Australian Greens and Democrats as well as the cross-class New Zealand Alliance.

A sub-plot to the conference was the dalliance between the DSP and Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (Usec). Although the DSP exited the Usec in the mid-1980s, the two organisations share common opportunist appetites and presently share the particularly wretched position of calling on the imperialist powers to arm the Bosnian Army, in fact criticising, in the DSP's case, the failure of the "New World Order" imperialists to intervene enough in ex-Yugoslavia. Prominent Usec spokesmen at the conference included British *Socialist Outlook* honcho Phil Hearse and leaders of the Usec's Sri Lankan organisation, the Nava Samasamaja Party (NSSP).

Though now at some pains to distance themselves from the increasingly bonapartist regime of would-be tsar Boris Yeltsin, the DSP, in the name of "democracy" and "anti-Stalinism," supported, as did the Usec, the capitalist counter-revolutions that swept Eastern Europe and destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state, the homeland of the October Revolution. (See "Fake Left Cheerleaders for Yeltsin—They Asked For It—They Got It!", *ASp* No. 151, Summer 1993/94.) When the Berlin Wall came down and incipient proletarian political revolution was engulfed by imperialist-backed capitalist counter-revolution in the former DDR, the DSP junked its former designation (as the Socialist Workers Party) and that of its paper (*Direct Action*) to emerge as the *Green Left Weekly*. Profoundly Stalinophobic, the DSP still like to engage in a little "Fidelista" enthusing over the far-away Cuban Stalinists. But the DSP's support to Yeltsin counterrevolution in August 1991 was support to disaster for the Cuban deformed workers state now under the gun of U.S. imperialism in the absence of Soviet military and economic support.

The Popular Front: Paving the Way for Reaction

What united most of the organisations assembled at the DSP's conference was their even further lurch to the right in the wake of the collapse of Stalinism. "Socialist renewal" for the assembled meant a regroupment of social-democratic forces. The DSP's luminaries virtually without exception practise some variant of the "popular front," i.e., tying the working class to the exploiters through class-collaborationist coalitions, in explicit electoral pacts or "extra-parliamentary" alliances.

This was clear from the very first plenary, where Luciana Castellina, a leader of

the Italian RC, speaking on the "Crisis in Europe" declared: "I'm not talking about revolution but something like the Popular Front in France in the 1930s." The first act of the RC's "model"—the French pop front headed by right-wing socialist Leon Blum, encompassing the bourgeois Radicals (liberals) and backed by the Stalinist CP—was to liquidate the general strike of May-June 1936. After betraying, demobilising and demoralising its working-class supporters, the Popular Front was displaced by a succession of right-wing regimes, opening the road for the Vichy regime of collaboration with Nazi Germany.

The RC itself just emerged from an eight-party "popular front" including outright capitalist parties defeated in the recent Italian elections, a popular-front coalition which paved the way for the ominous rightist victory of "Forza Italia," placing open fascists in the Italian government. As we wrote recently in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 598, 15 April):

"The central reason the right was elected was because of the utter *political bankruptcy of the reformist left*, which sells out the workers in vain hopes of ministerial seats while the DC/PSI sold their services for bribes.... There is an inescapable parallel to the victory of the Gaullist right in France a year ago. After an election campaign whose hottest issue was *unemployment*, the French right won only because the Mitterand popular front (in power for the last dozen years) obviously had no answers."

Stalin baptised the "People's Front" at the 1935 Seventh Congress of the Comintern, counselling Communist parties throughout the world to seek alliance with "progressive" wings of the bourgeoisie in exchange for suppressing class struggle and abandoning the fight for socialism "at home." The domestic corollary of Stalin's "socialism in one country" was the popular front. But Stalin did not originate this strategy; it was called the "left bloc" in the 1920s and "coalitionism" at the beginning of the century. As we explained in *Workers Vanguard* No. 512, 19 October 1990 ("The Popular Front: Recipe for Defeat"):

"In Spain in the 1930s, in Chile in the 1970s, the popular front prepared the way for the victory of the butchers Franco and Pinochet by holding back and repressing a revolutionary upsurge. In 1914, the 'class peace' of the reformist social democrats with 'their own' bourgeoisie led to the slaughter of millions of proletarians in World War I.... 'The popular front usually comes to the fore when the bourgeoisie cannot rule in the old way, when capitalist society is disrupted and polarised by war, economic depression or deep political crises. At this point the reformist leaders of the working class offer their hand in 'unity' with the 'progressive' wing of the bourgeoisie against the right. Everywhere and always, by heading off revolution it lays the basis for reestablishment of the capitalist order—often through bloody white terror."

On paper, the DSP claims to reject the policy of the popular front. But in practice, the DSP embraces popular-front coalitionism on its domestic terrain and offers practitioners of the popular frontism abroad fulsome and uncritical support, from the elements of the Philippines CP breaking to the right to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, from the RC in Europe to the ANC in South Africa.

In "A History of the Democratic Socialist Party," John Percy explains how the DSP worked its opportunist appetites into "theory." In the mid-1980's, the DSP decided the Australian Labor Party had "never been a working-class party. Today it remains, as it always has been,

a bourgeois party." But unable to resist the pressure to regularly vote ALP as a "lesser evil," the DSP cites Lenin's "*Left Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, where Lenin urged the young Communist Party of Britain to use the *tactic* of critical electoral support to the Labour Party. Lenin's tactic was meant to exploit, where appropriate, the contradiction of the *bourgeois workers party*: pro-capitalist at the top but working class at its trade-union base. It was a tactic designed to expose the pro-capitalist tops and *split* the working-class base to the Communist banner.

For loyal Laborite leftists, support to Labor is a *way of life* rather than the communist tactic proposed by Lenin. We understand that under certain conditions a class vote to this bourgeois workers party is in order—when it is not standing in coalition with any bourgeois forces and is claiming to offer itself up as an opponent to the outright capitalist forces. But, as a recent example, Keating's ALP merited not a shred of support in the last elections, however savagely critical: on offer was another period of Labor-run union-busting austerity and imperialist militarism.

Getting it wrong on all counts, the DSP crudely amalgamates its own appetites with Lenin's writings in order to conclude: Lenin was for supporting bourgeois parties! For the DSP, Lenin's "tactic is one that can be applied to *any* formation in which masses of workers have illusions" (our emphasis). It goes on:

"Once we had broken with Trotskyism, and once we had corrected our analysis of the ALP, the way was open for our party to contemplate a much wider range of political options. The possibilities emerged for seeking different types of regroupments with other political forces, and for having a much more flexible tactical approach towards parliamentary elections."

Flexible to be sure! The DSP extends support not just to the wretched ALP, but to the bourgeois Greens and the New Zealand Alliance. "All-Australian owned" these days, the DSP doesn't exist outside the country, but it can still fawn over the Italian RC, the South African ANC, Philippine Manila Rizal Regional Commission and U.S. ex-Stalinists, *ad nauseam*. Nor is support for mainstream bourgeois parties in the major imperialist centres precluded. Much touted at the Green Left Conference were spokesmen for the U.S. "Committees of Correspondence" like Peter Camejo and Carl Bloice. Ex-fake Trotskyist renegade Camejo bemoaned the demise of Jesse Jackson's electoral vehicle in the Democratic Party, the "Rainbow Coalition," while former long-time CPer-turned-"God that Failed" social democrat Bloice openly came out for support to Bill Clinton in the last U.S. presidential elections.

Leon Trotsky wrote: "In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism" ("The Dutch Section and the International," *Writings 1935-36*). The "green leftists" of the DSP make the Russian Mensheviks look downright principled.

The Stench of Betrayal

In a plenary session addressed by NSSP leader Karunarathne, a Spartacist spokesman exposed to what depths the DSP

and its Usec buddies can sink when the opportunity presents itself. A DSPer introduced the NSSP as a "party that had broken from an older Trotskyist party when it entered a coalition government." Our comrade spiked this bald falsification, pointing out that in reality the founders of the NSSP remained in the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) throughout *two* periods of coalition government with the bourgeoisie, beginning in 1964 and again in the 1970s, setting up shop only after the second coalition collapsed and the LSSP was in disgrace in 1977. But worse was to come from this outfit.

Our spokesman pointed out that much of what passes for "opposition" in Sri Lanka today is Sinhala chauvinist criticism of the ruling United National Party government for insufficient energy in prosecuting the civil war against the Tamil people's secessionist movement. We quoted former Sri Lankan Prime Minister and Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) leader Mrs Bandaranaike's repeated calls for putting the country on real "war footing" at a time when the NSSP was seeking a "joint opposition front" with the bourgeois SLFP against the government. We cited a scandalous speech of the NSSP's sole MP, Vasu Nanyakkara on 18 June 1991 when he told parliament: "Honorable Deputy Speaker, my party thinks there is only a single duty left for us to do. That is to defeat the LTTE [Tamil Tigers] power in the north and east." Leaving no ambiguity, he went on to say: "...we ask the government to suppress the LTTE, to crush the LTTE."

The following day, Nanyakkara voted for the government's supplementary defence budget: i.e., *war credits for the prosecution of terror against the Tamil people*. Our comrade compared this with August 1914, when the German social democrats voted war credits to their "own" bourgeoisie. The NSSP's betrayal did not, however, prevent the Usec from admitting the NSSP as a section a few months later. Nor did it inhibit stormy applause for the NSSP from the assembled DSPers.

The DSP's conference was crowned by the launch of a new quarterly magazine of "socialist renewal," *LINKS*. Featured on its editorial board are several leading DSPers, Usec leaders Mandel and Krivine and the NSSP, the "Committees of Correspondence," Russian social democrat Boris Kagarlitsky and the editor of the South African Communist Party's *African Communist*. Whatever new species of class collaboration and betrayal comes out of this lash-up, it can only constitute an obstacle to the building of a genuine world party of socialist revolution, a reformed Fourth International. ■

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Balkans...

(continued from page 16)

in the summer of 1991, tens of thousands have been killed and maimed, and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes. All sides have embraced the most reactionary "traditions," with the Croats harking back to the pro-Nazi World War II Ustasha regime, the Serbs glorifying monarchist Chetniks and the Muslims unfurling the green banner of Islamic fundamentalism. These were precisely the forces which Tito's Communist Partisans overcame while defeating the German Wehrmacht to create a multinational Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

But the nationalist jackals, all of them, picking at the corpse of Yugoslavia, are not the only forces responsible for the communalist bloodbath. Behind them stand imperialist powers who are increasingly pushing their own particular interests as economic rivalries emerge which were formerly muted by shared anti-Sovietism. Of these, Germany is most directly responsible for the destruction of Titoist Yugoslavia. After buying out East Germany in 1990 from the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist regime, German capital is pursuing important economic interests in the Balkan peninsula, which produces strategic minerals—chrome, zinc, lead, copper, bauxite, silver.

In late 1991, Germany steamrolled the European Community into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia over the objections of Britain and France, allies of Serbia during the interwar period. The establishment of a Croatian nationalist state provoked a revolt by the large Serb minority, backed by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav federal army. The war for eastern Croatia ended—or, more accurately, was temporarily suspended—with the Serbs controlling 30 percent of the territory of that former Yugoslav republic, a region now renamed the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Then came the three-sided communalist slaughter in Bosnia between the Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The Serbs in Bosnia are predominantly peasants and owned 65 percent of the republic's land although making up only a third of its population. The Muslims, slightly less than half the population, are largely an urbanized people. Consequently, when the fighting began the Serb forces gained control of most of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

The *Wall Street Journal* (21 April) pointed to the fundamental dilemma facing Western imperialism, headlining "Serbs Bet That the West Won't Risk the Thing They Fear: Ground Troops." In Bonn, the Kohl government is pushing hard to overcome "constitutional" objections to sending in the German army as "peacekeepers." But Germany has another problem. Such an action would provoke a violent response from those peoples who suffered as the Nazis laid waste to the South Slavic lands. It would certainly inflame anti-German sentiment in Greece, which has backed the Serbs. More generally, a German army in the Balkans would send shudders throughout Europe—East and West.

Unlike Germany, the U.S. has no intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics are divided between the contending Balkan nationalisms. Originally, Washington sought to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the region while preserving a federated Yugoslav state. When these plans were torpedoed by the Fourth Reich, the U.S. had no coherent Balkan policy. However, the Serbs' defiance of Western imperialist diktats, their open contempt for UN resolutions and NATO threats, is an affront to the American would-be masters of the world. Some in the U.S. ruling class have been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson.



Bosnian Serbs welcome Russian troops with reactionary three-finger Orthodox Christian salute and hail fascist pan-Slav demagogue Zhirinovskiy (bottom right). Boris Yeltsin and Helmut Kohl (top right) engineered Russian intervention to bring Serbs into line in imperialist carve-up of former Yugoslavia.

But the U.S. has its own constraints...on the home front. The continuing potency of the "Vietnam syndrome" was revealed and reinforced recently in Somalia. The U.S. troops supposedly sent on a UN "humanitarian" mission to help feed the starving people of this East African country were in fact a colonial expeditionary force which massacred hundreds of black Africans. But when Somali clan warriors managed to turn the tables and kill a few dozen U.S. soldiers, the overwhelming response of the American public was: Pull U.S. forces out, now!

While Clinton waffles on Bosnia from one week to the next, the Pentagon generals have been vocally "dovish" about getting stuck in a Balkan "quagmire." Anxious to avoid any American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. This was expressed in a particularly open and cynical way by liberal Democratic Senator Joseph Biden:

"The Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats are perfectly capable of fighting for themselves. There's no need for a Vietnamization. There's not a need for a single American soldier. Let's supply them with weapons and let them go after the Serbs."

—*New York Times*, 18 April

In other words, U.S. imperialism is willing to fight the Serbs to the last drop of Croat and Muslim blood!

Russia: Soft Cop for the NATO Powers

Enter at this stage Russia, the historic patron of their Serbian "Slavic little brothers." Partly to divert popular discontent at home over the economic devastation resulting from the capitalist counterrevolution, the Yeltsin regime—fully backed by the nationalist opposition led by fascist demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—saw in the Balkan crisis a golden opportunity to posture as a "great power." Moscow's deputy foreign minister and chief envoy in the Balkans, Vitaly Churkin, proclaimed: "The West should learn a lesson from the current Bosnian crisis. The lesson is that Russia should be treated as an equal partner" (*Economist*, 26 February).

But this is not counterposed to acting in concert with Western powers. We noted in "Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe" (*WV* No. 595, 4 March) that the Russians intervened to help broker a German plan to establish a Greater Croatia overlapping a Greater Serbia. The Croat and Muslim regions in Bosnia would link up with Croatia. Krajina Serbs would link up with Croatia. Krajina Serbs would dissolve their statelet and accept the sovereignty of the Croatian government. In turn, the Bosnian Serbs, with a diminished territory, would be

allowed to link up with Serbia. Moscow's slated role in selling this deal was to solace the Serbs, for example, promising the Krajina Serbs that the Russians would protect them against the fascist Croatian regime of Franjo Tudjman.

When several hundred Russian soldiers, wearing the blue helmets of UN "peacekeepers," entered the environs of Sarajevo in mid-February, they were welcomed by the besieging Bosnian Serb forces, who saw them as protectors against the threatened NATO air attacks. We quoted in our earlier article a commentary by the *Wall Street Journal* (22 February) complaining that the interplay between Russia and the U.S. over Bosnia "looked more like confrontation" than "cooperation." Indeed, the Clinton White House was initially irked by Moscow's move. But the Russian intervention's purpose was to implement a UN ultimatum to the Serbs to pull back from Sarajevo, and Moscow supported a U.S. shutdown of four Serb planes in late February. As we wrote last issue: "The now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs."

Speaking to a conference of his Christian Democratic party, German chancellor Kohl bragged about his close cooperation with the Russian leader: "I want to say very clearly that I am happy that with Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government, a new power is now assuming its responsibility." Russian emissary Vitaly Churkin emphasized that they were working together to line up their respective clients: "Some of us have privileged contacts: the Americans with the Muslims, the Germans with the Croats and we with the Serbs. We are seeking to use them for the common good" (*Liberation* [Paris], 23 February). Underlining the possibility of a budding alliance with Germany, Yeltsin has now invited German troops into the ex-USSR in an interview with *Der Spiegel* (25 April), calling for the deployment of "the Germany army with UN peacekeeping forces" there to carry out "an important and noble mission."

It did not take long for Serbian nationalists to see through the double game being played by their Slav "big brothers." A UN analysis of the situation in Bosnia in late March reported that the Serbs "see everyone winning except them, view the Russians as siding with the United States and against them, feel diplomatic and military pressure on the increase."

At the same time, the German-brokered deal between the Croats and Muslims, who had been fighting one another, freed up Muslim forces to launch an offensive against the Serbs. When the Muslims refused to halt their



AP



Der Spiegel

offensive against Serbian-held territory in central Bosnia in early April, the Serbs responded with stepped-up attacks on Gorazde, leading up to the latest showdown with the NATO powers.

The Serbs' belligerent response embarrassed Moscow. Churkin exclaimed, "The Bosnian Serbs must understand that by dealing with Russia, they are dealing with a great power and not a banana republic." Yeltsin himself declared: "The Bosnian Serb leadership must fulfill its promises given to Russia, stop the attacks and withdraw from Gorazde...enable the introduction of UN forces in the area and unblock the UN personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Clinton praised Yeltsin's stance as "very helpful." Russian workers must oppose the pan-Slav demagoguery of Yeltsin and Zhirinovskiy and demand: Russian troops out of the Balkans now!

While defending Serbia against imperialist attack, we maintain a position of revolutionary defeatism toward all three sides in the nationalist civil war wracking the former Yugoslavia. However, decisive military intervention against the Serbs by one or more imperialist powers would change the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Muslim nationalist forces and posing the need for revolutionary defensism toward Serbia. In any case, we call on the workers to join in overthrowing their capitalist rulers—in Milosevic's Serbia no less than Tudjman's Croatia and Izetbegovic's Bosnian statelet—in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Important sections of the American ruling class now look on the Bosnia crisis as a test of their ability to control the post-Cold War world amid the devastation and turmoil wrought by counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc and increasing rivalry with German and Japanese imperialism. This view was clearly expressed in an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April): "The Balkans War is not an isolated aberration but a small-scale model of the large-scale security challenges to come. Taking it as that, the major powers can, if they choose, introduce themselves as well as the Serbs to a new world order."

The "New World Order"—proclaimed by Washington as it was terror-bombing Iraq in the Persian Gulf War—is a formula for intensified U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of working people around the globe. If NATO attacks on the Serbs in Bosnia are effective, it will embolden the U.S. rulers to unleash the Pentagon war machine from South America to southern Africa, from East Europe to East Asia. But heavy bombing against the Serbs could bring in its wake imperialist troops fighting on the ground, sucking NATO forces into an ever-widening Balkan war. U.S./UN/NATO out of the Balkans! ■

Drop the Charges Against Anti-VSU Protesters!

Victorian Cops Brutally Attack Student Demo

On 28 April over 600 student demonstrators marched in Melbourne, protesting legislation before the Victorian parliament enforcing "Voluntary Student Unionism" (VSU) at universities and TAFE colleges. Police moved in, brutally attacking the demonstration with batons and mounted cops, and five of the protesters were charged. **Drop all charges against the anti-VSU protesters!**

This cop attack on the student protesters took place in the context of heightened state repression against any resistance to the austerity drive emanating from the Labor federal government and the state governments, both Labor and Liberal. In December, Kennett unleashed a brutal attack by baton-wielding cops against a picket line at Richmond Secondary College (RSC); many picketers were beaten bloody. Our leaflet issued at the time called for mass, militant mobilisations of all Melbourne labour in defence of the Richmond pickets: "The organised working class has the power to turn this sinister vendetta around: **drop all the charges against the Richmond pickets!**"

Following a series of fatal shootings by the cops in Victoria, police have now been issued with new extendable batons and chemical weapons in the form of capsicum spray guns. For Aboriginal people who face daily police attack and harassment, immigrant youth who are targeted by cops on the trains and streets of working-class suburbs, students and workers this spells increased state terror.

The Kennett government's VSU legislation is explicitly aimed at suppressing student dissent. According to a leaked Liberal policy memo: "We do not want compulsory student monies flowing out to anti-Kennett and anti-coalition campaigns." General service fees, now collected by the university administrations and disbursed to student unions and sports unions, are to be taken out of the hands of elected student bodies and limited to "non-political" uses. Draconian fines of up to \$1,000 can be imposed on anyone "pressuring" someone to join a student union.

We defend students and their organisations against these vicious government attacks. At the same time, we understand that government funding of student organisations is a mechanism of

cooption and corruption; in the last analysis they are thereby constrained to do the bidding of their paymasters. For our part, we refuse to take one cent of the funds allocated via the administration and student bureaucracies. These bodies are not "unions" analogous to the trade unions of the working class, but include students of every class. They are bound by a thousand threads to the capitalist campus administrations and invariably run by assorted careerists, not least of the Laborite variety, who use the sandpit of student politics to train for the big time.

Meanwhile the Keating Labor government's latest attack on education includes

like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) have pushed insipid and parochial "student unionism," while lobbying the Labor government and university administrations to boot. An ISO leaflet entitled "Step up the fight against VSU" counsels: "Activists should be involved in pressuring the Vice-Chancellors on individual campuses to stand up to Kennett and refuse to implement his VSU laws!"

Despite some rhetoric against the federal Labor government for which the ISO so eagerly campaigned in the last elections—outdoing the Labor Clubs in their zeal—the punchline for the ISO is:



John Lamb

Melbourne, 28 April: Over 600 students protest against "Voluntary Student Unionism." Cops later attacked demonstration charging five protesters.

a plan whereby those not scoring enough marks can buy a place in a tertiary institution by paying full fees, thus further excluding working-class youth from, and strengthening the class bias in, higher education. **We call for free, quality education for all! Open admissions to all tertiary institutions! No fees! For a living allowance for all students—including those from overseas! For staff/student/campus worker control of the universities!**

In the face of Kennett and Keating's attacks, reformist Laborite organisations

"We need to continue to call demonstrations, to put pressure on NUS to back our actions, and to build an ongoing, fighting campaign which will give Kennett and his VSU legislation the beating they deserve." "Anti-Kennett" rhetoric in the mouths of the ISO translates into campaigns designed to pressure the ALP to "fight the right."

And Kennett doesn't have any monopoly on the use of brutal cop force against the struggles of students and workers. It was under the Victorian Kirner Labor government that student

militant organised trade-union movement in Victoria to toothless Laborite parliamentarism.

While the race-hating terrorists and their parliamentary front-men are relatively weak in Australia today, their threat is very real. To crush these vermin before they grow demands not simply protest but *decisive action* by the big battalions of the trade-union movement, anti-racist youth and all the oppressed. As anti-fascist militants have seen, the state does and will mobilise to protect the fascists and victimise those seeking to interdict them. A strong trade-union component to mobilisations against the fascists brings to bear the social weight of the organised working class in defence against the bosses' thugs in blue: taking on contingents of union men and women from the waterfront, the trams, the power stations and oil refineries is a very different ball game from bashing and arresting small groups of leftists and youth. Such a struggle is linked to the strategic political fight to break the working class from the death-grip of the

racist, pro-capitalist Labor tops and the construction of an authentically revolutionary workers party committed to the overthrow of the whole rotting, racist capitalist system.

In addition to the mobilisation of mass, militant actions to stop the fascists in their tracks, such a party would fight for jobs for all; for a sliding scale of wages and hours and a full cost-of-living index; to organise the unorganised; for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers. Only when those who toil expropriate the means of production, establish a planned economy and proletarian state rule of a workers republic as part a socialist federation of Asia will the fascist menace here be destroyed once and for all.

The leadership of such a struggle will be built in political combat against the likes of the ISO with their endless petitions, cringing Laborite reformism and virulent state-capitalist anti-communism. For mass, militant mobilisations of the trade unions and all the oppressed to crush the fascists! ■

demonstrators who marched against the government's plan to further slash Austudy allowances were arrested in Gestapo-style dawn raids on the homes of seven students, including supporters of the ISO. Some of those rounded up in this vindictive police action still face charges. **Drop all the charges against the Austudy Five now!**

For all their talk about student "unionism" when it comes to the elementary question of respecting workers picket lines, the ISO flunks. Last September ISO students and academics *crossed the picket line* of striking cleaners at LaTrobe University. This scabby contempt for the working class has its corollary in the ISO's abject reformism on all fronts—be it their grovelling petitions to Brunswick Council to "condemn" the fascists, their petitions "to force the ACTU to reconsider its position" on Keating's "training wage" scheme (aimed especially against youth on unemployment benefits) or their petitions begging Keating to "do the right thing" about Aboriginal rights.

What's needed to defeat the current bipartisan attacks on education is not the ISO's "anti-Kennett" campaigns aimed at pressuring uni vice-chancellors, but the mobilisation of the trade unions in alliance with students, youth and all the oppressed. Such a mobilisation will necessarily entail a political struggle against the Laborites and their trade union hirelings, including the likes of Trades Hall Council (THC) leader John Halfpenny. It was the "anti-Kennett" luminaries of the THC who left the Richmond picketers to fight alone against the cops and the scabs last December despite official THC "endorsement" of the RSC picket.

While lacking the social power by themselves to fundamentally change society, students and youth can be vital allies of working-class struggle. For the capitalists the purpose of higher education is to train the future technicians, politicians, judges and so forth to administer their rotten system. But those radicalised students seeking an alternative to the imperialist, racist, sexist status quo can link their struggles to the organised working class which has both the interest in and power to beat back the capitalist attacks on the road to overthrowing the rule of the capitalists altogether. A small but powerful example of the kind of struggle we seek to win young fighters to join was the successful, Spartacist-initiated mobilisation of students from Sydney University along with trade unionists, Aborigines and leftists to break a racist ban at the nearby Student Prince Hotel in June of last year.

From recent demonstrations in Brunswick against the fascist National Action to protesting against education cutbacks and attacks on women's rights, youth are being impelled into action against this decaying capitalist system. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party forged in sharp political battle against the Labor Party and sell-out trade union tops and committed to achieving workers rule. We seek to build a communist youth movement as a fighting auxiliary to the necessary proletarian struggle for socialist revolution. Student members of such a fighting youth movement will not tinker within the sandpits of the yuppie student bureaucrats but rather lead youth into battle for the only solution to capitalist economic chaos, oppression and fascist terror: workers revolution. Only then can we begin to build a planned, socialist, egalitarian society that guarantees jobs, education and a future for all. Join us! ■

Fascists...

(continued from page 3)

and chronic mass unemployment and the traditional regions of manufacturing industry have been transformed into social wastelands.

This has been felt particularly keenly in Victoria. Here, the rise of fascist/skinhead filth has been accompanied by the unleashing of armed police terror (including fatal shootings) against everyone from schizophrenics in moments of crisis to Trades Hall Council (THC)-sanctioned picket lines to student youth protesting Kennett's attacks on their student unions (see article, this page).

Both the ominous increase in fascist activity and the "strong state" tactics of the cops are a direct result of the treacherous, sell-out policies of the likes of THC leader John Halfpenny who has worked overtime to demoralise the fighting spirit, to chain the power of the

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Abortion...

(continued from page 16)

physical or mental health in order to legally get access to an abortion. This has meant that women have been forced to undergo degrading interrogation, railroaded into "pregnancy support services" (read: fronts for anti-abortion bigots) and subjected to outright refusal by some anti-abortion GPs to refer them to another doctor or clinic.

Landmark common law rulings—*Menhennit*, Victoria 1969, the 1971 *Levine* ruling in NSW and *McGuire* in Queensland 1986—have set some precedents for liberal interpretations of the law. That an estimated 80,000 abortions are performed in Australia each year, and Medicare rebates are provided for them, testifies to the fact that interpretation has been relatively broad and in NSW there have been no prosecutions since 1972. These rulings were largely the by-product of social struggle, not least for women's rights, during the early 1970s and the efforts of courageous fighters for women's rights like the late Bertram Wainer. (When anti-woman fanatics invaded his clinic, he successfully expelled them. As Wainer turned the hoses on them he explained to the surrounding media: "I always wash the filth off my steps at this time of day" [*Women and Revolution* No. 30, Winter 1985-86].)

But these same common law precedents, won in struggle, are imminently reversible, as are all reforms under capitalism. They can be taken away by the bourgeoisie in periods of social reaction. And when the working class as a whole is facing attack from the bosses and their state, women's rights are particularly targeted for the shaft. The right-wing anti-woman bigots have repeatedly tried to overturn such limited access to abortion as exists—from attempts to withdraw federal Medicare funding (e.g., the narrowly defeated Lusher motion in 1979) to unsuccessful bids in the NSW state parliament by the likes of Fred Nile to legislate fines and prosecution against both doctors who perform abortions and their patients. When in March the government announced testing of the abortion pill RU486, the "Right to Life" geared up for battle. In early April, "The Fourth World Congress for Life" was held in Sydney, bringing together the likes of former Reagan adviser and wife of the president of "International Right to Life Federation" Barbara Wilke; Phyllis Bowman, national director of the British Isles-based SPUC (Society for Protection of Unborn Children) as well as "Right to Life" types from Australia. Now these anti-woman bigots have been given a further green light by Newman's ruling. This must be fought tooth and nail!

Internationally, attacks on abortion rights have become the spearhead of social reaction—from Germany to Poland, from Italy to the U.S. The position of women in the former East

German deformed workers state (DDR) was in important respects the most advanced in the world. Not only did 90 percent of working-age women participate in the labour force, but many held jobs which are monopolised by men in the capitalist West. Exceptional social programs were available for working mothers, too, such as the extended paid maternity leave ("the baby year") as well as legal abortion on demand, free day-care facilities, generous leave to tend sick children. The multitudinous gains for women under the centralised, planned economy of the former DDR workers state, despite bureaucratic Stalinist misrule—and their nearly complete destruction in the aftermath of capitalist reunification—speaks volumes about the material basis required to achieve such gains as free abortion on demand, decent childcare facilities and other measures contributing to the release of women from the stifling confines of the family and their greater integration into the workforce. As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 42, Spring/Summer 1993):

"Thus, the dismantling of the industrial base of the DDR has gone hand in hand with the dismantling of those programs which enable women to engage in social production while raising children."

The pioneer socialist and fighter against the oppression of women, Charles Fourier, observed that the degree of women's emancipation in any given society is a measure of its general progress or retrogression. Throughout the capitalist "New World Disorder," the drive to relegate women back into the home is part and parcel of the "roll-back" of social gains in the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and throughout Eastern Europe. This has meant anti-abortion moves in the courts and outright terror on the streets. Here, this has occurred simultaneously with stepped-up racist attacks (both officially by the state and by fascist scum) against immigrant and minority workers; the brutal bashing of homosexuals; "strong state" police attacks against the struggles of trade unionists and students. An integral part of the struggles confronting the workers movement is the fight against all anti-abortion laws, for free abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all! For effective and freely available contraception, fully-paid maternity leave and free 24-hour childcare, including creches attached to work sites!

Keating's ALP: Anti-Women, Anti-Worker

It was none other than Paul Keating, who from the benches of the opposition in 1970—in his first parliamentary speech—demanded of the then Liberal federal government: "Is it doing anything to put the working wife back in her home?" Over the past decade, the Hawke/Keating ALP government has done plenty to drive women out of work and put them back in the home! Double-digit unemployment rates and union-busting austerity have hit working women

hard—particularly immigrant women in the manufacturing industries. The intensified attack represented by the Newman ruling in Liberal-run New South Wales on existing abortion rights is of a piece with this.

The femocrats' line is that equality for women can be achieved in this virulently misogynist, capitalist society through the election and maintenance of a Labor government. As Ann Summers, former Keating staffer, put it: "we have accomplished much in this country—mainly due to the unique partnership between the women's movement and the Government" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January). But successive Labor and Tory governments alike have consistently refused to remove anti-abortion laws from the books. The ALP (like the Liberals, Greens, et al.) allows its members a "conscience" vote on abortion, not least to give a free hand to the reactionaries of the NSW ALP right-wing machine (part of Keating's base) which is heavily influenced by the Catholic Church hierarchy. In Queensland, the Goss Labor government (despite widespread expectations during the 1989 elections to the

which services the working-class and immigrant metropolitan west, a 40-year-old woman, admitted for an abortion, suffered a five-day ordeal in which she was the victim of criminal neglect:

"The woman's advanced pregnancy required inducement of labour. After administering three of five labour-inducing pessaries the resident doctor went off duty and was replaced by a doctor who refused to continue the treatment because he didn't believe in abortion! That same night the woman was harassed by a moralising anti-abortion nurse. After the termination was finally carried out three days later, the woman was left unattended for hours despite repeated requests to be washed and cleaned."

—*Australasian Spartacist*
No. 149, Winter 1993

The "Right to Life" bigots recently called to re-establish "police abortion squads" to raid abortion clinics. WAAC grotesquely announced that it would urge the NSW Police Association to "make a stand" (*Arab World*, 23 April). Any reliance on the cops and courts of the capitalist state is a deadly trap. In the U.S., anti-abortion terrorists such as Operation Rescue have bombed clinics, carrying out a campaign of terror against



Rob Walls

Gay rights demonstration in Hobart, 19 April 1994. Down with Tasmania's anti-gay laws!

contrary) has similarly maintained that state's notoriously reactionary anti-abortion laws.

Feminist and reformist outfits have responded to the Newman ruling outrage by limiting their demands to "repeal the abortion laws" and for "a woman's right to choose." Thus, the Womens Abortion Action Campaign (WAAC) is calling to pressure parliament to repeal the NSW abortion laws and the Democratic Socialist Party's (DSP) *Green Left Weekly* (27 April) headlined: "Repeal abortion laws now!"

We communists fight for the repeal of all anti-abortion legislation—including for young women. The state has no business legislating, interfering into or dictating what should be a purely personal decision by women! But repeal is not enough! Those reforms that have been won must be defended against attacks by the state and the "Right to Life" fanatics and extended.

While privileged, upper class women can buy their access to abortion—legal or not—for the working class, immigrants and the poor the "right to choose" is severely constrained. Without knowledge of and access to the limited number of abortion clinics, most women are dependent on their GP and the public hospital system. Attacks on health care, by both the federal Labor government and state Liberal and Labor-run governments, mean under-staffed, over-crowded hospitals and ever-growing waiting lists. Abortion is considered "elective surgery"; unless you can afford private health cover it can mean waiting months for a bed in public hospitals.

There is a shortage of trained doctors to conduct the procedure and the Australian Medical Association allows medical staff to refuse to carry out an abortion if they "morally" object. Last year at Sydney's Fairfield Hospital,

patients, doctors and staff—including the murder of doctor David Gunn in 1993. The police for their part have been eager in intimidating, beating and arresting militant clinic defenders. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. have participated in defence of abortion clinics, joining those militants who refuse to knuckle under to the fake-leftists and feminists who demanded agreement to "working with the police."

WAAC plans to lobby the Keating federal Labor government to "use its powers" to override the NSW state abortion laws, "as it was similarly being pressured to overturn Tasmania's laws outlawing homosexuality" (*Arab World*, 23 April). Tasmania's draconian anti-sodomy laws comprise one of the meanest edges of the Australian pig culture of ocker "mateship," wife-bashing and anti-gay bigotry. Recently the United Nations Human Rights Committee ruled that the laws violated "human rights" and Keating's attorney general Lavarch has made noises about changing Tasmania's laws.

Getting rid of these laws would be a good thing, but reliance on the "good offices" of either that imperialist creature, the United Nations, or the Keating government charged with running Australian capitalism is a dangerous illusion. These are not the agencies to fight for the elementary democratic rights of homosexuals—in Tasmania, or anywhere else! They are responsible for crimes against humanity throughout the world. Even as the UN fronts for imperialist carnage and starvation embargoes from Somalia to Iraq, the DSP proclaim of the UN ruling: "Gay Rights Global Breakthrough" (*Green Left Weekly*, 20 April). Meanwhile, the Tasmanian attorney general stated categorically: "We will not be repealing" the anti-gay laws. Down with Tasmania's anti-gay laws! State out

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Spartacist supporters march with other clinic defenders in San Jose, California, 10 July 1993

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of the bedrooms! Down with the reactionary age of consent laws!

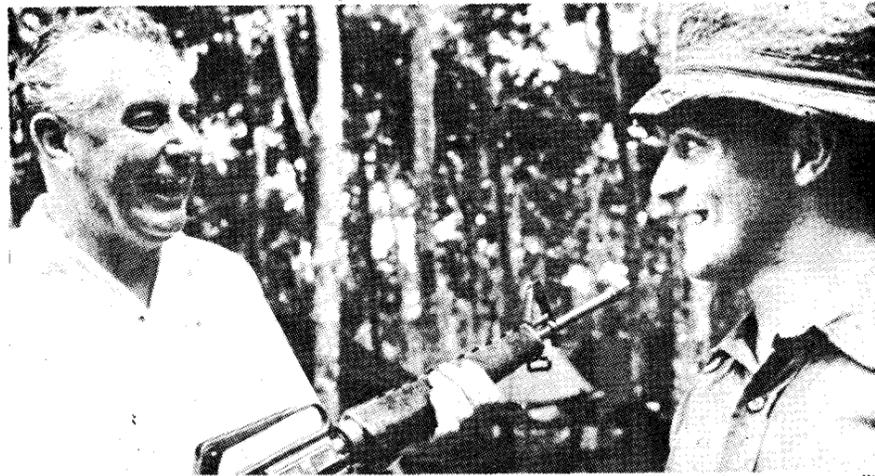
The DSP's "green" brand of social democracy means tailing the ALP and outright bourgeois forces—the Democrats, the Greens and even the United Nations. It also has a long history of work within the feminist, parliamentary lobby group WAAC and is now co-sponsoring their events on campus such as a 10 May meeting at Sydney Uni. During the discussion period, the DSP remained silent as WAAC members argued vigorously against a Spartacist speaker's call for the mobilisation of the working class alongside all decent people for defence of the clinics.

Such actions would run up against WAAC's fundamentally Laborite strategy of parliamentary lobbying. At an open WAAC planning meeting on 11 May, one DSP cadre pointedly reminded those assembled not to forget that state elections are on the horizon. The following Thursday, the DSP's campus group at UNSW conducted a publicised debate with a spokesman for the "Right to Life Association," one Dr Abood. According to legitimacy to these bigots, now emboldened by the Newman ruling, and providing them with an opportunity to push their reactionary filth, is no way to fight attacks on abortion rights!

As we detail elsewhere in this issue, the DSP no less than the virulently anti-communist and Laborite International Socialist Organisation took the side of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc. The DSP cheered the rise to power of the Islamic fundamentalists under Khomeini as a "Victory in

Iran." In the early 1980s, it took the side of the CIA, Vatican and Western bankers' favourite "union," Solidarność, in Poland. It supported the withdrawal of the Soviet Red Army troops from Afghanistan. The result of the victory of the forces the DSP tailed has been untold misery for women around the world: the reimposition of the veil, the prison of *purdah* and stonings for adultery in Iran; leaving women in Afghanistan as well to the mercy of the feudalist mujahedin who kill school teachers for teaching women to read and write; the attacks on abortion rights, social services and jobs for women throughout Eastern Europe in the aftermath of capitalist restoration.

A popular chant among those who march for abortion rights is: "Not the church, not the state—women must decide their fate!" We Marxists know that the fate of women depends on the outcome of the class struggle. The capitalist state whose natural ally is religious reaction must be smashed by victorious workers revolution. That requires a hard break with Laborite reformism as well as with bourgeois feminism and the building of an internationalist, multi-racial workers party which addresses the needs of all the oppressed and exploited. The emancipation of women is integrally bound up with the struggle for a global communist order overcoming all forms of national and racial inequality and guaranteeing the freedom of all individuals to maximise their capabilities on the basis of mankind's collective control over the forces of nature. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



no credit

1960s: ALP leader Whitlam with Australian troops in Vietnam. Today Keating fronts for imperialist efforts to destroy Vietnamese Revolution.

Revolutionary Party...

(continued from page 5)

intention to build a memorial to Australian "war dead" in Vietnam. This is an obscene provocation! Even columnist Alan Ramsey of the *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 April) was compelled to write: "To suggest a memorial, in Vietnam itself, to Australia's dead, after this country's culpability in the appalling events that took place there, is jingoism at its worst and racist into the bargain." Jingoism and racism is what the ALP has traded in for decades. It's obscene, too, that the "leftists" of the Democratic Socialist Party's (DSP) *Green Left Weekly* (27 April) printed, without comment, an article by one Brian Day, replete with a detailed reference to Australians "missing in action," arguing "There should be a monument!"

Victorious workers revolution in Australia which puts the bosses and the likes of Keating out of business once and for all will be in no small part a monument to the heroic battle of the Vietnamese people against imperialism. The debt owed by the international proletariat to them is massive—their struggle weakened, humiliated and bogged down the U.S. military colossus for over a decade and was an impetus to major social struggles. Here, there was the 1969 general strike that freed Clarrie O'Shea, the jailed leader of the tramways union, and broke the back of the anti-union penal powers. And when the bosses, in their drive to destroy the waterfront unions,

rant about the wharfies "living in the past" they acknowledge in their way struggles such as the waterfront workers' banning of shipments of war supplies to Vietnam. We say: *Bloody Australian imperialism—hands off Indochina!*

Heightened inter-imperialist rivalries in the "New World Disorder" have inexorably led to trade wars and today's trade wars are tomorrow's shooting wars. Gregory Zinoviev, collaborating with Lenin, wrote in 1916 *The War and the Crisis of Socialism*. A year prior to the victorious October Revolution in Russia, these Bolshevik leaders noted:

"The social-liberals treasure Australia as the promised land, in which a coal miner can become a minister. But what has actually happened? Here too, a small parasitic band of labor leaders—Messrs. Fisher, Hughes, and Company—rise upon the shoulders of the oppressed mass of unskilled workers. Brought to the surface by a little group of labor aristocrats, they are betraying the interests of the working class with a cynicism unprecedented in history. The crisis created by the outbreak of the World War has thrown a particularly strong light upon this despicable treachery of the 'labor leaders'."

The Australian proletariat's future lies in breaking the stranglehold of the venal, nationalist Laborite misleaders and in "enmeshing" with the Asian workers and oppressed in revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system with its cyclical crises of depression and war. The powerful, strategic Japanese working class is destined to play the decisive role in shattering imperialism in Asia and the Pacific. For the construction of Leninist-Trotskyist parties as part of a reformed Fourth International! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

North Korea...

(continued from page 10)

even claims that North Korea is a workers state. But reflecting the inability of the left to distinguish between military defence and political support, *Senki* refuses to defend North Korea against imperialism. Trying to take a left posture, *Senki* asserts that the issue of North Korea having nuclear weapons is only imperialist propaganda but doesn't understand our position of defending the right of workers states to have nuclear weapons as a deterrent to stay the hand of bloody imperialism. This confusion on *Senki's* part is because they don't understand that the proletariat is a revolutionary class capable of leading international socialist revolution; quite naturally *Senki* is hostile to the construction of a Leninist democratic-centralist vanguard party. It's only a matter of time before *Senki's* leaders, having nowhere to go, wind up with the rest of the left feeding at the social-democratic trough.

The fake-Trotskyist Japanese Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), the dwindling and demoralised followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, hides behind social-patriotic pacifism, like their one-sided opposition to U.S. bases, while ducking the question of defence of North Korea. Denunciations of U.S. imperialism are cheap postures, especially when linked with refusals to forthrightly stand against one's own bourgeoisie. Both left and right wings are completely bewildered by the New World Order and can only mumble critical support to the social-democratic traitors that now hobnob in Nagatacho as part of the right-wing popular-front government. The state capitalists are even worse; they hate the proletariat in power, echo their own bourgeoisie's fear of North Korea and China and side with imperialism in opposing North Korea's right to possess nuclear weapons. The state capitalists' capitulation on Korea has a long history. During the early period of the Korean War when imperialism was being pushed back to Pusan, Tsushima Tadauki, the father of Japanese state capitalism, penned his esoteric "revolutionary re-

armament" position, that defended the right of imperialism to rearm to defeat North Korea and China.

At this time U.S. president Truman, on MacArthur's recommendation, announced they might use nuclear weapons. This didn't happen because of the potential development of nuclear weapons by the USSR and the Soviet Union's subsequent nuclear arsenal certainly saved, for decades, Cuba and Vietnam from atomic extinction. An imperialist monopoly of nuclear weapons, American imperialism's dream, poses in sharp relief Rosa Luxemburg's apt warning that it's either socialism or barbarism. We defend North Korea's right to have nuclear weapons for the same reason we defend any union's right to strike. It's called the class line and one doesn't have to offer political support to a working-class organisation's leadership in order to defend the rank and file against the class enemy. In North Korea we defend the social transformations carried out by the Red Army in 1945 but simultaneously expose the dead-end of Kim Il Sung's *Juche* nonsense and the inability of the Stalinist regime to defend the North Korean workers state from imperialist attack. In 1992 we forthrightly took the side of the private railworkers in their strike against austerity, but also warned the union membership unless they ousted their sell-out social-democratic leaders they couldn't win and that would require the creation of a Leninist party. (See Japanese *Spartacist* No. 12, May 1992.)

Japan's revolutionary proletarian party has yet to be built but that party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who fought against the tsarist prison house of nations, will fight in the interests of the working class and of the minority population to create a workers republic. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) is fighting to build a Leninist/Trotskyist party with a multinational membership. For those who hate racism and chauvinism, who believe that the working class has no country as Marx and Engels wrote in 1848, and who want to defend North Korea against imperialist provocations and defend Koreans and other minorities in Japan against discrimination, as part of the fight for socialist revolution should join the SGJ. ■

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Down with the Newman Ruling!

For Free Abortion on Demand!

On 18 April, Justice Newman of the New South Wales Supreme Court rejected a woman's claim against doctors who, having failed to diagnose her pregnancy on five different occasions, had thus denied her the possibility of having an abortion. (At 19-and-a-half weeks she learnt of her pregnancy and was then told it was no longer medically safe to have an abortion!) Newman's decision was based on the grounds that an abortion would have been "an illegal act" in any event—as there was no evidence that the pregnancy was a danger to the woman's physical or mental health.

Sue King of Sydney's Preterm abortion clinic, noted that this ruling harked "back to the days when motherhood was compulsory" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 April). Indeed, NSW attorney general Hannaford declared that the decision had "fully clarified" the legal status of abortions: "The law is the law. ... wherever we can get that evidence we will proceed with prosecutions" (*Australian*, 21 April). In the same paper the following day, right-

wing columnist P. P. McGuinness added the foam-flecked pronouncement that: "Abortion on demand without regulation and limits of some kind is not acceptable in any civilised society.... It

is not a great step from that to infanticide." The ruling has had its intended chilling effect: since the decision, a number of Sydney clinics have reported phone calls from women who were told

by their local doctor that abortion was illegal.

Anti-abortion bigots have moved swiftly, threatening further legal challenges to abortion rights. Ominously, on 23 April some 100 "Right to Life" reactionaries harangued staff and patients outside the Preterm clinic in the Sydney suburb of Camperdown. We call on the organised workers movement and all decent people to take a stand and defend the abortion clinics!

An attack on the access to abortion which currently exists, the Newman ruling—now being appealed by the woman involved in the case—underscores the very tenuous "legality" of abortion in Australia. With the exception of the Northern Territory and South Australia (where legal access to abortion is limited to designated hospitals and dependent on the consent of two doctors), all states include anti-abortion clauses within their respective criminal codes. Women are technically required to prove "reasonable grounds" of "serious danger" to

continued on page 14



Brisbane June 1991: 200 demonstrators protest Goss Labor government's refusal to remove abortion from the criminal code.

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

Defend Serbia Against Imperialist Attack!

Counterrevolutionary Breakup of Yugoslavia Unleashed All-Sided Nationalist Bloodbath

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 599, 24 April 1994.

APRIL 24—In an ominous move, the imperialist powers are threatening to become active combatants and sharply escalate the three-year-old war that is ravaging the former Yugoslavia. On April 22, NATO issued an ultimatum to the Serbs demanding that they immediately pull back their forces besieging the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia—and refrain from attacking four other UN-declared "safe areas"—or face aerial bombing. NATO's war threat has now been endorsed by Yeltsin's Russia. While the Bosnian Serb forces have reportedly begun withdrawing artillery, the imperialists could launch military strikes at any moment.

The Western powers are increasingly frustrated at their inability to impose order in this tinderbox of Europe. The imperialist economic blockade of Serbia, while causing terrible suffering for the civilian population—especially old people, young children and the poor—had no effect on the war on the ground in Bosnia. The previous NATO attempt at using military force—the pinprick raids against Serbian forces around Gorazde on April 10-11—backfired. The Serbs blockaded 5,000 UN "peacekeepers" throughout Bosnia, Serbian gunners shot down a British Sea Harrier fighter,

and the offensive against Gorazde was stepped up.

The latest military moves by the Western imperialists reflect divergent appetites in the Balkans. Clinton's White House keeps harping on NATO's "credibility"—and its own—as the U.S. seeks to act as top cop in a "New World Order"... without risking American casualties. Reunified German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Meanwhile, in the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, Russia wants to reassert its "great power" status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

But despite differing long-term interests and short-term concerns—the Americans want to go further and arm the Muslims, the French and British are worried about their troops on the ground, the Russians don't want to see Serbia too humiliated—they are all united for the moment in forcing the Serbs into line and more generally imposing an imperialist carve-up of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

While opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between the Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims, we call upon the working people to defend Serbia against



May Day, Sydney: Spartacists denounce imperialist moves in the Balkans.

imperialist attack. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in Bosnia pale in comparison to the crimes of the Western imperialists. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were a prelude to the first imperialist world war, which slaughtered millions of working people. The U.S. which spouts about "democracy" is responsible for the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the carpet-bombing of Vietnam and the terror bombing of Iraq. And the German Fourth Reich, which sanctimoniously denounces Serbian "ethnic cleansing," is the self-proclaimed successor state to the Nazi regime which murdered millions of Slavs, Jews and Gypsies.

Imperialist hands off Serbia—Down with the starvation blockade! All U.S./

UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now!

Western Imperialism Behind Balkan Bloodbath

Western propaganda blames the war on Serbian "aggression" and "age-old tribal feuding" in the Balkans. In reality, this orgy of murderous nationalism originates in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the U.S., Germany and the other NATO powers. Since the imperialist powers had different policies, they did not intervene in Yugoslavia in a united and decisive way.

In the ethnic-nationalist wars set off by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia

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