

## Reagan/Congress Sanctions Are a Cover-Up

# Smash U.S./South Africa Racist Axis!

On September 12, eight years to the day that black nationalist leader Steve Biko died, after being tortured and beaten into a coma by apartheid cops, these same racist killers fired into a crowd of about a hundred blacks in the township of Guguletu, near Cape Town. Five blacks were killed, 20 wounded. As apartheid butchers shoot down black people as if they were "swatting flies," in the words of black bishop Desmond Tutu, the black masses of South Africa are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the kind of "nonviolent negotiated solution" preached by the Tutus is impossible—apartheid must be overthrown.

In what seems an endless cycle, defiant black youth armed only with stones and their bare hands confront massively armed cops and soldiers, who create more anti-apartheid martyrs for the funerals which have become the only form for mass black political expression, and which in turn are savagely attacked. "Tambo We Are Ready, Give Us AKs," read one banner at a recent funeral, appealing to Oliver Tambo, president of the underground African National Congress (ANC), to provide them with the Soviet-made assault rifle.

South Africa is heading toward a bloody civil war, without which apartheid cannot be buried. The hated apartheid regime is in big trouble, but it's not about to fall. It has all the guns, and a sufficient number of whites willing to use them. As long as the confrontation is along the present white-vs.-black national lines, it will be the oppressed black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian masses who are buried in the tens of thousands, not apartheid.

But strategically, in its six-million-strong black proletariat, apartheid has created its gravedigger. "Capitalism has no future in this country," one young black student fighter told *Newsweek* (16 September). The black proletariat last November in the Transvaal showed its power in the most massive general strike in the history of South Africa. But since then that proletariat has been kept on the sidelines in isolated skirmishes with the racist regime and the capitalist *baas*, as was demonstrated in the aborted mine strike earlier this month.



Campbell/Sygma

South Africa heading toward bloody civil war. Apartheid army rumbles through black township of Soweto.

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

And never have conditions been more ripe in South Africa for the crystallization of a Leninist party. By all accounts, there exists a widespread hatred for capitalism as it has been experienced and openness to communism as it is understood. Botha's "divide

and conquer" constitution, which was supposed to divide coloured and Indian from black by offering the former a fake franchise and the latter nothing, served instead to unite the non-white population as coloureds and Indians massively boycotted elections for their "parliaments." In Natal province where the Indians, mainly engaged in commerce, are concentrated, 1,000 striking black rubber workers were locked out in June. When they called a one-day general solidarity strike in July, Pietermaritzburg, Natal's political capital, was completely paralyzed as more than 90 percent of the black workforce stayed home and every Indian business closed. When Botha's Zulu chieftain Gatsha Buthelezi sicced his Inkatha thugs on Indian communities in Durban and the apartheid armed forces withdrew, a revolutionary workers party would have mobilized Durban's powerful black and Indian proletariat into multiracial defense guards to defend those communities and teach Inkatha a much-needed lesson.

Botha's state of emergency targeting black townships around Johannesburg in the Transvaal and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape only caused the anti-apartheid upheaval to spread to the Western Cape around Cape Town. Tens of thousands of new anti-apartheid fighters were recruited from the Cape's coloured proletariat and youth as well as from militant black townships like Guguletu. The Cape coloured, precisely because they are oppressed by apartheid and concentrated in the urban proletari-

at, and are in many ways culturally Europeans, are that section of the oppressed which can most easily transcend nationalism. It is no accident that in the 1930s and 1940s Trotskyism had a base among coloured teachers in South Africa. They can provide a strategic component for crystallizing a multiracial Trotskyist party now.

Nor is it an accident that Cape Town has been the center of multiracial anti-apartheid protests that have included a white student component, especially around the demand to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Sections of the white population do not want to live in a garrison state, a white *laager* dominated by backward, bigoted Afrikaner nationalism. There had better be a place for whites in an anti-racist society, particularly as they constitute an indispensable reserve of technical skill for a socialist reconstruction of the country.

### Wall Street "Divests" in South Africa

While the South African censors managed to throw out one *Newsweek* reporter, they could not hide reality from the money-grubbing international bankers, who recognize a bad "business climate" when they see one. In late July, Chase Manhattan Bank secretly notified its business borrowers in South Africa that the bank's loans would not be routinely renewed or "rolled over." When word leaked out, every international financier wanted out. About \$2 billion in loans were not rolled over in

*continued on page 10*

Behind South Africa's Financial Crisis

Wall Street and the  
Apartheid State.... 6

**Moonies gearing up for big push**

The newspaper ad campaign focuses on the dubious assertion that Moon was subjected to selective government prosecution. One ad cites organizations that filed "friend of the court" briefs on Moon's behalf in 1983. The list spans across the political spectrum, and includes the Spartacist League, the ACLU, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Christian Voice. Each group filed an amicus brief on specific legal grounds, not as a wholesale endorsement of Moon himself.

**SPARTACIST AND THE MOONIES**

In a full page ad in the July 15 issue of the *New York Times*, the Spartacist League name appeared with a list of dozens of prominent liberals, conservatives, and religious organizations, defending Moon's right to appear before the Supreme Court. Whether the Spartacist's defence of Moon could be justified on some grounds, such as the defense of democratic rights, lending their name to a list of bourgeois proponents of Moon's own political aims can not. With the appearance of their name in the *New York Times* ad, the Spartacist League has crossed the line, not only to the side of a capitalist political party, but to the promotion of an organization that physically attacks the left.

**Right Face**

Dear Editor:  
What's going on over there? In the July 9 issue you have an article on Jeane Kirkpatrick that, though its premise and conclusions are the usual crock, actually portrays her as a human being [Maria Laurino, "Is Jeane Kirkpatrick a Feminist?"]. Then, a few pages later, Stanley Crouch ["Hostages"] justifies the use of American military force with reference to the Father of Total War himself, W. T. Sherman. Are you feeling good about America again? Did you lose your Spartacist readership? Is this the end of postindustrialism? Is *The Village Voice* wising up?  
—J. R. Dunn  
Orange, New Jersey

**Spart Sightings**

Lately it seems like wherever you look you see Spartacists, and some people don't like it one bit.

Back in 1983 the SL submitted an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief urging the Supreme Court to overturn the tax fraud conviction of Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," a right-wing religious cult. The SL brief contends that the prosecution of Moon threatens First Amendment rights, particularly the separation of church and state and freedom of association. *WV* did an article on the Moon tax case and for a year copies of the brief have been sitting quietly on our literature tables (now also available by mail for \$4).

Then recently we found ourselves listed, among many much larger organizations, in an ad put out by the Moonies in major newspapers. The ad lists the parties that filed *amicus* briefs against the Moon prosecution. About half the list are religious groups, including the Presbyterians, Mormons and Baptists, the SCLC and the black AME church. Briefs were filed on behalf of one Senator and three states, bourgeois political figures from Eugene McCarthy to Clare Boothe Luce, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the ACLU. Two organizations of the left with an active legal defense record were represented: the Emergency Civil Lib-

erties Committee, in which Communist Party supporters play a prominent role, and the Spartacist League. The Moonies, who at the outset hadn't wanted to allow the SL to file an *amicus* brief at all, now are making a point of the diversity of groups protesting the ominous legal precedent set in the Moon tax case. And it's recognized that the Spartacist League stands for the left pole of the political spectrum, as is shown for example by the selection of groups mentioned in the item from the *Oakland Tribune* (reproduced above, left).

Now we find one of our more obscure leftist opponents, the Los Angeles-based Morenoites (Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine political adventurer and swindler Nahuel Moreno), seething with sour grapes. The salient paragraph of their little article on "Spartacist and the Moonies" (*Working Class Opposition*, August 1985) is reproduced above in the center. They accuse us of "collaborat[ing] with" and "promoting" the enemies of the working class and conclude, "Where will the Spartacists [sic] go next?" (Note that the Moreno-

ites display schizophrenia in spelling our name—sometimes they get it right and sometimes they do "Sparticist," the variant which, as we've noted, is characteristic of the FBI.)

The government prosecution of Moon is an open-ended witchhunting weapon, centered on state meddling with somebody else's money. The state says it's protecting Moon's members from Moon; we've heard that before, like when the government goes after troublesome unions claiming it's just protecting the members' dues from the greedy bureaucrats. Anybody who thinks Moon has to steal money from his organization doesn't understand the nature of a group that says Moon is more godly than Jesus Christ. And money is a big part of freedom of association. We know how the FBI uses electoral "disclosure" laws (which are intended, ineffectually, to put some limits on the venality of Congressmen and judges) to harass contributors to leftist causes. And let's not forget how Iron Lady Thatcher froze the funds of the British miners last year.

The government made Moon guilty of "tax fraud" by treating his group's finances differently than it treats the assets of respectable religions. Today, reflecting the discrediting of the old "thought crime" laws, the inventing of "criminal" pretexts is an increasingly common cover for ideological prosecutions: for example, the effort to categorize political radicalism as a subspecies of "organized crime" (California attorney general) or as "terrorism" (FBI guidelines), the frame-up of the black radical New York 8+ under the "antiracketeering" RICO umbrella.

The Moonies are a right-wing cult and we're a working-class socialist organization, and we have locked horns. Our major thrust against the Moonies came when we sued them and forced them to retract their deadly slanders against the Spartacist-initiated black labor-based mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington in 1982. It's interesting that the Morenoite article shares with the Moonies a hatred of that successful militant anti-racist mass action, as *Working Class Opposition* sneers at our "shrill demonstrations against the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis." Would the Morenoites prefer genteel demonstrations against the terrorists who parade for genocide? Not really—the denizens of the pro-Democratic Party swamp orient toward pressuring the Dems to "Ban the Klan," a perspective which is at best utopian and most often means "anti-extremist" laws whose teeth are felt by the left and oppressed, not the fascists. To interdict ultrarightist provocations we don't importune the state—we organize militant action by the masses.

So we know what the Moonies are, but that won't stop us from defending democratic rights as posed in this case. Some simplistic or covertly anti-Semitic elements didn't like Dreyfus because he

was a wealthy Jewish officer of the French general staff, but Marxists learned something from that.

Of course the very concept of democratic rights would be alien to the Morenoites. These strangers in a strange land embody the worst aspects of Latin American nationalist *caudillo* leftism: macho gangsterism and unbelievable cynicism. When they set up shop in this country the Morenoites declared turf war on Spartacists in L.A., attacking our union supporters with hammers as well as combining with the right wing of the labor bureaucracy to witchhunt us. Even some of their own supporters didn't enjoy the resulting notoriety. They haven't fared well on other fronts either. A great-expectations venture into flashy sub-reformist electoral maneuvering brought them only a noisy split; then they tried (unsuccessfully) to cool down a seething clique fight with a deal that must be the ultimate in contempt for the people: if the story going around is true, one *lider máximo* would get *Working Class Opposition*, the other would get... exclusive rights to the Spanish-speaking population of L.A.!

And meanwhile, here is the SL, whose very existence violates what all reformists and centrists feel must be a fundamental law of the natural world: that selling out will always pay off if only it's gross enough, and that principled politics is synonymous with irrelevance. We keep right on doing our thing, being the Trotskyist communists in this country, and gaining increasing recognition as such. A recent letter to the *Village Voice* (see above, right) by an apparent rightist critic asked sarcastically: "Are you feeling good about America again? Did you lose your Spartacist readership?" Here we are again, acknowledged as the standard yardstick of leftism.

We didn't anticipate, when we filed our *amicus* brief, that a consequence would be appearing on anyone's list of who's who in American life. But we're more than a bit pleased at what the roster of those who had the interest and resources to petition the judicial system over the Moon case shows: as far as the left in America goes, it's the CP and the Spartacist League that seem to count for something. There's dangers for a small group in Reagan's America in being so visible, but when you got it, you got to flaunt it. ■



**Permanent Revolution and the Struggle Against Imperialism**

*The struggle to liberate Latin America, Africa and Asia from imperialist subjugation and impoverishment is, as Trotsky observed about China in 1928, above all a class struggle directed not only against international capital but also against the "national" bourgeoisie and its hangers-on.*



LENIN

China is still confronted with a vast, bitter, bloody, and prolonged struggle for such elementary things as the liquidation of the most "Asiatic" forms of slavery, national emancipation, and unification of the country. But as the course of events has shown, it is precisely this that makes impossible in the future any petty-bourgeois leadership or even semileadership in the revolution. The unification and emancipation of China today is an international task, no less so than the existence of the USSR. This task can be solved only by means of a desperate struggle on the part of the downtrodden, hungry, and persecuted masses under the direct leadership of the proletarian vanguard—a struggle not only against world imperialism, but also against its economic and political agency in China, against the bourgeoisie, including the "national" bourgeoisie and all its democratic flunkies. And this is nothing else than the road toward the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" (1928)

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# S.F. Protest Demands: Hang Botha! Free Moloise!

SAN FRANCISCO—"Free Moloise, Hang Botha!" chanted 100 black, Hispanic and white anti-apartheid militants as they picketed South African Airways here September 7. They were demonstrating in response to the call by the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL) to demand the release of Benjamin Moloise, an African National Congress (ANC) supporter threatened with hanging by the apartheid regime. Framed up for the execution of a notorious police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC fighters to the gallows in June 1983, Moloise was given a last-minute stay of execution on August 20. Apparently the apartheid butchers feared provoking further black revolt at home as well as international outrage.

Moloise's mother issued an urgent international appeal to save her son—a poet, upholstery worker and father of a 4-year-old daughter—from execution. On August 20, as part of nationwide protests against the planned execution, the SL mobilized scores of demonstrators in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Subsequently, the Bay Area Labor Black League issued a call to redouble efforts to save Moloise, announcing the September 7 picket line protest in SF.

The LBL's call was made all the more urgent by the provocative display by San Francisco cops of a Nazi swastika at the August 20 protest. An SFPD van at the site had a Nazi navy poster inside showing a large swastika flag and the slogan "Einsatz" (action), recalling Hitler's sadistic SS "Einsatzgruppen" set up to exterminate Jews and communists in Eastern Europe. A *Workers Vanguard* photogra-



WV Photos

pher snapped this blatant show of cop support for the goose-stepping Nazis and we sent the photo around to the media, to Jewish, black and gay organizations—everyone on the Nazis' hit list. It was picked up by several papers, including on the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner*, as we scandalized the SF swastika cop's. Spartacist spokesman Sandor Jonas told the September 7 demo:

"Their intent was to solidarize with apartheid, to solidarize with Ronald Reagan, to solidarize with fascism. It was an attempt to intimidate those who would protest against apartheid terror and against racist terror here at home. But it didn't work, because we exposed this outrage and sent them scurrying back into their holes."

In fact, the SFPD made a big show of having the same van show up on September 7—this time without any Nazi posters.

Other speakers at the demonstration included Spartacus Youth League member John Kenney, recently returned from a trip to Nicaragua, Don Alexander of the Spartacist League Central Committee, and Labor Black League representative Jeff Higgins. The "External Tendency"—a coterie of white former members of the SL who quit the party

out of fear and petty-bourgeois despair facing the Reagan years—showed up with signs announcing their transmogrification into the "Bolshevik Tendency." ETer Bob Mandel took pains to alibi the bureaucratic misleaders of the ILWU, insisting that last November's longshore boycott of South African goods "was brought to an end by an [court] injunction." No, it was the pro-company union bureaucracy, aided and abetted by its Communist Party and ET tag-alongs, that ended the action, using the court injunction as a pretext.

The ET, which allied itself with the enemies of militant labor action on the docks, had earlier sneered at the SL/LBL tearing down of the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in San Francisco Civic Center in April 1984. Denouncing Mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein's statement that the cops' swastika poster was just a case of "bad judgment," the Spartacist spokesman declared:

"She is the same mayor who flew the Confederate flag in the Civic Center, and we are the people who tore it down. That is why they bring swastikas here. This once again shows that the fight against racist terror is not only in South Africa but right here at home, and the enemy is right here at home: the imperialist capitalist class."

## "Labor for Koch" Parade Flies Dixie Flag of Racism

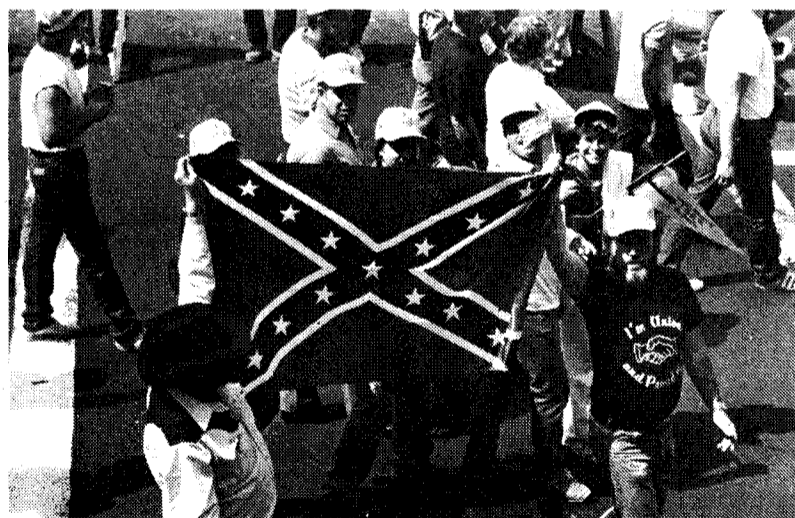
In an obscene provocation, racist workers marched under a large Confederate flag at the recent Labor Day rally in New York City. For the black, Jewish and immigrant workers who built the labor movement in this town this is a deadly threat. The slaveowners' banner is the emblem of decades of lynchings, bombings, burnings and shootings carried out by the Ku Klux Klan and its ilk. And hundreds if not thousands of militants have given their lives defending their unions against the racist terrorists unleashed by the bosses.

The NYC union tops were fomenting racist reaction—and they got it. The main theme of the Labor Day march was chauvinist protectionism, aimed at scapegoating Japanese workers for the decay of American capitalism. And while officially "neutral" in the city elections, Harry Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council turned the

**Labor's shame:  
Racist pig Koch  
leads NYC  
Labor Day  
parade where  
Confederate  
flag of slavery  
was displayed.**



WV Photo



Dan Miller

demonstration into a platform for racist union-buster mayor Koch. Koch led off the march in the company of that Judas who betrayed the transit workers, John

Lawe. A few years ago Koch was directing the bosses' strikebreaking against the TWU. "Labor for Koch" placards were prominent. One marcher who didn't like what he saw heckled a union float with the "Labor for Koch" banners; he was beaten up by drunken construction workers. Goons from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)—in whose contingent the Confederate flag was carried—roamed through the crowd threatening socialist literature distributors.

Three weeks earlier Van Arsdale was speaking out of the other side of his mouth. On August 13 he addressed a massive union-initiated anti-apartheid rally attended by 30,000 predominantly black workers and ghetto residents. But while the crowds at the two demonstrations were a lot different, the politics were consistent. The trade-union fakers, liberal and black Democrats, and even Koch himself pose as "opponents of apartheid" 10,000 miles away—the

better to preserve racist reaction at home. In San Francisco, Democratic Party mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein flew the Klan flag at the Civic Center until the SL and its supporters tore it down in April 1984. We defied Feinstein and her racist cops and courts and were successful in ridding that town of the hated flag of slavery.

There's no room in the labor movement for that flag and those who carry it. But it's no wonder the Klan types are emboldened to crawl out of the woodwork at a "union" rally in NYC: almost daily the killer cops claim another victim and the unions do nothing about it. What is desperately needed is the marshaling of labor/black power on the streets of New York City: for integrated armed workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women! That's the only way to make this town safe from the racist thugs in white sheets and blue uniforms. ■

Spartacist  Forum

**From Soweto to Harlem:  
Stop Racist Terror!**

**Hear Spartacist Party Candidates Speak:**

**Marjorie Stamberg for NYC Mayor  
Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President**

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Memorial Baptist Church, 141 W. 115 Street (off Lenox Avenue)**

For more information: (212) 267-1025

**NEW YORK CITY**

# Centrists Betray Fight for Workers Soviets

## Bolivia on the Brink

SEPTEMBER 15—For the last ten months, the Andean republic of Bolivia has been writhing in a prerevolutionary situation. A government which hardly existed except on paper faced a class-conscious proletariat driven to desperation by mass unemployment and astronomical inflation. With the peso fallen to *one million* per U.S. dollar and miners' wages driven down to \$20 a month, the poor and working people of Bolivia have been driven to the wall. Now once again Bolivian workers have decreed a general strike against starvation policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the financial gendarme of Wall Street and the White House.

This class war in the Andean altiplano (highlands) is of particular importance to socialists internationally. Bolivia is the only place in Latin America where something approaching a successful workers insurrection has occurred. In 1952, workers militias destroyed the army of the local oligarchy, but instead of taking power handed it over to the bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). The harsh conditions of backward Bolivia have also produced one of the most politically advanced proletariats of the continent, where Indian miners often look to those they understand to be revolutionary Trotskyists for leadership rather than to Stalinist reformists. In Bolivia even veteran union misleaders are constrained to use "Trotskyist" language to bolster their credentials. And everywhere the bourgeoisie sees the spectre of Trotskyism. During the elections, the Madrid daily *El País* (13 July) commiserated with "sectors of the urban population mauled by the permanent revolution sought by the Trotskyists."

Seven times in less than two years, the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation) has shut



La Paz: 60,000 angry workers march on Bolivian capital March 4 during near-insurrectionary general strike.

percent. What began as a 48-hour walkout September 4 has now been declared "indefinite" (open-ended) in the face of official intransigence. One COB leader called it a "strike to the death." Paz is refusing to negotiate until the strike is called off and threatening to arrest labor leaders (who have gone underground). The armed forces chief pledged his "full support" to the government to "clean up the country," and the unions' meeting place has been bombed twice.

The July elections were called a year early in order to bail out Siles' bankrupt UDP (Democratic Popular Unity) government. The UDP, a popular front of reformist workers parties tied to bourgeois "progressives," never managed to

this year, the masses can't take it any more. And the Bolivian ruling class—the generals, mine owners, ranchers, politicians and drug kingpins—cannot solve the crisis of this country in extremis simply by calling on the army to take over. The stark alternative is workers revolution or bloody massacre, with or without a "democratic" façade. Yet despite repeated proof that the proletariat is ready for a fight to the finish, the key to the Bolivian revolution is still absent—a Bolshevik party, built on the internationalist program of permanent revolution and fighting to install soviet power.

In Bolivia last March, with the impotent government afraid to put troops into the streets for fear they might go over to the workers; with the army unwilling to take over a bankrupt state; with bourgeois reaction disorganized and the organized proletariat occupying the capital, the situation cried out for a revolutionary vanguard fighting for power. And as the panicked rulers frothed at the mouth against the spectre of Trotskyism, at a time when the ranks were escaping the control of the COB bureaucracy and thousands of militant miners were meeting daily in strike assemblies, it was the failure of the ostensible Trotskyists to fight for soviets that sealed the fate of this sharp prerevolutionary crisis.

### Permanent Revolution on the Altiplano

Bolivia is a classic case of uneven and combined development. It is one of the poorest and most backward countries of the Western Hemisphere with the lowest per capita income on the continent. At least half the population is illiterate. It is Latin America's most Indian country: over 50 percent speak the Quechua or Aymara languages. The peasantry makes up more than 60 percent of the nation. Yet the militant Bolivian working class is the most politically conscious of the continent. So much so that Régis Debray, the café "theoretician" of Guevarist guerrillaism, denounced the Bolivian proletariat as "a class deluded as to its own political importance and with an overweening self-confidence" (*Che's Guerrilla War* [1975]).

Many aspects of the Bolivian crisis are unique. Coca paste (used to produce cocaine) has long outstripped tin as the main export. According to the London

*Financial Times* (22 November 1984), a leading drug smuggler offered to raise a \$2 billion low-interest loan to pay off Bolivia's international debt in exchange for protection from prosecution by the U.S.! The extreme weakness of the local bourgeoisie has meant that the capitalist rulers usually wear army boots. One hundred ninety military coups since independence have given Bolivia the nickname *Golpilandia*—"Coup-Land." If there have been no coups d'état recently, cynics reportedly remark, it is "because no one wants the *état*. The state is so impoverished it has ceased to attract the army and its hangers-on" (*Latin America Regional Report*, 6 April 1984).

But the dramatic events on the altiplano have an importance far out of proportion to the economic and strategic marginality of the country. Bolivia borders Argentina, Brazil and Chile where the heavy battalions of South American labor are restless. The vaunted "economic miracles" under the military rule of Pinochet and the Brazilian generals have collapsed, and in Argentina the "democratic" Alfonsín regime is imposing IMF starvation policies with a vengeance. As all Latin America groans under the massive foreign debt and feels the lash of bank-imposed "austerity," a revolution in Bolivia could light the fuse on the "debt bomb."

From Ronald Reagan to Fidel Castro, much has been made of the current "democratic opening" in Latin America. But the military regimes *handed over* power to the civilians in order to "burn" them. No capitalist government can weather the present economic crisis: usurious interest rates and falling commodity prices have plunged Latin America into a crisis far worse than the 1930s. Bolivia was one of the first countries to make the "transition" to "constitutional" rule, in October 1982. Yet even coming after the exceptionally sadistic, drug-trafficking regimes of the "coca-dollar dictatorship," so discredited that they even embarrassed Ronald Reagan, Siles' government floundered for 33 months and finally left "without glory or regret." Siles' agony shows the future for the "democratizing bourgeoisie" throughout the continent.

Bolivia provides a vivid illustration of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. Drawing on the experience of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky wrote that in the imperialist epoch only the proletariat can carry out even the democratic tasks of agrarian revolution, national emancipation and democracy, *by establishing its own class rule*. Every variety of bourgeois nationalism, from military populism to the most radical "left" nationalism, has already proved its bankruptcy in Bolivia. Today the Bolivian peasants are still mired in poverty and ignorance; tin miners labor in broken down mine shafts for a dollar a day, contracting silicosis and dying at the average age of 37; and with Yankee dollars and advisers, the MNR rebuilt the capitalist army which ruled the country for 18 years of revolving door juntas and massacres. It will take socialist revolution to free the Bolivian masses from the chains of imperialist oppression, military despotism and poverty.

### Prerevolutionary Crisis

The miners who spearheaded the March general strike said from the beginning of the UDP regime that they

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Militant Indian women take to the streets against popular front of hunger and lies.

down the country. They faced down the "leftist" regime of Hernán Siles Zuazo, elected with workers' votes and placed in office in October 1982 by a general strike. But such guerrilla warfare cannot go on indefinitely. Following the failure of a near-insurrectionary general strike last March, when 12,000 tin miners occupied the capital of La Paz for 16 days, the workers have been on the defensive. An election in July, bought and paid for by the U.S., and the installation last month of conservative *caudillo* (strong man) Victor Paz Estenssoro for his fourth term as president set the stage for an attempt to break the back of the powerful labor movement.

Paz provoked a showdown late last month, decreeing draconian austerity measures freezing wages until the end of the year and devaluing the peso by 95

"tame" the combative labor movement. The petty bourgeoisie, meanwhile, was driven to desperation by ruinous inflation and economic chaos. Seeing no resolute leadership fighting for proletarian revolution, after the collapse of the March strike the middle classes began flocking to General Hugo Banzer's ultrarightist ADN (National Democratic Action). Banzer came within a hairsbreadth of winning the presidency in July, but the U.S. feared that his narrow victory could lead to a civil war which the bourgeoisie might lose. So after last-minute horse trading in the Bolivian Congress and arm twisting by Washington, the "democrat" Paz was duly "elected."

With real wages slashed by over 40 percent since 1980 (according to *official* figures) and inflation projected at the astronomical figure of 44,134 percent

# French President Behind Greenpeace Murder

# We Accuse Mitterrand!

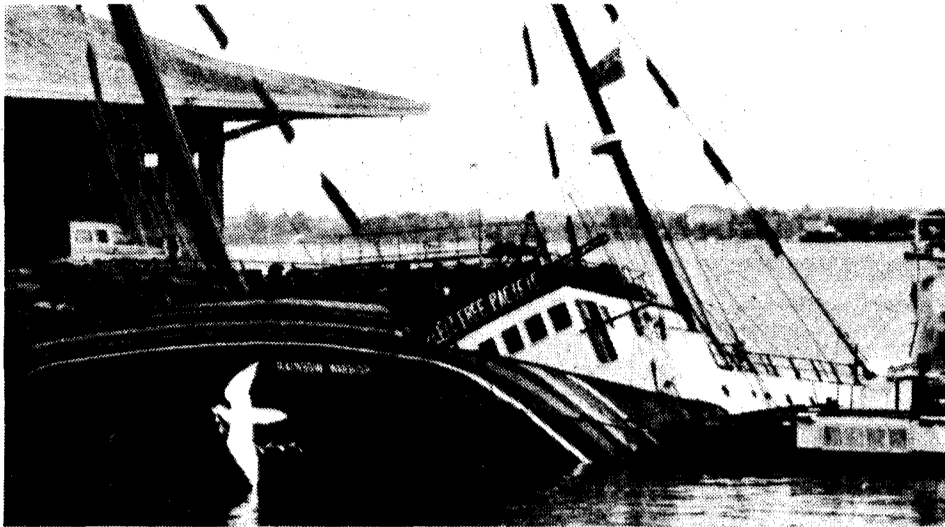
Abridged from *Le Bolchévik* No. 57, September 1985, newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

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

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

## French Spies Caught in the Act

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



Auckland, New Zealand: French secret agents blew up boat belonging to anti-nuclear protesters, killing Greenpeace member.

For this region is now a "hostile environment" for French imperialism. First of all, Australia, which is home to American spy and communications bases central to the U.S.' nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, would be happy to be rid of France in order to fulfill its ambitions as the hegemonic mini-power in the region. In New Zealand, the Labour government of David Lange is currently the object of active destabilization efforts on the part of the White House, in retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships. For Lange, the anti-Greenpeace bombing was a golden opportunity: Greenpeace's liberal illusions and pacifist disarmament propaganda finds a ready ear among a New Zealand population which has just begun to discover that it can no longer opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon and who understandably don't appreciate being sprinkled with nuclear fallout for the benefit of the arrogant French (*Le Monde's* special correspondent called the New Zealand prime minister "a little emperor of the coconut palms").

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

permitted the uncovering of those of the sinister tsarist secret police, the Okhrana. In the meantime we demand that the entire trial of the French agents be broadcast on prime time on French state-owned television.

## Mitterrand Is Guilty

Mitterrand and his government have tried to absolve themselves of any responsibility by means of the Tricot report, which relies on misleading arguments and a phony naiveté, written in pompous language whose absurdity is matched only by its cynicism. "Tricot Washes Whiter" ran the headline of the August 27 *Libération*. The responsibility for this premeditated act of state terrorism, carried out with important material and financial means, belongs above all to Mitterrand, the head of the army—as he himself repeats on every possible occasion—to his government and to his war minister Hernu. The Tricot report quotes a note from Admiral Pagès, commander of the Pacific nuclear testing center, to the effect that the DGSE should "anticipate" the pacifists' activities. This brings to mind Eloi Machoro, the leader of the [pro-independence] FLNKS assassinated in New Caledonia by a bullet in the chest from a gendarme after the French government gave orders to "neutralize" him. The army brass acted in the political framework that the government gave them—which in no way removes their own responsibility in this despicable crime.

Mitterrand is not giving an inch. On August 18 this horseman of nuclear apocalypse reminded French soldiery that Greenpeace is still the enemy. In a "directive" addressed to the armed forces, he launched this sinister warning: "I repeat the order given to the armed forces to prevent, by force if need be, any non-authorized entry into French territorial waters and French airspace in the Polynesian atolls of the Mururoa and Fangataufa sector.... I give notice that nuclear testing in the Pacific will continue as long as it is deemed necessary for the defense of the country by French authorities and solely by them" (*Le Monde*, 20 August). The French navy will thus await Greenpeace's flotilla, due to arrive in mid-October in the vicinity of the French nuclear atolls, and more murderous assaults are to be feared from the French army.

And Mitterrand is not exactly a beginner. Minister of the Interior in 1954 at the time of the outbreak of the struggle for Algerian independence, Justice Minister in 1956 and in this office personally responsible for the execution of Algerian Communists, he's

a long-time servant of French imperialism who fully merits the hatred of all victims of this racist and colonialist state. And he continues in this role as president of the popular front, responsible for the sending of paratroopers to Lebanon to disarm Palestinians in the face of invasion by the Israeli war machine, responsible for repression in the West Indies and New Caledonia, the mercenary-style invasion of Chad last year and now the Auckland murder.

## Anti-Soviet Consensus

All through this affair, Mitterrand and his clique have benefited from a near-total "sacred union" [national unity]. Since the beginning, the press, and the bourgeois politicians have been embarrassed because the DGSE agents got caught, and not because they had murderously attacked (and in another country) a legal organization which was peacefully exercising its right to protest French nuclear testing. Without forgetting the Socialist Party, the party of front men for the current denizen of the presidential palace, which prudently waited until August 21 to condemn the Auckland bombing, all the rightist dignitaries are ostentatiously lining up behind Mitterrand. The rightist parties have no interest in meddling with the mechanisms of a state apparatus that they suppose will once again be theirs in 1986, whether it be the secret police or the bonapartist powers of a president who is literally above the law. (Article 68 of the Constitution stipulates, in fact, that "the President of the Republic is not responsible for acts accomplished in the exercise of his functions except in the event of high treason," and that "he can only be indicted on the basis of an identical vote by both Assemblies after a public ballot and by an absolute majority of the members comprising them.")

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

## Force de Frappe and Colonialism

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

And if the guardians of the "grandeur of France" think themselves able to get away with such action against a mainly white and well-organized organization like Greenpeace, all those who fight in

continued on page 9



# Behind South Africa's Financial Crisis

## Wall Street and the Apartheid State

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

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

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

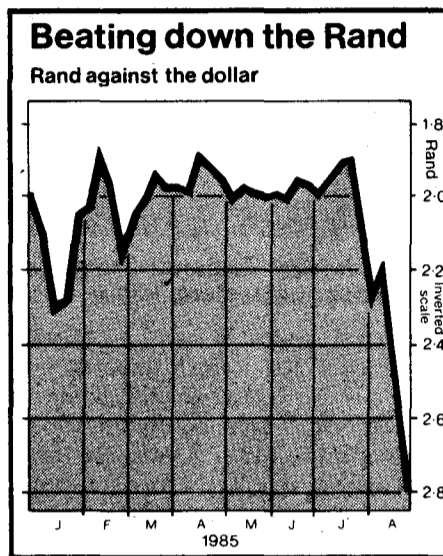
To be sure, no one who looks at the situation soberly also doubts that the



Checani/Business Week  
**South African rand plunges as capital flees.**

white supremacist regime can drown in blood a black upheaval at this time. But in the longer run international capital is deeply pessimistic about the future—and not just the distant future—of the apartheid state. Foreign investors ask themselves: "How much longer can a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites totally subjugate and hideously super-exploit 26 million black Africans, coloureds [people of mixed race] and Indians?" Sooner or later, they figure, the white police state is going to crack, and after that the deluge... possibly a descent into anarchy and prolonged racial, ethnic and tribalist bloodletting.

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



Source: The Economist

socialist federation of southern Africa.

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

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

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

### The Land Where Gold Is King

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

1980 to less than \$500 an ounce in 1983, hitting a low of \$285 earlier this year, apartheid capitalism plunged into the worst depression in 50 years.

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

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

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

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

In the decade following Sharpeville a totalitarian police state reigned supreme over the defenseless, atomized and demoralized black masses. This was the perfect climate for foreign investment, which poured into the country. In 1972 the U.S. business magazine *Fortune* wrote:

"The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capital is



Mattison/Time  
**Miners fired during recent South African mine strike. International monetary system rests on blood and sweat of black gold miners.**

not threatened by political instability or nationalization. Labor is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible.”

—quoted in Martin J. Murray, ed., *South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition* (1982)

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

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

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

## Apartheid Capitalism in Depression

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

Black unemployment in South Africa soared to over 20 percent of the labor force. The hideous poverty of the townships became even more so. Famine and disease ravaged the bantustans. Even white South Africa did not escape the effects of the economic crisis. At the lower end of the white caste, unemployment reappeared for the first time in decades. At the upper end, well-to-do families now hired their black servants on a part-time basis as an economizing measure.

The Botha regime responded to the depression with a racist version of Keynesian deficit spending. The government budget jumped from 22 percent of gross national product in 1981 to 29 percent in 1984. Needless to say, this vastly increased expenditure did not go to the black masses starving on the bantustans. Rather billions of rands were pumped into the growing military sector, fueled by the war in Namibia; to subsidize the drought-stricken Afrikan-



Gunston/Sipa



Campbell/Time

Panicked apartheid regime closes Johannesburg stock exchange (above) as black revolt continues to spread.

er farmers (the original Boers); and to increase the salaries of civil servants by 30 percent. The state bureaucracy employs a third of the entire white labor force.

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

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

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

—quoted in *Wall Street Journal*, 5 February

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

The depression naturally also affected the multinationals operating in South Africa. The return on direct foreign investment slid from 20 percent at the

beginning of the decade to 5 percent in 1984! Suddenly, the idea that divestment in South Africa might be a good thing, after all, began to be heard in corporate boardrooms from Detroit to London. Early this year Ford, then the largest carmaker in South Africa, sold 60 percent of its operation to Anglo American. Coca-Cola, likewise, sold off a majority interest, and International Harvester sold its truck operation outright. The British-owned Barclays, the largest foreign bank in South Africa, has reduced its holding by 20 percent. Overall, direct U.S. investment has fallen from \$2.8 billion in 1981 to \$2.3 billion. The conservative London *Economist* (30 March) observed with its usual cynicism:

“Disinvestment pressure has come at a convenient time for many American corporations, as profitability in South Africa falls and the Far East looks a

more attractive market.... Managers have thus been able to reduce new capital flows to South African subsidiaries while holding onto market share, milking their profits and satisfying anti-apartheid lobbyists.”

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

## Smash Apartheid Capitalism Through Workers Revolution!

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

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

“Many whites here, clinging to their privileges and luxuries, nevertheless exude apprehension about the future. A small furor was created a couple of weeks ago by the private publication of a report entitled ‘How You Can Get a Second Passport’—how, in other words, sanctuary can be arranged elsewhere if apartheid collapses.”

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

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

As massive white capital flight drained their reserves, South African banks were forced to borrow abroad ever larger amounts on ever shorter

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# Bolivia...

(continued from page 4)

"do not recognize themselves in this government." What they recognized in this phony "people's government" was the class enemy. As president of Bolivia during 1956-60, Siles shoved U.S.-dictated austerity down the workers' throats. And on returning to office in 1982, the "leftist" Siles immediately began implementing IMF policies again, paying off the imperialist bankers by slashing the masses' miserable poverty rations. Yet even the pleas of "Communist" ministers for class peace were of no avail. Hunger drove the masses into the streets chanting, "Death to Siles and his ministers!"

A summit of the Bolivian bourgeoisie, arranged by the Catholic church, decided to cut Siles' term short and call early elections in 1985. But yet another government "austerity attack" (*paquetazo*) in February goaded the population past endurance. Rage against Siles' decree quadrupling food prices erupted in riots and takeovers of town halls across the country. Road workers in Santa Cruz blockaded the plaza with bulldozers, chanting, "Not the military, not the politicians, but a government of workers power!" Miners at Siglo XX declared a strike, officially branded the Communist Party "traitors to the people" for collaborating with Siles, and demanded that the COB take "radical measures."

Feeling the heat from the ranks, the union federation issued a call for "people's supply committees" to seize food depots and government vehicles in order to distribute essential products. All trucks carrying food were required to show authorization from the COB. Government accountants were instructed to stop deducting income tax from paychecks for miners and other public employees. The Siles government denounced these measures as "an old Trotskyist strategy that has always



Sipa  
**President Victor Paz Estenssoro, U.S. puppet.**

failed for the seizure of political power." COB leader Juan Lechín was telling the truth when he insisted that, although the government was virtually "inert," he had no revolutionary intentions. But the workers had other ideas.

At the end of February, mass assemblies in the mining districts decided to converge *en masse* on the capital. Commandeering trains and company trucks, they descended on La Paz. Soon 12,000 miners in their brown hardhats and llama-hair caps, dynamite tucked under their leather jackets, were filling the streets. While the bourgeoisie recoiled in horror before the "brown hats," the mass of the capital's population responded with sympathy. Union halls and classrooms across the city were turned over to the miners and their wives. Fearing they would lose all control of their ranks, the COB leaders

called a national union march for "bread and freedom," in order to pressure Siles and blow off steam.

On March 4, some 60,000 workers marched in a vociferous demonstration of working-class anger punctuated with dynamite blasts that shattered windows in the presidential palace and parliament. Once the march was over, the miners refused to leave La Paz and return to the camps. Instead they began holding daily assemblies in the huge Open Air Theater, which became a kind of mass strike committee in permanent session. The assembly called a nationwide mine strike, and demanded that the COB declare an unlimited general strike. Once again the union tops reluctantly complied. The 14 demands of the strike included: a "living minimum wage with sliding scale" (cost-of-living escalator); nationalization of private banks and mines, transport and foreign trade; repudiation of the foreign debt; and an end to food shortages.

For the next 16 days, Bolivia was brought to a halt. Miners filled the streets of La Paz with demonstrations, repeatedly marching on the government palace. One had to get permission from miners' pickets armed with dynamite to cross key intersections. Factory workers and public employees came out, peasants blocked the highways. Indian market women, who control local commerce, provided the miners with lunch daily. The Housewives Federation took up collections, and university students imposed a "revolutionary tax" on motorists to support the strike. The all-star soccer team even played a free match at the Open Air Theater (rightists bombed the team's hotel in reprisal).

## The Spectre of Trotskyism

Any real general strike—and the Bolivian strike last March was surely that—poses the question, which class shall rule? Madrid's *El País* (20 March) declared: "The political climate in La Paz is, in many senses, prerevolutionary." Even *Time* magazine (1 April) headlined its brief story on the strike "A Call to Revolution." Moreover, the government and press repeatedly raised the spectre of Trotskyism. In an essay in the Spanish newsweekly *Cambio 16* (22 March), President Siles railed against an imaginary plan "by the Trotskyist and neo-Trotskyist leadership" of the COB for "the seizure of power by violent means."

The Bolivian union tops have nothing in common with revolutionary Trotskyism. And the supporters of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat who joined with Lechín last September to form the "Unified Revolutionary Leadership" (DRU) only succeeded in replacing the Stalinists in the COB leadership with another gang of reformists. (The DRU platform bragged that it "gave ample proof of our commitment to the democratic process" by suspending a general strike in June 1984, at the time of an abortive coup by drug-trafficking military officers!) Meanwhile, the Bolivian followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno have been doing their best to rekindle illusions in the encrusted labor bureaucracy by calling for "all power to the COB"—i.e., for a Lechín government!

When Bolivians talk about "the Trotskyists," they are usually referring to the centrist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers Party) of Guillermo Lora. They have control of the university federation in La Paz, and during the strike POR-led students marched around chanting "Not the military, not parliament, but workers to power." Every issue of Lora's newspaper *Masas* and numerous POR wall paintings around the capital prominently display the call for a dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Lora & Co. make no link between this abstract slogan and the concrete struggles of the Bolivian workers.

In March, *Masas* (which came out

**Bolivian tin miners (brandishing dynamite) in 1971: most class-conscious proletariat in Latin America.**



daily during the strike) never went beyond calls for the "minimum living wage with a sliding scale." Certainly, the sliding scale of wages and hours is an important demand raised in Trotsky's "Transitional Program" as a part of a working-class struggle against inflation and unemployment. But when the government is virtually bankrupt, and cannot pay anything at all because it is waiting for the next planeload of 50,000 peso bills to arrive from England, a struggle limited to higher wages amounts to economist idiocy. With Bolivia in a state of ruin, no economic demands made sense outside of a struggle for power. And this is precisely what Lora did not raise.

With thousands of miners attending daily mass strike meetings, the central demand should have been to form soviets, organs of dual power which can mobilize the masses to sweep away the decrepit bourgeois state and provide the framework for a new regime of workers power. Bring delegations of the factory workers, public employees, bank and telephone workers to the Open Air Theater. Appeal also to the peasant organizations, the housewives federations, the market women and students to send representatives. If an organization the size of POR-Masas had seriously fought in March to turn the miners' assemblies into workers councils, soviets would have appeared. Yet Lora opposed this fundamental demand. In the middle of the previous general strike, *Masas* (23 November 1984) ran a polemic condemning "the ultra[leftist], ultimatumist and subjectivist petty-bourgeois deviation that consists of decreeing that today or tomorrow soviets must be constructed!"

Together with soviets, the urgent need in March was for armed workers guards and strike pickets, brought together in *workers militias*. Dynamite is not an offensive weapon but a traditional Bolivian way of emphasizing a point. The workers needed guns. In 1971, workers in La Paz who sought to block Banzer's coup demonstrated asking for arms, which never arrived. Lora later confessed, "There was a common view then, which we Marxists shared, that the ruling military group would hand out arms" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista* [1971]). There has been a tradition of workers militias since 1952, yet no one, and certainly not Lora's POR, fought to build them in March, when miners' pickets controlled the streets and peasants blocked the roads.

Another key demand is for *workers control* of industry, banks and mines—kick out the parasitic administrators and the bosses who are looting the companies, smuggling profits and products out of the country on a massive scale. *Committees on prices and provisions*, formed by delegates from the factories, mines, peasant unions, housewives organizations and market women, are urgently needed to combat the black market speculation and assure supplies for the desperate population. All these measures point straight to the *expropriation of the private banks, privately owned mines, industry and commerce*

by a workers and peasants government.

One of the first acts by such a revolutionary regime would be to repudiate the imperialist debt, freeing the Bolivian people from the unbearable burden placed upon them by the military dictators and "starvation democrats" in the service of their murderous army and Swiss bank accounts. But such measures require socialist revolution on a continental and world scale. As a matter of simple survival, a workers and peasants government in Bolivia would have to ignite proletarian revolution from neighboring Argentina, Brazil and Chile to the North American imperialist metropolis itself. This is the program of Trotskyism.

## Consequences of a Defeat

The March strike cried out for a struggle for power, yet there was none. The strike was defeated from within by the sellout bureaucratic leadership. This was underlined by the fact that the miners simply packed up and went home when the COB executive, after a vote of 26 union delegates to 6, called off the strike. At a massive farewell meeting at the central station, the miners vowed, "Volveremos"—we will return. But in the aftermath of the strike's collapse—none of its key demands were met—the workers movement was demoralized and disarmed before the rightists' advance.

By the time of the elections, the middle classes had moved drastically to the right. This phenomenon corresponds to a historical law. As Trotsky wrote "On the Art of Insurrection":

"At a time of national crises the petty bourgeoisie follows that class which inspires confidence not only in words but deeds.... If the proletarian party is not decisive enough to convert the hopes and expectations of the popular masses into revolutionary action in good season, the flood tide is quickly followed by an ebb: the intermediate strata turn away their eyes from the revolution and seek a saviour in the opposing camp. And just as at flood tide the proletariat draws after it the petty bourgeoisie, so during the ebb the petty bourgeoisie draws after it considerable layers of the proletariat."

—Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 3

In July, the left got less than 10 percent of the vote while the right wing (including Banzer and Paz) received more than 60 percent. Many of these votes came from sectors which had previously voted for the UDP and supported the miners in March. And today the bourgeoisie prepares to bring the jackboot of repression down on the workers' necks. This is the price of the March defeat.

Incredibly, there are those who deny the failure of the March strike. At the POR's 28th congress, held in late March, Guillermo Lora declared: "The working class, and therefore the POR, was not defeated in the last general strike." The masses only "fell back," Lora adds, proclaiming: "This is our hour." The political theses declare: "The revolutionary situation is deepening" (*Masas*, April 1985). This triumphalist bombast was soon replaced with parliamentary cretinism, as the POR ran full lists of candidates, many of them



sympathizers, in each of the country's departments. But despite the ever-"deepening revolutionary situation," the POR received a scant 0.79 percent of the vote.

Lora is a classic centrist, whose abstract radicalism is accompanied by capitulation in action. The POR is capable of presenting a very left face, as in the "Workers to Power" program of its Revolutionary Union Brigade at the COB's September 1984 congress. Among the demands are occupation of mines and factories, workers control, armed defense pickets, state takeover of transport and banking, renounce the foreign debt, oust the official union leaders, down with the starvation government, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. *Yet in March this program was not raised in struggle.* Instead the POR limited itself to Lechin's demand for the famous "living minimum wage with sliding scale."

Lora started his "Trotskyist" career as an adviser to MNR union bureaucrat Lechin. In the 1952 "National Revolution" the POR declared its support for the "workers ministers" (i.e., Lechin & Co.) of the bourgeois nationalist regime. Having helped chain the workers to the MNR in 1952 (following the insurrection the POR reportedly controlled half the COB executive), in 1970-71 Lora again intervened in a promising revolutionary situation in favor of alliance with bourgeois nationalists. First he proclaimed the short-lived Popular Assembly "the first soviet in America," though it never challenged the government of General J.J. Torres. And when the populist general was ousted by Banzer, Lora formed a "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" with Torres, the Stalinists and Lechin (see "Centrist Debacle in Bolivia," *WV* No. 3, December 1971).

Today Lora opposes a call for soviets because he wants his own popular front. The political theses of the POR's last congress called on all "those who claim to be leftists" to form a "left front." This, says Lora, is the concretization of his "permanent" slogan for an "anti-imperialist front." And when toward the end of the March strike the COB tops called for such a left front, Lora's POR eagerly joined with Lechin's PRIN, a split-off from the MNR, and various fake-left "taxi parties" (so-called because their tiny membership could fit in a La Paz taxi) to provide a "radical" popular-front cover for the COB tops' maneuvers (*Presencia*, 20 March).

This "experience" of left-talking popular frontism is what Lora is referring to when he repeatedly declaims that "the reconstruction of the Fourth International will occur starting from the Bolivian experience." In an interview published in the Argentine *Politica Obrera* (28 February), he makes even more explicit his national parochialism, saying that the Bolivian situation "does not permit the POR to dedicate much attention to the international problem"! This national-"Trotskyist" is a second-rate version of Andrés Nin, leader of the centrist POUM during the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s; he has nothing to do with the revolutionary *internationalist* politics of Lenin and Trotsky.

As Trotsky wrote in his pamphlet *Lessons of October*, comparing the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 with the victory of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." Would-be revolutionaries in Bolivia must break decisively with the tradition of isolation, parochialism and capitulation to nationalism. A Bolshevik party to lead the valiant proletariat of the altiplano in the struggle for soviet power can only be built in an active fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. This is the only way out of the bloody cycle of popular fronts and military coups. ■



Young Spartacus

SL/SYL (left) call for class struggle against apartheid, not appeals to capitalists' "conscience."



Time

## Apartheid State...

(continued from page 7)

terms. Of South Africa's \$19 billion in foreign bank debt, two-thirds falls due within a year, almost half within six months. Such a lopsided debt structure is exceptional even by Third World standards.

Normally, there would be no question about rolling over these South African loans. But the situation in South Africa is anything but normal. The state of emergency imposed in late July and Botha's hardline speech on August 15 finally convinced international capital that South Africa was fast heading toward a bloody abyss. "The speech was so far removed from South African reality it breeds a sense of fear among businessmen," said a South African consultant for many U.S. firms. More starkly, a West German banker exclaimed, "I fear a bloodbath in which

there will be no winners" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 September). If the apartheid state succeeds in restoring the social peace of the graveyard, as it did after Sharpeville, the Wall Street loans and multinational investments will flow back. In the meantime...

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

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

their capacity to struggle.

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

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

## Mitterrand...

(continued from page 5)

the French colonies against colonial oppression can expect worse. The sentencing of 17 pro-independence militants in Tahiti on August 27 to prison terms of up to five years, after a demonstration held in Papeete in March during which a policeman was wounded, is an example.

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

Mitterrand has shown his willingness to defend the military capacity of French imperialism, whatever the cost. The popular front of May 10 [1981, date of election of the Mitterrand government], like *all* popular fronts, from the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917 to Allende's Chile, must give explicit guarantees to the bourgeois army, whatever "reforms" it has promised the masses, that it will never touch the sacrosanct core of the bourgeois state—the armed bodies of men which defend private property and in particular the officer corps. "Democratic" France's history has been marked by quite a few near- and real coups d'état (such as de Gaulle's takeover on 13 May 1958). One of Mitterrand's first gestures on coming to power was to amnesty all the officers imprisoned by de Gaulle for participat-

ing in the coup d'état against Algerian independence. And now he is seeking to use his prerogatives as "chief of armed forces" to keep as many as possible of his bonapartist powers after the inevitable electoral defeat [of his current parliamentary majority] in '86—as shown by the recent nomination of General Saunier, his personal chief of staff at the Elysée [the French White House], to the post of chief of general staff of the armed forces.

### What Justice for Fernando Pereira?

No "justice" can be expected from the investigations now going on in France, nor from the PCF's attempts to set up parliamentary committees to "oversee" the secret police. The French regime is one of the most bonapartist of all the advanced capitalist countries and in general parliament becomes virtually irrelevant as soon as things get hot. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine the French army giving PCF deputies access to "defense secrets" so that they

can poke their nose into DGSE or DST [French counterintelligence] business.

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

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# U.S./South Africa Axis...

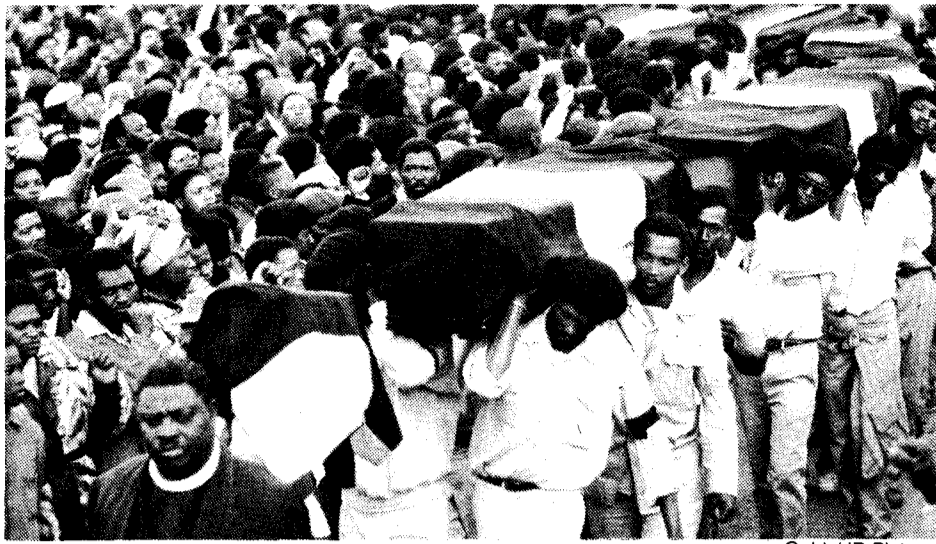
(continued from page 1)

the past two months alone, sending the South African economy into international crisis.

"The banks have accomplished in two weeks what politicians haven't done in years," was the ironic comment of the managing director of Barclays National Bank in South Africa. In terms of impact, the bankers' actions totally dwarfed the tokenistic sanctions bill promoted by the Democrats in Congress and Reagan's slightly weaker administrative sanctions designed to head off Congressional action. Reagan's sanctions "will have a negligible impact on the economy of South Africa," noted the *New York Times* (10 September), partly because they "only validate changes already in effect," such as the drying up of American credit.

The ban on the sale of Krugerrands is essentially symbolic, since South African gold will find its way into the world market in other forms, and the sale of nuclear power equipment was already ostensibly halted by Carter. The Democratic bill's provision for further sanctions within 12 months depends on the president's judgment whether or not South Africa has made "significant progress." There's little doubt Reagan will discover "progress" in South Africa, since to him that means a pile of dead black "terrorists." The slap-on-the-wrist effect of capitalist sanctions can be seen by the results of the long-standing arms embargo against South Africa:

"The arms embargo, initiated by the UN security council in 1963 and since imposed by all western states, has had a highly specific effect. South Africa's arms self-sufficiency has risen from 40% to roughly 85% under the embargo. Its public-sector arms manufacturer, Armscor, is now the third biggest corporation in South Africa and its emphasis on tactical weapons has turned the



Defiant blacks bury martyrs, draped with ANC flags.

Gubb/JB Pictures

country into a substantial net arms exporter."

—*The Economist*, 30 March

In short, so long as the South African bourgeoisie remains in power with access to the world market—i.e., so long as capitalism survives there—the apartheid rulers will find ways around any sanctions. Even the vastly more upsetting actions of international financiers, which forced South African central bank governor Gerhard de Kock to make a hat-in-hand trip to Washington and London, can eventually be ironed out. "If and when the South African Reserve Bank manages to reschedule its debts, Swiss and West German banks will pick up the positions of the American banks," a London stockbroker told the *Wall Street Journal* (5 September).

## The Cold War, Apartheid and Imperialist Hypocrisy

*The primary demands of the reformist anti-apartheid movement—divestment of South African holdings and sanctions against South Africa—have been fulfilled, as much as they ever will be, yet the apartheid system remains unbroken and unyielding. This was underscored by Botha's infamous hard-*

line speech of August 15. Only a fool or a Reaganite could peddle the latest "concessions" announcements by Botha & Co. as anything other than cosmetics for foreign consumption.

The proposal to give blacks South African "citizenship" is just hot air, since blacks will still be barred even from voting and the separate black "homelands" will be maintained. A government panel's proposal to abolish the pass laws is largely a recognition of reality, namely that hundreds of thousands of blacks have illegally flocked to the urban areas anyway. The panel's "reform" would replace the passbooks with a national "identity document" for everybody, including whites, thereby expanding police surveillance powers. One thing is certain: there will be no dismantling of apartheid so long as the present rulers remain in power, and they will not go peacefully.

The assumption of the divestment/sanctions movement really is that South African capitalism can be fundamentally reformed through the pressure of other capitalist powers, in particular the U.S. In this sense, the ANC, which advocates "people's war" and supports the United Democratic Front (UDF), which advocates nonviolent pressure, shares with capitalists like Harry Oppenheimer and David Rockefeller a desire for a "negotiated solution."

Botha went out of his way to publicly denounce as "treason" the visit of business leaders like Gavin Rely, chairman of Oppenheimer's Anglo American conglomerate, with the ANC. Despite recent statements by the ANC that there is nothing to talk about except the immediate handing over of power, they have long tried to woo liberal capitalists like Oppenheimer with promises of capitalist opportunity. "We have no intention of nationalizing everything," ANC second-in-command Tambo vowed recently. "We will have private property, private businesses and so on.... There will even be foreign investment" (*New York Times*, 7 September).

While the ANC mouths phrases about the working class being the "backbone" and "leading force" of the struggle, Tambo angles for a deal with the deadly enemies of the proletariat. Not accidentally, Anglo American was exempted from the gold mine strike of early September. The meeting with Anglo American chairman Rely took place September 13 in Zambia, and Tambo called the talks "a very important contribution."

The idea that American imperialism—which carpetbombed Indochina, A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and props up every tinpot despot on the face of the planet—can be pressured into pressuring their South African allies to dismantle apartheid is obscene. The hypocrisy of the American ruling class in lecturing the Afrikaners on "democracy" and "morality" is colossal. This country is built on the genocide of the native Indian population by European colonists. Can anyone imagine the Kennedys and Rockefeller Foundation calling for "majority rule" and "one man, one vote" in the U.S. if there were half a billion American Indians here? At

times, proposals to "Americanize" South Africa are simply bizarre. The U.S. embassy in Pretoria is now suggesting a "complaints" mechanism for blacks "who have grievances about police behavior" (*New York Times*, 17 September). That's like calling for a civilian review board for Jews in Nazi Germany!

The divestment/sanctions lobby has always denounced Reagan's "constructive engagement" with Pretoria and looks to the Democrats in Congress to "disengage" U.S. imperialism from South Africa. But now Reagan has undercut the Congressional Democrats by slapping sanctions on South Africa through a presidential executive order. At the same time, Congressional Democrats have been carrying out Reagan's program by voting millions for counter-revolutionary terrorists from Nicaragua to Indochina. They also repealed the 1976 Clark Amendment, paving the way for Washington to fund South Africa's puppet terrorists in Angola, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. And liberal Democrats, as well as the Reagan gang, demand the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops, who defend this besieged black African country from apartheid imperialism.

Have Reagan and the Democrats each sold out to the other? Not at all. *There is a bipartisan consensus within the American ruling class to go after the Soviet Union on all fronts.* South Africa, however, presents a certain problem for the Cold Warriors who run this country. Washington's alliance with this totalitarian, racist police state in the name of anti-Communism utterly exposes the "democratic" pretensions of the "free world." Thus America's rulers, now even the Reagan gang, are forced to hypocritically condemn apartheid.

## From Detroit to Durban: Workers to Power!

The unsolvable dilemma for U.S. imperialism is that the apartheid regime is historically doomed by the black majority, making it an unstable ally, yet it still remains in power because it has all the guns, and is considered a bulwark of anti-Communism on the African continent. Anti-Sovietism, buttressed by ties of kinship between South African and American racism, led Washington to play a role in giving nuclear weapons to Pretoria:

"The realization in Washington that there can never be any question of using US armed forces in a racial conflict in southern Africa—because of the importance of blacks in these forces as well as the likely provocation of riots in US cities—is compatible with a decision to provide South Africa with the ultimate deterrent....

"Insofar as the survival of white supremacy in South Africa is seen in certain quarters of Washington as being in US interests, both strategically and in terms of corporate investment, this would appear to be the obvious solution. It is possible, then, that charges of a major conspiracy to give South Africa a nuclear capacity, in a deal with West Germany, Israel and Portugal—with the endorsement of the United States—may have at least an element of truth in them."

—Barbara Rogers and Zdenek Cervenka, *The Nuclear Axis* (1978)

But South Africa, with its sophisticated industrial infrastructure, is also perfectly capable of getting its nuclear technology from its other friends, e.g., West Germany or Israel.

Smashing the U.S./South Africa alliance which means racist terror from Harlem to Soweto is integrally linked to the defense of the social gains of October—the expropriation of the capitalist class and the creation of a planned economy. It's necessary to extend proletarian revolution worldwide. The black workers of South Africa are not only the powerhouse for social revolution in their own country, but throughout the desperately oppressed and impoverished continent.

From Detroit to Durban, from the Appalachian coal fields to the Transvaal gold mines, workers to power! ■

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# Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!

27 August 1985

The Spartacist League has called for a demonstration October 3, outside the hearing of NYC chief medical examiner Elliot Gross. The call for the protest begins, "Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry—We Will Not Forget!" "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" and "Down with Racist Cop Terror!"

The New York State Department of Health has charged the NYC coroner with gross incompetence and negligence. But Gross is far worse than incompetent. After Michael Stewart was bludgeoned to death by a cop lynchmob, Gross dug out his eyes to hide the telltale blood specks proving strangulation. He's a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the T.A. cops who beat Michael Stewart to death.

"Gross is Koch's Dr. Mengele," said Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for mayor. "The eyeball-gouging, cadaver-switching coroner

covers up for racist cop murder, from black artist Michael Stewart to Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. It's a system. Koch's cossacks kill, then the

D.A. and coroner cover up the cops' crimes. Elliot Gross symbolizes everything repulsive in New York City that will be expunged."



Dr. "Cover-Up" Gross, New York's Dr. Mengele, and his führer.

## Birmingham...

(continued from page 12)

Dresden after the WWII terror-bombing. The police occupation is like something out of a military coup: armoured cop vans parked on every side street, two cops every ten yards on Soho Road, militarised convoys of upwards of 20 vanloads of police rolling in and out of the area. On Tuesday night, cops in riot gear baton-charged a crowd of youth on Soho Road.

First and foremost it is necessary to mobilise to get the police out of Handsworth now! The overriding need is for organised defence of the community against the racist police reign of terror. However valiantly they resist, bottles and bricks from angry young kids is no match for the organised armed force of the police. For our part the Spartacist League commits itself to mobilising whatever resources possible in organising mass protest against the police occupation. In the face of open threats from Chief Constable Geoffrey Dear to start using rubber bullets, it is particularly urgent to resurrect the old Chartist demand for the right of all citizens to bear arms. Most importantly, effective defence of Handsworth against racist/cop terror means linking up with and mobilising the social muscle of the labour movement. Miners from South Wales and the Midlands whom the people of Handsworth generously supported during the strike must be called into battle. And alongside them, car workers from Longbridge, many of whom live in the area, and heavily minority bus and post office workers. Defend Handsworth! Down with the Police Occupation/Dragnet! Drop All

the Charges Against the Victims of the Cops' Dragnet! Cops Out of Handsworth Now! Build Integrated Trade Union-Centred Community Defence Guards to Patrol the Streets and Fight Cop Terror!

Even as they watched Handsworth burn, the Tories, their cops and their kept media tried to instigate interracial violence with deliberate lies seeking to pit West Indians against Asians. There is a government conspiracy to provoke communal violence among the oppressed. Hard on the heels of its vicious onslaught against the miners, the government wishes to see the abused, oppressed, impoverished and unemployed sections of the society set at each other's throats. But when young black West Indians formed defence guards around Asian shops, everybody in the community knew who the real enemy was. When Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, fresh from putting down Irish Catholics in Belfast, dared to show his face on Tuesday he was driven out in less than five minutes by a hail of bricks and bottles from black, Asian and white youth.

Racist cop terror, the Nationality Act, deportations—this is the order of the day in Thatcher's Britain. When the government dragged the Newham Seven through the courts for defending their East London Asian community against fascist terror, it was a clear signal to the racist killers in and out of uniform to proceed with impunity. Days after four of these heroic Asian youth were convicted, an eight months pregnant Asian woman and her three children were firebombed, murdered, in the same area. Now, according to a September 10 statement by the African/Caribbean Community of Handsworth, "A white vigilante group at a recent

residents association meeting declared its intention to burn down the old Villa Cross bingo hall"—the first building to burn Monday night. Meanwhile the fascists of the British National Party are threatening to stage a race-hate provocation this weekend in Birmingham. These scum must be smashed by massive trade union/minority mobilisations! Down with the bosses' racist immigration laws!

Labour Party deputy leader Roy Hattersley ventured into Handsworth only to echo Thatcher's racism with his attacks on "acts of criminality." He should have been run out of the community too. And Hattersley's more "left"-talking Labour Party friends just want to sweep all the outrage and anger under the carpet with bullshit about "democratic control" and "accountability" of the racist killer cops. What can you expect from a party that imposed "virginity tests" on Asian women?

This city and this country are too far gone for band-aid "solutions" that do nothing for the oppressed. We say: organise the outrage! Fight for working-

"Black youth gunned down by the cops in Harlem, racist police round-ups in Brooklyn, stun-gun 'torture precincts' in Queens—no one is safe," said Ed Kartsen, Spartacist Party candidate for Manhattan Borough President. "New York's unions and minorities must answer this wave of wanton cop terror with massive mobilizations of our own organized power."

In adding his support to the demonstration, noted civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn said, "The medical examiner's office, with the District Attorney's office in New York County, only illustrates the kind of alliance on the part of the ruling sections of the country in depriving the poor and oppressed of any real justice. The basic instrument for the poor and the oppressed to exert power in the community is through their actual physical presence at demonstrations which give a signal to the ruling class that they are not all-powerful."

At this time the Department of Health has not yet announced the site of the Gross hearings. But demonstration organizers say, "Wherever it is, Gross deserves one hell of a 'hearing' from the working people, poor, blacks, Hispanics and all decent people of this city. Be there October 3!" ■

class power! The miners strike gave a taste of the vitally needed unity in struggle of all oppressed behind the power of the working class. It is the absence of a revolutionary working-class leadership which allows the pent-up anger and frustration over massive unemployment, squalid housing and racist/cop terror to be squandered in undirected dead-end outbursts of rage. From Reagan's firebombing of black Philadelphia to the streets of Handsworth today, the capitalist oppressors are waging war on racial minorities and workers. It's no accident that Thatcher and Reagan are the biggest boosters of the apartheid butchers in South Africa. The labour movement must be mobilised to defeat the racist rulers; to win jobs for all, to resist and smash racist terror. The brutally oppressed West Indian and Asian communities have a key role to play in building a communist vanguard party which can smash this whole rotten, racist capitalist system. Mobilise to defend Handsworth against racist cop terror!

—14 September 1985

## Lea Hall Miner Speaks Out In Defense of Handsworth

We print below excerpts of a solidarity message by miner Wally Roberts to a defense campaign meeting organized by the Afro-Caribbean Self-Help Organisation, in Handsworth, Birmingham, September 12:

I want to thank you for inviting me to speak. I'm from Lea Hall, it's in Rugeley. I was on strike for 12 months and I'm a supporter of the Workers Hammer and the Spartacist League. After our experience of the strike, everyone knows police were used to break the strike and are racists, how they oppress and harass daily minorities in this country. We will never forget the bond that was forged between us and the minorities who supported us so generously.

On my way here I saw a sight I haven't seen since the strike, a line of cop vans waiting all along the Pershore Road. The police occupation of Handsworth has to end. The dragnet arrests must be stopped. Trade unionists and black, Asian, Irish communities have the same enemy and must fight together. I felt

duty-bound to come. I'm not speaking in an official capacity for the NUM, but I know a number of miners who have already said they want to stand with you in any action called in defence of the community and those jailed, arrested and beaten up by cops...

I have no illusions about the leadership of the unions but the fight must be taken up by the unions. Unions have power in this country that the bosses and the government can't ignore. I would like to see integrated defence—black, Asian and white—calling on the strength of the unions, in the same way as happened during our strike when black, Asian and white workers struck against racism defending Zed Mills.

The police occupation and persecution of Handsworth should not go unprotected. If the community here organises protest action, which I believe would be a very good thing, I know the Workers Hammer will make every effort to assist you and alert trade unionists as we've already tried to do.

## Spartacist Party Campaign Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacist Party Election Campaign Needs \$\$\$! Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops gave racist mayor Koch a "war chest" of over \$5 million to "finish the job" on New York's working class and minorities. The working people's candidates, Stamberg and Kartsen, depend on your contributions to get out the Spartacist program of mobilizing New York's labor and minorities to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Smash Racist Cop Terror!"

Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over \$99. So because our party does not

disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over \$99 from individuals. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you want to fight Koch/Reagan reaction, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren Street in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Spartacist Candidates on New York Radio

# "Koch Is Reaganism in NYC"

The following statement by Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president was broadcast on WBAI in the "Election Night Special" program on the NYC primaries, September 10, hosted by Robert Knight.

**Stamberg:** This is Marjorie Stamberg. I'm the candidate for mayor of the Spartacist Party and with me is Ed Kartsen. We think [the primary] shows that what you've got in New York is a tale of two cities. You've got Koch and Donald Trump the Condo King and you've got these upscale Upper East Siders driving around town in their stretch limousines, and at the same time you've got an army of homeless living in colonies in the subway tunnels and in Grand Central Station. And that division is one of the reasons that we say every problem in New York, whether it's the homeless, whether it's the question of the rampaging cop brutality, whether it's unemployment, shows up the need for socialist revolution in this country.

We don't think it's just a local or national question either, because you know Koch brags that he's gotten the City Council to divest funds from South Africa and he goes down to Washington and he cries crocodile tears about South Africa, meanwhile his police are shoot-

ing black people down in Harlem. So on August 13 at the big protest against South African apartheid, Ed Kartsen and myself were there, and we were calling for a one-day New York City strike to stop the racist terror from Harlem to Soweto. And the Spartacist campaign is talking to people in this city about labor/black mobilizations to stop the race-terrorists whether in their white sheets or blue uniforms. And that's the kind of fight that we're going to be bringing to the election November 5. And here's Ed Kartsen.

**Kartsen:** As far as the politics of this campaign goes, they're leaving out some of the critical issues which Marjorie just mentioned. Koch has brought Reaganism to New York City, just like black mayor Wilson Goode brought Reaganism to Philly in a big way by bombing the home of MOVE members and burning down a section of that city, killing eleven people including children. That was a Reaganite atrocity, and Reagan, while he's preparing for war against Nicaragua, Koch is carrying out a war against the unions, minorities and poor people in this city, driving them off of Manhattan with cop terror and rents that make it impossible for working-class people to live on this island.

**Knight:** This is WBAI New York, where you heard a statement on to-



Ed Kartsen campaigns at Caribbean Day celebration in Brooklyn.

night's race from two what would conventionally be called minor party [candidates]—at least numerically speaking—the Spartacist Party, which has a searing analysis of the divisiveness of the politics that they characterize the



Marjorie Stamberg speaks with leader of Phelps Dodge copper strike at NYC labor day.

mayor candidates of waging. We've heard from Marjorie Stamberg and Edward Kartsen of the Spartacist Party campaign. And they will continue to be running for mayor and Manhattan borough president respectively. ■

## Defend Black, Asian Youth in Britain!

# Thatcher's Cops Riot in Birmingham

On the night of September 9, the mounting outrage of the heavily black and Asian Handsworth section of Birmingham, England erupted. With beefed-up police squads roaming minority communities looking for an excuse to riot against the residents, ghetto youth battled the cops for two days. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has revived against the vulnerable Indian, Pakistani and Caribbean populace the savage martial law tactics she deployed against striking miners only a few months ago. Even after a "truce" was declared, Handsworth remains under police occupation. Army helicopters buzz overhead and truckloads of troops rumble through the area, while cops seek an excuse for more head-busting as they bait ghetto residents with racist obscenities.

In desperately poor Handsworth the minority unemployment rate is 60 percent and only one out of 20 West Indian youth has a job. "If a white man walks down the street the police don't stop him but they do every time if it's a black man," said a white resident. As one black youth put it, "Every night on the T.V. you see how the black youth is fighting back in South Africa against



Thatcher's thugs in blue occupy Handsworth ghetto, as desperate black and Asian youth explode in anger.

apartheid. The same thing is going on here, man. So we must fight back" (*New Statesman*, 13 September).

Our comrades of the Spartacist League of Britain have sought to mobilize in the Handsworth ghetto, among miners and other workers, demanding

"cops out" and integrated trade union-centered community defense guards against cop terror. On September 14 the police arrested three SL members in Handsworth for distributing the leaflet printed below. Cops even went around ripping the leaflets out of the hands of

ghetto residents. Our comrades were finally released, under the threat of unspecified court action, after being held for nine hours.

### Spartacist League of Britain Leaflet

Thatcher and her cops are out for black and Asian blood! The line of the police and the powers that be Monday night in Handsworth was: Let it burn! And that meant two Asian men burnt alive. Then the police subjected this heavily black and Asian community to a vicious dragnet and occupation, arresting more than 90 people. Racist rags like the *Sun* scream for the blood of "black bombers," including a man whose only "crime" is that he hates the cops for almost blowing his young daughter away just like little John Shortouse got it a few weeks ago.

For months the cops have been turning the screws tighter and tighter on the Handsworth community, looking to provoke an excuse for a massive police invasion. Last Monday they did it. Four days later Lozells Road looks like

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