



UN "Peacekeepers" – Border Guards for Apartheid

Australian Troops Out of Namibia!

18 APRIL — Whenever there's imperialist dirty work to be done, the Hawke government volunteers for front-line duty. This time it's for the United Nations "peacekeeping" force in Namibia, formerly South-West Africa. In late March the advance guard of a contingent of 300 Australian army engineers arrived to join a 4600-strong UN force being assembled to supervise this South African colony's "transition to independence." This is supposed to take one year, under the terms of an agreement signed last December between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, and linked to a parallel agreement for the phased withdrawal of the 55,000 Cuban troops in neighbouring Angola.

This deployment is a dramatic attempt by the Hawke government to win favours from George Bush, and also a trial run for bigger "peacekeeping" adventures closer to home. "If it is important to send Australian troops to Namibia, which cannot be presented as being in the front rank of our international priorities, it is 10 times more important to send them to Kampuchea," said arch Cold Warrior Sam Lipski (*Bulletin*, 28 March). While Hawke and Foreign Minister Evans officially deny that involvement in any Kampuchean settlement is likely to go as far as sending troops, Defence Minister Kim Beazley is not so coy. Acting like he's afraid he'll miss out on World War III, Beazley wants to send at least a battalion of troops and possibly a brigade — some 3000 troops. We say: Australian troops out of Namibia now! Hawke/Beazley — Keep out of Kampuchea!

The architect of the Namibia-Angola deal was chief US hatchetman for Africa, Chester Crocker, but it is also one more product of Soviet leader Mikhail



Australian UN contingent on the Namibian/Angolan border to disarm SWAPO guerrillas.

Keep Out of Kampuchea!

Gorbachev's policy of global appeasement of imperialism, along with the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan and pressure upon Vietnam to pull out from Kampuchea. Since UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence was passed in 1978, when the Fraser government originally pledged Australian troops, Washington and Pretoria have held up its implementation until the withdrawal of the Soviet-backed Cuban forces from Angola. Now Gorbachev has

delivered most of what they wanted. The terms of the deal are as follows:

- The withdrawal of all South African troops by 1 November, except from the port of Walvis Bay which will remain a South African enclave. The puppet Namibian army, the South West Africa Territorial Force, to be disbanded and until then confined to bases — but the police will remain intact.

- The joint UN and South

African administration to organise elections on 1 November for a constituent assembly which will write a constitution.

- The release of political prisoners and return of some 80,000 exiles. Fighters of the South-West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) are to be confined to bases in Angola and Zambia and disarmed at the border upon their return.

- All Cuban troops to be out of Angola by July 1991 and the African National Congress to dismantle its bases there. South Africa is to stop supporting Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels which are fighting the Angolan government.

All sides, from the Soviets, Fidel Castro and Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos, to SWAPO, to the US and Pretoria, have hailed the accords as a great breakthrough for "peace" in southern Africa. In Namibia crowds of SWAPO supporters welcomed the arrival of the UN, which they expected to protect them from the apartheid butchers. This is a cruel illusion. The UN is an agency of imperialism whose aim is to install a tame neo-colonial regime that will guard South Africa's border as it extricates itself from a war it is losing to Cuban and MPLA forces in Angola. And when Cuban troops have withdrawn from Angola South Africa will again be able to assert military dominance over the region. It is enough to recall the bloody imperialist "peacekeeping force" which oversaw the disarming and expulsion of the PLO from Beirut after the Israeli blitzkrieg in Lebanon in 1982. Then Israel's Phalangist butchers carried out the brutal massacre of thousands of Palestinians in the camps of Sabra and Shatila. UN "peacekeepers," apartheid butchers, out of Namibia — for

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Salman Rushdie Must Not Be Silenced!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League/US on February 22.

Ayatollah Khomeini promises heaven and \$5.2 million to the assassins of noted author Salman Rushdie as punishment for writing The Satanic Verses. Demonstrations of Islamic fanatics against the book in Pakistan and India killed eight. In New York Cardinal O'Connor chose Sunday morning mass to denounce The Satanic Verses. Three major US bookstore chains controlling 2,400 outlets ordered the book off their shelves. Racist South Africa joined the Islamic world in banning the book altogether while French and West German publishers suspended their translations. "Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature," wrote Milton in his

eloquent 17th-century defense of freedom of conscience and press, Areopagitica, "but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself."

Using the jihad against Rushdie, Iran's rulers manipulate passions in order to divert concern for the millions who died in the pointless war with Iraq, and from a shattered economy and endless repression. The Shi'ite theocracy launched its holy war against The Satanic Verses after executing thousands of leftists and other dissidents, seeking to drown every manifestation of social discontent in rivers of blood. The so-called "community of civilized nations" watched the mounting wall of corpses in total silence, while the New York Times applauded the "liberalization" of Iranian society. Khomeini's Iran is a foretaste of what

a mujahedin victory would mean in Afghanistan, where the CIA-backed "freedom fighters" skin alive schoolteachers for teaching girls and women to read. Pursuing its policy of conciliation with the mullahs, the Afghan government just banned the book also!

But the exploitation of religious bigotry in the service of political tyranny is by no means the monopoly of the Islamic world. In the name of "national security" Nixon tried to suppress the Pentagon Papers; Thatcher attempted the same with Spycatcher. Crying "blasphemy," Christian fundamentalists together with assorted fascist scum have launched a crusade against Martin Scorsese's film The Last Temptation of Christ. Book-burners in white sheets and black robes have tried to ban Darwin and even Goldilocks from public

and school libraries. Following Ed Meese's porn commission, the government uses RICO to prosecute the sale of books and video's with sexual content as "racketeering."

The German Jewish radical poet Heinrich Heine's apt warning is now poignantly displayed at the memorial to the victims of Hitler's Dachau concentration camp: "Once they burn books they will end up burning people." To preserve a social system which had outlived its progressive mission even before the dawn of this century, the capitalist ruling classes are compelled to revive religious obscurantism, superstition and terror; the pogrom is industrialized, the Inquisition goes high tech, and Armageddon is nuclear. The defense of the social, scientific and cultural achievements of the Renaissance, the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions including the American Civil War, and the conquests of the proletarian October Revolution in Russia — from freedom of conscience to freedom from exploitation — is inseparable. In defense of the fundamental democratic rights and elemental human decency we demand: Let The Satanic Verses Be Read!

Sub Drive Success

Final Totals			
Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Melbourne	450	558	124
Sydney	700	762	109
At large	-	32	-
National Total	1150	1352	118

Welcome back to all those who resubscribed to Australasian Spartacist during the 1989 subscription drive! And, of course, a warm welcome to our new readers.

The four-week sub-drive ended on 22 March with a national tally of 1352 points, eighteen percent over the target, and forty-two points higher than last year's result. These figures are particularly gratifying considering the campaign had been run with the modest aim of holding our subscription base at the level it rose to in 1988.

Spartacist League

GPO Box 3473, Sydney, 2001
GPO Box 2339, Melbourne, 3001
Ph: 281-2181 Ph: 654-4315

Working in this framework, we had greater opportunity for discussing the key political events of the day with readers, a rewarding experience for both sides. Our understanding of the dynamics of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev, from the shameful withdrawal from Afghanistan and our proposal to form an international brigade to fight the mujahedin cutthroats, to the dangers of perestroika, the need to defend the Soviet workers state, and the current possibilities for political revolution in the USSR, evoked an eager interest from those with leftist backgrounds.

Our work internationally in building worker/minority defence against fascist terror, highlighted by the Partisan Defense Committee's recent mass mobilisation against the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia, was another hot issue, of particular relevance to blacks and other targets of Australian race hate.

One of the goals of the sub-drive was to deepen contact with regular subscribers, and the success of this orientation is reflected in the number of people who added the publications of other sections of the international Spartacist tendency to their list



of subscriptions. Alongside Australasian Spartacist's 764 points, Workers Vanguard (fortnightly paper of the Spartacist League/US) netted 320 points. The monthly Workers Hammer, paper of the Spartacist League/Britain, proved very popular, selling 82 points, while another 30 points fell to our non-English-language papers, led by the Spanish edition of Spartacist.

Another focus of our work was on university campuses, which tended to be inhabited by a decent core of students searching for a ray of Marxist sunlight amidst the

apolitical/rightwing climate that continues to prevail on campuses. Overseas students again form a significant proportion of campus subscribers.

Congratulations to comrade Andrew S from Melbourne, the top subscription seller for the third year running, and to comrades Peter M and Bret S, both selling over one hundred points. All the members have put in a lot of good work to promote our revolutionary Marxist press, and each year sees an increase in our audience. To all subscribers, old and new, we extend revolutionary greetings. ■

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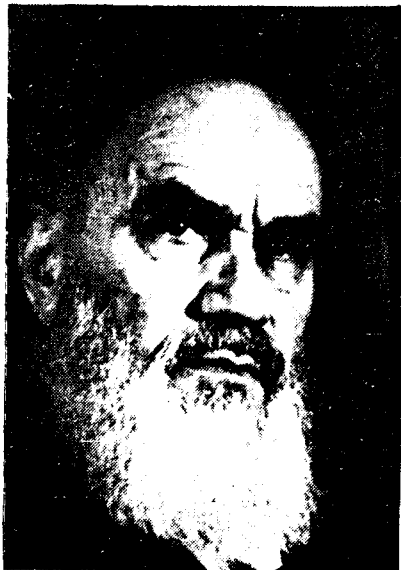
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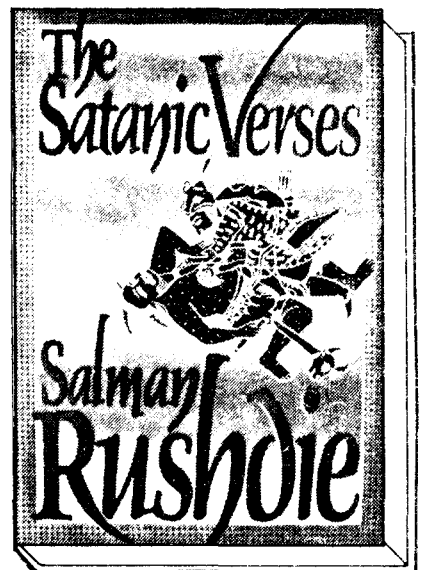
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Khomeini's Blood Terror Targets Author



Dejean/Sygma

Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini calls for assassination of author Salman Rushdie.



Bloodthirsty Islamabad mob (left) demands death to Satanic Verses author.

When Ayatollah Khomeini issued his decree of death against novelist Salman Rushdie and the Viking/Penguin publishers of his Satanic Verses, a shudder spread around the world. Here was the ultimate statement of theocratic totalitarianism: not only must the book be banned, but its author must be executed for the "crime" of having written it. It was a throwback to the days when heretics were burned at the stake and witches boiled in oil. As Rushdie's book was removed by the largest bookstore chains, suddenly the dark past of the Inquisition was no further away than the local shopping centre. There it was, the benighted superstition of the Middle Ages in the middle of the Computer Age.

From the moment it was published last September, Rushdie's Satanic Verses drove Islamic fundamentalists around the world into a frenzy, leading to its banning by one government after another. In Rushdie's own country of Britain, protests and book-burnings swept through the sizable Muslim communities in the inner cities. Then, on 12 February, the furore became deadly as six people were killed in Islamabad, Pakistan when police fired into a

Censorship by Assassination

crowd of thousands protesting publication of the book in the US. Fifteen more have since died in protests in Kashmir and Bombay in India. And on the evening of 30 March in Brussels the leader of Belgium's Muslim community, the Imam Abdullah Ahdel, and his assistant, Salem Eh Behir, were murdered after Ahdel publicly refused to support the banning of Rushdie's book.

On 14 February, the Shi'ite theocracy's wali faqih (Supreme Leader) issued his edict to the world over Iranian radio, that Rushdie and "all those involved in its publication who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death." Khomeini called on "all Muslims to execute them quickly wherever they are found so that no others dare to do such a thing." As though to underscore the seriousness of the threat, the regime executed 70 people that day for "drug smuggling." Assuring any assassin killed in the attempt that he "will be regarded as a martyr and will go directly to heaven," the ayatollah added a

more earthly reward of US\$3 million for Rushdie's head (US\$1 million if the killer happened to be an infidel), which was then raised to US\$5.2 million.

Rushdie and his wife, the novelist Marianne Wiggins, immediately went into hiding. When Iranian president Khamenei offered to lift the death threat if Rushdie apologised, the writer issued a cautious statement expressing regret over distress the book had caused. The Iranian regime first accepted Rushdie's statement, then repudiated it later the same day. Even if Rushdie had become "the most pious man of all time," the Imam declared, "it is incumbent on every Muslim ... to send him to hell." Khamenei immediately fell into line, declaring: "an arrow has been shot toward its target." The Imam in Qum acted as if to confirm Rushdie's portrayal of the imam in Satanic Verses who declared history to be the work of the devil, and unleashed his fury against "the greatest of the lies—progress, science, rights."

The initial reaction in the imperialist West, whose governments habitually rant against "terrorism" whenever they want to terrorise some defenceless people was breathtaking in its silence. Rushdie's friend and fellow writer Christopher Hitchens remarked caustically: "I observed that the normally vociferous 'anti-terrorist' lobby is unusually cautious in its choice of terms, and that the spokesmen for the godly are uncharacteristically silent." Hitchens also noted that the Jewish talk show host "Alan Berg was murdered in cold blood in Colorado by Nazi Christians for failing to shut up, and in this very decade in America there are book burners ready to muster" (New York Times, 17 February).

Rushdie's American tour was cancelled. The country's largest book distributor, Waldenbooks, pulled Satanic Verses off the shelves, followed by the second largest, B Dalton. Canada banned

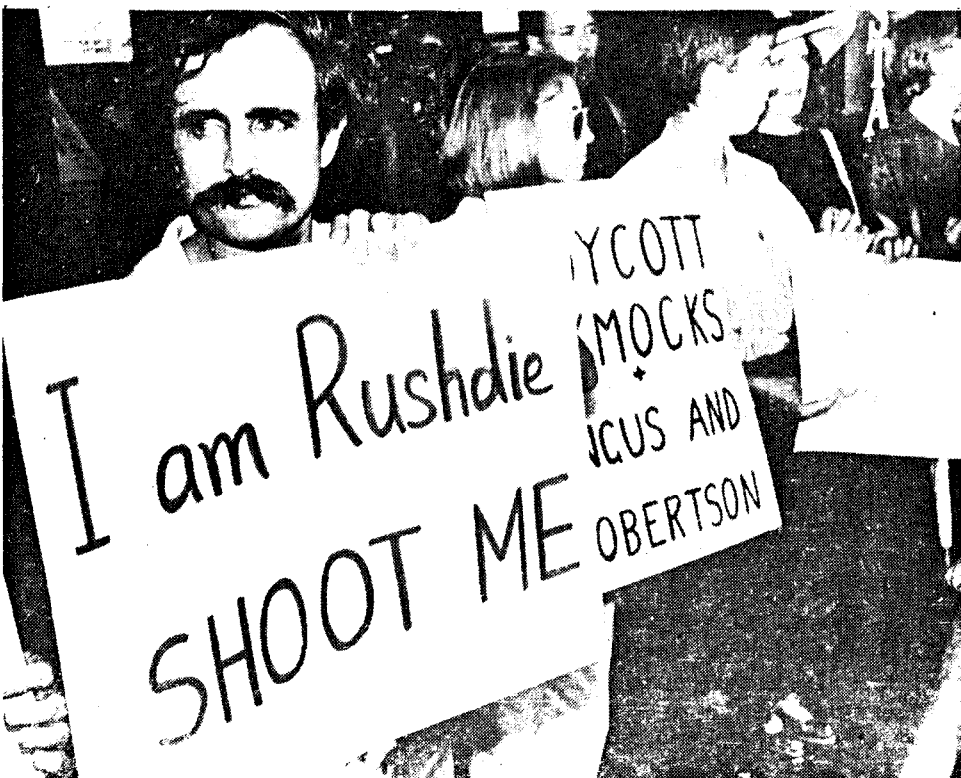
imports of the book with the line that it might be "hate material." The Spanish, French and West German publishers with translation rights decided to suspend publication. In England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the established church, called for extension of Britain's blasphemy laws to cover religions other than the Church of England — so that the next time a Rushdie comes along he can be nailed with the more "refined" methods of English jurisprudence. Two of Australia's largest bookshop chains, Dymocks and Angus & Robertson, decided not to stock the book. In protest over 50 members of the Free Speech Committee, the Society of Authors and the Writers Guild picketed both bookstores in Sydney on 2 March. Spokesman Tony Katsigiannis demanded "Book lovers should boycott Dymocks and Angus & Robertson until this cowardly decision is reversed," and held a sign proclaiming "I am Rushdie — Shoot me." Another picket sign read "Hitler started by burning books."

On 22 February in New York, some 1,000 people, mostly writers, demonstrated outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations behind a banner of the National Writers Union quoting George Bernard Shaw: "Assassination is the Extreme Form of Censorship." Speaking to an overflow crowd at a reading from Rushdie's book sponsored by PEN later that day, Leon Wieseltier, an editor at the New Republic said: "Europe, too, was once a theocratic society that burned books and people. We know all about the debt that democracy owes to heresy.... It was blasphemy that made us free. Two cheers today for blasphemy." Indeed the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th-18th centuries were aimed at breaking the stranglehold of theocratic censorship over society and asserting the separation of church and state.

LIBERALISM AND CHAUVINISM

Now that Khomeini has extended his writ to London and New York, dictating who is to

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Mirror Publications

Sydney, 2 March: Writers picket bookshops in protest at suppression of Satanic Verses.

Skinheads: Psycho Killers

On the Loose

Adapted from *Workers Hamner* no 101, October 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Several years ago, television audiences around the world watched in horror as the 1985 European Cup Final football (soccer) match in Brussels between Liverpool and the Juventus of Torino, Italy exploded in bloody slaughter. Hundreds of people were maimed and 38 killed as British fans attacked Italian spectators in the terraces. This wasn't just a spontaneous outburst of mindless football violence. The sinister forces spearheading this nationalist carnage were the pathological fascist killers known as "skinheads."

For black and Asian people in Britain's cities, this horror has become a daily fact of life and a deadly racist threat. For nearly two decades, skinheads have been on the scene, terrorizing especially the Asian population. The firebombing of shops and homes, the razor and knife mutilations, the scrawled swastikas and "white power" slogans have reached epidemic proportions. In heavily Asian Newham in London's East End a racist attack occurs once an hour. In Southall, London a young Asian man was found with the initials of the fascist Young National Front carved into his stomach.

These violent white racist thugs were spawned in the squalor of crisis-ridden British society, in the remnants of a racist Empire. This is no youth "fad" of kids drunk on rock music, beer and glue-sniffing, addicted to football and fighting, angry at being stuck in grimy slums and unemployment centers. Warped and twisted by a capitalism in terminal decline, they are human garbage. From their black combat-style "bovver boots" to their shaven heads, they aim to intimidate, to terrorise, to maim and to murder.

In the past few years, the skinheads have become that rarest of commodities in Thatcher's Britain — an international export. From France to West Germany to the US these dregs of a decaying system flaunt the regalia of Hitler's Third Reich, giving the Nazi stiff-arm salute, "rocking" to the racist beat of "Oi" music. And wherever these fascist "bootboys" appear, they leave a trail of sadistic, senseless, racist violence.

Now the organized fascists — the National Front in Britain, Le Pen's Front National in France, neo-Nazis in West Germany — have moved in on this white youth "movement" of race-hating despair. They are the raw material for the shock troops of fascism. They are a deadly menace to every racial minority everywhere, to everything associated with civilized society. They must be stamped out and swept away.

THATCHER'S BRITAIN: SOCIAL ROT AND RACIST TERROR

The social rot of deindustrialized Britain, with its millions of



In Thatcher's Britain criminal lumpen skinhead gangs terrorize, maim and murder Asians, blacks and other minorities.

Crush Neo-Nazi Vermin!

unemployed, the grim wasteland of empty factories, dead docklands and closed mines, has created a generation of enraged, hopeless, more or less permanently lumpenized youth. In his book *The National Front*, Martin Walker wrote:

"Britain of the early 1970s was being widely compared to the Weimar Republic of Germany in the latter 1920s. The imminent economic crisis, the permissiveness of cultural life spilling over into the sordid lasciviousness of Soho, the new blunt power of the trade unions, inflation, the impotence of Government — there was a sense of the brink, of instability and of fearsome, frightful collapse."

Hitler's "National Socialists" exploited immiseration and unemployment, channeling lumpen and petty-bourgeois rage into their pogroms and genocidal Holocaust against the Jewish people. Today the NF and skinheads strike out at Britain's immigrant population as the scapegoat for Britain's economic decline.

In the late 1960s and '70s, Tories and Labour alike began pushing ever tougher anti-immigration legislation. When Enoch Powell spewed his racist

"rivers of blood" demagoguery, he gave voice to the vicious racism behind the parliamentary measures and legitimized fascist "direct action." Blood flowed on the streets at the hands of "Paki-bashing" white gangs. By the 1979 general election, the National Front was fielding 300 candidates, but Margaret Thatcher won over much of their electoral base with her own unrestrained anti-immigrant ravings.

The NF and other fascist outfits experienced a prolonged period of fracturing, turning more toward open street terror against Asians, blacks and others. Not bound by the fetters of electoral campaigning, the British Movement recruited heavily on this basis. Factional struggle raged within the fascist movement, with one wing identifying itself as "Strasserite," so-called after the populist-demagogic spokesman of the Hitlerite Brownshirts, the SA, the criminal lumpen terror gangs who were the shock troops for Hitler's rise to power.

For decades, the desperate conditions of British society have provided a culture medium for various violent youth gangs to spawn and flourish. The decade of the '60s was marked by bloody street battles between mods and

rockers. The skinheads came out of this culture medium, but from the very start they were identified by their proclivity to gratuitous, racist violence. In "Oi" music, they found the "cultural" expression of their sadistic nihilism. Those youth who choose to become skinheads do so not as a "matter of taste," but because they want to become racist killers as their way of expressing outrage with society.

An insight into the sort of psychopathic and degenerate creatures these budding fascists see as their idols can be found in one Ian Stuart, former lead singer for the skinhead band Skrewdriver, "a squat, powerfully-built man with a Mussolini-style bone-head haircut and a taste for paramilitary clothes" (*Observer*, 4 September). Stuart proudly proclaims, "I think Adolf Hitler was the greatest man who ever lived." He became a card-carrying NFER in 1979. In 1986 he was sentenced to 12 months for a street attack on a Nigerian in the King's Cross area of London.

Stuart has been instrumental in the formation of a "musical organization" which calls itself Blood and Honour, linking not only European fascist groups but also the Ku Klux Klan and White Aryan Resistance in the US as well as the South African Afrikaner Resistance Movement. Other "Oi" bands feature names like No Remorse, Brutal Attack and Sudden Impact. Their "concerts," in reality fascist rallies, are orgies of racist insults against blacks and Jews, with "a brisk trade selling fascist literature, badges and records."

In Liverpool, a city with a black population going back several centuries, NF scum have stepped up attacks on integrated couples and families. In London, skinheads recently attacked a lesbian bar, slashing women with broken glass, leaving more than 20 battered. The fascists have particularly targeted football, the plebeian sport of Britain, for their recruitment campaigns. "To spend nearly a week with the tough-nut core of English soccer is to start to doubt the location of the boundaries of civilisation," observed a *Sunday Telegraph* magazine reporter.

"The reason that television broadcasts of international football games never show the English fans while the pre-match national anthem is being played is that the English pens are a solid mass of Nazi salutes.... A chorus of gorilla-like grunts or a barrage of bananas from the English terraces greet opposing black players."

SKINHEAD TERROR SPREADS

The skinhead phenomenon has been spreading its poison through Europe. In Britain, they feed off pervasive depression and despair; on the continent they have appeared together with the mass

unemployment of the '80s. As well the "skins" have become fashionable among petty-bourgeois elements who want to get their kicks by kicking the shit out of "foreigners." While Britain reportedly has several tens of thousands of skinheads, there are now some 2,000 in West Germany and several hundred in France as well (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19 August).

In the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, skinheads and other fascists have also targeted football fan clubs as a prime recruiting ground. Every Saturday shouts of "Sieg Heil!" and "Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles" are belled out in the stadiums. The National Socialist Action Front of Michael Kuhnen dominates the Hamburg "Lions" club, while the Eagle Front in Frankfurt includes former members of the "Hoffmann Defense Sport Group," the murderous Nazis who set off a bomb at the 1980 Munich Oktoberfest, killing 13 and seriously injuring over 200.

The deadly menace of the Hitler-loving bands in West Germany has been documented in the book *Nazis, Skins und alte Kameraden* (1986), edited by Georg Biemann and Joachim Krischka. In December 1985, Turkish immigrant Ramazan Avci was murdered by a gang of some 30 skins screaming "Turks out!" Then a black man was beaten at night at a subway station by skins who smeared him with swastikas and the slogan "Nigger out - White Power!" Earlier, in July 1983, a woman was stabbed by a skin after replying that she was Turkish.

These deadly racist assaults are not just the work of some deranged fringe elements. While neo-Nazi bands yelling "Heil Hitler!" and sporting SS symbols or the Prussian eagle beat up Turks, the respectable politicians in Bonn, both rightist Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, pass legislation to force out immigrants and set up concentration camps for Sri Lankan Tamils seeking asylum.

But the fascist punks have also met with opposition. In October 1983, when the West German football team played Turkey in the Olympia Stadium in Berlin, neo-Nazi gangs threatened to assault Turks in the heavily immigrant Kreuzberg neighborhood. "Sports" clubs with names like Zyklon-B (the gas used by the Nazis in their death camps) and skinheads with bomber jackets proclaiming "Proud to be a German" vowed "Kreuzberg must burn." West Berlin unions responded to the planned orgy of racist terror with a 3,000-strong "friendship walk" and attempts to drown out the fascist chants during the game.

More recently, skinheads attacked a dormitory for refugees seeking asylum, in Schriesheim on January 30, the anniversary of Hitler's seizure of power. When Kuhnen's ANS thugs called for a pogrom against a Hamburg refugee dormitory on February 20, several hundred leftists counter-mobilized to stop them. While various reformists called on the West German imperialist state to ban the fascists, a contingent of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the



Top: Ligue Trotskyste de France protests Le Pen's racist attacks on immigrants, March 1988. Bottom: German Trotskyists demonstrate against Nazis in Berlin, April 1988.

international Spartacist tendency, called for mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The skinhead "phenomenon" has now spread to France as well, where Le Pen's National Front fascists won 10 percent at the polls last April. On May Day, squads of shaved-head thugs formed up on the Champs-Élysées in a Le Pen provocation against the international workers day. And recently a homeless man was murdered outside Lille, his head kicked in by a skinhead. Hundreds outraged by this atrocity marched through the city under a banner reading "Skinheads, Nazis, Vermin."

Last May, for the first time the skinheads staged a Europe-wide "action," converging on Normandy for a "Nazi rock concert." In Rouen and Brest this turned into a nightmare of racist violence as they attacked North Africans, Asians and blacks from the Antilles. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France responded with a protest demonstration the next day at Sotteville, near Rouen, where a Moroccan-owned bar was assaulted by the fascists. LTF signs called for "Union/Immigrant Self-Defense Groups" and for "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants."

NOT "A MATTER OF TASTE"

It is only in the absence of a class struggle leadership of the labour movement that the barbaric skinhead scum can fester and grow. Yet while the British population at large rightly loathes and fears these killers, much of the left denies any identification of the skinheads with fascism, and even invites them into its midst.

tract young street fighting skins into the NF by offering them gigs that would be heavily racist and anti-Jewish...."

"Rock against Racism" was the youth corollary of the popular-frontist Anti Nazi League (ANL) organized by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party. The SWP sought to compete with the fascists by vying for their base of support among youth with rock concerts. The Cliffites tried to organize skinheads against the Nazis, with explicit appeals to this lowlife scum: "Skins hate authority and the Nazis represent authority" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 July 1978). When the National Front staged a mass demonstration in the substantially Asian East End of London in 1978, the ANL deliberately diverted tens of thousands of anti-fascist militants away from confronting the Nazis with its "Carnival 2" rockfest. These days, the SWP does not even pay lip service to the need to fight fascism. Meanwhile, it has sponsored a rock group called the Red Skins, whose album is entitled "Neither Washington Nor Moscow."

An increasingly dubious group called the Revolutionary Communist Party, which originated in a split from the Cliffites in the 1970s, has gone even further. Specializing in classless appeals to lumpen and petty-bourgeois outrage, emphasizing the "politics of power," vying with Radio Free Europe in the stridency of its anti-Soviet propaganda, disavowing the organized labor movement (even openly organizing scabs during the miners strike), the RCP not only has numerous skinhead toughs in its organization but has even recruited a "former" fascist organizer. It is a telling indictment of the rest of the British left that the Spartacist League was virtually the only organization to raise the alarm over the RCP's invitation for fascist infiltration into the left and labor movement.

The "red skins" phenomenon has meanwhile spread to other European countries, particularly West Germany. An anti-fascist demonstration in West Berlin on August 20 allowed the presence of a contingent of "left" skinheads, who distributed a Maoist pamphlet railing against the "superpowers" of the US and USSR, a chemically

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An article in the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* (September 1986) exposed a nest of fascists with histories of violent racist attacks being hired as stewards by gay pride, CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and anti-apartheid events. Denouncing the "complacency of many progressive organisations towards this nazi infiltration," the article concluded: "By their lack of political and moral sense the labour and gay movements have allowed a very large Trojan horse into their midst which may well turn out to be a tiger that will devour them."

A subsequent article in *Searchlight* (February 1988) explained how the fascists started organizing skinheads around "Oi" music: "The NF saw the huge success of the rock against racism movement of the mid to late 1970s and decided to try and at-



British fascists instigated deadly riot at Brussels soccer match, May 1985, leaving 38 dead, 250 injured.

National Action: Nazis Under the Southern Cross

On 10 April a Gay Immigration Task Force meeting in Sydney was disrupted by 10 masked, black-shirted National Action thugs who terrorised and photographed participants, and stole documents. One Wayne Smith was later arrested and also charged with malicious damage to Rev Dorothy McMahon's Pitt St Uniting Church. This act of terror is one of many — like the recent firebombings of the Jewish Yeshiva Girls High School and a car with an Aboriginal land rights sticker in Sydney — which have given fascist groups like National Action a prominence exceeding their tiny size.

Currently NA is a small group with no social weight. But it is seeking, with some success, to capitalise on the right-wing social climate engendered by Hawke Labor's regime of anti-Soviet Cold War and savage capitalist austerity. The reactionary ALP-ACTU Accord has straitjacketed the working class, and it's open season at the mere hint of resistance, as shown in the 1986 smashing of the Builder's Labourers Federation. Periodically the Hawke government has unleashed fascists against the left — Vietnamese fascists in 1985 against meetings celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Vietnamese Revolution; the Ustasha attack on the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney in November last year. The ruling class conducts a racist "immigration debate" about how best to defend White Australia. Meanwhile, a compliant bourgeois media has been treating NA fuhrer James Saleam as an important "public figure," a "respectable" if extreme politician.

In our last issue (see "Crush the NA Fascists!" *Australasian Spartacist* no 130, February/March 1989) we said:

"Workers defence guards, mobilised from within the unions and leftist immigrant groups are necessary For example, a squad of building workers, wharfies and seamen stationed outside Dorothy McMahon's church for a few weeks would have stopped the harassment and given an opportunity to acquaint a few fascist heads with the footpath — the only education they understand."

In response, NA began squealing about "Spartacist threats of violence" in leaflets headed "Australasian Spartacist League have no right to speak," stuck up around Sydney University in the dead of night. These scum threatened to "visit upon the Spartacists a few of the calumnies they would seek to incite onto others" as a start to their campaign of "cleaning up university life."

Nobody should be fooled by the lie that their deadly threats are in "self defence" — these psychopaths get their kicks from terrorising pacifist church people and



NA fuhrer James Saleam, 1975 (right) and now — Eureka flag instead of the swastika.

anti-racists under cover of darkness. Slashing car tyres, obscene phone calls, bricks through windows, bashings, firebombings, followed by exploitation of the resultant media publicity and disingenuous denials of responsibility — this is NA's current modus operandi. In their internal sheet they brag about their terror campaign

and genocidal program show, they are native Australian fascists in embryo — Nazis under the Southern Cross. From at least 1971 to 1975, Saleam was an active member of the National Socialist Party of Australia (NSPA), in both Brisbane and Sydney. For years afterward he tried to deny it, but that's him alright (see photo) in

Workers Action Must Stop Them!

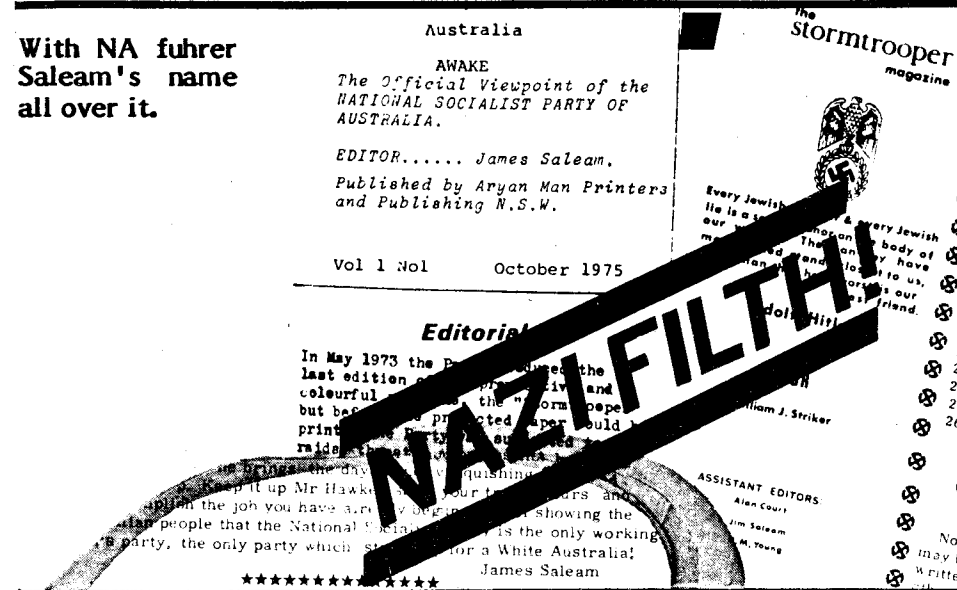
against the Pitt St Uniting Church: "The publicity proves the validity of our 'political guerrilla' tactics, striking at media-coverage-worthy targets with minimum risk to National Action activists" (*Ultra*, no 54, September 1988). Another NA rag publishes a regular "filth file" supplying names, addresses and phone numbers of their targets, who frequently include interracial couples. Make no mistake — these scum represent a deadly threat to Asians, Jews, blacks, gays, the left and labour movement, all decent people.

A CAREER IN JACKBOOTS

National Action seeks to dissociate itself from Nazism and anti-Semitism, complaining that "The Spartacists have created a mythology that the Nationalist struggle of National Action is 'neo-Nazi'." Well, as their history

Nazi uniform at a demonstration in Sydney in 1975. These days he admits his Nazi "past" but claims he was only "infiltrating" them on behalf of another organisation — the Maoist youth movement, Worker Student Alliance. Regardless of who was "infiltrating" whom — the Maoists acknowledged that he was at one point a WSA supporter — Saleam rapidly became a dyed-in-the-wool Nazi. He is listed as a financial contributor to the NSPA in numerous issues of its internal organs *National Socialist Action Report* and *National Socialist Bulletin* of these years. In issue no 14 of the former (December 1972) we read: "comrade Saleam did a really super-human effort" in the Queensland Nazis' election campaign. Pretty soon this "Aryan superman" was listed, beneath quotes from Hitler, as assistant

With NA fuhrer Saleam's name all over it.



editor of *Stormtrooper* magazine, to which he contributed numerous articles extolling White Australia and "national socialism."

Saleam didn't stop at words — in 1974 he was convicted of attempting to firebomb the Maoist East Wind bookshop in Brisbane. In October 1975, he reappeared as editor of *Australia Awake*, the new "official viewpoint of the NSPA" published in Sydney, which announced his endorsement as Nazi candidate for the seat of Brisbane in the federal elections.

On a number of occasions outraged anti-fascists, especially Jewish youth, taught the Nazis some satisfying lessons. In January 1971, over a thousand leftist and Jewish protesters, including concentration camp survivors from the Association of Ex-victims of Nazi Persecution, surrounded their Melbourne headquarters, forcing these rats to flee in the back of a police van. And at Easter 1972, 200 anti-Nazis led by the Maoist WSA wrecked Melbourne Nazi leader Cass Young's house in a spectacular televised raid that put the Melbourne Nazis out of business for good. Subsequently the WSA was subjected to systematic state repression, underlining the need for confronting the fascists with the numbers and social power of the organised working class.

The Laborite union bureaucracy has ensured that there has been precious little class struggle in Cold War II. But when directly threatened workers have acted. On 6 August 1979, Brisbane wharfies defended themselves and two Vietnamese trade officials against 100 Vietnamese fascist thugs, and only the cops stopped them being taught a good lesson. In 1985, when Hawke unleashed the Vietnamese fascists against the left, wrecking the wharfies hall, the Spartacist League campaigned heavily amongst Sydney maritime workers for union defence guards. Under pressure from our campaign amongst their ranks, the union tops called a "Solidarity with Vietnam" meeting attended by well over 200 unionists who came determined to defend it.

After the Nazis collapsed, Saleam passed through one fascist group after another. He studied European and American fascism at Sydney University, and decided that a mass Australian fascist movement would not be built under the crooked cross of German fascism and so exchanged it for the Eureka flag. And rather than anti-Semitism, their main appeal would be to the historic xenophobic fear of Asia that is central to Australian nationalism.

In 1982, Saleam's Progressive Nationalist Party ventured onto Sydney University with their "Stop the Asian Invasion" garbage aimed against Asian students. But when they tried setting up literature tables, Spartacist activists on

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST



Left: On 31 January 1971 hundreds of Jewish concentration camp survivors and leftists put the Nazis on the run at their headquarters in Melbourne. Right: Spartacist-initiated demo against Saleam's PNP fascists, Sydney Uni, 23 March 1982.

campus initiated a successful united-front mobilisation to drive them off. With wide support from Asian student groups, trade unionists and campus leftists (though the reformists pulled out and tried to sabotage the action), more than 200 students rallied on 23 March 1982. The fascists didn't show up that day or later. Within a month, the PNP had split and Saleam set up National Action.

Saleam has aligned NA with the more extreme "third way" trend among European fascists, with links to the French Troisième Voie and the British National Front. NA is also connected with the South African fascists of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) under whose name it carries out acts of terror such as the defacing of the Homebush Uniting Church in Sydney last year, which has a mainly Lankan congregation. Scorning the parliamentary pressure politics and Empire loyalism of outfits like the League of Rights, NA styles itself "revolutionary nationalist," as did Hitler's Nazis. They recruit skinheads and other social refuse through their terrorist action. Saleam spells it out: "We are arguing for street action, direct action, personal approaches, militancy... We must be prepared to struggle, sacrifice, and — dare we say it? — kill and be killed" (quoted in Denis Freney, Nazis Out of Uniform, 1984).

CRUSH FASCISM IN THE EGG!

It is a matter of self defence for all those targeted by these creeps that they be crushed in the egg. Remember the words of Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels, "If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would have reduced us to jelly.... It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work." German fascism's "work" culminated in the horrors of Auschwitz, Dachau and Treblinka. NA calls for a fortress White Australia, for banning all non-white immigration, for deportation of all they deem racially "unassimilable" and forced assimilation of all others, for apartheid segregation of Aboriginals and for an "armed neutrality" against Asia backed by nuclear weapons. As surely as did Hitler's "thousand-year Reich" this program means Gestapo terror, death camps and genocide.

Fascism is an organic product of capitalism in its death agony. Calling it the "party of counter-revolutionary despair," Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky described its class function in "What

Next?" from The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany:

"It raises to their feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and that are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks, it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative."

Right now the ALP government is administering Australian imperialism under the regime of bourgeois democracy, in which BLF leader Norm Gallagher and Justice Murphy are pilloried in the courts, Aboriginals are killed in police lock-ups and the ALP polices, demobilises and to some extent demoralises the working class. When the fascists come into their own is in periods of acute social crisis, when bourgeois democracy is no longer sufficient to contain working class militancy. In the meantime, the ruling class holds fascist gangs, like NA, in reserve and turns a blind eye to their terror. And connections between the fascists and ASIO or the police special branches have been exposed from time to time. Saleam himself admitted that when he was in the Nazi party in 1974 Special Branch approached him to break into the Queensland University Students' Union and steal documents.

The Laborite misleaders of the working class stand as the biggest obstacle to a struggle not only against the Hawke government's austerity and war plans but also against the incipient fascist threat. It's a stinging condemnation of the white chauvinist traditions of the ALP that the NA fascists can claim as their own the virulent white racist "heroes" of Australian Laborism such as Henry Lawson, Jack Lang and William Lane. Only last year, in an action NA would applaud Australian Workers Union tops led Geelong cement workers in, a physical assault against Japanese seamen — a racist, protectionist atrocity. Any serious fight against racist terror means drawing the class line, mobilising unionists against the poison pushed by the labour tops, in action for their own class interests.

NA rampages with virtual impunity. The trade union bureaucracy and the reformist left refuse to organise against them, preaching reliance on the bosses state. The newly formed "Community Alert Against Racism and Violence," which includes Dorothy



McMahon and anti-racist activist Betty Hounslow, calls for solidarity among NA's victims, exposure of racist groups and lobbying politicians. Last November they detailed NA attacks in a submission to police, asking for protection to the Pitt St church in particular. Calling on the same racist cops who rampaged apartheid-style through black Redfern last year to stop the NA race terrorists is not just dangerous, it's suicidal.

The Socialist Party of Australia's Guardian (12 April) spends an entire editorial proving that the state "will not take any action against it" (NA). Yet they pathetically conclude: "It is the responsibility of the police authorities to follow up complaints and find out who is perpetrating the acts of intimidation.... They should be obliged to do so by the Minister." NSW Police Minister Pickering? He's been photographed on the podium at Ustasha 10 April meetings, and said of the AWB "necklacing" in effigy of Dorothy McMahon outside her house: "That's not illegal, is it?"

Uniquely the Spartacist League advocates the Trotskyist program of a workers united front, a class mobilisation in alliance with the oppressed to crush

fascism in the egg. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) last year responded to a vicious assault by some 20 Rudolph Hess-loving skinheads on North Africans in Rouen by calling a protest demonstration the next day. An LTF spokesman said, "We must crush the fascists before they crush us. The whole workers movement of the region must organise an immediate, massive, powerful response to this sinister and menacing raid!" Our comrades in the United States have successfully stopped planned KKK/Nazi demonstrations through the initiation of trade union-centred united front mobilisations supported by broad layers of the black population, showing that working people are ready to fight fascism if given the chance.

The key is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist party with the program and determination to lead the coming class battles and champion the defence of all the oppressed. Such a party will be built through breaking the poisonous Laborite stranglehold on the working class. The deadly threat of fascism will only finally be eliminated when the proletarian revolution puts an end to the decaying capitalist system and its state that breeds it. ■

"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"



a Spartacist Video

Sydney University
1pm Thursday 11 May

Lecture Theatre 9
Carslaw Building

Philadelphia, USA — On November 5 last year KKK lynchers and skinhead terrorists threatened to march. Instead, over 1000 trade unionists, students, gays — black and white, Hispanic and Asian — came out in response to the call by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the racist terrorists.

This Spartacist video covers the political battle in Philadelphia as the anti-Klan mobilisation gathered forces. See how the mobilisation was built, in the unions, in the ghettos and on campuses. This documentary vividly shows the Spartacist League's Marxist approach of bringing out the power of organised labour and minorities to fight fascist terror.

Fascist Cancer in Gorbachev's Russia

17 March 1989— When the nativist Russian fascists of Pamyat staged openly anti-Semitic demonstrations in the heart of Lenin-grad last summer, it sent shock waves throughout Soviet society (see "Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!" *Workers Vanguard* no 461, 23 September 1988). Unchallenged by active mass opposition and protected by a section of the Soviet bureaucracy, Pamyat has grown ever bolder. It seized on the campaigning for the 26 March elections to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies as a springboard to flaunt its terror tactics and spew its violent anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism. Intended as a showcase of "democratization" under Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), the election campaign has been marked by public nominating meetings which in many districts have turned into mass free-for-all debates lasting into the night. But not where Pamyat appeared.

Pamyat targeted Moscow's Sverdlovsk precinct, one of the most publicized campaigns in the country, where the nomination was being contested by Vitaly Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*, a flagship of Gorbachev's program of political and economic "restructuring" (*perestroika*). Pamyat succeeded in forcing Korotich off the ballot, and on 19 February in Moscow, hundreds turned out to a demonstration called by "informal patriotic organizations" to celebrate Pamyat's victory. One speaker wore a sweatshirt reading, "Down with the occupation by Jewish nationalists," and led the crowd in chants of "Hang Korotich! Hang Korotich!" "You can see the work of our hand," boasted a Pamyat member, ominously adding, "and you will see it more."

The residents of Sverdlovsk got a direct and frightening look at the work of Pamyat's hand. As some 700 people crowded into a Moscow auditorium on the night of 9 January, they were confronted with a well-organized squad of more than 50 Pamyat thugs. People entering the meeting were told, "go back—we know your address," and threatened that if they voted for Korotich "they'd be in a bad way" (*Ogonyok*, 14 January). Inside the hall, Pamyat started screaming "Long live the Russian people" and "There's no room for the friends of Jews on Russian soil." Brandishing yellow Stars of David blackened over by crosses and a banner reading, "No trust in the leader of the yellow (Jewish) press," they yelled at the podium: "Korotich, you Jew, give back your silver coins."

Ogonyok quoted a horrified

eyewitness: "Looking at the activity of the well-organized hooligans from the 'Pamyat' society, at how they shouted, whistled, stamped their feet, threw out foul words, offensive slogans, I automatically thought: what does this remind me of?" She answered herself by pointing to Hitler's 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch: "That's how the thugs from the Munich beer halls got started." Korotich, who is not Jewish, later recalled: "I grew up in the Ukraine and I've

nativist Hitlerites on Russian soil, a spearhead of fascist counterrevolution within the Soviet degenerated workers state. Recently, war memorials in Murmansk have been defaced with swastikas, and Russian youth have been seen wearing swastikas. Pamyat fuhrer Dmitri Vasiliev claims to have 20,000 members in Moscow and support in 30 other Russian cities. And they have been growing ominously.

However, the potential forces

Soviet leader and head of the KGB Yuri Andropov, for example, had a Jewish grandmother.

It is not insignificant that one of the best-selling books in the Soviet Union today is *Children of the Arbat*, a powerful novel attacking the Stalin era, written by the Jewish writer Anatoli Rybakov (though Rybakov's book is still outsold by several works by Russian nationalists). One of the principal motivations for the founding of the Federation of



Signs say "Pamyat will win," "Yes to nationalism and patriotism" and "No to rootless cosmopolitanism" (above). Pamyat fascists disrupt Moscow election meetings in January (right).

Victims of 1903 Kishinev massacre (below left)— Pamyat seeks to carry forward anti-Semitic terror of tsarist Black Hundreds. Another of Pamyat's forebears: Russian fascist general Vlasov collaborated with Nazi invaders (below right).

seen Nazis in my life, and this was not much better."

That's what the "Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat" is: Russian Nazis! They agitate for an anti-Semitic Final Solution; they strut around in black shirts and black jackboots; they hark back to the prerevolutionary Black Hundreds, pogromist gangs organized by the tsarist secret police to terrorize the Jewish ghettos. But their direct inspiration is more recent and even more murderous than that. These rabidly anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinists may be ambivalent about Hitler, because while they think Hitler did a good thing for Germany—by exterminating all the Jews—they hate the Germans as well. But they are

for crushing Pamyat are far greater. Despite decades of Stalinist nationalism, a deep reservoir of internationalism was inherent in the foundation of the Soviet state. Pamyat is a threat to all the non-Russian nationalities and to the very survival of the Soviet Union as a multinational state. Moscow and other major urban centers are deeply integrated; Jews today are not confined to the Pale of Settlement as they were under the tsars, but are an integral part of Soviet cultural, economic and political life (like Moshe Milshtein, a leader of Soviet army intelligence). There is a high rate of intermarriage between Jews and ethnic Russians, between Russians and non-Russian nationalities. Former

Socialist Clubs two years ago was, in fact, opposition to Pamyat. But Pamyat is not going to be stopped by an opposition confined simply to literary denunciations. In *Ogonyok's* account of the 9 January Pamyat attack, one V Chernov expresses dismay that a small handful of organized fascists was permitted to break up and terrorize a meeting of unorganized hundreds.

The main force for crushing Pamyat does not lie with the Soviet intelligentsia, which has rallied in its bulk behind Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms." Just as it was the Marxist-led workers who successfully defended the Jewish ghettos and workers' districts against the

tsarist Black Hundreds prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, so today it is the multinational Soviet working people who have both the power and the vital interest to sweep away the Pamyat fascists. In particular, many of the tens of thousands of returned Soviet veterans who fought against reactionary cutthroats in Afghanistan believe they were carrying out their "internationalist duty" there, and can and must be mobilized against the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat.

Amid the explosive rise of nationalist movements among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the most dangerous nationalism of all remains that of the dominant Russian people. In its repudiation of the Bolshevik program of internationalist socialist revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy opened the door to all the old crap of the tsarist prison house of peoples, glorifying social backwardness and Great Russian chauvinism. If the working people of Russia take it upon themselves to wipe out the Russian Nazis it will send a message that would be heard from the Caucasus to the Baltic. Soviet workers must act! Crush Pamyat!

THE "MEMORY" OF TSARIST POGROMISM

Yet these Nazis find protection under the wing of a section of the bureaucracy opposed to Gorbachev's "reforms," while the Gorbachevites tolerate and amnesty Pamyat by denying it is fascist. When Pamyat marched through Moscow's Red Square two years ago and demanded a meeting with Korotich's ideological soulmate, then Moscow party head Boris Yeltsin, Yeltsin invited them in for a two-hour discussion and praised their "patriotism for our motherland." Today Yeltsin says: "Pamyat began as something interesting and then turned evil." Pamyat began by thinly covering its rabid anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinism with a veneer of "patriotic" concern with the preservation of old monuments and churches.

The Russian Orthodox church was the organizing center of pogroms and counterrevolution; this is the "memory" (pamyat in Russian) these fascists claim, and it is being officially encouraged. The New York Times (22 February) reported on a church "concert" in Moscow on 16 February "where more than 3,000 people celebrated God and pre-revolutionary Russia" and the most enthusiastic applause of the evening came when writer Konstantin Kovalev hailed the old anthem, "God Save the Tsar." The Times commented: "Under Mr Gorbachev, the state has set out to win over at least some of the Russian patriots with greater religious freedom and promises to restore neglected Russian monuments...." Last April, Gorbachev met with the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod in Moscow, the first time a Soviet leader had met with the church hierarchy since Stalin in 1943! The government's official celebration in June of the church's 1,000th anniversary fueled Russian nationalist obscurantism.

The last decade has seen the sharp growth of a chauvinist "Russophile" movement shot

through with anti-Semitism. Many writers associated with the "Village Prose" school, which idolizes the backwardness of Russian village life, push the traditional Black Hundreds line of "Beat the Yids!" They include prominent and best-selling writers like Valentin Rasputin, Vasily Belov and Viktor Astafyev (who rails against the "seething pus of Jewish super-intellectual arrogance"). A recent Pamyat manifesto claims support for perestroika, but "a la Rasputin," not "a la Korotich."

The conflicting currents which have emerged under glasnost, and now tear away within the Stalinist bureaucracy and Soviet society generally, were reflected in the two demonstrations which took place in Moscow on the anniversary of Stalin's death on 5 March. While the semi-official Memorial society attracted thousands to a protest honoring the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat laid a wreath at Stalin's grave — and then rallied at a monument to the tsarist soldiers who "liberated" Bulgaria from Turkish rule in 1878. While Memorial raises funds to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat raises funds to erect a monument to Tsar Nicholas II. In a street encounter on 5 March, a Pamyat supporter argued, "Russia has been in existence for at least a thousand years. We've never had a democracy before ... we can only be strong if we have a strong leader. Democracy means disorder." A supporter of Memorial could only reply, "But America is strong and it is a democracy" (Washington Post, 6 March).

The intellectuals and technocrats who are the base for Gorbachev's perestroika seek to appease and emulate Western

imperialism. Their opponents capitalize on popular disgust with the prospect of a return to pervasive profiteering and mass unemployment, to hark back to the days of "order" under Stalin and to a "Greater Russia" in which the Jews, Armenians and other non-Russian nationalities who are particularly prominent in Gorbachev's entourage "knew their place." Last November Moscow was the scene of a formerly unthinkable public symposium on Trotsky, where the relatives of

away the dark oppression of the tsarist "fatherland" and its Orthodox church which Pamyat wants to reinstate.

PROTECTORS AT THE TOP

For the moment at least, Pamyat appeals to and serves the interests of those elements of the bureaucracy opposed to Gorbachev's liberalization and the "new permissiveness." It is an open secret that a section of the Leningrad party leadership pro-

YIVO Institute



Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of Black Hundreds reaction. Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918.

Gorbachev with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen. Kremlin bureaucracy conciliates religious obscurantism for its own nationalist reasons.



Old Bolsheviks like Joffe, Piatnitsky and Antonov-Ovseenko recalled the Stalin terror and the heroism of the Left Opposition. But the symposium itself became the scene of a gruesome display of Jew-baiting by Pamyat supporters who, as Le Monde (22 November 1988) reported, "wanted it known that this Trotsky was just one of those Jews who invented the revolution to kill Mother Russia." What is missing on all sides in the debates raging within the Soviet Union today is precisely the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who swept

motes Pamyat, which first emerged in 1979 under the wing of the powerful Ministry of Aviation Industry and, according to the paper Sobesednik, numbers an army general among its members (Washington Post, 19 February). At the time of last summer's demonstrations in Leningrad "a mob of fascist thugs from the Pamyat society" was seen with a poster reading "Greetings to Nina Andreyeva! Hurrah!" (Moscow News, 11 September 1988). The "Nina Andreyeva letter," reputedly masterminded by Gorbachev's chief opponent in the leadership, the now demoted Yegor Ligachev, denounced the "excesses" of glasnost and particularly the attacks on Stalin.

Pamyat's vendetta against Korotich coincided with a campaign against him by anti-Gorbachev elements in the literary establishment. Korotich was subjected to vicious attack at a December meeting of the Russian Writers Union, headed by "conservatives" Sergei Mikhailov and Yuri Bondarev. When Ogonyok responded with an open letter accusing Bondarev of working against perestroika, Korotich's opponents, including Rasputin and

Continued on page ten

Der Spiegel



Gorbachev in Estonia, 1987. Market-oriented perestroika intensifies national antagonisms within the Soviet Union.

Pamyat...

Continued from page nine

film director Sergei Bondarchuk, got a broadside published on the back page of *Pravda* which warned: "History is being unprecedentedly distorted, social achievements of the people are being revised, and cultural values are being vulgarised... (London Guardian, 19 January).

On 23 January, the magazines *Moskva*, *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Roman-Gazeta*, which pander to the crudest Russian nationalism, sponsored a meeting in Moscow which was effectively a rally against *Ogonyok*. According to an account in *Moscow News* (12 February) by liberal poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "the hall was decorated with the slogan 'The Pamyat Movement Will Win' and a red banner on which the hammer and sickle was replaced with St George the Victorious... [who] in the hands of the Black Hundreds was a symbol of pogroms." Another Pamyat banner read "No to Rootless Cosmopolitans" — evoking Stalin's anti-Semitic purges of the late '40s and early



In anti-Semitic poster, White Russian counterrevolutionaries depict Trotsky as ogre of the Kremlin.

'50s. The deputy editor of *Molodaya Gvardiya*, an official Komsomol (Communist Youth) publication, inflamed the crowd by reciting statistics on the preponderance of Jews in Soviet literature and education.

"I remembered," wrote Yevtushenko, a "gathering on Hitler's birthday a few years ago in Pushkin Square." In 1982, a handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday; they were immediately pounced on by hundreds of students and young sports fans. Yet while Yevtushenko denounces Pamyat for its anti-Semitism, this "poet of the possible" warns against "breaking up the organization by force using self-appointed 'limbs of the law'" and tries to compete for the nationalist banner with "those who wish to monopolize Russian patriotism."

SOVIET WORKERS MUST CRUSH PAMYAT!

What to do about Pamyat has become a burning issue. Last summer, *Izvestia* published and gave its support to an appeal by 59 Leningrad academics demanding the arrest of Pamyat's leaders. At the same time, *Moscow News* carried a denunciatory

report of Pamyat's Leningrad rallies by writer Valery Voskoboinikov. Voskoboinikov and his family received a number of telephoned death threats, as the "Leningrad Council of the National Patriotic Front" distributed a hit list including his name, while other leaflets signed "Pamyat Fathers" called for the methods of "partisan war" against opponents. In response *Moscow News* (30 October 1988) called on the authorities to prosecute Pamyat for violating Soviet laws which ban racist agitation. After several months of "investigation," the Leningrad procurator (district attorney) exonerated the fascists of advocating violence and extremism. Pamyat's demonstrations had official permission from the highest Leningrad authorities in the first place and took place under the gaze of the police, who harassed or arrested only anti-Pamyat protesters.

Having experienced a taste of relatively open public debate in the last few years, many Soviet citizens are undoubtedly fearful that any action by the bureaucracy against Pamyat will be turned against them. A letter to *Moscow News* (13 November 1988) by Leningrad journalist Anna Osipova recognized that "if today Pamyat representatives are put away, tomorrow I may be put away." But Osipova took issue with editor Yegor Yakovlev, a leading Gorbachevite, for justifying official tolerance of Pamyat as part of *glasnost* and insisted, "Non-resistance to evil is the most fertile soil for it."

Under a healthy dictatorship of the proletariat, like the Bolshevik power under Lenin and Trotsky, the social conditions which generate the likes of Pamyat would not exist, and any fascist scum that did emerge would be immediately suppressed. But the Stalinist bureaucracy fears independent action by the proletariat far more than it does Pamyat. The nationalist bureaucracy cannot be entrusted with suppressing Pamyat, but massive and determined demonstrations by the Soviet working people can and must eliminate this nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact. At the time of the Pamyat provocations in Leningrad last summer, we wrote:

"For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Rumyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to burn Nazi swastika flags in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat?..."

"What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible — from below, independently of the authorities — in Leningrad, to ensure the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics.



Lenin and Trotsky's Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

People from many different political persuasions can join together in action to smash Pamyat."

When the American fascist Ku Klux Klan tried to stage a race-hate provocation in Philadelphia last November 5, TASS (6 November 1988) correctly reported that a "massive anti-racist demonstration took place on the site of the planned" fascist demonstration, but it falsely claimed that the demonstration "demanded the passage of federal legislation making the KKK illegal." It is a reformist notion pursued by the American Communist Party, whose idea of communism is to pressure the capitalist Democratic Party, that the racist American ruling class can be persuaded to "ban the Klan." It was the Marxist Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, which initiated this successful united-front action — centered on the power of the working class — to stop the Klan, and revolutionaries were key to building it. The CP wanted nothing to do with it (though it subsequently participated in the PDC-initiated action against Klansman David Duke in Chicago).

FOR LENINIST INTERNATIONALISM!

With its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism under the guise of building "socialism in one country" and its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously overlaps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin regurgitated the anti-Semitic appeals of the counter-revolutionary White Guards, who painted Trotsky as the personification of "Jew-Bolshevism." Years later, in the aftermath of World War II, Stalin instigated several purges aimed at Jews under the guise of fighting "Zionism" and "cosmopolitanism." The last of these was the so-called "Doctors' Plot" purge, which was cut short by the tyrant's death in 1953.

Today Stalin-lovers and tsar-lovers find common cause in amnestying the Georgian-born "Great

Russifier" by blaming all his crimes on one of Stalin's Jewish henchmen, Lazar Kaganovich. Similarly Pamyat steers clear of attacking the Russian Lenin (though Russian nationalist circles are apparently buzzing over whether Lenin was one-eighth Jewish), focusing on the "corrupt" Jews like Trotsky and Kamenev who surrounded him. Indeed, the CIA-funded journal *Glasnost* criticizes Pamyat for allowing its virulent anti-Semitism to stand in the way of more consistent anti-Communism. But Pamyat is hardly crypto-Stalinist; to it, Marxism at its root is a Jewish plot.

Stalin's glorification of counterrevolutionary chauvinism was carried to its logical conclusion by a minor Soviet diplomat named Butenko, who defected to Mussolini's fascist Italy in 1938, and subsequently by General Andrei Vlasov, a Soviet officer captured by the Germans who then organized an army of Russian "volunteers" to serve Hitler on the Eastern Front. But around the same time that Butenko broke from the bureaucracy in the direction of fascism, Ignace Reiss, a heroic Soviet military intelligence officer, broke in the direction of Bolshevism, publicly declaring himself for the Fourth International. Reiss was shortly thereafter abducted and murdered by Stalin's assassins. Trotsky pointed to the "faction of Butenko" and the "faction of Reiss" as graphic evidence of the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet workers through a political counterrevolution in 1924 and has since rested parasitically atop the collectivist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution.

While a Reiss faction has yet to emerge in the Soviet Union, the outlines of a counterrevolutionary Butenko faction are beginning to take shape. Alongside of the rise of the latter-day Vlasovites of Pamyat, Gorbachev's *perestroika* has brought to the surface the worst anti-social scum. The proliferation of privately owned "co-operative" stores and restaurants has led to a sharp rise (or at least a more public emergence) of financial speculation and organized criminal activity, including shakedown rackets. The paper *Moskovsky Komsomolets* recently ran an expose on the spread of organized crime among young people, reporting how "In every high school... there are teen-aged mobsters selling pornography, radios, video recorders,

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

cassette tapes, clothes and cosmetics" (Washington Post, 12 February).

Gorbachev's encouragement of market competition and a dog-eat-dog mentality has also fueled nationalist movements among the more economically advanced nationalities like Armenia and the Baltic republics who see in perestroika an opportunity to break free from the centralized economy and better their lot at the expense of their poorer neighbors, like the Azerbaijanis and even the Russians. Indeed, if Soviet Russia were the "evil empire" that Reagan and the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd paints it to be, simply exploiting and lording it over the non-Russian nationalities, there would be no room for a mass Russian nationalist movement. In his own brutal, bureaucratic way, Stalin was actually a leveler of the conditions of the different Soviet nationalities. Today, Lithuanians and Estonians march in the tens of thousands under the flag of the interwar bourgeois republics, which were bastions of White Guard pogromism and anti-Communism, while Armenia and Azerbaijan are rent by murderous fratricide, and demonstrators in Azerbaijan carry placards of Khomeini. Now nationalist agitation has flared up elsewhere, including the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union.

But the social force which has yet to assert itself in Gorbachev's Russia is the proletariat, the driving force of the October Revolution. The Soviet working people have nothing to gain from perestroika, and many have made their dissatisfaction clear to Gorbachev. A number of strikes have taken place in the past year, and as the store shelves grow emptier discontent increases. Moreover, while the government has churned out reams and reams of defeatist propaganda to justify the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, there are many Soviet citizens who refuse to accept the lie that their sons, brothers and husbands gave their lives for "Russia's Vietnam." The afghantsi, returned Red Army vets who saw with their own eyes the centuries of social progress that separate the land of the October Revolution from neighboring Afghanistan, are among the best organized and fastest growing of the "informal groups," and to them "internationalist duty" has a living meaning.

The multinational Soviet working class must reassert its independent interests, which lie neither in the Western-oriented

"market reforms" of Gorbachev nor in a return to the benighted Great Russian chauvinism of the dark past but in the struggle for international socialist revolution. The October Revolution opened the portals of emancipation for the workers and peasants of Russia, for the Jews and non-Russian nationalities of the tsarist prison house of peoples. What is urgently called for is a return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, necessitating a proletarian political revolution which will shatter the bureaucracy and restore the red banner of revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of self-defense by the Soviet peoples will be a step on that road. We are writing in English, from abroad. It is urgent that there be a corresponding organizational force within the Soviet Union, not least to fight Pamyat.

— Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 473, 17 March 1989

Skinheads...

Continued from page five

pure expression of resurgent German nationalism. Opening the door to these "red" skinheads is playing with fire, as our German comrades warned after the Berlin demo:

"The TLD had to learn the hard way how the 'new German nationalism' is a transmission belt to punk-fascism. One Uli Sandhaus was expelled from our organization in 1982, after developing an enthusiasm for 'Oi! Oi!' music and exhibiting the swastika in his apartment....

"In 1984, Sandhaus translated these 'proclivities' into direct action and led a bloody attack on our supporter, Gisela Borowski, to whom he had previously sent postcards with 'Oi! Oi!' threats."

— Spartakist no 58, September/October 1988

On August 20 one of the "red skins" declared that "Uli is my friend." No doubt!

There is nothing surprising about the existence of such "red skins." Fascist gangs are drawn from lumpenized youth who hate established authority. Divorced from the working class and socially nihilistic, they easily swing from the extreme left to the extreme right. Not a few of Hitler's stormtroopers had at one point or another supported the Communists. In West Germany today there is a large lumpenized milieu of the "no future" gener-

ation — from squatters and Autonomen anarchists to the various skinhead gangs — in which the lines between left and right are totally blurred.

The key is revolutionary leadership — a workers movement which is not afraid to draw clear class lines, which is willing to organize a fight for workers power to resolve the crisis of bourgeois society. A revolutionary leadership of labour could draw to its side in the anti-capitalist struggle many layers of the most oppressed including desperate youth. But instead, the bankruptcy of the cringing reformists leaves a vacuum which fascists are eager to fill, while others to their left seek to compete with the fascists on the latter's terrain.

In the '20s and '30s the German Stalinists at times appealed to the Nazi ranks on the basis of "national Bolshevism," ie, championing imperialist Germany's national cause against Britain and France, and helping fuel the nationalist hysteria which paved the Nazis' way to power. Likewise today it is resurgent German nationalism which links the reformist left with the "red skins" with their "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" slogan — a slogan also claimed by the outright fascist skinheads since it captures nationalist resentment and anti-communism.

THE WORKERS MUST CRUSH THE FASCIST RABBLE

In France, some of the skinhead groups call themselves the "neighborhood SA." The Nazi SA Brownshirts were recruited from the socially pathological, criminal dregs of crisis-racked German society, used to terrorize the labour movement and Jews, and then discarded after Hitler took power. The Nazis rose to power in the service of German capitalism. Once there, they had to discard their plebeian shock troops and the rhetoric of "national socialism." In the "Night of the Long Knives" in June 1934, following an ultimatum by the German general staff, Hitler carried out a "blood purge" of the lumpen SA Brownshirts. The skinhead rabble must be crushed in the egg before they become the shock troops for another triumphant fascist movement.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the nativist fascists of the Ku Klux Klan along with groups like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) have recently allied with skinheads in staging racist provocations from Orange County in Southern California to Chicago's Marquette Park to

Atlanta during the Democratic convention (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," Workers Vanguard no 462, 7 October). The skinhead cutthroats and KKK lynchers threatened to stage a racist rally in Philadelphia, 5 November. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a 1,000-strong labor-centered mobilization which kept the streets safe from the race-terrorists.

The Spartacist League/US, whose class-struggle defense strategy the PDC embraces, has a record of interdicting fascist incursions into Northern US cities, including a 5,000-strong labour/black mobilization which stopped a KKK race-hate provocation in predominantly black Washington, DC in November 1982. Such a class-struggle strategy is urgently needed today in Britain and throughout Western Europe, necessarily entailing a political struggle within the labour movement against advocates of all persuasions of class collaboration, from the Labour Party to the chauvinist French Communist Party to the Cliffite SWP. At the time of the Brussels massacre, which followed on the heels of the defeat of the bitter 12-month miners strike, we noted:

"It was the heroic miners whom Thatcher tried to crush in blood who pointed the road out of the barbarism witnessed in Brussels. Instead of fences to separate rival gangs competing in blood-thirsty patriotism, we saw French and English miners shoulder-to-shoulder singing the 'Internationale'....

"Had the miners defeated Thatcher and opened up an intensified working-class offensive against capitalist oppression and unemployment, it would have given the masses of despairing and lumpenized youth something positive to look to. But the labour misleaders who in the aftermath of Brussels mutter about unemployment and underlying social causes were the very same gentlemen who stabbed the miners strike in the back...."

— Workers Hammer no 70, June 1985

The fascists and their skinhead dogs of war are a deadly danger to minorities, to the workers movement, to all decent people. This human refuse can and will be swept away by the power of the proletariat organized in sharp class struggle against the racist terrorists, on the road to the revolutionary overthrow of the rotting system that spawns this racist filth. ■

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Namibia ...

Continued from page one

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THE FIRST WEEK OF "PEACE" IN NAMIBIA

This agreement leaves Pretoria, still controlling the police and administration, free to drown the "independence process" in the blood of the Namibian black masses. The UN has already given permission for the reintegration of units of the "disbanded" puppet army into the police — notably the notorious "counterinsurgency" death squad known as Koevoet (Crowbar). These sadistic killers are hardly going to stand by and watch as the SWAPO guerrillas, whom they have been hunting down for years in a brutal bush war, just walk across the border and peacefully take over in an election that everyone knows they should win.

Within hours of taking effect on 1 April, the whole deal was hanging by a thread as the bloodiest fighting of the war erupted along the Angolan border, leaving over 300 dead, mostly SWAPO fighters. Apparently armed SWAPO units crossed the border, intending to establish base camps and to turn in their arms to the UN, but not to engage South African forces. They walked into a bloody trap as the South African puppet forces — "released" from their bases again by permission of the UN — launched unprovoked attacks on them, destroying villages and massacring unarmed civilians as well. "South African troops are killing anyone with a SWAPO T-shirt," SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma said (Sydney Morning Herald, 4 April). While Pretoria's foreign minister Pik Botha threatened to expel the UN force unless it condemned SWAPO for violating the agreement, Nujoma called for the rest of the UN force to be rapidly deployed, as if it would stop the butchery. After frantic diplomatic efforts to save the deal, under South Africa's guns and pressure from the Soviets and Angola, SWAPO ordered its units to pull back to Angola. Foreign Minister Botha arrogantly gloated that they had "no choice" (Australian, 10 April).

THE BITTER FRUITS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

In pursuit of "peaceful co-existence" with the imperialists, Gorbachev has renounced Soviet support to "wars of liberation," and Soviet pressure on Cuba was decisive in forcing Castro to "compromise" on the timetable for withdrawal from Angola when the talks stalled last year. Reagan's Secretary of State George Shultz praised Gorbachev's "important and constructive role in the peace process in southern Africa" (Guardian Weekly, 1 January). Soviet "experts" have also advised the ANC to clamp down on any talk of "socialism" and even suggested as an alternative to majority rule in South Africa a "bicameral parliament" giving the white minority an effective veto.

Cuban troops and Soviet arms

have been the decisive military factor in thwarting Pretoria's designs of transforming black Angola into a neo-colonial vassal state ever since the Cubans stopped the CIA-backed South African invasion in 1975-76. Now this rotten deal offers up resource-rich Angola on a silver platter to the apartheid regime — provided the US, with the aid of various black African client regimes, is able to force Luanda into a "reconciliation" with Savimbi's UNITA once the Cubans leave. The imperialists see the chance of a victory in one of the "hot spots" of the international anti-Soviet Cold War. Washington has promised to continue arming UNITA, which already receives at least \$US15 million "covert aid" a year from the CIA, from new bases in Zaire when the South Africans withdraw from Namibia. And the Cuban troops have reportedly reached an informal non-aggression pact with UNITA.

This sellout deal is especially galling because it comes in the wake of the unprecedented military defeat inflicted on the arrogant apartheid imperialists by combined Cuban and Angolan forces early last year. When South African forces reinvaded Angola in 1987 to shore up UNITA, Cuba rushed in reinforcements including



Over 600 Namibian civilian refugees massacred by the South African army at Kassinga, Angola in May 1978.

Soviet tanks, helicopters and anti-aircraft batteries. In a series of battles around the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola early last year, the South African/UNITA forces were repulsed and sent scurrying back into Namibia. In a later battle, Pretoria admitted that 12 white troops had died, sending shock waves through South Africa (as usual not mentioning casualties among the black troops who were the overwhelming majority of its forces in Angola). The British newspaper Guardian Weekly (27 November, 1988) commented: "South Africa's ageing and largely irreplaceable squadrons lost control of southern Angola to Soviet aircraft flown by Cuban pilots and a thickening screen of radar and missile defences." After this, pillars of the Afrikaner establishment like the Dutch Reformed Church began to call for withdrawal from the Angolan war. But Gorbachev has effectively come to the apartheid regime's rescue, giving it the opportunity to extricate itself from Angola and minimise the internal impact of military defeat. Gorbachev's appeasement of the hated apartheid

regime betrays the struggles of the black southern African masses for their liberation. In doing so, he emboldens imperialism and undermines defence of the USSR.

"INDEPENDENT" NAMIBIA: APARTHEID NEO-COLONY

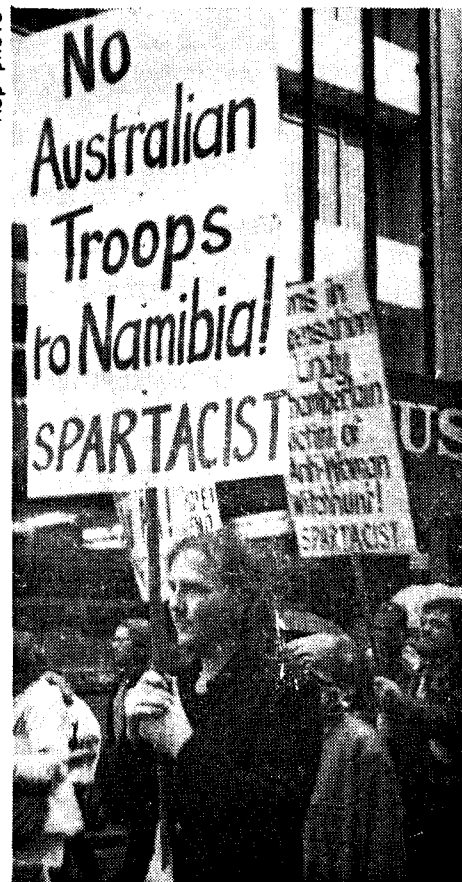
"An independent Namibia would be tied economically to South Africa, and would pose no military threat to the republic. Pretoria would find a SWAPO government pliable and malleable," said the Pacific Defence Reporter, a semi-official mouthpiece of the Australian Defence Department in its 1989 Yearbook. SWAPO, which has fought for independence for 23 years and is based on the Ovambo tribe (about half the population of some 1.6 million), is all set to take over after the elections. The imperialists are aiming for a smooth transition on the model of Zimbabwe in 1979-80, where an Australian contingent also participated in the Commonwealth "monitoring force." The racist white minority regime gave way to Robert Mugabe's "Marxist-Leninist" regime but the small layer of wealthy white businessmen and farmers scarcely batted an eyelid as business went on much as it always had.

In Namibia the end result will more likely resemble impoverished Botswana, little more than a glorified Bantustan into which South Africa launches terror raids at will. At least the Zimbabwean guerrillas had by 1979 established themselves inside the country and were allowed to keep their arms. In contrast the SWAPO petty-bourgeois nationalists, in a much weaker military position, placed all their hopes in the good offices of the UN. SWAPO espouses the "socialist" rhetoric of most such Third World nationalists but Nujoma has been at pains to assure the 80,000 whites who own the land and run the economy of its commitment to a "free market" and a "mixed economy," and likewise assure South African mining giants like De Beers that their diamond and uranium mines are safe from nationalisation. South Africa's economic stranglehold is ensured through its control of the country's only deep-water port and rail access. But Nujoma will also have to contend with the expectations of the Namibian masses for land, freedom and a better life.

An "independent" Namibia in thrall to South Africa would be in an even worse position than the other "front-line" African states,



Street scene outside Namibian capital, Windhoek. South African rule means dire poverty in resource rich land.



Spartacist contingent at International Women's Day march, Sydney 1989.

especially Mozambique and Angola, whose petty-bourgeois nationalist rulers, their economies ruined by more than a decade of South African-backed wars, see no solution except to bargain the country away to imperialism. Genuine social and national emancipation of the post-colonial states of southern Africa, rent by tribal divisions within borders arbitrarily drawn by their former colonial masters, is inextricably tied to proletarian revolution by the overwhelmingly black working class of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the region. Yet it is precisely this perspective which the Moscow and Havana Stalinists oppose. There must be a break from the dead-end nationalism of the ANC/SWAPO. Just as the 1976 defeat of the South African incursion into Angola helped inspire the Soweto uprising, a genuine communist party in South Africa could use the shock of the recent military defeats to push forward a revolutionary struggle against apartheid by the powerful black proletariat — which holds the promise of liberating all of black Africa from the imperialist chains.

KAMPUCHEA: IMPERIALISTS SMELL BLOOD

The Australian bourgeoisie enlists in such far-flung "peace-keeping" forces because being a willing lackey of the US is the

price they must pay for its protection of this white imperialist outpost in Asia. Central to this is playing host to the CIA spy bases like Pine Gap which forms part of the string of US anti-Soviet war bases stretching from Diego Garcia to the Philippines. For the Australian bourgeoisie, Apartheid South Africa is of strategic importance as it controls the sea routes around the Cape, and the Namibia deal will ensure the deep-water port of Walvis Bay stays in "safe" hands.

The Namibian contingent is the largest overseas troop commitment since the Vietnam war. That war ended in a stunning defeat for US imperialism and its Australian junior partner at the hands of the victorious Vietnamese social revolution, and left a legacy of mass opposition to involvement in foreign wars, the "Vietnam syndrome." Wharfies and seamen took industrial action against the Vietnam war. Again in 1985, when Hawke unleashed the Vietnamese fascists against meetings celebrating the Revolution's tenth anniversary, the maritime unions in Sydney held a "Solidarity with Vietnam" meeting, prepared to defend themselves and the official Vietnamese delegation present. In the 1980s the Hawke government has been eager to be the regional policeman for the US-led global war drive against the USSR and its allies like Vietnam, Cuba and Angola. By taking class struggle action now against Australia's military involvement in Namibia, the working class can not only lend material aid to its black class

reconstruction and mired it in desperate poverty, broke the diplomatic deadlock last year. And on 5 April Vietnam announced that the last of its troops would be out of Kampuchea by the end of September 1989, regardless of whether an agreement had been signed or not, and called upon India, Canada and Poland to form a "peacekeeping" force.

The imperialists see the chance for bloody capitalist counterrevolution via a deal bringing their Khmer creatures into a "coalition government," perhaps through UN-supervised elections. Their main problem is how to dislodge the Hun Sen/Heng Samrin regime, which refuses to abandon power, when the only real military opposition is the genocidal Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot. The universally despised mass murderers of the Khmer Rouge aren't going quietly and are preparing to launch an all-out drive to regain power. The imperialists aren't squeamish about their allies in counterrevolution, as their support to the mullah cut-throats in Afghanistan shows. But the Kampuchean people hate and fear the Khmer Rouge and will resist its return. Hence the talk of an international "peacekeeping" force, perhaps under the UN flag. Once the Vietnamese leave, there likely won't be much "peace" to keep in Kampuchea. So far public opposition to the Namibia contingent has been virtually nil, but the prospect of Australian troops becoming embroiled in a shooting war in the jungles of Indochina will be a whole different matter. We say: No Capitalist Resto-



Australian troops near Bien Hoa during Vietnam war. Australian army has served as counterrevolutionary mercenaries from Korea to Vietnam, and today Namibia.

threatens independence," complained that the UN force is too small, criticised its conduct during the recent battle and "called its impartiality into question," without so much as a whisper of opposition to Australia's participation. This is only a roundabout way of giving full and unreserved support to their "own" bourgeoisie, this time shorn of its usual cloak of anti-Americanism. Lenin vehemently denounced such "socialists" as social-imperialists.

The reformists have long assigned Australian imperialism a "progressive" role in fighting apartheid, calling on the government to impose sanctions and a total cultural boycott. It is a logical extension to believe the Australian army is in Namibia to "protect" the black masses. The obscene lie that racist Australian imperialism could be the liberator of black people anywhere is exposed by the brutality of its treatment of the Aboriginal people. No South African ambassador has been able to resist the temptation to poke holes in the hypocritical anti-apartheid moralising of Australian politicians by observing how more thoroughly the job of massacring the indigenous black people was done in this country. "We thought it was going to be a war-torn Third World country," one newly arrived soldier told the Sydney Morning Herald (3 April), "But it's just like Queensland." The London Sunday Times (26 March) observed: "South African and Australian troops have quickly become drinking mates in the base's pubs. 'If you swapped uniforms you could hardly tell the difference,' said one South African officer."

The xenophobic anti-Asian rulers of this country have always felt an instinctive solidarity with

the white minority of South Africa and, beneath the "anti-racist" diplomatic grandstanding of recent years, both are key regional anti-Soviet allies of the US. Indeed, late last year Hawke's cops were doing Botha's dirty work, carrying out an outrageous attempted frame-up of the Pan Africanist Congress representatives in Canberra. A



Vietnamese troops withdrawing through Phnom Penh, Kampuchea.

revolutionary, internationalist workers party needs to be built in hard opposition to Hawke's racist ALP. A thoroughgoing socialist revolution will smash reactionary Australian imperialism, most especially its racial exclusionism, opening the road to becoming a real part of a socialist Asia. Then, instead of a minor white imperialist power supplying cannon fodder for every dirty war, this country will be an ally of the oppressed and exploited of the world. ■



Cuban troops and Soviet arms, such as this Mi-8 helicopter gunship, have been key in defending black Angola.

brothers and sisters in southern Africa, but also spike Hawke/Beazley's counterrevolutionary ambitions towards Vietnam.

The imperialists' designs for revenge on the Vietnamese Revolution presently focus on Kampuchea. This is another "hot spot" Gorbachev wants to extinguish in pursuit of the pipe-dream of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Seeking to placate the US and the ASEAN bloc, and in order to mend fences with China, he is leaning on the

UR's toughest ally, Vietnam, to pull out its army which protects the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea from the Thailand-based Khmer contra guerrillas. This pressure, combined with the imperialist economic blockade which has frustrated Vietnam's post-war

ration! Vietnam — Don't Abandon Kampuchea!

The silence of the entire reformist left on Australian troops to Namibia amounts to tacit support. In 1981 the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) opposed sending troops to the Sinai "peacekeeping" force (since withdrawn), but now they applaud Gorbachev's betrayal in Afghanistan and his policy of global appeasement. Additionally they are uncritical cheerleaders for SWAPO and the ANC, so the SWP's Direct Action (14 February) ran an approving headline, "SWAPO rep wants a bigger UN peace force," while the SPA's Guardian (25 January) said, "ANC paves way for Angolan peace." An 11 April Direct Action article, "South African massacre

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London, 14 January: Partisan Defense Committee and international Spartacist tendency called worldwide emergency protests against Khomeini's mass executions in Iran.

Rushdie...

Continued from page three

read what, people around the world are shocked by the medieval brutality of his "Islamic republic." But when the mullahs first took power in 1979, their Islamic "revolution" was supported by most of the Western left, who hailed Khomeini's theocracy as "anti-imperialist" and denounced our slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! Workers to power!" Internationally most of the fake-left and pro-imperialist liberals fell into step behind US president Jimmy Carter's "human rights" outcry against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, where a gang of CIA-backed cutthroat mujahedin were carrying out Khomeini's program of torture and terror against Afghan women and leftists.

At the PEN reading from Rushdie's book in New York, Professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestine National Council who has himself in the past been targeted for assassination by ultra-Zionists, hailed Satanic Verses as "a deliberately transgressive work of nose-thumbing daring." Said also recalled that "Israel bans hundreds of books in occupied Palestinian territories, and Palestinian writers are jailed without trial; where are the protesting voices of Western writers and intellectuals?"

Even when the Iranian regime recently executed thousands of women, national minorities and leftist political prisoners in a massive blood purge, much of the bourgeois press maintained a stony silence and most of the Western left refused to lift a finger. In contrast, the Partisan Defense Committee and international Spartacist tendency organised an emergency worldwide campaign of protest demonstrations to demand: Stop the Executions!

One group of Australian reformists, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) even managed to take a pro-Khomeini line over the Rushdie affair. Their 21 March Direct Action article, "Hypocrisy and racism should be exposed," after a pro forma explanation that "Khomeini took an unacceptable and extremist stand in offering a reward for Rushdie's head" (!) went on to state that "Rushdie's book is offensive to many Muslims" (emphasis in original). Indeed, for Khomeini and the theocracy, all progress since the Enlightenment is "offensive," especially those pertaining to

women's rights. They continued: "For many Muslims around the world Rushdie's book has become a symbol of the anti-Muslim campaign that has been built up since the Iranian revolution of 1979." To the horror of Khomeini's bloodbath of the left, women and minorities, the SWP answers with continued support of Khomeini's "Iranian revolution." Direct Action decried that "It has become fashionable, even on the left, to characterise the Iranian revolution as nothing more than a historical step backwards," ludicrously offering instead that the "anti-imperialist sentiment" of the Iranian masses "remains as testimony to that step forward."

On 22 February, the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League/US issued a statement solidarisng with Rushdie (see page two). And we warned that outrage against Khomeini's death threat could fuel nativist backlash targeting all Muslims in the West. Sure enough, in a speech to the Sydney Cypriot community on 12 March, Labor prime minister Bob Hawke reiterated the bottom lines of last year's racist ruling class "immigration debate," branding as "repugnant" and "un-Australian" the notion that "conflicts of another continent and another age can be imported, perpetuated and pursued in this country." And various bourgeois commentators, including Hawke government advisor Richard Farmer in the Australian (16 March), demanded deportation of "migrants who threaten violence." After a demonstration in Paris of hundreds chanting "Death to Rushdie! Down with the infidels! Khomeini is right!" took place on 26 February, fascist French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen swiftly moved in to spew his racist filth: "What Khomeini, with revolting cynicism, has

succeeded in doing is precisely what I fear for France and for Europe — that is to say an invasion of Europe by Moslem immigrants" (The Scotsman, 1 March). And when Muslim counterdemonstrators at the UN protest waved signs reading "Satanic Verses is Satanic," one of the "civil libertarian" types carrying a placard that said "Let Freedom Roar" shouted back: "Deport them — Deport those who call for murder!"

More - righteous - than - thou Western liberals would do well to recall that there is nothing unique about Islamic intolerance. The Old Testament book of Leviticus decrees, "Whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to the death." And the first code of law in the US colony of Virginia in 1611 prescribed death for blaspheming Christianity and the Trinity. The original US settlements were theocratic to the core — anyone who didn't agree with the supreme faqih of Plymouth colony had to leave, or else. Remember the Salem witch trials?

In Australia, the reactionary Reverend Fred Nile's Festival of Light picketed The Last Temptation of Christ and demanded it be banned. Every Australian state government has banned X-rated videos outright in the name of "defence of Christian values." Meanwhile, Hawke's pious pontification about "freedom of expression" is monstrous cynicism. Only last year his foreign minister, Gareth Evans, on spurious "national security" grounds banned a book by Brian Toohey that hadn't even been written yet!

The initial tepid reaction of the Western imperialist "democracies" to Khomeini's death edict against Rushdie was of a piece with their unperturbed silence over the recent bloodbath of political prisoners in Iran. US presi-

dent Bush finally declared that the order to kill the author was "deeply offensive"; State Department sources explained that anything more would serve the interests of those "who are using the book affair as a way of bringing a halt to the trend in recent months of Iran improving relations with the West" (New York Times, 22 February). The Common Market countries pulled their diplomats out of Iran when Khomeini made it clear that no "apology" would do. As Washington learned earlier (remember the Iran/contra fiasco) Khomeini is a fundamentalist zealot for whom "normal" state relations with infidels don't count for much.

AFGHANISTAN: DEFEAT ISLAMIC REACTION!

The growth of Islamic fundamentalism in recent years is in no small measure a by-product of the billions of dollars lavished on the fanatically reactionary and anti-Communist Afghan "freedom fighters" and the billions more funneled to maintain Zia/Bhutto's Islamic regime in Pakistan as a staging area for the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan. A small taste of what Afghan women have in store, should the mujahedin win in the face of the Gorbachev regime's criminal withdrawal, was provided by a recent example in Teheran. When a woman interviewed on Teheran Radio had the audacity to say that the prophet Mohammed's daughter Fatima was not relevant as a role model because she lived 14 centuries ago, Khomeini decreed that she — and the program's producers — be shot.

When the Soviet Union broke its silence on Rushdie, it was to criminally apologise for Khomeini. A TASS statement on 1 March said that "perhaps" the Imam "had no choice proceeding from Koran teaching other than denouncing a man who had insulted Islam," dishonestly asserting that "The Iranian government has not condemned Rushdie to death" (Independent, 2 March). "The threat of the Rushdie problem complicating the settlement of some regional disputes is becoming very real indeed," the statement continued. Consistent with its treacherous pullout from Afghanistan, the Gorbachev regime hopes the murderous Khomeini regime — fresh from executing thousands of Communist and other leftist prisoners — will play a role in a "peaceful" settlement there. Meanwhile, the Kabul regime, which is now facing a fight to the death — while the life of every leftist and unveiled woman in the country is at stake — has actually banned Satanic Verses in its continuing suicidal attempt to appease the mullah cutthroats. As Rushdie said: there are "taboos against which The Satanic Verses has transgressed ... I also tried to write about the place of women in Islamic society." The battle line for elementary freedoms and social progress against Islamic fundamentalism is today drawn in beleaguered Afghanistan. Those who back the feudalistic mujahedin "freedom fighters" would do well to remember that, next time they feel like reading a "heretical" novel, not to mention looking at Playboy.

— Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 472, 3 March 1989.


International Women's Day 1989

Women and Revolution

Spring 1989, No. 36
\$1.00 (32 pages)

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Jalalabad...

Continued from page sixteen

to raise funds for the civilian victims of Jalalabad. We call on all workers, oppressed minorities and defenders of democratic rights to support this undertaking. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/Australia and New Zealand.

For the last nine years, Washington and its allies, loudly egged on by junior partners like Hawke's Australia, have poured billions into supporting the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, and now feudal, imperialist-backed states in the region are throwing their own soldiers into the civil war. The Western media glorified the mujahedin as they killed Russian

soldiers. But now that the Soviet troops have pulled out, even Wall Street Journal reporters tell of the horror facing Afghan women in Pakistani refugee camps whose husbands with their reactionary social values prefer them to die rather than let them be examined by a male obstetrician. Even Western officials call rebel leader Hekmatyar a "fascist." His thugs used to throw acid in the faces and shoot at the legs of young women at Kabul University who refused to wear the stifling head-to-toe veil.

At an International Women's Day rally in Kabul this year, Fatima, a 25-year-old second lieutenant in the Afghan army, declared: "We have nothing but death for these bigots who only want their dollars from the US and the freedom to have half-a-dozen wives each."

This war originated after mod-

ernising nationalists of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan took power in April 1978 in a country where the working class had no social weight. They sought to carry out basic democratic measures — restricting the bride price, teaching young girls as well as boys to read, land reform. In response Islamic mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords launched a bloody civil war. In 1979 the Soviet Union was called to intervene in force to prevent Afghanistan, its southern neighbour, from falling to US-backed mujahedin. The Spartacist League hailed the Soviet military intervention for opening the possibility of social revolution in this hideously backward country. However, under Gorbachev, the Soviet forces have been withdrawn in order to appease the imperialist rulers.

Despite several and serious differences with the PDPA, we must find ourselves on the same side in opposing the military triumph of reaction, a position which is the basis for our overall revolutionary defencism. Two months ago, the PDC wrote to the Afghan government offering "to organise an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend elementary social progress which is in grave danger in Afghanistan. While the Kabul government took this offer as presently unnecessary, it has now asked the Partisan Defence Committee and others to participate in an international campaign of humanitarian aid. We have wholeheartedly undertaken this effort and urge you to generously give your support. Every penny, every dollar collected will be sent to Kabul, Afghanistan; all



Material aid to Jalalabad civilian victims of CIA's cutthroats can provide badly needed medical assistance.

administrative expenses will be paid by the PDC.

Take a stand with the fighters and people of Jalalabad whose lives are on the line. Give direct material aid to the wounded and mutilated citizens there. This struggle is in the interests of the whole of the working people.

Partisan Defence Committee
11 April 1989

Contributions payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund can be sent to the PDC, Box 102/500 Elizabeth Street, Surry Hills, NSW, 2010.



Sydney, 11 March: Spartacist League contingent in International Women's Day march.

Students...

Continued from page sixteen

the 37 arrested students. Sinister unsigned leaflets appeared denouncing "selfish terrorists" and the "extreme left who continue to break the law." After the clashes with police on the "National Day of Action," NUS Education Officer Damian Smith stated: "We want to fight it in the High Court, they want to use violence" (Sun, 23 March).

Let's get it straight. NUS is no union. It's a collection of aspiring student careerists, promoted by the ALP as a compliant student leadership for the government to deal with. These student bureaucrats learn to talk Accord-speak (to groom themselves as the future Hawkes, Keatings and Dawkins) and the language of Cold War — smearing the victims of state repression as "violent" and "extremist." NUS has banked everything on a futile \$100,000 High Court challenge to the tertiary tax and "lobbying" of the government, a losing strategy which suits Hawke fine. Three years ago when Hawke slapped racist quotas and fees on overseas students, the ALP-dominated student leadership relied on loyal appeals to the government, which responded by intensifying and broadening the attacks on education. In sharp contrast the Spartacist League (SL) called for: No fees! No racist quotas! Open admissions to all tertiary institutions with a living wage! The struggle against fees must be

linked to a broader fight, based on the working class, against Hawke/Keating's hard times.

The ALP's opponents on the campuses are hardly the revolutionary firebrands some would make them out to be. The tame-cat NUS, supported by the Communist Party and Socialist Party, has engendered more "radical" student groups — the Education Action Groups (EAG) in Melbourne and Student Action for Free Education (SAFE) in Sydney. These latter are supported by the Socialist Workers Party/Resistance and the International Socialists (IS). But these groups are limited to single-issue campaigns within the confines of the ivory towers. Behind the "activism" (and there's not much of that) is a sub-reformist program barely distinguishable from that of the NUS. The outrageous cop assault and student arrests in Melbourne demand immediate mass protests. Rather than a fight to drop the charges, focused against the fees as part of an all-sided struggle against the Hawke government's austerity drive, the EAGs share the NUS's reliance on the courts. In fact, sections of the EAGs in Melbourne have joined the NUS's violence-baiting of the arrested students. The cowardly SWP/Resistance wouldn't even call for dropping the charges against the student protesters, who included one of their own members.

Struggles confined to the cloistered confines of tertiary institutions, that make no attempt to link up with the working class and oppressed minorities, can only lead to the dead end of pressuring

the Labor Party — the main agency of today's capitalist austerity. The IS make this explicit when they push "student power" drive: "the only real source of pressure on the (government) — our anger" (Socialist, March 1989). The running down of education for the mass of the working people is only part of the generalised austerity program of Hawke's Cold War Labor government, along with union-busting and anti-communism.

The tertiary tax is a typical Thatcherite "user pays" scheme which will further shut out working-class and poor youth from tertiary education, reinforcing the vicious class bias of capitalist Australia's "education" system. Already the introduction of fees is driving working women and mothers who can't afford child-care out of tertiary education. Working class and migrant youth are condemned to increasingly run-down, hopelessly under-resourced state schools, while the rich have well-funded private schools. With youth unemployment at record levels the abolition of the youth dole forces kids to stay at school, turning schools into overcrowded prisons. Only a tiny

seven percent of Aboriginal youth finish secondary school in this racist society.

What is desperately needed is a class struggle program based centrally on mobilising the massive social power of the working class. The ALP left wing talks militant in the face of working class anger, but their role is to head off class struggle and tell the working class to rely on the institutions of the capitalist state like Arbitration. For example, during last summer's six-week CSR strike Melbourne Trades Hall Council secretary and Labor "left" John Halfpenny stabbed the strikers in the back. Key to mobilising working class power is the fight to split the ALP along class lines — the working class base from the pro-capitalist tops — and forge a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government. We look towards recruiting student youth to the struggle to sweep away this rotting capitalist system, to end the rule of the arrogant bosses over those who produce the wealth in society, once and for all. Join us!

— Adapted from a Melbourne Spartacist League leaflet dated 18 April 1989.

Spartacist Class Series — Melbourne

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Classes will be held 6.30pm alternate Tuesdays at the Blue Room, 4th floor, Union Building, Melbourne University.

For further information phone the Spartacist League, 654 4315.



No to the Veil – Defend Afghan Women!

Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA's Cutthroats

What would happen if the "holy warriors," financed and organised by the US, won the war over Afghanistan? Women enslaved to the veil. Schoolteachers shot. "Adulterers" stoned. "Blasphemers" executed. Foreign political refugees murdered. Minor government officials condemned. Just look at Khomeini's Iran! We call urgently on all defenders of women's rights, all partisans of social progress to materially aid the victims of imperialism's bloody crusade. Your contribution will send a message of internationalist solidarity to those who are prepared to fight to the death against the CIA's cutthroats.

Right now, the battle is being fought at Jalalabad. The US and its anti-Communist allies have been poised for the kill. Their "freedom fighters" rain thou-

Prashant Panjjar



Afghan women's militia at International Women's Day meeting in Kabul.

sands of American rockets on this strategic city whose fall would open the road to Kabul. Bush has already named an envoy to the rebel "government," while the Pakistani president has called for the federation of

Afghanistan into a dominant Pakistani state. But the Afghan army and the people of Jalalabad are heroically fighting back. They have repelled the onslaught; the battle still rages.

The mujahedin, heavily

armed by the US, organised by Pakistan and bolstered by Saudi Arabian and other foreign forces, are inflicting terrible suffering on the population. On March 30, rockets struck a Sikh temple in Jalalabad where several hundred Sikhs and Hindus had gathered; 22 people, most of them women and children, were killed.

Recently, the Afghan government issued an appeal:

"In order to aid the victims of these attacks a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance has been launched on a national and international plane by the concerned parties and the authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan."

In response to this appeal, the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) has launched a campaign

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Labor's Cops Bash Student Protesters

Drop the Charges! No Fees!



The Age

Cain's mounted cops confront protesters at Melbourne University rally against the HECS graduate tax.

In a 22 March "National Day of Action" thousands of tertiary students demonstrated against the Hawke government's reintroduction of fees under the guise of a "tertiary tax," the "Higher Education Contribution Scheme." In Melbourne over 3000 students marched to the Melbourne University administration offices where ALP Premier Cain's cops, including mounted police, were unleashed against protesters. Two weeks earlier a student occupation of these offices was brutally broken up by police who arrested 37 people, while outside Cain's mounted Cossacks charged the hundreds of students who had gathered in solidarity. The occupation was sparked by Registrar Potter's attempt to break a 2000-strong boycott of the tertiary tax regulations by threatening disen-

rollment of students and a \$40 late fee. The brutal cop assault is a stark message that Hawke's Cold War consensus means you toe the line, or else — the same message was meted out to Aboriginals when cops rampaged through areas of black Redfern in Sydney last year, and in 1986 when the militant Builders Labourers Federation was smashed by the Labor government. The arrested students must be defended and the government forced to drop all charges. Cops off campus!

ALP officials of the National Union of Students (NUS) and the Melbourne University Student Union lost no time in siding with the capitalist cops, administration and government. The night of the arrests Student Union President Melinda Richards went on television to condemn the "unfortunate" actions of a "minority group" while Education Vice-President Don McArthur slandered protesters as "motivated by ego-satisfaction." The local ALP Club then organised a student general meeting at Melbourne University in a reactionary attempt to prevent Student Union legal aid to

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