

Australasian

# SPARTACIST



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## Gorbachev Yielding to a Fourth Reich

# Stop the Sellout of East Germany!

Spartakist

Ceding to the campaign of imperialist threats and pressure, the leaders of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic (DDR) have given the green light to annexation of the DDR by capitalist West Germany. Last week, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev reversed his previous position, now declaring that "unity of the Germans" is "not put in doubt by anybody." And the day after returning from consultations with Gorbachev, East German premier Modrow presented a step-by-step plan for a treaty community, confederation and federation culminating in a "single German fatherland." This capitulation is a mortal threat to the East German workers state and to the hard-won social gains of the working people.

Since the ouster of the ossified Honecker regime in East Berlin last fall, Bonn politicians have tried to head off a developing political revolution against Stalinist rule by stampeding the DDR into a capitalist reunification with the federal republic (BRD). Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl and Social Democrat Willy Brandt in particular have been blowing their respective German nationalist trumpets. Weekly pro-reunification demonstrations in Leipzig act as an echo chamber. There and elsewhere, Nazis have grown increasingly bold, demonstrating with their anti-Communist and anti-foreigner violence and hate-mongering what a reunified Fourth German Reich would bring with it.

Meanwhile, the Social Democracy (SPD) has seized the initiative as the spearhead of reunification. In the wake of the Gorbachev/Modrow announcements, SPD godfather Brandt proclaimed triumphantly, "the deed is done." On the weekend, the SPD called for introducing the D-mark as the official currency of the DDR. Such a currency union would hand control over the East German economy to the Frankfurt bankers. The proposal was quickly endorsed by CDU chancellor Kohl.



German Trotskyists' banner at 3 January anti-fascist rally: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

While East Berlin economics minister Christa Luft warned that this would spell mass unemployment, she called for a referendum on the proposal. For the DDR, counterrevolution stands at the door.

Seized by panic, in the last two weeks Modrow has agreed to move up elections to the Volkskammer (the DDR's parliament) from May 6 to March 18, barely five weeks away, and expanded the governing coalition to include eight parties of the opposition Round Table. This now gives the disintegrating Stalinists a minority in the cabinet. The Socialist Unity Party (SED), which had ruled the DDR from the inception of the bureaucratically deformed workers state, has sought to distance itself from its Stalinist past, and on Sunday it re-

named itself the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). But whether SED or PDS, the Stalinist apparatus is shattering.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) has urgently called on the working class and all those who oppose counterrevolution to fight against the sellout of the DDR. At a press conference in East Berlin, SpAD spokesman Gunther Ilzig stressed: "We are fighting emphatically against the creation of such a Fourth Reich, which would be a huge warmongering juggernaut in the heart of Europe and a constant threat to all peoples. We know only too well, and have never forgotten, what horrors German imperialism has already brought about in this century."

A 6 February dispatch by the East

German press agency ADN reported: "The Leninist-Trotskyist party is waging its election campaign against capitalist restoration, against the fascist danger and for the defense of the DDR and the USSR.... The party, founded on January 21 in the DDR, considers itself a vanguard party that will represent the interests of the working class and which is organised in both German states. It fights for the political power of the working class, that is, for the rule of workers and soldiers councils, Ilzig said."

### Unravelling of the SED

After ousting longtime general secretary Erich Honecker in October, the SED Politburo under Egon Krenz

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## 250,000 Say: No Nazis in the DDR!

Special Workers Vanguard Supplement - See Pages 7-10



Workers Vanguard

## Comrade Vincent

Comrade Vincent, a working-class militant and leading cadre of Spartacism in Sri Lanka, died tragically in a motor accident last week. He had been a member of the revolutionary movement since 1964. Those in the movement who knew him deeply cared for him, and will experience not just a serious setback in their work but the loss of a deeply valued collaborator. His warmth and friendliness helped forge bonds of comradeship between comrades in Asia, Europe, America and Australia. His family has now lost a husband and a father. We extend our condolences and sympathy to his wife and three children.

Three hundred friends, family and former and present comrades attended comrade Vincent's funeral on January 6. The coffin was draped with a red flag.

In this difficult and bloody communalist period in Lanka, the reconstruction and development of the revolutionary party have received a severe blow. We can only hope that class-conscious young militants will come forward to fill the void that the death of comrade Vincent has left, to further the struggle to free this tortured island from its communal and intercommunal bloodbath so that a proletarian beacon for Lanka and all of South Asia may emerge.

-International Executive Committee,  
International Communist League  
8 January 1990

## Letter

Dear Comrades,

... In the face of the recent splintering of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe — probably the most important political events to have occurred during my lifetime — this donation feels particularly insignificant. In addition to my regular pledge I will attempt, in the coming months, to put aside as much as I can and forward it to you as appropriate.

The contradictory nature of the situation in Europe no doubt presents dangers to the working class in general and the comrades working there in particular (i.e. the whetting of the revanchist appetites of the German bourgeoisie, the

activities of the fascists etc.). This only increases the urgency for the working class to reclaim the banner of communism from the Stalinists. The role of the ICL is clearly crucial.

I am currently re-reading Trotsky's *My Life*. He describes how when in New York in February 1917 he predicted a Miliukov-Kerensky government, he came up against the scoffing response "Is that so? And what next?" Trotsky replied "*We shall be next.*"

May those comrades going to Europe take with them the same confidence and revolutionary optimism.

Warmest regards,  
John L  
18 December 1989

## To Our Readers...

For two and a half years now *Australasian Spartacist* staff and readers have had to endure a paper produced on primitive, stop-gap equipment, the result of our old typesetter giving up the ghost. It's with great pleasure that with this issue we enter the computer age and bring to our readers a better looking paper, whose appearance once again matches the high quality of its Marxist content. We would also like to extend our thanks to those supporters whose contributions helped us purchase our new equipment.

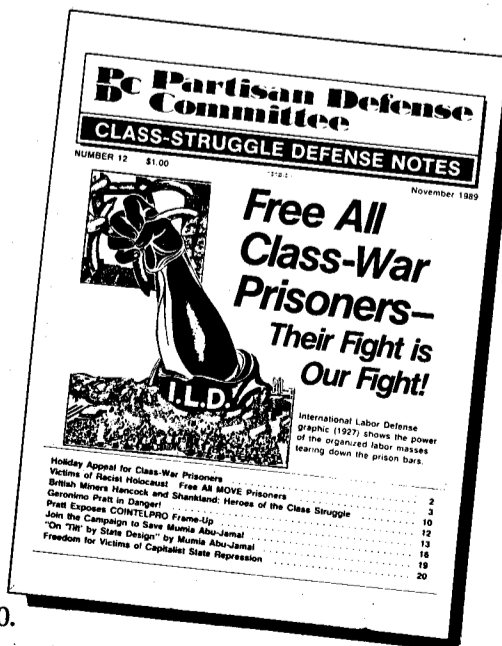
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TROTSKY

## Lenin on the German Social Democracy

*With East Germany today in the throes of an unfolding political revolution, West German imperialism has again turned to its Social Democratic lieutenants to be the Trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution. This is the same role they played 70 years ago, acting in the name of bourgeois "democracy." While the Social Democratic government of Gustav Noske, Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheide-*



LENIN

*mann had the German workers revolution of 1918-19 drowned in blood and its heroic leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg murdered, the "left" Karl Kautsky, who served as an adviser in the government, provided "democratic" imperialism with ideological weapons against the young Russian Soviet Republic. On the eve of Liebknecht's assassination, Lenin exposed the reactionary role of the Social Democracy.*

With Liebknecht and the Spartacists are all those German socialists who have remained honest and really revolutionary, all the best and dedicated men among the proletariat, the exploited masses who are seething with indignation and among whom there is a growing readiness for revolution.

Against Liebknecht are the Scheidemanns, the Südekums and the whole gang of despicable lackeys of the Kaiser and the bourgeoisie. They are just as much traitors to socialism as the Gomperses and Victor Bergers, the Hendersons and Webbs, the Renaudels and Vanderveldes. They represent that top section of workers who have been bribed by the bourgeoisie, those whom we Bolsheviks called (applying the name to the Russian Südekums, the Mensheviks) "agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement," and to whom the best socialists in America gave the magnificently expressive and very fitting title: "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." They represent the latest, "modern," type of socialist treachery....

Between the Spartacists and the Scheidemann men are the wavering, spineless "Kautskyites," who in words are "independent," but in deeds are entirely, and all along the line, dependent upon the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemann men one day, upon the Spartacists the next, some following the former and some the latter. These are people without ideas, without backbone, without policy, without honour, without conscience, the living embodiment of the bewilderment of philistines who stand for socialist revolution in words, but are actually incapable of understanding it when it has begun and, in renegade fashion, defend "democracy" in general, that is, actually defend bourgeois democracy.

—V.I. Lenin, "Letter to Workers of Europe and America" (January 1919)

Australasian

## SPARTACIST



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# Bloody Nationalist Strife in USSR

## From Perestroika to Pogroms

JANUARY 22—In order to clamp down on the communalist slaughter raging in the Caucasian republics, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev found it necessary to send in troops. After heavy fighting against Azerbaijani nationalist partisans armed with weapons previously seized from the army, Soviet forces now occupy the capital of Baku. Mass demonstrations are continuing, led by the Azerbaijani Popular Front, which is raising the spectre of secession. Other Soviet forces are moving to gain control of the area along the Azerbaijan/Armenia border, which had become the front line in a savage civil war.

Addressing the Soviet people, Gorbachev explained:

"The tragic events in Baku, the border areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia, other regions of the Caucasus have laid bare the price of nationalist rampage, speculation on sacred national feeling. It is a crime to push people to blind enmity, to the madness of fratricidal war."

It is indeed. However, the violent nationalisms which now threaten to rip apart the Soviet Union are the product of six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule and have been intensified by Gorbachev's own policies.

The immediate trigger for the decision to send troops was the pogrom against the several thousand Armenians who still lived in Baku. Azeri mobs — many made up of refugees from the two-year-long blood feud — dragged people out of homes, reportedly burning them alive, beating them to death and throwing them off high balconies. Some Azerbaijanis were horrified at the violence and risked their own lives to hide Armenian friends and neighbors from the blood-crazed mobs. The newspaper of the Soviet Communist Youth, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, reports that at the initiative of the Azerbaijan Komsomol, Azeri veterans of the Afghan war patrolled Armenian neighborhoods to prevent further pogroms.

The atrocities are by no means on one side alone. Armenian partisans, using helicopter gunships seized from the Soviet Army, have strafed Azerbaijani villages. The Moscow newspaper *Izvestia* reported that 3,000 Armenians attacked a village in Nakhichevan, an Azerbaijani enclave wedged between Armenia and Iran.

The decision to send troops won wide approval among the Soviet people. "Gorbachev had a responsibility to save lives," said a woman factory worker in Lyselorusia (*New York Times*, 18 January). However, the Gorbachev regime has also encouraged pacifistic attitudes to justify its withdrawal from Afghanistan, where the Soviet Army was fighting a progressive war against imperialist-armed tribalists and Islamic fanatics. Thus many Russian parents protested against sending their sons to restore civil peace in the Caucasus. In response, the Soviet government halted calling up army reservists and announced that only regular military and police forces would be used in the operation.

While spokesmen for the Azerbaijani Popular Front threaten Gorbachev with a "new Afghanistan," the Soviet Army certainly has the power to control the region. But it cannot prevent small-group terrorism nor police every area where Armenians and Azeris are bent on killing one another. And what happens when the state of emergency is relaxed? The liberal Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev has no political answer to the "nationalist rampage" and "fratricidal war" he condemns.

The Baku pogrom took place just after Gorbachev got back from Vilnius, where he appealed to Lithuanian nationalists not to secede from the

USSR. The sending of troops into Azerbaijan has for the moment overshadowed the Lithuania crisis. Yet the secession of this Baltic republic would have grave consequences for the future of the Soviet Union. It would enormously embolden Western imperialism in its drive to break up the USSR and turn the remnants into neo-colonies of Wall Street and the Frankfurt banks. The rabid anti-Communist Pat Buchanan, who enjoys defending Nazi war criminals, wrote gleefully a few weeks ago: "Is 1990 the year the Soviet Union breaks apart?"

Both Gorbachev and the Lithuanian nationalists of Sajudis are now posing secession as simply the exercise of national self-determination formally guaranteed in the founding 1924 constitution of the USSR. (This right was incorporated as the result of the dying Lenin's last struggle against Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism.) But the overriding goal of the Baltic nationalists is not independence but unity with the

Union and disrupted a meeting of anti-fascist intellectuals.

Why have violent and reactionary nationalist movements erupted under Gorbachev? Soviet spokesmen used to proudly point to Baku as a cosmopolitan multinational city. The large and thriving Armenian community — over 10 percent of the population — lived without fear of violence from their Azeri neighbors. There was a fair degree of intermarriage. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Azeris lived peacefully in the Armenian republic. In the Baltic republics, anti-Soviet nationalism seemed limited to an extremist fringe. And Pamyat was viewed as a small group of backward-looking fanatics, not to be taken seriously.

But the apparent stability of Brezhnev's Soviet Union was illusory. Decades of Stalinist police-state rule trampled underfoot legitimate national grievances and rights while also suppressing the open, violent expression of nationalist hatreds and rivalries. All this came to



Soviet troops enforce state of emergency in Azerbaijan as bloody communalist warfare rages in the Caucasus.

capitalist "free world." While screaming about the sacred cause of "independence," they are talking about forming a "Baltoscandia" — a union of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia with the capitalist countries of Scandinavia. And they expect generous aid from the coffers of Western imperialism. Under the guise of national liberation, the Lithuanian Sajudis and the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts are driving toward social counterrevolution.

The rise of reactionary nationalism is by no means limited to the periphery of the USSR. Ukrainian nationalism is stirring behind the revived Eastern Rite Catholic church. The most dangerous nationalism of all for the future of the Soviet Union is that of the dominant Russian people. And here we have seen the growth of the fascist Pamyat (Memory) and other Great Russian chauvinist outfits spewing out anti-Semitic filth as they scapegoat the Jews for the economic disaster of perestroika (restructuring). Last week Pamyat-type stormtroopers forced their way into the Moscow headquarters of the Writers

the surface when Gorbachev loosened the political controls. However, perestroika has greatly fueled and intensified pre-existing national antagonisms. Political liberalization was tied to a program which encouraged economic competition and self-interest, and degraded the socialist principles of equality, internationalism and working-class solidarity.

The Gorbachev regime makes no attempt to appeal to Armenian and Azerbaijani workers against the petty-bourgeois agitators of genocide. And in the Baltics, as elsewhere, the whole thrust of perestroika has been to benefit intellectuals, technocrats and petty entrepreneurs — the social base of the nationalist movement — at the expense of the workers and collective farmers. Hence, the Gorbachevite Stalinists cannot unite Russian-speaking workers with their Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian class brothers on an egalitarian socialist program.

Working-class resistance to the ravages of perestroika is growing. Siberian coal miners are threatening further strikes. The most hated class of people

in the Soviet Union are the petty capitalist entrepreneurs spawned by the economic "liberalization." The situation is crying out for the building of a genuinely communist party which can unite and mobilize the Soviet working class against the forces of murderous nationalism and capitalist restoration.

### Perestroika Fuels Reactionary Nationalisms

The Western media present the communalist civil war in the Caucasus as but the latest round in the ancient blood feud between the traditionally Christian Armenians and Islamic, Turkic-speaking Azeris. The immediate trigger was mass Armenian agitation to change the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, a mountainous enclave of 100,000 inhabitants — 75 percent of them Armenian — within the boundaries and under the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijan republic. Nagorno-Karabakh was not an isolated territorial dispute but a symptom and symbol of resurgent Armenian nationalism. Armenian bureaucrats and intellectuals, the elite of a relatively economically advanced region of the USSR, saw themselves as the favoured children of perestroika. When the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict exploded two years ago, we pointed out that "the Armenian bureaucracy and intelligentsia are pushing themselves forward at the expense of poorer, more culturally backward Azerbaijan" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 450, 8 April 1988).

Azerbaijanis reacted with a bloody pogrom against Armenians in the city of Sumgait, near Baku, in February 1988. Since then terror and counter-terror have driven 600,000 Armenians and Azeris from their homes, producing a mass of vengeful refugees on both sides. In the Azeris' eyes, the Armenians are favoured by the Russians, fellow Christians who have historically regarded themselves protectors of the Armenians against the infidel Turk. Azerbaijani nationalists now look to Iran, where a majority of Azeris live, as their protector. Khomeini's picture is carried in their demonstrations, and the Baku pogromists chanted "Islamic Republic" along with "Down with Armenians!" And now the Azerbaijani enclave of Nakhichevan has proclaimed its independence from the USSR and desire to be part of Iran.

Even more so than in the Caucasus, the resurgence of reactionary nationalism in the Baltic is directly tied to Gorbachev's market-oriented economic program. Like Armenia, the Baltic republics are a relatively advanced region that was slated to be in the vanguard of perestroika. Just as Armenian nationalists look down on Azeris, so Baltic nationalists look down on Russians. They think they will have a bright economic future as the Eastern fringe of the European Common Market.

In his debate with Lithuanian nationalists, Gorbachev accepted their framework. He only argued that an independent Lithuanian economy could not withstand competition in the world market. "You get independence — and switch to world prices — and you'll end up in the soup in no time," the Soviet leader told a crowd in Vilnius. "No, we won't!" people shouted back (*Baltimore Sun*, 12 January). Many Lithuanians foolishly believe they will be generously treated by the Western powers for helping break up the Soviet Union. Lithuanians would do well to look at neighboring Poland, where Solidarność' program of capitalist restoration is driving the economy down to a Third World level.

When the Gorbachev "reformers"

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## No Imperialist Troops to Cambodia!

On September 26, the last detachment of Vietnamese troops left Cambodia. For more than ten years, Vietnamese troops defended the People's Republic of Kampuchea (now Republic of Cambodia) led by Heng Samrin and Hun Sen against the CIA's Cambodian contras and mass murderer Pol Pot. At the cost of the lives of thousands of its young men and much of its own desperately needed resources, Vietnam liberated the Cambodian people from the death grip of Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge. Even the anti-Communist hero of the film *The Killing Fields*, Dith Pran, who worked for the American military in Cambodia during the Indochina war, acknowledged that the Vietnamese intervention "saved them from the Khmer Rouge, who killed more than a million of their own people" (*New York Times Magazine*, 24 September 1989).

Imperialist apologists have relished pointing to Pol Pot's killing fields as the ultimate example of "Communist tyranny." But it was the U.S.' deliberate devastation of Cambodia in the early 1970s, aimed at bombing the region "back to the Stone Age," which prepared the conditions in which Pol Pot's xenophobic barbarism could take root. The United States and its Chinese Stalinist ally have armed and supported this maniacal, anti-Communist mass murderer since 1979, and have been backed to the hilt in this by jackal Australian imperialism. When the Vietnamese toppled Pol Pot, Beijing — in collusion with Washington — responded by invading Vietnam, to teach Hanoi "a bloody lesson." The Chinese invasion was humiliatingly repulsed. Ever since, the U.S. and its allies have demanded Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia as the price for "normalisation of relations." After considerable arm-twisting by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Hanoi finally acquiesced and agreed to pull its troops out. Now Washington demands that the Phnom Penh government commit suicide by "sharing power" with Pol Pot, while the CIA continues to funnel arms and money to Pol Pot through his coalition allies, the fascistic Son Sann and the former "Peacock Prince" Norodom Sihanouk.

But the Cambodian people will never countenance the return of the monster Pol Pot, nor will the Vietnamese masses give up the revolutionary gains which they won through 40 years of struggle against one after another imperialist power. After ten years of Vietnamese assistance, Cambodia can today claim a standing army of 40,000, supported by

a 100,000-strong militia. Vietnam boasts one of the largest and most combat-tested armies in the world. And they will fight to the death before they allow the imperialist marauders and their genocidal puppets to once again wreak havoc on their land. Working people the world over are indebted to the heroic Vietnamese people, whose victory over U.S. and Australian imperialism in 1975 still haunts the imperialist rulers. That debt must be repaid by fighting the counter-revolutionary intrigues of imperialism and its Cambodian contras.

### UN Troops Mean Bloody Counterrevolution

As the Cambodian people farewelled the last Vietnamese troops, the frantic attempts at a diplomatic compromise foundered on Hun Sen's refusal to accept the Khmer Rouge in a "coalition government." A subsequent attempt to arrange a ceasefire by Thai prime minister Chatichai Choonhavan, who wants to turn Indochina "from a battlefield into a marketplace," was no more successful. In a determined, if apprehensive, mood Cambodians braced themselves for renewed civil war; so far the contras have occupied sparsely populated border areas and staged isolated terror attacks in Phnom Penh. The fighting has been desultory, with the contras' major "success" being the capture of the deserted gem-mining town of Pailin. With their demand for Vietnamese troop withdrawal met, the imperialists shifted the goalposts, now insisting that the embargo on Vietnam be maintained until they get a "satisfactory political settlement in Cambodia."

In an attempt to win at the negotiating table what their contras are unable to on the battlefield, the Western imperialists unveiled a fresh diplomatic offensive, with Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans as the front man. Previously the Hawke government had toed the U.S./UN/ASEAN line for inclusion of the genocidal Khmer Rouge in an "interim four-party coalition government" which would conduct elections supervised by the UN. But their pretence that this could not mean returning the Khmer Rouge to power was increasingly untenable and embarrassing. So last November, Evans floated a new scheme: a "Namibian" solution. Under the guns of UN "peacekeeping" troops, the UN would directly take over the administration from the Hun Sen government and organise elections, and Cambodia's UN seat would be declared vacant. This is supposed to get the im-

perialists "off the Khmer Rouge hook" while furthering their aim of installing an anti-Vietnamese regime in Phnom Penh. As before, this means bloody counterrevolution, to be carried out through direct imperialist military invasion under the flag of that "den of thieves," the UN.

All five members of the UN Security Council are in favour, including the USSR and China, as well as ASEAN. Under strong pressure from Moscow and Hanoi, the Hun Sen regime has dropped its opposition to a UN role and agreed to dismantle its Council of Min-

der Hawke, the Australian bourgeoisie has been jostling for a front row spot in its U.S. big brother's crusade for revenge on Vietnam, with Defence Minister Beazley offering a brigade of 3000 troops for a UN "peacekeeping" force in Cambodia a year ago. Their troop commitment to Namibia and threats to send troops into Bougainville are all part of the political preparation.

### Vietnamese Intervention Gave Cambodia a Future!

The Vietnamese Stalinists went into Cambodia out of a sense of self-preser-



Hawke (left) greets Pol Pot's lesser partner and imperialist asset, "Peacock Prince" Norodom Sihanouk, Canberra, 1985.



Pol Pot's genocidal terror killed at least one million Cambodians.

isters. Recently it agreed to allow a Khmer Rouge administration over the territories they control in the lead up to the elections. The Khmer Rouge are recalcitrant, but their patrons, the Chinese Stalinists, are expected to bring them to heel in exchange for the U.S. toning down its hypocritical "condemnation" of their Tienanmen Square massacre. This brazen colonialist plot has to overcome many hurdles to get off the diplomatic drawing board and into the paddy fields of Indochina. Estimates of the number of "UN" troops run up to 80,000, and the bill (doubtless to be footed by Japan) will be billions of dollars. In Australia, the ALP government's desire to send troops back to Indochina will come up against the legacy of opposition to Australia's dirty role in the Vietnam War. The defeat in Vietnam cut against hard White Australia racism and forged real bonds of solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. Maritime workers in particular took strike action: in 1967, in 1972 against Nixon's Christmas bombing and also in 1979 against China's invasion in the service of imperialism. Working class power must again be mobilised against the bloody imperialists' intrigues around the slogans: Defend Cambodia, Defend the Vietnamese Revolution! No imperialist troops to Indochina!

The bourgeoisie has been puffing itself up about how the "Evans plan" is such a success for "Australian diplomacy." But the role Australian lackey imperialism plays in Indochina and throughout the region is not that of independent "honest broker" but slavish junior partner. Evans is merely U.S. imperialism's ventriloquist's doll — the real author of the plan was powerful U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz. Un-

der Hawke, the Australian bourgeoisie has been jostling for a front row spot in its U.S. big brother's crusade for revenge on Vietnam, with Defence Minister Beazley offering a brigade of 3000 troops for a UN "peacekeeping" force in Cambodia a year ago. Their troop commitment to Namibia and threats to send troops into Bougainville are all part of the political preparation.

The Khmer Rouge immediately began attacking Vietnam and ethnic Vietnamese living in Cambodia. In late 1975 the Mekong River was again full of bodies, as the Khmer Rouge shot or hacked to death longtime Vietnamese residents whose presence was seen as a form of ethnic colonisation. Endemic mass starvation and accompanying mass terror produced violent instability and a widening spiral of purges within the regime, becoming utter madness in 1977-78. Following three more years of border harassment and an attempted full-scale invasion by the Khmer Rouge regime in 1977, in January 1979 the Vietnamese army and Cambodian auxiliaries moved in to drive out Pol Pot.

Today Phnom Penh has grown from a ghost town to a real city of 800,000 with bustling markets full of goods. Agricultural output, which involves 80 percent of the population, has increased



dramatically. Rice production alone has quadrupled since 1979, with last year's harvest of 2.7 million tons almost matching that of 1969. In 1979, only 45 of the country's 450 doctors remained; since then, more than 350 new doctors have been trained, as well as 550 medical assistants. A high school in Tuol Sleng, which was transformed by Pol Pot into a torture centre where some 20,000 people were put to death, is today a "holocaust museum" in memory of the victims.

In *Kampuchea - Punishing the Poor* (1988), Oxfam aid worker Eva Mysliwiec describes the enormous strides forward by the Kampuchean people in the area of education since the Vietnamese went in: "Of the 22,000 teachers in the country at the beginning of 1970, only 7,000 remained in 1979 and only 5,000 of them returned to teaching. Since then more than 50,000 teachers have been trained and retrained in the new teacher training centres located in each province." The government places particular emphasis on "education of minorities and the development of minority regions, especially along the more remote northeastern areas bordering Laos and Vietnam." Children through the age of 13 are guaranteed universal primary education. And by 1987 fully 83 percent of the adult population had become functionally literate, the result of two massive literacy campaigns mobilising teachers, the women's association, the youth corps and trade unions. In one of the poorest countries in the world, this is a tremendous achievement.

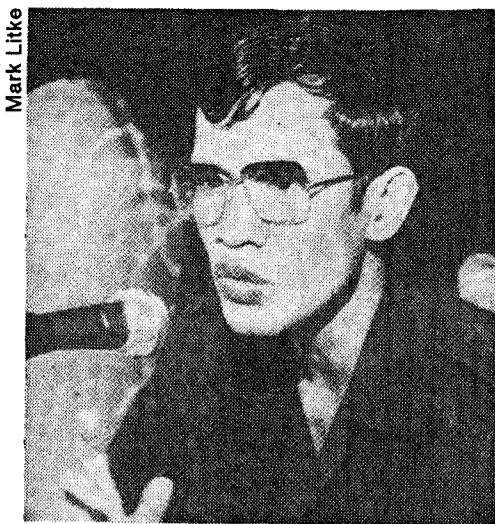
When the Vietnamese went into Cambodia in 1979, we said that history would decide whether they would be seen as national oppressors or liberators. That verdict is clear: today the Khmer people once again have a future.

### Smash Imperialist Blockade of Indochina!

Pol Pot's murderous horror brought Cambodia to the brink of extinction but the mass murder had begun long before. Australia's ASIS agency lent a hand to the CIA in the 1970 Lon Nol coup that plunged Cambodia into all-out war. In the six months between February and August 1973 alone, U.S. B-52s dropped one and a half times as many bombs (over 250,000 tons) on Cambodia as the total tonnage dropped on Japan during all of World War II. For four years, starting in 1969, the U.S. repeatedly carpetbombed the country, with the aim of turning the richest agricultural region of Indochina into a barren wasteland. Over one-fourth of the Cambodian population, some two million people, was killed between 1969 and 1979, while an equal number of Vietnamese died in the war against the imperialists and their puppet regimes in Saigon.

The American ruling class, like its Australian lackey, has never reconciled itself to the humiliating, stinging defeat it suffered at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in April 1975. It set out to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution by starving the people into submission. Washington promptly reneged on \$3.25 billion in war reparations it had agreed to give Vietnam in the 1973 Paris Peace Accords. Subsequently, the U.S. imposed a full-scale economic embargo on Vietnam, pressuring its NATO allies and Japan to go along. As soon as it took office in 1983, the Hawke government reneged on the ALP's promise to restore aid to Vietnam. In 1987, Washington even put the squeeze on Tokyo to keep Honda from building a motorbike factory in Ho Chi Minh City. Today Cambodia is the only underdeveloped country in the Third World not to receive any UN aid.

In their vindictive and unremitting onslaught against the Vietnamese Revolution, the imperialists seek to restore the horrors of the Pol Pot regime to the Cambodian people. The UN, which for ten years has based its exclusion of the



Cambodian Premier, Hun Sen (left). Last Vietnamese soldiers left Phnom Penh in September last year, having rescued the Khmer people from barbarism and rebuilt the country.

real government of Cambodia on the Vietnamese military presence, last November voted yet again at American insistence to seat Pol Pot, adding a mild admonishment that there be no "return to past policies."

Nobody, not even Washington, thinks its Cambodian contras are strong enough to seriously challenge the Phnom Penh regime. The *Washington Post* (4 October 1989) concedes that their strategy is "not to topple the Phnom Penh government militarily, but to force it to make concessions on power sharing with the three resistance groups." The anti-Communist guerrillas are trained by the British SAS, while every move of the "resistance" is planned and coordinated by the CIA through the so-called Cambodian Working Group in Bangkok, "the conduit for all lethal, materiel and financial aid" (*New York Times*, 16 November 1989). All of this is part of the imperialists' longstanding policy to "bleed Vietnam white."

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured into the "refugee camps" on the Thai-Cambodian border by the U.S. and its allies directly or through the UN to sustain the anti-Communist military forces taking the field against Phnom Penh today. Eva Mysliwiec quotes a UN worker in Cambodia: "If the UN stopped feeding the soldiers' wives and families the resistance would stop." The "refugee camps" are in fact heavily armed military bases run by dictatorial warlords; their residents are hostages kept in concentration camp conditions. The *New York Times Magazine* (5 March 1989) described life in the Khmer Rouge camps, where marriage is "discouraged" until men are 40 and women 30, and girls as young as 12 are forced into "women's transportation units" to haul ammunition: "There is, as well, a subclass, treated as subhuman, virtually as instruments or logistics. They include anyone without a party or military role, and they are kept isolated and illiterate.... These unfortunates are kept captive for years in secret camps."

While the U.S. and Australia have tried to distance themselves from Pol Pot by claiming they only support the Son Sann and Sihanouk forces, even the *London Economist* (4 November 1989) notes that "Khmer Rouge soldiers are giving support to the two non-communist resistance forces." Son Sann's men, adds the *Economist*, "have had more experience of smuggling than fighting," while "the prince's men have been busy celebrating his birthday." Even if they were not tied to the Khmer Rouge, Sihanouk and Son Sann are sinister enough in their own right. While on the throne, Sihanouk and his elite lorded it over the starving peasantry. Son Sann not only modelled himself on the bloody butcher Chiang Kai-shek but actually served as Chiang's agent for many years. Son Sann's military chief, General Dien Del, served the Lon Nol regime which approved the massive U.S. carpet-bombing of Cambodia.

Imperialist support for Pol Pot has been one of the dirtier stories of Cold War II, but the UN plan has been accompanied by an especially cynical exer-



cise in manipulating "public opinion" in preparation for the shift in line. All of a sudden the media rediscovered the horrors of the Pol Pot regime and began issuing alarming warnings of the danger of the Khmer Rouge returning to power, backed by exaggerated claims of its battlefield "successes" which relied entirely on its own wild propaganda. An important role in this country was played by the screening in November of John Pilger's powerful TV documentary recently filmed in Cambodia, exposing the barbarity of the Khmer Rouge and the Western support which has sustained them. Pilger urged that pressure be put on the Hawke government to take a progressive stand and recognise the Hun Sen government. But the illusions peddled by reformists and nationalists that Australian imperialism, a racist bastion of reaction, can be pressured into switching to the side of the oppressed only serve the preparations of Hawke/Evans/Beazley for new counterrevolutionary wars at the side of Uncle Sam. The imperialists are not going into Cambodia to defend the people against their genocidal Pol Pot creature. Rather they see Gorbachev's seemingly limitless willingness to betray the Soviet Union's allies as their best chance yet to reverse their defeat by the Vietnamese Revolution.

### For Communist Unity Against Imperialism!

Moscow's short-sighted, futile and dangerous attempt to conciliate the war-crazed madmen in Washington is doubly treacherous when it comes to Vietnam. It was the blood of the millions of Vietnamese maimed and killed fighting U.S. imperialism which bought precious time for the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear parity with the U.S. Moreover, the Vietnamese victory gave the Soviet navy access to the strategic deepwater port at Cam Ranh Bay. But now most Soviet air and naval forces have been pulled out of Cam Ranh Bay and the rest are to follow. Dropping the previous demand that such withdrawal would hinge on the

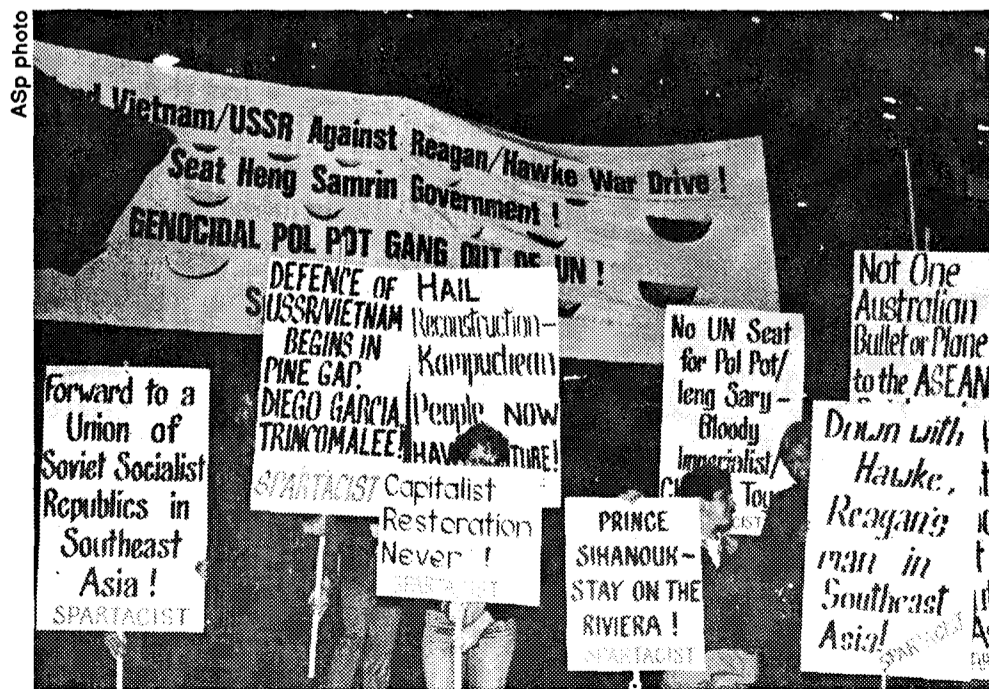
U.S. getting out of its Philippine bases, Gorbachev has effectively abandoned any challenge to Pax Americana in South East Asia.

For poverty-stricken Vietnam, fending off the counterrevolutionary alliance directed against it is an enormous economic burden, involving maintaining the fourth-largest standing army in the world. The reunification of the country in 1975 posed the difficult task of absorbing the corrupt capitalist south into the collectivised economy, while at the same time rebuilding a devastated country. In recent years Hanoi has implemented the policy of *doi moi*, which encourages small business and joint ventures. *Doi moi* seems to have had some success in revitalising the economy. Eric Scigliano in the *Nation* (25 September 1989) reports that "Ho Chi Minh City's streets are full of well-stocked vendors carrying domestic and imported goods," and even in Hanoi "Modest retail, repair and craftsmen's shops now fill what were shuttered street fronts."

No less committed to the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" than the Kremlin Stalinists, the Vietnamese government continues to labour under the illusion that it can somehow fashion a deal with its imperialist tormentors. For years Hanoi has appealed to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to turn its gunsights away from Vietnam and toward China. Vietnam hoped that its withdrawal from Cambodia would open the floodgates of Western capital. But while the West Europeans and Japanese are increasingly chafing at Washington's irrational campaign of vengeance, the U.S. has again successfully pressured the IMF to deny Vietnam any new funding.

Meanwhile, Phnom Penh tries to lure Sihanouk away from the Khmer Rouge with concessions. As Nayan Chanda writes in the U.S. journal *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1989): "To persuade Prince Sihanouk to join the coalition, Phnom Penh has made substantial changes in the

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Spartacist League demonstration in Sydney, September 1983, demands "Genocidal Pol Pot Gang out of UN!"

# Trotskyist Press Reaches East German Militants

## What the Spartacists Want

*This political statement by the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) appears in every issue of Arprekorr.*

The Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stands in the revolutionary Marxist tradition of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. We fight for the communist program and ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution which have for decades been perverted and betrayed by Stalinism.

From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world-historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy grew out of and fed upon proletarian defeats, notably of the German revolution. Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-socialist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. To this end, the bureaucracy subverts revolutionary struggles internationally and robs the working class of political power at home.

True to the program of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. We call for proletarian political revolution, the rule of workers soviets, to replace the corrupt parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies who endanger the socialist foundations of the workers states. Defend the historic gains of the working class achieved through the overthrow of capitalism — Defend the Soviet Union

against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The enormous economic and political pressure of Western capitalism, abetted by the Social Democrats — heirs of the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht — aims at bloody counterrevolution in East Europe. We Trotskyists oppose a capitalist reunification of Germany. No to a Deutsche Bank republic! Soviet power in the DDR would inspire the workers of West Germany — For a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

As proletarian internationalists, we support all anti-imperialist struggles for liberation of workers and the oppressed, from El Salvador to South Africa. We salute the heroic defenders of Jalalabad against the CIA's Afghan cutthroats.

All manifestations of racism and chauvinism must be fought. For workers united fronts to smash the fascists! Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers!

We stand for a planned, socialised economy free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through soviet democracy. Factory committees must oversee production. Democratically elected consumer cooperatives must oversee the quality and prices of goods.

The issue posed pointblank today is which class shall rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The fate of the DDR and every social gain it embodies is at stake. We stand with those members and

recent ex-members of the Stalinist SED, as well as numerous others seeking to build a socialist world, who vow that the heirs of Hitler must not expropriate that which, by the workers' toil, has arisen out of the ruins.

The key is forging a Leninist-egalitarian party, regrouping all revolutionary internationalist forces in a German section of a reborn Fourth International. Let us begin: build Spartakist Groups, to assimilate the lessons of past revolutionary struggles, to intervene with



revolutionary propaganda, to forge a new KPD — a mass communist vanguard party that will lead the German workers in their struggles on the road to power.

To learn from Lenin and Trotsky is to learn to win! ■

L.Y. Leonidov



Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Communist International.

## Internationalist Greetings to Our Vietnamese Comrades

*The following statement of internationalist greetings is being distributed to Vietnamese workers in the DDR and was also printed in Arprekorr No. 6 (14 December).*

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution welcomed revolutionary fighters of all lands as equal citizens in the new soviet republic. So too the German workers political revolution holds out to you, our class brothers, the hand of internationalist solidarity.

Revolutionary workers of the DDR respect deeply the lasting contributions you and your countrymen have made in your victorious struggle against the bloody French and U.S. imperialists. We recognise the bitter sacrifices you have made to hold off the genocidal forces of Pol Pot in Cambodia, in the face of vengeful imperialism's drive to starve the Vietnamese people.

You have lived and worked in this country, suffering low wages, abuse, miserable housing. A new Germany ruled by the genuine workers soviet

democracy of workers and soldiers councils — a red Germany which Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht would recognise as their own — will extend to you what you have earned: decent pay and housing, social equality, dignity, freedom and honour.

Join with us to help rid the DDR of abusive Stalinism and to help defeat those who would bring back the capitalism of Hitler's Third Reich and its successor, Kohl's Fourth Reich. Together we can fight the Western imperialists who are starving your families and comrades back home. Together we can fight the desperate poverty and Stalinist practices which threaten your homeland.

Form solidarity committees to help carry forward this workers revolution in Germany — together we can point the way forward to a future of socialist abundance for all mankind.

— Spartakist Gruppen  
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands  
Postfach 21 07 50  
1000 Westberlin 21  
Tel: (0 30) 8 82 39 64

Cách mệnh quốc tế chào đón các bạn Việt Nam!  
Internationalistische Grüße an unsere vietnamesischen Genossen!  
Internationaleistische приветы к нашим вьетнамским товарищам!  
Salutations internationalistes à nos camarades vietnamiens!  
Internationalist greetings to our Vietnamese comrades!

Cách mạng tháng Mười 1917 đã đón mừng chiến sĩ cách mạng từ mọi quốc gia như chính những công dân của công hòa xã hội Việt.

mừng các bạn như thế, bởi vì kết quả tốt.

ni quốc thân phục sức xa những làm trong cuộc đấu tranh Mỹ. Chung tôi nhìn nhận những ung Pol Pot tại Campuchia, m phong tỏa kinh tế Việt Nam.

Интернационалистический привет нашим товарищам советским солдатам и офицерам!

Зной 1917 года большевистская революция открыла перед человечеством возможность жить в условиях коммунистической солидарности. Эта революция одним из первых привлекла немецкий пролетариат. А нынешней зной немецкая рабочая политическая революция обращается к вам, наши друзья — советские солдаты и офицеры, защитники от империализма Западе, и протягивает вам руку интернационалистской солидарности!

Революционные рабочие ГДР г величайшие жертвы Красной армии. Сегодня мы выступаем, чтобы сталинизм, а также против тех, кто капитализма "третьего рейха" Гитлер Коля. Мы выступаем за новую настоящей рабочей демократии в ли это новая красная Германия, которую Люксембург и Либкнехт, будет олицетворять.

Долгие годы вы и ваши отцы с строе наших общин завоевания от : строе завоеваний рабочего класса, поражения капитализма. Далеко от приносили личные жертвы. Мы приверженцы службе, и нам бы хотелось, разобщенный с вашими немецкими

Наши братья — советские солдаты год станет причиной для совместной волея которого вы и ваши семьи, подли

¡Saludos internacionalistas a nuestros compañeros cubanos!

Internationalistische Grüße an unsere kubanischen Genossen!  
Internationalist Greetings to our Cuban Comrades!

La Revolución Bolchevique de 1917 acogió a todos los luchadores revolucionarios del mundo como ciudadanos plenos en la nueva república soviética. Así también la revolución política proletaria alemana les ofrece a ustedes, nuestros hermanos de clase, la mano de la solidaridad internacionalista.

Los obreros (evolucionarios de la RDA saludan las aportaciones duraderas que Uds. y sus compatriotas han hecho en su victoriosa revolución contra los sanguinarios imperialistas norteamericanos y sus aliados burgueses cubanos.

Statements of revolutionary solidarity, distributed by Spartakist Groups to Soviet soldiers and Vietnamese and Cuban Immigrant workers in East Germany.



12 January 1990

## East Berlin Protest Against Fascist Desecration of Soviet War Memorial

# 250,000 Say: No Nazis in East Germany!

JANUARY 9—When a quarter of a million people rallied at a Soviet war memorial in East Berlin last Wednesday to protest Nazi provocations and express their will to defend the DDR against the reimposition of capitalism, it wasn't news the American press found fit to print. Clearly, the U.S. rulers understand the greatest obstacle to their bloody schemes is the unfolding political revolution.

"The imperialists thought they already had the DDR in their pockets. Now they are going wild because it isn't so. Their media have built up the reunification intoxication with reports on the Monday demonstration in Leipzig that incite to violence. But the 250,000 anti-fascists who assembled Wednesday evening in Treptower Park in order to protest the frightful desecration of the monument to the slain Soviet soldiers thereby delivered a mighty blow to those wishing to undermine the DDR."

Thus did our German comrades respond in *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* (No. 16, 8 January) to a rabid campaign that the West German bourgeois press mounted after the rally grotesquely attempting to make the Communist Party (SED) responsible for fascist provocations, with headlines like "Fear in the DDR—The SED's Nazi Trick" and "SED Profits from Neo-Fascism." The provocations at the Treptow Monument and in Gera, where stars were broken off Soviet gravestones, the repeated vandalism of Jewish graves in East Berlin, are no "trick." The growth of Schönhuber's Republikaner fascists and



January 3, Treptower Park, East Berlin: banner of TLD/International Communist League says: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!" Spartakist

the proliferation of skinhead attacks on immigrant workers in West Germany, and the efforts of their counterparts to raise their heads in the DDR, where they have been able to parade as part of sizable pro-

reunification marches, are a deadly serious matter.

Of course the SED government of the DDR has used the neo-Nazi menace as an argument for reorganizing and

strengthening the state security apparatus.

This was a theme of the speech made at the anti-fascist rally by SED head Gregor Gysi, picked up by several other

*continued on page 8*

### Trotskyist Addresses SED-Supported Rally

## "For a New Workers Party!"

The following transcript of the speech by Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands speaker Renate Dahlhaus to the anti-Nazi rally in Treptower Park is translated from the 4 January Arprekorr.

Comrades, Anti-fascists:

We will never forget that 20 million Soviet citizens gave their lives to smash Hitler's fascism. They must not have died in vain.

When the fascists committed their outrage here, the Trotskyist League and Spartakist Gruppen immediately took the initiative for today's demonstration. The fascists are raising their heads here in the DDR, in Erfurt, Dresden, Görlitz, Halle. What is urgently needed is the militant mobilization of the working

people, including immigrant workers, comrades from Vietnam, Poland and Mozambique, to stop and to crush the fascist beast while it is still small.

The Leninist united front, the workers united front that Trotsky fought for in the early '30s, was needed then and is needed today to stop the Nazis.

If the fascists are smashed they cannot make a bid for power. But that means that the working class must be organized and strong and a contender for power. The highest form of the united front in a revolutionary situation like we are going through today is the workers and soldiers soviet.

As long as capitalism exists there is a cycle of struggles which keep recurring. There is less of a

*continued on page 8*



TLD speaker at January 3 rally. Spartakist

# New Workers Party...

(continued from page 7)

material basis for fascists in the DDR because the natural base of fascism, capitalism, does not exist here today. A political revolution has broken out and is growing in our midst, and we must defend it.

Economic absorption and political incorporation by stages—which West German imperialism, aided by the SPD, seeks—can turn this political revolution into a social counterrevolution. This must not happen! It is necessary to fight against it!

That's right, stop the Nazis through a workers united front! We have to think further. Our economy is suffering from waste and obsolescence. The SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this. East Germany urgently needs selective.... [Interjections] Comrades, learn to listen, learn what a united front means.

What is urgently needed is a selective modernization of existing industry. With us in the DDR things are very different than in those countries, the other "socialist" countries which adhere to Stalin's concept of building "socialism in one country," and demonstrate that it is a transparent stupidity. We have hard choices—we must understand the danger of being at the mercy of the world market.

Comrades, fighting against the sellout of the DDR means getting clear in our minds that we are not going to wind up at the mercy of the world market controlled by the imperialists and the Deutsche Bank. The means for selling out the DDR is the Social Democracy—that had better be known to us all.

Do not be deceived: the military threat of imperialism, which continues to be organized above all by the American ruling class, still persists. Yesterday, today and tomorrow they use direct and indirect military violence to achieve their aim.

This is directed centrally against the

## Funds Urgently Needed for German Trotskyist Press

Thousands of working people in the DDR, as well as cadres of the SED, soldiers and students, have encountered the Trotskyist press for the first time in recent months. Particularly gratifying has been the response to *Arprekorr* (Workers Press Correspondence), which was published on an almost-daily basis in the two weeks prior to the holiday season and which has now recommenced frequent publication.

The need is great for *Arprekorr* as the "collective organizer" and voice of pro-socialist workers who want to root out Stalinism and build workers democracy and to resist the sellout of the DDR to the West German bankers and NATO imperialists. *Arprekorr's* program—the fight for workers and soldiers councils as the only way that counterposed policies can be freely debated and decided; the call to mobilize the working class in united-front action to repulse resurgent fascism's anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet provocations; the slogan of revolutionary reunification of Germany through workers power East and West; the advocacy of a new communist-egalitarian party in the spirit of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht—have struck a deep chord. Yet this promising beginning is now threatened by an excruciating lack of funds.

Once again today, Germany is the key to all of Europe. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) has thrown our slender resources—cadre and funds—into the rapidly developing political revolution in the DDR. In response to our public fund appeals, supporters and readers of *WV* have come forward. But today we are confronted anew with the seeming inevitability of a drastic curtailment of *Arprekorr's* frequency. As the discredited Stalinist system is wracked by crisis in country after country, the workers must organize to take the leadership of society; already the capitalists and their agents—on the left the



Delegates to December 1989 SED conference crowd around Trotskyist literature table.

social democrats and on the terrorist far-right the fascists—are preparing to leap into the breach. All those who hate and fear the spectre of a reunified capitalist "Fourth Reich" must show their concrete support for the German Trotskyist press. There is so little time.

Please make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, GPO Box 3473, Sydney 2001. (Earmark for "3L's Fund")

Soviet Union and everywhere that the capitalists have been eliminated as a class, or where imperialism hopes that it has an opportunity. The Soviet Union practices its own economic autarky which is not particularly beneficial to us and has led the Soviet Union into grave economic difficulties.

Lenin said, "Politics is concentrated economics." The fight for the power to make these decisions and to run this country must lie in the hands of workers councils so that rational decisions satisfactory to the majority can be arrived at. This can only be done through open and sometimes painful debates before the

whole people. Perhaps our example will encourage the Soviet Union to take the same road. [Interjections]

Comrades, listen and learn that only through painful and open debates can the road to socialism be opened.

The Soviet Union will certainly take the same road, and that would also assist us in jointly solving economic and political problems and in the defense of our states, our workers states, which are presently transitional, broken from capitalism but certainly not yet socialist.

Comrades, as everybody knows, the power.... [Interjections] Comrades, as you know, the SED's monopoly of power

has been broken. The masses are free to speak their minds. Learn to listen to them. It is only through the benevolent pressure of the Soviet Army that this has been made possible. What is lacking here is real organized conflicting political parties in struggle, a precondition for real workers democracy.

These are some of the concerns and some of the aims we seek to address as we fight to forge a new workers party—of equal rights, equal duties—in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Stop the Nazis through united-front action! Workers and soldiers Soviets to power! Workers of the world unite! ■

# East Berlin Protest...

(continued from page 7)

speakers. But what supreme hypocrites are the mouthpieces of West German imperialism, whose own legal structure and state machinery (particularly the secret police and anti-Soviet spy agencies)

came straight from the Third Reich!

The same *Arprekorr* article noted: "What we hold against the SED here is not that it makes this question into a focus for the elections, but rather that the Nazi danger cannot be eliminated by elections. That is why it was particularly important that at the Treptow demonstrations [a smaller demonstration was held the previous Saturday, organized by the DDR-Soviet friendship association], for the first time in the DDR's history,

Trotskyists were able to speak, and called for a workers united front, workers militias, and workers and soldiers councils."

The previous issue of *Arprekorr* (No. 15, 4 January) reported: "When the horrible graffiti on the Treptow Memorial were reported last Friday, broad layers of the populace were deeply shocked. The Spartakist Gruppen, recently founded in the DDR in cooperation with the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands, condemned this provocation immediately and energetically

in a 28 December letter to the commander of the group of Soviet armed forces in Germany, Army General B.V. Snetkov. In conjunction with this we called for a workers united-front action on Wednesday at the Treptow Memorial."

We brought this call directly to the SED leadership and urged their participation. We indicated that from our contact with sections of the working people in East Berlin after the atrocity, we believed deep anti-fascist and pro-Soviet sentiment could be mobilized by united-front protest. We said we intended to distribute over 100,000 copies of our own call for the protest (see page 2) mostly in working-class areas. In response to criticisms of our call (particularly our "tone" toward the policies of the social democrats), we urged others to issue their own calls and slogans. We solicited endorsements and speakers, including anti-fascist militants from West Germany.

When the SED decided to throw its weight behind the demonstration, it certainly succeeded in swamping our smaller forces. On Tuesday, January 2, calls for the demonstration were featured on the front pages of the SED's *Neues Deutschland* and its youth press (*Junge Welt*). The *ND* call for a "fighting mobilization" (full mobilization of the membership), raising the SED's own slogans for a popular front "against the Right," gave a list of sponsors of the protest, not including the TLD and SG. Meanwhile, DDR radio's announcements for the event credited its initiation to us. Finally, Wednesday morning's *ND* (DDR edition) featured a call for the mobilization including the TLD and SG in the endorsers list.

At several points during the speech of the TLD's Renate Dahlhaus (see page 1), raucous loudmouths attempted in time-

and officers. The German workers movement has the strength to sweep away those who carried out their murderous work under the cover of night and fog.

- For united workers militias under the control of workers and soldiers councils! Workers and soldiers councils to power! For a Leninist-egalitarian party!
- From the bloodhound Noske/Ebert/Scheidemann to Brandt/Lafontaine: Social Democracy is the Trojan horse of counterrevolution!
- Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!
- For economic revitalization through central planning under workers councils!
- No sellout of the DDR—The DDR must not become the Panama of German imperialism! For a red soviet Germany!

Wednesday, 3 January 1990, 18:00  
S-Bahnhof Treptower Park  
Parkseite, Berlin

Spartakist Gruppen  
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands

## TLD, Spartakist Gruppen Mobilizing Call

# Stop the Nazis Through United Front Action!

We reprint below the text of the demonstration call issued January 1 by the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands and the Spartakist Gruppen.

The vile desecration of the Memorial to Fallen Soviet Heroes in Treptow on December 28 provokes disgust and outrage among millions of workers and broad layers of the population of the DDR. This provocation is directed as well at our workers state, which was built on the ruins of Hitler fascism.

Tens of thousands of workers from Berlin factories and throughout the DDR and BRD must be mobilized in powerful united-front actions to crush these killers. And it must be now, before it is too late! We also turn to our

colleagues from Vietnam, Poland and Mozambique, who particularly suffer from anti-foreigner hatred and racist violence.

Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified *Großdeutschland* appear. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany. Throttling the hydra-headed fascist monster now is to blunt this Social Democratic penetration.

It is the foremost task of the working people to sweep away the sinister Nazi pack. In carrying out this mission, we extend the hand of fraternal solidarity to our brother Soviet soldiers



## Reply to ND...

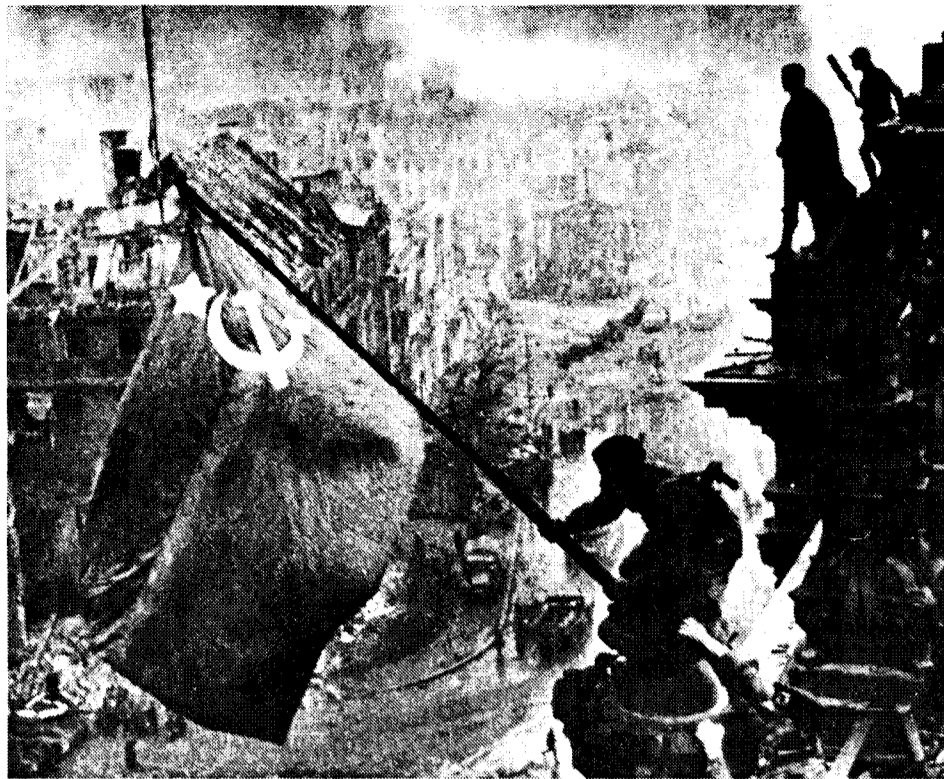
(continued from page 10)

working class. In severe factional struggle V.I. Lenin and his Bolshevik comrades successfully fought to build the party that was capable both of leading the workers in their daily struggles and of leading the masses to victory. In the 1905 Revolution the party fell short of its goal. In 1917 it did not. This time, the revolution had been goaded to new heights by the horrors of the imperialist world war. And the party had won over the best of other Marxian socialists such as Trotsky. It brought to victory the workers revolution with the participation of ranks from the old tsarist army and with the support of masses of the poorer peasants.

To assist in building other parties capable of finding the road to victory in their own countries, Lenin and his comrades insisted that a Third, Communist International was essential. Revolutions are not sucked out of the thumbs of would-be revolutionaries. But if victory is to be possible, it must be prepared by those who would be the revolutionary vanguard. This preparation is necessary so that such Marxist-Leninist parties can intersect the spontaneous, elemental upheaval of the masses, winning over the heavy battalions of workers and defeating the counterrevolutionary forces. And the newly established workers states which issue out of victory must engage in organic political and economic collaboration against imperialism, as long as imperialism continues to exist.

Stalin and Bukharin's "socialism in one country" paved the way for the terrible counterrevolutionary victory of Hitler and the Nazis in Germany. This in turn led to the second imperialist war: the Nazi regime challenged the gains of the Western imperialists from the First World War, sought to destroy the Soviet Union, and murdered entire peoples, particularly the Jews, and with especial ferocity in the East. As opposed to Stalin/Thälmann's line of "social fascism," Trotsky insistently proposed to the German proletariat in the early '30s the workers united front against the Nazi danger—"march separately, strike together." The Stalinist "theory" is the direct negation of Lenin and Trotsky's strategy. But embarrassed or misguided Stalinists still attempt to peddle it, poorly concealed behind the empty empiricism that "you can't export revolution."

Despite Stalinist dogma and despite Stalin's beheading of the Red Army, the Soviet working people smashed Hitlerite fascism. It was they, comrades, who "exported" the revolution to the Elbe—



Hammer and sickle flies over the Reichstag as Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi terror regime, 30 April 1945.

on the bayonets of the Red Army, founded by Leon Trotsky.

The nationally based Stalinist bureaucracies want to smash up the preconditions for revolutionary success. History shows that among these preconditions is the building of an internationalist revolutionary workers party. It must have free access to the experience of other such parties. It must provide, in the framework of a common International, for free and vigorous debate among the best, most far-sighted and self-sacrificing elements in the working classes worldwide.

This is the real counterposition between Dr. Steiniger's arguments in *Neues Deutschland* and the work of Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was murdered by Stalin, who hoped to finally destroy the Leninist perspective. But the Leninist-Trotskyist perspective continues to be pursued today by the Spartacists, as in Germany—East and West—where they are organized in and around the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands. Today the West German working class is being squeezed by the employers, who together with their Social Democratic lackeys tell the workers that for Deutsche Bank penetration of the East they must sacrifice more.

Meanwhile DDR workers are more restless and vocal. They are seeking political revolution against Stalinism, so typified by the decades-long history and conduct of the SED leadership. One need only mention the names of misleaders such as Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and Erich Honecker. But they, as now

revealed, have stood at the head of a mass party of mostly pro-socialist and class-conscious workers.

The conditions in the DDR are very ripe for the rejection of Stalinism and the introduction of thoroughgoing workers democracy. This also means halting the export of counterrevolution from the West—the penetration of West German capital and the political assimilation of the DDR into a "Fourth Reich." It is significant that Dr. Steiniger in *ND* makes no mention of the greatest danger facing the DDR today, namely Brandt/Lafontaine's SPD, which intends to export capitalism to the DDR "democratically." Thus Steiniger/Gysi's "realism" disarms DDR workers in the face of imperialism's SPD/SDP Trojan horse. The presence of Soviet military forces in East Germany today is positive, but it is at the mercy of the Gorbachev regime, which engages in a seemingly endless series of capitulations to imperialism.

Defense of East German workers—and this also means foreign workers living in the DDR—is at the head of the agenda. Fascist provocateurs must be swept away and the lethal embrace of the Social Democrats rejected. The *Kampfgruppen* [SED factory militias] must be broadened and transformed as the core of a mass workers militia under the control of workers and soldiers councils. These councils should include representatives of the proletariat's allies like office workers and the retired. Soviet democracy embodying the allegiance of the working people is necessary to fight fascist provocation and capitalist absorption into the West. These tasks require the fighting unity of the working class. At the same time, the fight for the party of its proletarian vanguard requires Bolshevik clarity. The only way to defend the gains of the workers and smash the fascists is by establishing workers soviet power in all Germany in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

As we go to press, the West German press has shifted to a new line of attack against the anti-fascist mobilization: they are demanding the SED suppress the Trotskyists who dared to denounce the social democracy! (We haven't heard so much advice from the bosses about who the workers' "real" friends are since the halcyon days of anti-socialist Polish Solidarność.) And at the DDR's Round Table conference yesterday, the East German SDP demanded the SED "disavow" the TLD/SG call which termed the social democrats "the Trojan horse of counter-revolution." Gysi replied that when a rally is called, who comes and what they say "is no longer to be orchestrated, fortunately," and chided Round Table participants for not participating.

After 40 years of bureaucratic commandism at the top and atomization at the base, a different set of working-class political traditions must be forged in the spirit of Leninist internationalism. The January 3 rally gave voice to millions of DDR citizens ready to fight the new rise of fascism. This readiness must be given organization under the leadership of an aroused, conscious, confident working class. As a first step we suggest joint patrols to guard the graves of Soviet soldiers, composed of Soviet and DDR soldiers and factory-based workers militias. ■

dishonored Stalinist fashion to interrupt with hostile interjections and chants of "SED-PDS." *Arprekorr* No. 15 said: "They wanted to hear nothing of the failure of the SED's political monopoly, no words of criticism of Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika economic reforms in the USSR. They even resorted to booing our call for workers and soldiers councils to power."

But today, many workers and soldiers urgently see the need for organization to express their own will. After 40 years, the lid has come off, the bureaucracy is paralyzed and split, the economy is in trouble, and even the SED has discovered the abuses of "Stalinism" and admits the state ought not to be synonymous with one-party rule. Despite the "dissolving" of various bodies and central committees, "somebody" is selling the plants to the West. The TLD and SG speakers' remarks properly went beyond the points of agreement among the demonstrators to touch on key questions which must be and are being debated widely. If they were received impolitely by many of those at the rally, who equate defense of the DDR with SED party loyalty, nonetheless the revolutionary pole was heard clearly and was beamed throughout the DDR on radio and television. Some 35,000 pieces of our literature were sold.

## Red Soap Bubbles...

(continued from page 10)

the vast majority of those questioned prefer—despite partial objections—a socialist ordering of society.

The left—which can by no means be restricted to the SED-PDS that has opposed the right—must in my opinion take as its point of departure two priorities: In the foreground stand preservation of this country's independence as a state and the maintenance of everything that really has to do with socialism. In the DDR today left means someone who advocates these two goals, defends unity of the left on that basis, and thus opens optimal electoral chances for those who support them. The left addresses those who do not want the socialist German state to become a playground for "election campaign advisers" from the West German political scene who would like to prepare a cold *Anschluss*, making use of the "Home to the Reich" crowd.

"Resolute anti-fascism, rejection of hate of foreigners and Germanophile nationalism—united against the right!" is the slogan that unites us with all those who have drawn serious lessons from German history. The danger threatening from the right is the most important integrating factor for the left, one that doesn't exclude non-party people, members of the established parties and supporters of Neues Forum, of the Green Party, of the United Left, the SDP, the "Spartakists" and others, any more than Ossietzky Prize winner Pastor Friedrich Schorlemmer.

Naturally the SED-PDS—which must resist any dissolution of its theoretical/ideological roots and bases—has a political profile of its own, which makes it impossible to confuse it with others holding similar views on a number of questions. It can contribute—while clearly distancing itself from Stalinist thought patterns and practices—the experiences of its members in constructing a society that is in many important areas defensible and in strengthening the sovereignty of the DDR. Its clear orientation to the working people remains indispensable. The sole force whose electoral victory can guarantee the continued existence of the social foundations which have been created is the left, above all, however, our party.

Whoever wants, here and now, to fight against the right must join with those who are ready for radical reforms in the spirit of renewal without abandoning tested social content. With those who seek the broadest possible alliance in action. With those who do not act like defeatists and permanently lament their own debacle, but rather have learned from Marx and Engels that a defeat as well can bear within itself the seeds of future victory if one draws the proper conclusions from it and is willing to fight.

Dr. Klaus Steiniger

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# Reply to Neues Deutschland Stalinists

## Yes, Revolution Is Real

## And "Class Peace" Is Utopian!

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 66 (3 January 1990), the now-weekly newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands. The article is a reply to a polemic against the TLD (see "On Red Soap Bubbles and Reality," this page) in the 29 December 1989 Neues Deutschland, central organ of the ruling Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS) of East Germany.

On December 29 Neues Deutschland, in a prominent article on page 3, paid tribute to the enthusiastic reception our politics are getting, particularly in key sections of the working class in the DDR—albeit in their own fashion. That is, with more than a little condescension and humor. But is ND not overly concerned that our "revolutionaryism" may condemn us to "fatal isolation"?

We call for a return to the authentic communism of Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. This is why Spartakist has found such wide interest. In the wake of the series of historic defeats which have beset the proletariat internationally since 1918-19, there has been a corresponding loss of a revolutionary internationalist perspective. For example, Dr. Steiniger [author of the ND article] refers to this perspective as "pseudo-revolutionary voluntarism" in order to argue that only class-collaborationist "possibilism" is realistic. It was Stalin, the "great organizer of defeats," who gave this possibilist "theory" the name of "socialism in one country."

With the "realism" Dr. Steiniger propagates, there would never have been a Paris Commune, or an October Revolution,



"For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!" Spartakist banner at 30 December 1989 Treptower Park anti-fascist demonstration.

tion, or a May '68 general strike of workers and students [in France], or the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism. Not only do such events happen, they must be prepared for. In this we stand with Lenin.

We are chided as "exporters of revolution." But who exported the revolution to Russia? Revolutions are the uprising of the masses for a new society in the context of a given, disoriented state power. Marx and Engels laid down the theoretic

cal foundation for workers revolution. In Russia Georgi Plekhanov, above all, propagated these ideas as against those of "people's revolutionaries" among the radical intelligentsia and the growing

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### What Does Left Mean at This Time?

## On Red Soap Bubbles and Reality

TRANSLATED FROM  
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
29 DECEMBER 1989

When our extraordinary Party Congress was deliberating in the Dynamo Hall in Berlin, attractive young people with serious expressions were standing at the gate. The copies of the paper "Spartakist" that they had brought fresh off the presses from West Berlin—for many they possessed the appeal of something hitherto unknown—sold rather well. Headlines like "For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!", "World Revolution Must Save the Soviet Union and the DDR!", "Form Workers and Soldiers Councils Everywhere!" and "For a Bolshevik Party!" struck the eye. On the front page of the paper the organization putting it out, recognizable by a 4 between hammer and sickle, did not go unmentioned: the West German section of the Fourth International that looks to Leon Trotsky.

Recently, at numerous demos as well, and even at the Berlin Christmas Market, one could encounter these zealous

exporters of revolution, whose passionate—but possibly remote from real life—commitment to social progress I would by no means challenge. Here and there speakers for the group made their presence felt, for example at a demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy, where the courageous Young Left was protesting against Washington's attack on Panama. The flaming appeal of a young American woman Trotskyist got a divided reception. "Red soap bubbles," opined a student from Lichtenberg, whose view I solicited in my capacity as a reporter. "They would establish communism even up on the moon, without regard for the lack of atmosphere."

To prevent any misunderstanding, I am not polemicizing here against Trotsky's theories but rather am concerned with the question: does pseudo-revolutionary voluntarism that views the world from the standpoint of subjective wishes, and takes into consideration neither the true relationship of forces nor the strategic possibilities, offer a perspective for the left in our country? Doesn't blind and sec-

## NEUES DEUTSCHLAND

29 December 1989

### Was heißt links in diesen Tagen?

## Über rote Seifenblasen und die Wirklichkeit

Als unser außerordentlicher Parteitag in der Berliner Dynamo-Halle beriet, standen sympathische junge Leute mit ernstem Gesichtsausdruck am Portal. Die druckfrischen Exemplare der Zeitung "Spartakist", die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blieb der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sek-

tion, oder a May '68 general strike of workers and students [in France], or the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism. Not only do such events happen, they must be prepared for. In this we stand with Lenin.

Marxismus-Leninismus ausbildet und bisweilen gar im Sonntagsstaat einer neuen "Kommunistischen Partei" einherstolz, nicht vielmehr zur Spaltung und in eine geradezu tödliche Isolierung? Was heißt links in diesen Tagen? Als unlängst Zehntausende unter DDR-Fahnen in Berlin demonstrierten und vom Alexanderplatz zum Schauspielhaus zogen, erhielt eine Gruppe junger Leute für ihre spöttischen Zweifel spontanen Applaus. "Lieber rote Rüben als Kohl von drüben!" skandierten sie. Der Sprechchor pflanzte sich durch die Reihen fort. Die Parole kam von links und wurde sofort auch von anderen aufgegriffen. Denn trotz des lautstarken Auftretens vieler

"Helm ins Reich"-Schreier bedienen. "Entschiedener Antifaschismus, Abwehr von Ausländerhaß und nationalistischer Deutschhümelei — gemeinsam gegen rechts!" heißt die Parole, die uns mit allen verbindet, die ernsthafte Lehren aus der deutschen Geschichte gezogen haben. Die von rechts drohende Gefahr ist der wichtigste Integrationsfaktor auf der Linken, die Parteilose, Mitglieder stabiler Parteien und Anhänger des Neuen Forums, der Grünen Partei, der Vereinigten Linken, der SDP, der "Spartakisten" und andere ebensowenig ausklammert wie den Ossietzky-Preisträger Pfarrer Friedrich Schorlemmer.

Natürlich hat die SED-PDS, die jeder Demontage ihrer theoretisch-ideologischen Grund-

tarian revolutionaryism that often presents itself as "pristine pure" Marxism-Leninism and at times even in the Sunday garb of a new "Communist Party" lead instead to a split and a truly fatal isolation?

What does left mean at this time?

When not long ago tens of thousands demonstrated under DDR flags in Berlin and marched from the Alexanderplatz to the Theater, a group of young people received spontaneous applause for their derisive rhyme: "Rather red radishes than cabbage (Kohl) from over there!" they chanted. The chorus spread through the lines. The slogan came

from the left and was at once taken up by others. For despite the raucous behavior elsewhere in the past few weeks of many thousands who shamelessly and unhesitatingly embrace the German state of the monopolies and wave its flags, the majority of citizens of the DDR are for the sovereignty and separate state existence of our country. Various polls have demonstrated this. For example, on the program broadcast by [West German] ZDF, "Political Barometer," it was announced that public opinion surveys in the DDR have confirmed this as well as the fact that

continued on page 9



# Open Letter to All Communists

The following Open Letter by the Spartakist-Gruppen and the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands is translated from Spartakist/Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz No. 18 (12 January).

In full consciousness of the present real danger from right-radical forces along with the massive anti-communist hate campaign in the bourgeois media of West Germany, fanned by the SPD, and the threatened sellout of the DDR to the Deutsche Bank and its likes, we are suggesting an action program to all communists inside and outside the SED-PDS:

## Fight Fascism!

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, for reliable protection of the memorial cemeteries of slain Soviet soldiers, of anti-fascist resistance fighters and Jewish citizens, we propose joint patrols by soldiers of the Red Army, the NVA [DDR army], members of the Volkspolizei [People's Police], VP auxiliaries and workers defence groups from the factories.

The preferred target of the anti-communist hate propaganda of the neo-Nazis are above all workers who have immigrated [to the DDR]. It is the duty of all workers to defend our foreign colleagues. Against Nazi terror we mobilise workers united fronts in East and West, faithful to Lenin's principle: March separately, strike together!

To guarantee protection of our workers state and of the property of the people, defence groups should be formed within the factories, made up of disciplined and experienced colleagues, including many members and reorganised units of the fighting groups of the working class. The working class must take up the battle against fascism in organised fashion, to crush it in the egg when it is still weak. This is why we advance the slogan: For joint workers militias under the control of workers and soldiers councils!

## Against the Sellout of the DDR!

The present business situation of individual plants and institutions must be revealed by the directors and managers responsible. Clear and direct answers must be given the workers to such questions as:

- Who is it that is empowering the general directors/directors to sell the people's property at giveaway prices?
- How large is the influence of and investment of capital already in the plants?
- Are layoffs being carried out or planned?
- Are new privileges planned for certain layers?
- Who is attempting to institute an illegal practice of SPD-style *Berufsverbote* [blacklisting] now in the DDR as well, mainly directed against members of the SED-PDS?
- Will there be social cutbacks, i.e., e.g., wage cuts?
- Will the year's maternity leave exist in the future as well?

The policies of Modrow's governmental coalition are aimed at giving capital a green light with the aid of amending the constitution and laws, in order to legalise the notorious "joint ventures" with Western firms, to permit protection of capital and transfer of profits. This is a direct attack on the right to work and endangers socially justified subsidies. The explosion of prices and rents will above all hit single women, pensioners and others with low incomes.

This pro-capital, anti-worker market economy policy must be resolutely fought! We propose that worker delega-

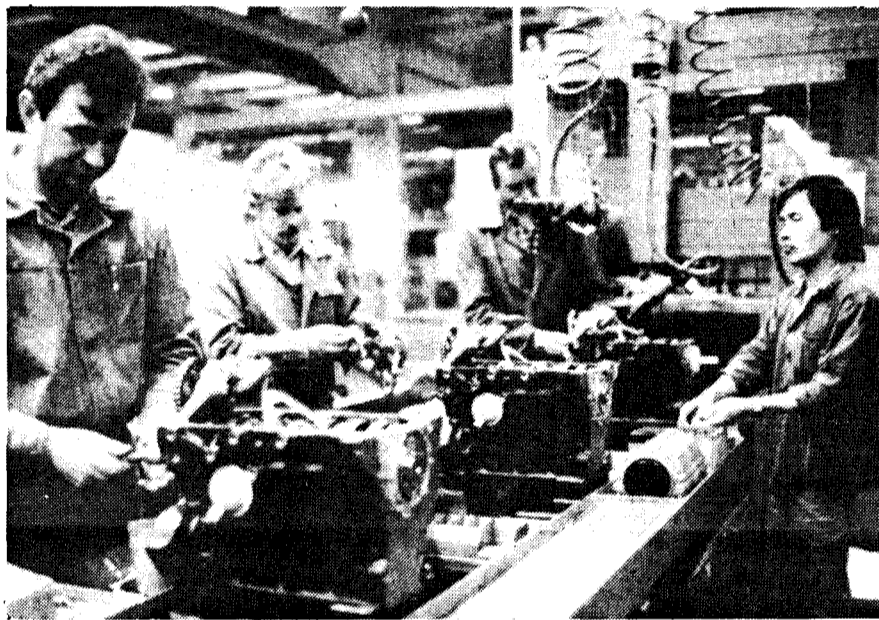
## Reprint from *Arprekorr*

tions from DDR factories visit their West German class brothers at Siemens, Osram, Braun, etc., in order to work together against the sellout.

## Workers and Soldiers Councils to Power!

The SED-PDS now proposes forming plant councils "before capital comes" (*Neues Deutschland*, 11 January). The Spartakists call for forming workers and soldiers councils to prevent capital from coming! The reintroduction of capitalist exploitation endangers every worker and the existence of the DDR. To defend our social gains and to open the way to socialism we must replace the arbitrary rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy with revolutionary soviet rule, throughout Germany.

The workers must take into their own hands control of the enterprises and institutions by forming councils [soviets].



Der Spiegel

In these councils, in which all currents within the working class are represented, free and open debates will take place on all pending problems. They thereby directly represent the interests of all workers, and the delegates can be recalled at any time. Such councils must look after the overall interests of society — for example, the control of prices as well — and thus they constitute the most democratic form of government, a million times more democratic than any bourgeois parliamentarism can ever be.

Revolutionary workers councils would fight for free round-the-clock day care for children, and also to enable full participation by women in social and political life. Workers and soldiers councils are the firm guarantee of the defence of socialised ownership of the means of production. Central planning of the economy can fully develop its enormous advantages only in connection with workers democracy.

## For Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Colleagues Working in the DDR and for Their Families!

The acts of discrimination that have recently been increasing against our colleagues from Poland, Vietnam, Mozambique, etc. must be stopped at once! Everyone who works and lives here, whatever their nationality, must have the same rights as any DDR citizen. Of course the families of soldiers of the Red Army and Soviet women living here must also have full enjoyment of the social gains.

In order to prevent speculation, restrictions on purchases directed against our class brothers are an inappropriate means, since they only fan nationalism.

In our opinion, appropriate customs controls offer adequate protection against trading with state-subsidised commodities. Committees of working people in each residential area should ensure that prices are not raised, that a stop is put to speculation and thus everyone can shop without discrimination.

The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers, in the East and West, will help to overcome the division of the working class in the BRD between German and Turkish workers. It is precisely the Turkish workers who in West Germany stand in the front lines of the class struggle. Our class brothers in the Federal Republic and also in West Berlin must help us prevent the sellout of the DDR.

On 3 January 1990, some 250,000 Berliners said with their powerful united-front action at the Soviet memorial

great leaders of the Russian and German revolutions.

The mass demonstration in Treptow also honoured the Red Army that freed Europe from Nazism. Honouring the Three L's in January pays tribute to the revolutionary ties between the Russian and German revolutions. Despite all the talk of "disarmament," imperialist militarism has today lost nothing of its desire for booty, as the provocations in the Caribbean and the massive military manoeuvres west of the Elbe demonstrate. And in the BRD the gigantic weapons company MBB-Daimler Benz was formed. We stand resolutely for defence of the DDR and the USSR against NATO imperialism. We fight for a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe!

Against the military threat by German imperialism and NATO, a soviet government would turn to the workers of the East, in particular to those of the Soviet Union, as well as to the workers of the West.

Independent of existing political dif-



Reuters

Auto workers in Karl-Marx-Stadt (left). DDR economics minister Christa Luft offering up East German factories to Volkswagen boss Carl Hahn.

ferences on many questions, we call upon all those who share our deep concern and wish jointly with us to defend the social gains of the DDR, to agree on and carry out actions with us. Whoever fails to defend what has already been won can win no new victories. But to win new victories it is necessary to forge a new communist party in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky.

Spartakist-Gruppen  
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands  
11 January 1990

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# Trotskyists to Fight in East German Elections

## Spartakist Workers Party Founded

The Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD - Spartakist Workers Party of Germany) was formed by the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands and the Spartakist-Gruppen at a meeting in East Berlin on 21 January to fight in the forthcoming elections to the Volkskammer (DDR parliament). Among its founding documents are "What Do the Spartacists Want" and "Open Letter to All Communists" (see pages six and eleven). We reprint below a press release issued by the SpAD for a 6 February press conference announcing our campaign.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany is presenting candidates in the March 18 elections to the Volkskammer as a rallying cry for the working class to mobilise against the sellout of our workers state. Gorbachev now says "yes" to a Fourth Reich. With his call for "Germany - one fatherland," Modrow prepares to bury the DDR, capitulating to the threats and pressures from Bonn and the handmaidens of capital, mainly the Social Democrats. Such a policy of appeasement paves the way for counterrevolution and war.

A new government is being formed - they call themselves the "great coalition of reason." We say it is the co-

alition of treason. The Spartakist Workers Party is campaigning for:

- No to capitalist restoration! Defend the collectivised property! We the working people built this collectivised economy out of the rubble with our sweat and toil. The factories are ours and the bureaucrats have no right to sell them off at bargain prices.

- Stop the fascist menace in the egg! Do not forget that 20 million Soviet citizens died in the fight against fascism. We were hundreds of thousands who came out to the Soviet war memorial at Treptow on January 3 to demonstrate our determination that never again shall the Nazi plague spread racist terror in and from Germany.

- Defend the DDR and the USSR! The gains of the 1917 October Revolution should be extended to all humanity through international proletarian revolution.

The Spartakist election campaign is a platform for class struggle. We must stop the gutting of our social gains - low rents, pensions, health care, day care, women's right to abortion. We must fight for our jobs - against the capitalist buyout of the plants, what is necessary are strikes, factory occupations and workers control!



"For a Red Germany In a Socialist Europe" - Banner of Spartakist-Gruppen at Treptower Park, 3 January.

Sweep the fascists off the streets of Leipzig and other cities with powerful workers united-front actions.

We address ourselves to those who mobilised at Treptow against the fascist menace, to the countless SED-PDS members and ex-members who were betrayed by their Stalinist leaders and oppose the appeasement policy of Modrow, Gysi & Co.: join the Spartakist campaign, for a real communist program, for workers and soldiers councils, controlled by the workers on the shop floor and the soldiers in the barracks.

The Spartakist Workers Party fights

for soviet power, which is more democratic than the most democratic parliament. In these Volkskammer elections we demand full proportional representation, and full voting rights for our foreign co-workers and their families.

The Soviet Union and the DDR are in danger. We must fight shoulder-to-shoulder with our Soviet fellow workers, with the Red Army soldiers and officers who are a bulwark against the invasion of the Bundeswehr up to the Oder and beyond. For a red soviet republic in all Germany, in the tradition of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, as part of a socialist Europe!

# Where Does the Money Come From

The following statement was published in Spartakist (No. 67, 17 January), the newspaper of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands.

Recently we have been bringing out *Arbeiterpressekorespondenz* almost daily. This is really costing a lot of money, approximately DM17,000 a week. We also hope to be able to publish a weekly in the DDR shortly.

This money, from the dwindling reserves of the International Communist League, has been built up over a number of years through high pledges from the wages of very advanced workers in ten countries. These contributions vary according to the level of the wages received by the workers in the various countries. Members in West Germany have paid the most per capita, but members of the ICL from France and the USA, from Canada and Australia, have also made their contribution. The British comrades are too poor and the Japanese and Italian comrades too few, but nevertheless they too have helped out. And even those comrades from countries like Mexico and Lanka and elsewhere in South Asia who have received financial support from the ICL have helped as much as they could. Sometimes, when a comrade's frugal grandmother dies, we receive a portion of the inheritance as a windfall. That's where our money comes from.

The sociology of our finances is just as one would expect. Our international organisation numbers fewer than a thousand people on the entire planet, and they all work for a living. From countries with a high wage level, with older and more numerous comrades, we re-

## Statement of the International Secretariat of the ICL and the Central Committee of the TLD

ceive a surplus. On the other hand our international organisation provides modest subsidies to our smaller sections, which have younger comrades with less professional experience and a lower wage level; in doing so we don't want to create a fool's paradise but rather to further their growth.

Since the days of the New Left, university administrations in the U.S., i.e., in the final analysis state authorities, have offered to pay for (radical) student activities. We have successfully fought against accepting even one cent of this government-sponsored financial support.

It is in this spirit and in accord with this program that we do our work in the DDR. We don't want even a pfennig of subsidy from anyone except from those who are in some way in serious agreement with our program.

Therefore the working people from the BRD or DDR who pay one or two marks to read our press are indispensable for the continued appearance of our publications. At the moment the class consciousness of the West German proletariat is at an ebb, which is no doubt discouraging for militants in the DDR. Militancy has its ebb and flood tides. Large-scale economic struggles are on the agenda in the BRD this year; the stance of workers in the West toward the DDR will perhaps be completely different then.

And of course when some major action is projected or some new major

development in the world comes up, we run fund drives. The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian organisation for legal and social defence associated with the ICL, received, particularly from unions with a significant black membership, [U.S.]\$42,000 in donations for the series of rallies against the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan that we recently mounted in the U.S. Before this, during the 1984 miners strike in Britain, the PDC raised [U.S.]\$23,000 in donations from the labour movement all across America and internationally in support of this hard-fought but unfortunately defeated battle against the evil prime minister Thatcher.

More recently we raised [U.S.]\$50,000 from left communists and militant defenders of women's rights around the world, money the Afghan government used to assist the victims of the heavy fighting around Jalalabad, a battle that stopped the counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan cold. The PDC campaigns, being public in nature, are also heavily audited, showing to all that the money does go for the purposes intended.

And now from the entire world, in accordance with their means, radical socialists and communists are sending in money directly to our political organisation through the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund to support the work of our comrades in the East German political revolution. But these donations basically have come from older, now-

retired people or from others sympathising with communism, whose financial resources are largely depleted. In general these fund-raising campaigns are undertaken for a very specific aim and as urgent circumstance demands, and are not the basis for the regular political work of our international organisation or its sections.

The genuine Trotskyists of the world have done everything in their power to defend the DDR against capitalist absorption and the USSR against imperialist provocations. At present we appear rightly in the DDR as those who express the hopes of millions of workers and sections of the intelligentsia and who counter their fears. Our international organisation, the ICL, will continue trying to help, and it will help. But bringing out our press in all Germany is essentially the responsibility of those who support the founding of a Spartakist Workers Party of Germany that will emerge from the Spartakist-Gruppen, the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands and others supporting the fundamental program of our political grouping.

★ ★ ★

The fate of the unfolding German workers political revolution hangs in the balance. Contributions from internationalists are urgently needed to carry forward the critical intervention of conscious Leninists. Make donations payable/send to: Spartakist, Box 3473, GPO, Sydney, 2001 (earmark "Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund" or "3-L's Fund").



# East Germany...

(continued from page 1)

proclaimed "Wende" (turnaround) in the direction of democratic socialism. Barely a month and a half later, Krenz was ousted by the SED ranks. A new team under Gregor Gysi swept out the entire "politbureaucracy." (Gysi was presented with a broom when he was elected at the emergency party congress in early December.) And on January 3, a quarter of a million people, many of them SED members and ex-members, came out in East Berlin to stand with the Red Army against the fascists who had defaced the Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park. This sent a shudder through the bourgeoisie.

After the Berlin Wall was opened in November, the imperialists had a three-point program: the capitalists would buy up all the valuable properties, the SPD would defeat the SED in the May 6 elections, and West Germany would absorb East Germany in stages through a federation. But these plans for gradual counterrevolution faced and face a stumbling block: the strong attachment to socialist values by large segments of the East German population. This was reflected in an article by Carl Bernstein (of Watergate exposé fame) in the 22 January *Time* magazine. While the Western media crows about the "death of communism," he reported:

"Perhaps I have been in a different East Berlin from the one I have been reading about.... In East Berlin, where I rode the trains back and forth to the West from the Friedrichstrasse Station, where I walked into cafes and discos and shops and asked people their feelings, I could hardly find any citizens who said they wanted a reunified, single Germany....

"Most were adamant. Not ever, they said. They love their country. The German Democratic Republic, not the Federal Republic of the West. They believe in socialism. Still, not the socialism of their disgraced and discredited leaders but the socialism they have been taught as an ideal for 40 years."

One woman said, "Keep the Wall":

"If they make some problems, we can close the border. We hear there are neo-fascists in West Germany. We know this from their own news. We have no fascism, and people here will never accept it.

"Now maybe there will be some mixed economy. But not if there will be more poor. We will not accept unemployment. Democracy and socialism. That is the goal."

Columnist Alexander Cockburn recently noted: "The Polish working class will soon find out that 'freedom' can mean the freedom not to have a job for the rest of your life" (*In These Times*, 17 January). Many East Germans are vividly aware of the profound and many-sided social misery that the restoration of capitalist exploitation would mean. This is the sentiment that was shown at Treptow, in a "fighting demonstration" with far more participants than the largest Monday-night demonstration in Leipzig. So the imperialists, with the West Germans in the lead, reacted sharply. They claimed the SED exaggerated or perhaps invented the fascist danger. When a rightist mob trashed the headquarters of the former Stasi secret police, they claimed the government staged that, too. Then Helmut Kohl's chancellor secretary made a speech demanding that the East German government join Bonn in declaring "state unity" as their goal, as well as calling on the DDR to open its doors to private capital and stabilize its currency.

With its new law on joint ventures and talk of adopting the D-mark, with the expanded coalition government and Modrow's call for a "single German Fatherland," the DDR leaders have bowed to the *Diktat* from Bonn. This was not because the economy was in crisis: in spite of the departure for the West of over 300,000 predominantly young people last year (which is continuing), the economy grew by 2 percent and stores are well stocked. *Der Spiegel* (5 February) headlines "Chaos in the

DDR," but an article by DDR writer Rolf Schneider notes that the scope of violence doesn't go beyond "brawls such as take place at the average West German football league matches."

But the counterrevolutionaries were waving the spectre of civil war. At a demonstration in front of the Volkshammer, where the hammer and compass was ripped out of the East German flag, a banner threatened: "Whoever Votes for the SED Votes for Civil War." In a January 16 interview with the *Washington Post*, Gysi noted:

"Power does not lie in the hands of the party, it lies in the streets. Everything is polarized now. Whenever I go somewhere, I am wildly cheered and applauded, or I'm screamed and yelled at. There is nothing in between."

Gysi said it's extremely unlikely they would win the elections, but "if we did win somehow, in present conditions a minimum of 500,000 people would leave" the DDR. On the other hand, "if it is the other way around and the opposition wins, then 500,000 of the members and sympathizers of my party would leave, because they would be afraid of what would happen to them." Leave to where?

Yet the response of the SED-PDS tops to this polarization is paralysis and collapse. In the factories, the Social Democrats are fomenting a campaign to blacklist former and present SED members. They also want to prevent the several tens of thousands of former employees of the Ministry of State Security from ever working again. The government feeds into this anti-Communist purge atmosphere by trying former leaders accused of corruption and misuse of office on charges of high treason. We warn that scapegoating and Stalin-style show trials only whip up a bloodlust that will set the stage for counter-revolutionary massacres.

We have stated before that officials guilty of crimes should be tried with due process, and we oppose privileged treatment for the bureaucrats and their secret police. Stalinist methods must be rooted out. No witchhunts — get the truth! This is the only method that serves the workers' cause.

The anti-Nazi mobilization at Treptow posed the possibility of a powerful fight to crush counterrevolution, not only the fascist filth but also their cynical capitalist masters. But that could only be a revolutionary working-class struggle. And after decades of seeking to conciliate imperialism while using bureaucratic measures to defend their attempt to build "socialism in one country," the Stalinists had nothing other to propose than a *Verfassungsschutz*, a new secret police, renamed after the West German "Office for the Protection of the Constitution." And when that set off a storm of protest, the SED-PDS tops

only answer was abject capitulation.

The Trotzkiistische Liga Deutschlands and the Spartakist-Gruppen played a key role in initiating the united-front action at Treptow. Our speakers called there for workers militias and for workers and soldiers soviets to stop the Nazis and prevent the political revolution from being turned into a social counterrevolution. We warned that social democracy was the agency for selling out the DDR. We noted that the struggle for workers soviet rule in the DDR could inspire the workers in the Soviet Union, the prime target of imperialism, to take the same road.

The TLD and Spartakist-Gruppen have joined together in the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League, which appeals to SED members and those who quit out of disgust over the betrayals of their Stalinist misleaders; to those who came out at Treptow to fight the fascist threat and vow to stop the brown plague in Leipzig and wherever it may appear; to workers who want to resist the buy-out of their plants and the sellout of the DDR. The entire capitalist world is drooling at the prospect of devouring the DDR—"Today East Germany, tomorrow Russia." Revolutionary German workers say no!

At a forum in New York on January 26, a Spartakist League speaker summed up: "These bureaucrats are undermining the defense of the DDR. The DDR does not belong to them. The DDR belongs to the workers who built it up. It belongs to the women workers who have a double burden. It belongs also to the foreign-born workers who have made a special contribution. It belongs also to the Red Army soldiers who are standing at their post in the front lines of a fight against imperialism. And it belongs to us, and to all the workers of the world."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 495, 9 February 1990.

## USSR...

(continued from page 3)

came to power, they branded the long Brezhnev regime as the "era of stagnation" and promised a new era of "socialist renewal." Now, after five years of perestroika, the Soviet Union has become a seething cauldron of economic discontent and national passions. A sense of bitterness and frustration, of despair and impotence is openly expressed by the prominent Gorbachevite publicist Alexander Bovin:

"Gorbachev faces an almost impossible dilemma. The sentiment for leaving the union outright has grown, and not only in the Baltic states. On the other hand, a man in Gorbachev's position cannot simply preside over the disassembly of the country, as we know it. What does he do? You tell me. Buy time any way he can—but what else?..."

No one sees a way out."

—*Washington Post*, 7 January

Bovin's plaintive cry — "No one sees a way out" — testifies to the total political bankruptcy of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union.

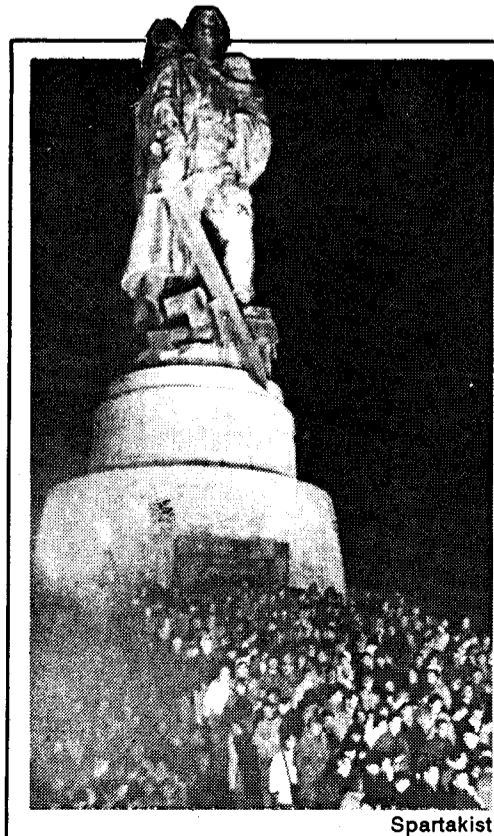
There is a way out. It is returning to the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. As a first step, class-conscious workers and socialist intellectuals must smash the Pamyat fascists in the streets and root out all manifestations of Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism. By combating the chauvinists among the dominant Russian nationality, patriotic Soviet workers will gain the moral and political authority to counter the other reactionary nationalisms which now threaten to rip apart the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the Baltics, roughly half the population of the Latvian and Estonian republics — and a majority of the proletariat — is made up of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, ethnic Siberians and other Soviet peoples. These Russian-speaking workers have organized themselves into the "Internationalist Movement" to combat Baltic nationalism and defend their democratic rights. Yet in the absence of a genuinely internationalist program, this movement could easily fall prey to Russian nationalism, which cannot appeal to Latvian and Estonian workers, whose grandparents were staunchly *pro-Bolshevik*.

Communism has much to offer the Azeris and other traditionally Islamic and Turkic-speaking peoples in the Soviet Union — economic and social modernisation, and not least *the liberation and equality of women*. A truly internationalist, all-out effort to crush feudalist reaction in Afghanistan would have made the USSR into a beacon for social progress in the East. Under a Leninist leadership, instead of the Soviet Azeris being drawn into the orbit of Khomeinist Iran, the nationally oppressed Azeris of Iran would be drawn toward Soviet power. The program of an independent Soviet Azerbaijan, uniting this Turkic people on both sides of the Araks River, would go a long way toward resolving on a progressive basis the national question in the Caucasus.

It is necessary to reforge in the Soviet Union an authentically Bolshevik party to lead the workers in sweeping out the Stalinist bureaucracy, establishing a regime based on soviet democracy, a planned, egalitarian economy, equality between peoples, and proletarian internationalism. Only such a program can liberate the creative energies of *all* Soviet peoples, overcoming the fratricidal national conflicts now raging in Gorbachev's Russia.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 494, 26 January 1990.



Spartakist

## Spartacist Forums

**For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!**  
**For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!**

**Eyewitness account of the unfolding political revolution in East Germany**

MELBOURNE	SYDNEY UNI	SYDNEY
2pm Sunday 4 March Mtg Room 2, YWCA 489 Elizabeth St	1pm Thursday 8 March Reading Room Holme Building	7.30pm Friday 9 March Council Rm, 1st Floor AMWU Bldg, 136 Chalmers St Surry Hills

## Militant Tramways Struggle: Bitter Betrayal

On 2 February, the trade union bureaucracy succeeded in ramming through a sellout of the militant, month-long struggle by tramway workers in Melbourne against the Cain state Labor government's plan to destroy the jobs of 1200 tram conductors. The bourgeois press hyenas immediately issued jubilant editorials whilst the ALP governments, federal and state, and the bureaucrats in the ACTU and Victorian THC breathed a collective sigh of relief. From the outset this struggle threatened to galvanise pent-up working class anger at seven years of union-busting into a class struggle upsurge that could have swept away the Accord and with it the Labor government's re-election hopes. The betrayal cleared the decks for Hawke to announce 24 March as the election date. Hawke promises his ruling class masters that three more years of Labor will mean more union busting.

The betrayal of the tramways strike left a bitter taste, certainly amongst the largely immigrant tramworkers who fought long and hard to defend their union and jobs. But also amongst class-conscious workers across the country who desperately feel the need to score a victory. Airline pilots who just a few months beforehand had their strike broken by a massive government-led military strike-breaking operation, found plenty to solidarise with in the tramways strike. Particularly now as the courts have imposed savage and vindictive fines of \$6.5 million on the defeated Pilots Federation.

One can bet that with the elections on the various Laborite bureaucrats, from Victorian THC "left" Halfpenny to ACTU tops Kelty and Ferguson there will be a resounding chorus of "Vote Labor!" They will want to sweep the memory of the tramways strike under the carpet, and use the "threat from the right" to channel votes to Hawke. But Labor has met any struggle with savage union-busting that the so-called New Right could only talk about. The Hawke government is running on its record of "successful economic management" of declining Australian capitalism, having slashed living standards and social services. Everybody has been getting screwed — workers and unemployed, youth and the elderly, home buyers, tenants and the homeless, immigrants, women and blacks. A vote to Labor is a vote for three more years of the same.

### Tramway workers deserved a class struggle leadership!

The tramways struggle did not have to be a defeat. The lessons of its betrayal need to be drawn and integrated into the consciousness of working class militants across the country. This is a prerequisite to mounting struggles that can win. The crucial missing factor was a real class-struggle leadership.

At the final mass meeting on 2 February the recommendation of the tramways union (ATMOEA) executive to return to work and accept driver-only operation of the city's trams won by a narrow margin. Following the vote, union militants erupted in fury against this betrayal, cooked up in cahoots with the Victorian THC bureaucrats. ATMOEA secretary Lou Di Gregorio was driven from the stage and barricaded himself in a back room. Militant depots briefly threatened to stay out and set up wildcat pickets, and that weekend the government sent security thugs with doberman



Trams lined up in Bourke Street mall, Melbourne. A striking display of the social power of the working class, sold out by the bureaucracy to keep Labor in power.

guard dogs into Brunswick and Preston depots to intimidate unionists.

The struggle began on New Years Day when the Cain government demanded that tramway workers sign work contracts agreeing to cooperate with its new Met-Ticket system, through which the conductors will be eliminated. When drivers and conductors refused, instead running the trams themselves for free, state Transport Minister Kennan locked them out by shutting off the power. But not before drivers had defiantly taken 250 trams out of the depots and parked them in solid lines throughout the central city. Throughout the struggle militants occupied the tram depots around the clock and picketed the parked trams, fighting off police attempts to tow them away. A one-day bus/rail/tram shutdown briefly demonstrated the power the public transport workers can wield in united strike action. But while Lou Di Gregorio warned that police action would mean "blood on the streets," it wasn't Cain/Kennan's tough talk nor the cops, but the union tops who got the trams moving again.

A key turning point came on 5 January when bus drivers, who had stopped work in support, were sent back by the ATMOEA executive. Militant bus driver and Spartacist League (SL) supporter, Tony Naughten, fought against this betrayal at a meeting at his depot. That same day the Australian Railways Union leadership managed to prevent strike action at separate meetings of train guards and station staff.

An SL leaflet (12 January) entitled "Shut Down Public Transport to Win!" was widely distributed to tram, bus and rail workers:

"Both the previous ATMOEA Harper leadership and the newly elected Di Gregorio team have sought to avoid a strike, relying instead on pressuring and lobbying the government and ALP. This temporising has allowed Cain and Kennan

to choose the time of confrontation. The battle has now been joined, it is necessary to mobilise all forces. The bus drivers should immediately come back out on strike. The rail workers must be brought out. Either the struggle is extended, or Met workers will go down to a lingering defeat. A solid strike is necessary, backed up by occupations and mass picket lines that no-one crosses to ensure that no public transport moves, including private buses. There must be no sellout redundancy deals. Joint elected strike committees will be necessary to take the strike out of the hands of the Laborite union misleaders. Central to implementing such a class-struggle strategy is the forging of a revolutionary leadership."

At the crucial mass meetings of 19 January and 2 February, Naughten spoke for and attempted to move motions (bureaucratically suppressed) encapsulating this perspective, additionally demanding wage increases and shorter working hours against the ALP/ACTU's "restructuring" and Arbitration.

### Smash Arbitration! For Class Independence!

The ATMOEA bureaucrats attempted to justify the sellout with the argument that you can't defy the Arbitration courts. Garbage. Tramways union leader Clarrie O'Shea did just that in 1969 and the mass strikes that forced his release from jail turned the penal powers into a worthless piece of paper for the next decade. The working class must smash the chains of Arbitration which bind it to the capitalist state.

In the midst of the struggle the ATMOEA disaffiliated from the ALP and ran executive member Monica Harte in the Thomastown state by-election. This was a parliamentarist diversion from the bureaucrats' betrayals. Harte, who played a key role in sending the bus drivers back to work, stood as the "true Labor" candidate in defence of "traditional Labor values." The real tradition of the ALP, however, is defence

of White Australia capitalism, administering it during imperialist wars, suppressing class struggle, smashing strikes, and poisoning the working class with racism and protectionism. Hawke and Cain embody the true Laborite tradition.

In the final week, when the bureaucrats put the conductors' jobs up for "negotiation," a core of militants tried to broaden the struggle. They set up picket lines at bus depots, and at Jolimont rail yard which cut train services by one third for a day, until the bureaucrats arrived with the cops. Fifty workers picketed the Arbitration Court, preventing their union leaders from going in for "negotiations." But with the union polarising between anti-strike elements and militants, the latter could not simply go around the sellout bureaucracy through relatively small, sporadic militant actions — the sellout had to be defeated and the full strength of the union mobilised in mass picket lines. Left isolated, they were easily picked off by the bureaucracy and defeated. Instead, it is necessary to build programmatically-based class-struggle caucuses in the trade unions to wage a political fight for leadership against the capitalists' fifth column, the Laborites. They must be linked to the struggle to split the ALP's working class base away from the pro-capitalist tops, both "left" and right factions, and build a revolutionary workers party. The political polarisation during this struggle showed how this split would begin to develop.

### SLL: Scabs, Laborites, Liars

Our intervention into this struggle infuriated not only the sellout bureaucracy, but also the Socialist Labour League (SLL), whose paper, *Workers News*, has been attacking the SL week after week. In particular they had a lot to say about our leaflet, quoted above. But most revealing is what they chose not to comment on — our exposure of them as scabs. In 1986, SLL member Bruce Cameron, a plumber, repeatedly crossed a BLF picket line in Footscray, and *Workers News* admitted and defended this.

The SLL is repeatedly found on the other side of the class line. For years they took bags of money from Arab bourgeois despots, whose murder of communists they defended in return. Aside from worship of the ALP, the most consistent thread to their politics is anti-Sovietism — they have supported every anti-Soviet nationalist force on the borders of the USSR from Polish Solidarność to the Ayatollah Khomeini. They have recently added to this list the nationalist pogromists of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, describing the recent intervention there by the Soviet Army as "Gorbachev's Tiananmen Square." As the Stalinist bureaucracies crumble in Eastern Europe, the SLL's line has become more and more openly third-campist. They think there is nothing worth defending against the threat of capitalist restoration in these deformed workers states, which they equate with capitalism: "Stalinism — capitalism's weakest link" (*Workers News*, 19 January). In short they are a sinister outfit and militant workers are advised to give them a wide berth.

The SLL is an organisation available for hire, having no hesitation in being finger-men for the bourgeois state against sections of the workers movement. For instance, recently they have



# Cambodia...

(continued from page 5)

constitution. It has not only met Sihanouk's demand to change the name of the country, the flag, and the national anthem but also has reinstated Buddhism as the state religion and legalised private property and inheritance."

Whether with its shrill demand for a "return" of MIAs (GIs missing in action) or its insistence that Vietnam pull out of Cambodia and now that Phnom Penh bring back the Khmer Rouge, Washington echoed by Canberra has issued one diktat after another whose sole aim is to bury the Vietnamese Revolution. No amount of concessions will stop the U.S. and Australian rulers from continuing their irrational and vengeful crusade against the Vietnamese Revolution. What is required is an internationalist perspective aimed at defeating imperialism from within through proletarian socialist revolution. At the height of the Vietnam War, there were literally millions of young radicals around the world who were inspired by the Vietnamese Revolution. But, over the years, particularly under the impact of renewed Cold War, many of these ex-New Leftists made their peace with Western imperialism.

We Trotskyists of the International

Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have maintained our consistent defence of the Vietnamese Revolution. While New Leftists and Stalinists tailed a defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie and refused to take sides in the civil war in Vietnam, we called for military victory to the DRV/NLF and raised the banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" At the time of China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979, we initiated demonstrations in a number of cities around the world demanding: "China: Get Out of Vietnam Now! Don't be a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism! Soviet Union: Honour your Treaty With Vietnam!" In 1983, we organised protests in six countries opposing recognition of Pol Pot as UN representative of Cambodia, demanding: "Seat Heng Samrin Government! Genocidal Pol Pot Out of UN!"

Today we appeal to the Soviet working people to honour their obligations to Vietnam by fighting for unstinting and genuinely fraternal and internationalist assistance toward the economic reconstruction of Indochina. The beginnings of political revolution in China last June, today dramatically echoed by the anti-bureaucratic upheaval in East Germany, point the road to replacing the wretchedly nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies by workers soviets committed to proletarian internationalism. For workers political revolution from Beijing to Moscow to Hanoi!

Scope Features/Gamma



April 30, 1975: Heroic NLF/DRV forces achieved historic defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism.

For international communist unity against imperialism!

Ultimately, the defence of the degenerated/deformed workers states and the achievement of a socialist society requires workers revolution in the advanced imperialist countries, particularly the U.S. and Japan. Certainly, a victorious socialist revolution in Australia has a solemn obligation to share with

the Vietnamese people the wealth expropriated from the jackal Australian ruling class. The precondition is the building of Trotskyist parties forged in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard*, No. 493, 12 January 1990.

campaigned internationally in support of the police frame-up of U.S. SWP supporter and union militant, Mark Curtis, on phoney rape charges. The SLL are unashamed and habitual liars. For instance in their "polemics" against us they say that SL supporter Tony Naughten did not criticise the union leadership, then quote a motion (*Workers News*, 9 February) presented by Naughten which explicitly opposes the leadership's capitulation. They also lie that "At the Brunswick depot, Spartacist members remained silent" (19 January) when a union delegate attempted to exclude SLL sellers. The SL supporter in question was on gate duty that day, and as she told *Australasian Spartacist*: "They asked did I support the Proxy Delegate's moves to expel them. I pointed out that it was me who admitted them and that I fully supported their right to sell ... and that I was keeping them here to argue with them. Then they asked to be let out the gate!" And one could go on.

In the SLL's cracked Laborite schema, the ALP "lefts" are to be "exposed" by demanding they "convene emergency ALP and ACTU conferences to expel the Hawke-Cain right wing from the ALP and form a workers government to implement a socialist program" — they even call for a general strike for this objective! In the same spirit that Stalin quoted Lenin, *Workers News* (6 January) quoted Leon Trotsky in the *Transitional Program* that "the demand, systematically

addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character" of the social democrats and Stalinists. Like all weapons, it is useful only when pointed in the right direction and fired at the right time. There is no class difference between the current ALP "left" and right, who have jointly administered seven years of savage union-busting and Cold War reaction. What "break with the bourgeoisie" concretely means today is hard class struggle to beat back these attacks, smash the Accord and bring down the Hawke government. The SLL succeed only in exposing their own craven Labor-loyalism. Turn the class struggle into an ALP conference, get the "numbers" in the party then in parliament, then nationalise everything — stripped of the bombast it's just the social democrats' parliamentary road to socialism. At a time when large sections of the ALP's working class base are deserting it in disgust, the SLL does its own pathetic service to Hawke by slavishly calling for a vote to Labor at every election come hell or high water.

## No Vote to Union-Busting Labor!

The Hawke government has been nervously clinging to its Cold War alliance with the U.S., while arming itself to the teeth and threatening to send troops all over the place to play the bully-boy in the South Pacific. Under its

economic "deregulation" the bosses have blown the foreign debt out to \$110 billion, only slightly behind the comparable figure for all of Eastern Europe and the USSR combined.

Meanwhile the imperialists and their social-democratic servants are claiming that the collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe signals the victory of "free market" capitalism over communism. But it is Stalinism that is wounded — communism lives, from East Germany to the Soviet workers to El Salvador to South Africa. And in spite of decades of bureaucratic mismanagement and economic nationalism, the superiority of the planned economies of Eastern Europe can be seen even in the contrast between their public transport systems — like the Moscow underground, generally cheap, frequent, safe and efficient — and the decay of public transport in the industrialised capitalist world.

These elections offer the working class no possibility of casting a class

vote. Lenin's remark in *The State and Revolution* (1917): "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament — such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism" describes these particular elections perfectly.

The working class needs to wield its enormous social power in its own name and on behalf of all the oppressed. Hawke's brutal Cold War reign has left plenty of things that need to be fought for — not least being the very defence of our livelihoods and union organisations. White Australia capitalism doesn't promise a future for the exploited and oppressed. It needs to be smashed. Central to that task is the forging of a revolutionary Marxist party to fight for a workers government, organised on the basis of workers councils, to build a planned socialist economy which can promise a future. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

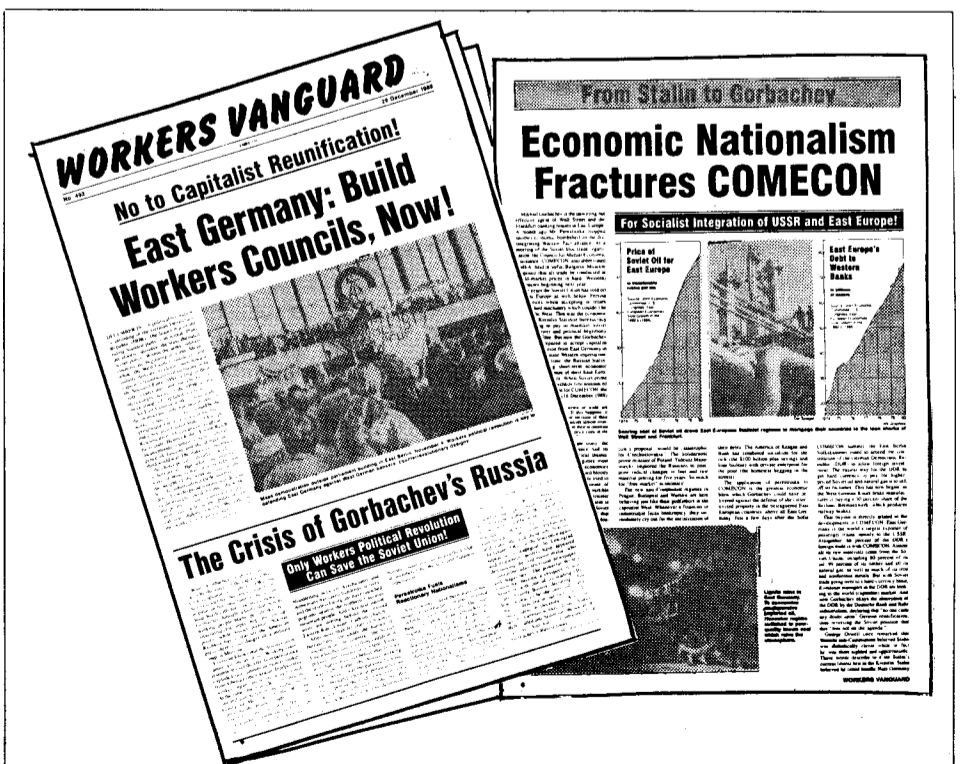
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# Racist Cop Rampage in Redfern

At around 2 am on Thursday 8 February, some 135 NSW cops invaded the tiny inner-city Aboriginal community in Redfern. Described as one of the largest police operations in recent years, the cops came prepared with shotguns, riot gear, bullet-proof vests and dogs. They were led by the specialist and elite Tactical Response Group, whose training involves "dealing with terrorists." In the space of 20 minutes, in a brutal "show of force" cops broke down the doors of Redfern residents' homes, held guns to children's heads, wreaked havoc with their random "searches," and held a petrified community hostage. Aboriginal Legal Service spokesman Cecil Paten described the raid as "typical of the police's South African-style fascist and Gestapo tactics."

Greiner's cops are carrying out a virtual war against Aborigines. Sydney District Commander Alf Peate, who supervised the February 8 raid, revealed the stark racist character of their actions, complaining that "normal surveillance activities can't operate" in the black community: "Where do you survey the activity of people when they are all the one breed?" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 February). His answer was to look for "alternative methods." In this case, a vicious raid planned months in advance, including constant surveillance of the community by telescope from the nearby TNT Towers.

In all ten houses were raided, the cops even admitting that they had blundered on one of the houses. There were ten arrests, the majority on minor charges after residents were unable to supply receipts for items they have possessed for years. However the charges were only a cover for the sheer weight of terror inflicted. Joyce Ingram, a 67-year-old pensioner who has witnessed similar raids in the past, described how the door of her house was bashed in and

she was confronted in her bedroom by police in full riot gear. She commented that she had never been so scared in all her life.

Redfern is the cops' practice wicket. This latest assault resembled the "drug war" against black ghettos in the U.S. Ominously, the cops defended the vicious raid as the first offensive in a crackdown on "crime and drug abuse." One week later, the cops mounted a pre-dawn raid on Greek immigrant Stavros Charalambous and his family, waking him with a gun to his head, bashing him and terrorising his wife Evi and two young children for more than an hour. The next day, while the Police Department "apologised for the inconvenience," admitting that they had the wrong man, yet another cop ambush terrified two men in Surry Hills. One of the men, John Rahlh, bitterly complained, "I just think there have been one too many Gundy-type killings" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February). Then on 18 February the cops, buoyed by their "successful raid," again invaded Redfern, breaking up a household party to arrest a 16-year-old youth. The community erupted in justified rage. Around 70 angry people confronted the cops and forced them to beat a retreat. It all confirms what most Aboriginal residents of Redfern already know — the government and cops aim to drive them out of the prime inner-city real estate they have occupied for decades.

Following a similar military-style cop assault in Redfern in September 1988, the Spartacist League held a protest rally at Sydney University, demanding "Cops out of Redfern! Drop the charges!" and calling for mass labour/black mobilisations against racist terror. Seven months later, Aboriginal David Gundy was killed in his bed by cops who had burst into his Marrickville home. In protest, Sydney building workers

stopped work and marched with Aborigines demanding "Jail the Killer Cops." It was a small but significant expression of the working class exercising their strategic social power in the service of all the oppressed. Such actions stand counterposed to the dead-end reformist strategy of yet one more Royal Commission whitewash, and are anathema to the chauvinist Laborite union bureaucracy. Aboriginal community leaders have called a demonstration for 1 March. Protest actions need to be big and militant. Above all they need organised union power behind them to serve as a powerful defence of Aborigines and all the oppressed against cop terror.

The Partisan Defence Committee and

the Spartacist League issued a statement on 13 February demanding: "Police out of Redfern now!" "Drop all the charges!" and making the following call:

"The oppression faced by Aborigines in NSW under the Greiner government and indeed throughout Australia under the Cold War Hawke Labor government makes it ever more urgent that decent working people stand up and exercise their collective power through mass union and black protest mobilisations to stop once and for all the deep seated racist terror that underlies capitalist White Australia."

The liberation of all the oppressed requires a revolutionary workers party built in struggle against racist Laborism to lead victorious social revolution and construct an egalitarian society. ■

ASp photo



July 1989: Sydney protest after police fired shots into picnic crowd on National Aboriginal Day at Alexandria Park.

## HANDS OFF BOUGAINVILLE!

The Hawke government is poised to invade Bougainville. Australian public opinion is being prepared, in the guise of "evacuating Australian nationals." The military is on alert. Extra Australian troops have gone to Papua New Guinea, ostensibly to "fast-track" training of PNG troops, along with tonnes of military hardware. The PNG defence minister has admitted his troops cannot defeat the rebel Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA), which now ranges freely over all of the island except the provincial capital, Arawa.

The bloody campaign of indiscriminate killing launched last year by the PNG military to quell the secessionist rebellion was made in Canberra. The Uniting Church Bishop of Bougainville, Jone Zale, accused Australia of being "partly responsible" for the "human rights abuses" on Bougainville. As columnist Richard Farmer noted of Australian government policy (*Australian*, 24 January): "There might be no

butter to solve the Bougainville crisis but the Government of PNG will have plenty of guns." In early February three of the Iroquois helicopters provided by Australia, flown by what the bourgeois press euphemistically calls "Australian mercenaries" but who were part of the package, strafed a so-called "rebel column" killing as many as 20 people. Foreign Minister Evans defends this act. At stake for Australian imperialism are the fantastic profits of CRA's Panguna copper mine (now shut down indefinitely), its other massively lucrative investments, in fact the "stability" of its PNG neo-colony.

Last December, with Gorbachev preaching "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, the Bush White House launched its rape of Panama, on the pretext of "restoring democracy" and "protecting American lives." Now Hawke hopes to emulate his U.S. godfather, on a smaller scale but with no less viciousness and with the same lying excuses. His government hopes to

get its "Falklands factor" and win the election riding a wave of chauvinism. What must be underscored is that Bougainville is just the beginning. Bigger plans are afoot, notably the so-called "Evans plan" scenario of an imperialist invasion of Cambodia under the UN flag — aiming to establish a beachhead there for a counter-revolutionary assault on Vietnam. The working class must stand ready to defend the Vietnamese Revolution.

As with all White Australian imperialism's wars, the dirty war on Bougainville is being prosecuted on a racialist basis. An electrician who worked at CRA's mine attacked the company's racist policies and noted of the PNG troops and cops: "As far as they are concerned there is only one solution — genocide" (*Australian*, 27-28 January). The PNG military's murder and thuggery against all native Bougainvilleans has served to unify the island's indigenous population behind the BRA demand for secession. The

ethnic antagonism between the local people and other PNG nationals has only been further inflamed by the bloody racist policies of Francis Ona's BRA. Although an independent Bougainville would be economically unviable, Marxists oppose the brutal use of force to keep it within the artificial boundaries of PNG created by colonialism. As we noted last year, rather than descent into an ethnic bloodbath, "A decent future for the peoples of PNG can be envisaged only through the expropriation of its wealth by the socially conscious working people, as part of smashing imperialism throughout the region" (*Australasian Spartacist* No. 133, August/September 1989).

Australian workers must take action in defence of the oppressed of the South Pacific. Black ban all military shipments to PNG! Australian imperialism: hands off Bougainville! Get out of Papua New Guinea and stay out! ■