



## Down With Imperialist Sanctions Against Serbia!

# Yugoslavia Ripped Apart in Nationalist Bloodbath

**For a  
Socialist Federation  
of the Balkans**

The blood-spattered, bombed-out city of Sarajevo is the true face of the "new free Europe" triumphantly proclaimed by imperialism after the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe. This city, in which a half million Muslim Slavs, Croats and Serbs worked and lived together harmoniously for more than four decades, has been turned into a battleground for competing gangs of murderous nationalists. From Central Europe to the Caucasus, capitalist counterrevolution has meant an ever-widening orgy of recrudescing chauvinism and outright pogromism.

Three months of bloody fighting in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has taken over 2,000 lives and driven hundreds of thousands from their homes, bringing the gruesome total in the nationalist civil wars which began last summer to some 13,000 dead and 1.5 million displaced. The multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state, forged by Josip Broz Tito and his Communist Partisans through heroic struggle against the Nazi occupiers and their domestic capitalist quislings, has been destroyed in a welter of fratricidal bloodletting that is engulfing the region and threatening a wider war.

The destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state was formalized in Belgrade's promulgation of a new constitution on April 27. Accepting the secession of the counterrevolutionary Slovene and Croatian regimes, it defined the new Yugoslavia as consisting of Serbia and ethnically Serbian Montenegro, and removed the word "socialist" from the state's former name, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Days later, Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic carried out a sweeping purge of the Yugoslav military, dumping the acting defense minister and 39 other senior generals, having already purged the federal army of all non-Serbs in the course of the war with Croatia.

Having for years bled Yugoslavia and fueled the forces of local nationalism in order to promote social counter-revolution, the NATO powers now seek to impose imperialist "law and order" on the war-torn country. With the reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism running point, reasserting hegemony over its traditional vassals of Croatia and Slovenia, they are out to humble and bring to heel the Milosevic



**Soldier views destruction of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, after weeks of fratricidal slaughter.**

regime. After initially opposing the German drive for dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the U.S. weighed in with a push for anti-Serbian sanctions in a crude attempt to drive home who was top dog in the "New World Order." On May 30, the United Nations Security Council ordered an embargo against the rump Yugoslav state.

Various Western spokesmen have also been screaming for a full-scale military intervention against Serbia, and a *New York Times* (28 May) editorial ominously cheered that the UN Chapter 7 provision mandating the embargo was the same used last year to legitimate the U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq. As we wrote earlier this year, "If the UN is idiotic enough to intervene militarily, then revolutionaries would side with the Yugoslav army and Serbia against the imperialist-backed forces, whether they sport blue helmets or not" (*Workers Vanguard [WV]* No 543, 24 January). Without extending an iota of political support to the reactionary nationalist Milosevic regime, we demand: Down with the imperialist embargo! NATO/UN hands off Serbia/Montenegro!

Military intervention into the byzantine Yugoslav bloodbath would certainly be a measure of imperialist idiocy. Cal-

ling it a "nightmare scenario," David Fairhall wrote in the London *Guardian* (2 June): "When the military hears calls for intervention in Sarajevo, their minds flash back not to the triumphs of Kuwait, but to the humiliation of Beirut." Under the headline "Operation Balkan Storm?" the conservative British *Economist* (30 May) warned that "military intervention could end in a bloodbath, enlarging the war it was designed to end."

Hungary's right-wing nationalist president claims to be the protector of Yugoslavia's 400,000 ethnic Magyars. Albania takes a similar stance toward the 1.4 million ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia. Bulgaria claims Macedonia with its mainly ethnic Bulgarian population; Greece, which has massed troops on the Macedonian border, claims it as "Greece's stolen jewels" and raves that the name "Macedonia" is an exclusive Greek trademark. Turkey, which is seeking to reassert the claims of the Ottoman Caliphate, has threatened to send troops in to protect the Muslim Slavs of Bosnia while contemplating another front against Armenia and engaging in an ongoing genocidal war against its Kurdish population (including most recently on its Armenian border).

While hypocritically and one-sidedly

denouncing Serbian atrocities, Germany and its Common Market allies have responded to the largest movement of refugees in Europe since World War II by inciting racist attacks on immigrants and pulling up the drawbridges of "Fortress Europe." On May 22, German interior minister Seitz announced that restrictive visa regulations would remain in place for Bosnians despite the civil war. A two-day West European conference on the Balkan refugee problem "generously" voted to send 100,000 tents to Croatia, holding up the UN concentration camps for Kurds in northern Iraq as a model.

Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and inter-imperialist rivalries. It was in Sarajevo, after all, that the opening shot of World War I was fired, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand (whose presence there on June 28, the Serbian national holiday of Vidovdan, was a provocation on the order of the British monarch making an appearance in Dublin on the anniversary of the Easter Uprising). Secretary of State James Baker's attack on the Europeans' failure to subjugate Milosevic came hours after France and Germany announced plans to form their 35,000-man joint "Eurocorps," the nucleus of a future European army independent of U.S.-dominated NATO and centered on the power of German imperialism. France threatened to scuttle the embargo proposal altogether and reportedly braintrustered a conciliatory letter by Milosevic to the UN aimed at averting the sanctions.

Restoring imperialist "stability" in Yugoslavia is now seen as a test of the "New World Order" proclaimed by Bush over the corpses of 100,000 Iraqi dead. As we noted at the time, this "new order" is beginning to look very much like the imperialist disorder which preceded World War I. The Bolshevik Revolution pointed the only way out of fratricidal slaughter and the certainty of future inter-imperialist wars.

### Squalid Nationalism on All Sides

Much of the Western press has sought to portray Serbian nationalist strongman Milosevic as the main villain of the piece. On the eve of the UN sanctions, German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel put it succinctly: "It must be said clearly who is responsible. The Serbs are responsible." This comes from the mouth of one of the architects of the bloody dismemberment of Yugoslavia! If the Serbian nationalists have been more successful than their Croat counterparts

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# Partisan Defence Committee Notes

## Hands Off the Family of Love!

The following protest statement was sent to the Victorian and NSW state government attorney generals by the PDC on 26 May. Broad community outrage at the mass kidnappings of children from the Family of Love commune prompted the courts to order the release of the children. But the sinister scope of this atrocity continues to emerge. On 9 June conservative opposition spokesman Michael John told the Victorian parliament that he had eleven statutory declarations from the children and parents "to the effect that the children were stripped and intimately examined" against their will (*Age*, 10 June). This was a truly perverted and sadistic act of sexual abuse of children and teenagers by the forces of bourgeois law and order and the policemen of "fundamental family values." Labor "Socialist Left" premier Joan Kirner positively grooved on this state kidnapping "joking" that a rottweiler (vicious guard dog) would be more likely to give the children back than her social workers. Recently U.S. vice-president Dan Quayle confirmed his status as an international laughing stock by raving that the recent Los Angeles upheaval was caused by the "collapse of family values" in the ghettos and barrios. The nuclear family is a key institution of

the capitalist system and underlying source of women's oppression. While Quayle may hate Murphy Brown he could learn to love Joan Kirner who demonstratively believes in enforcing "fundamental family values" through grotesque acts of state terror and brutality.

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The Partisan Defence Committee strongly denounces the outrageous kidnapping of 140 children from communes connected to the self-styled "Christian fundamentalists" of the former Children of God sect, by the police forces of the NSW Liberal and Victorian Labor governments. Beginning with co-ordinated stormtrooper-style dawn raids the children were held incommunicado for a week and subjected to the terror of round-the-clock "interrogation" by police and Community Services officers. This was a grotesque act of bourgeois state barbarism and a chilling example of official child abuse. The courts have now temporarily released the children but only after stealing their passports (along with those of their parents) and imposing conditions that make it clear that they will be subjected to continued harassment and victimisation by their state persecutors. The PDC demands that this witchhunt stop!

The abduction of these children is further illustration that the rulers of this

rotting capitalist system are moving to enforce a strong state to police a cohesive and obedient population. It follows closely on the heels of similar dawn raids against leftists involved in student protests against Labor's class-biased educational policies. For Aborigines, racist police gestapo-style attacks such as in Redfern, Sydney in 1988 and 1990 are a vicious part of day-to-day life in capitalist White Australia.

This case has a notorious precedent in the capitalist state's near-century-long abduction of Aboriginal children from their parents as part of its policies to "assimilate" the Aboriginal people out of existence. It is also reminiscent of the state witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain which lasted throughout the eighties and combined foul anti-woman prejudice with perverse religious bigotry.

The intensified government and media hype promoting reactionary and oppressive "fundamental family values" targets women, Aborigines, gays, youth and all the oppressed. We demand: state out of the bedroom!

## \$\$\$ for Fijian Miners

29 MAY: The Fijian Vatukoula gold miners strike, now into its sixteenth month, desperately needs international working class support. The 700 miners are fighting the Emperor Gold Mining Company for union recognition as well as better wages, safety conditions and living standards. They have stood solid and determined in the face of raids by armed riot police, eviction from company-owned houses and attacks by company thugs. Fiji Mineworkers Union (FMWU) general secretary Kavekini Navuso told the PDC that the union is

desperate for funds to cover medical expenses, legal fees for defence as well as food and high school fees for the mine workers' children. Already Australian unions like the United Mineworkers' Federation have donated to the Fiji miners, but support is still urgently needed.

On 21 February this year the PDC sent a telegram to the Fijian ambassador in Australia protesting the jailing of six striking mineworkers demanding their immediate release as well as the dropping of all charges against the strikers. The Emperor Gold Mining Company and its erstwhile partner, the giant Australian-owned Western Mining Corporation, are notorious for anti-union attacks and brutal apartheid-like neo-colonialist superexploitation of Fijian workers.

The PDC has sought to forge links of internationalist solidarity with the Vatukoula miners, fighting for Australian mining, maritime and transport unions to mount solidarity actions at home to strike a blow against the Australian bosses and the imperialist Labor government who lord it over their neo-colonies in Fiji and the South Pacific. Victory to the Fijian miners strike! Drop the charges against all striking miners!

PDC collections city-wide and on campuses in Melbourne and Sydney have been met with enthusiasm and generous support, particularly amongst students. To date \$264 has been raised and forwarded to the FMWU.

Donations to support the striking Vatukoula miners can be deposited at Westpac branches in Australia under the following account: Fiji Mineworkers Union, Westpac bank, Tavua Branch, account number 380 46000. ■

# Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

The resounding success of our five-week subscription drive during April/May to *Australasian Spartacist* (*ASp*) and other publications of the International Communist League (ICL) is a forceful vindication that large sections of the population simply do not buy the bourgeois lie that "communism is dead." This year's results were marked by the extension of our subscription base, achieved through regional trips to working class centres such as Latrobe Valley in Victoria and Wollongong in NSW as well as trips to Brisbane, Adelaide and Canberra. Congratulations to all comrades who contributed to this success and in particular to comrades Peter in Melbourne and Bernard in Sydney, who shared top honours by selling the most subscriptions.

With the Soviet degenerated workers state balanced on the edge of capitalist counterrevolution, we ran a front page article in *ASp* No 144 reprinting a leaflet distributed to Soviet workers by our comrades of the ICL in Moscow. It called for the urgent formation of workers and soldiers soviets to stop capitalist restoration. Campus and city-wide forums calling for smashing Yeltsin's counterrevolution, for workers-

## Subscription Drive Success!

political revolution in the Soviet Union were held in Melbourne and Sydney. They attracted people interested in the only program to defend the gains of October 1917 and extend them through international socialist revolution. The wide interest we received for our revolutionary line contrasts sharply with the Australian fake-left's elation at and support for Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades last year.

Today Keating trumpets the "death of communism" and echoes the imperialist triumphalism of Bush's "New World Order." But capitalism can only deliver grinding misery, racist terror and imperialist war. The last few months have brought watershed events in two of the world's leading imperialist powers. The Los Angeles upheaval against the racist verdict of an LA court and the massive German public sector strike exposed the deep cracks that underlie capitalist rule. Meanwhile in Japan the Nikkei stock index continues to plummet. At home racist White Australia capitalism is sink-

ing deeper into recession and the ruling class remains worried that mounting working class anger could shatter the Labor government's brittle "social consensus." Spartacist salesmen at factory gates, amongst union contingents at May Day and in regional trips to Wollongong and Latrobe Valley featured our article: "Keating's ALP: Enemy of the Workers! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party." This was particularly well received by immigrant and women workers who are amongst those hardest hit by recession and government austerity.

SL supporters intervened aggressively into the rising number of campus demonstrations protesting government attacks on education. Fearful that these protests could signal the onset of wider opposition, the Victorian Labor government embarked on a sinister anti-communist witchhunt which included the arrest of leftists. SL supporters have fought for a program that brings the power of the working class to bear—for union, student and minority action to oppose the frame-ups and attacks! (See article back page.) A significant proportion of this year's subscription total was sold on campuses. A regional team in Canberra reached 127 percent of their target mostly from sales to students. As one comrade noted: "The world doesn't look so good to young people today. That is real and they know it." Campus fundraising collections for the embattled Fijian miners strike received wide support particularly amongst people impelled by our struggle for international working class solidarity through the fight against racist White Australia imperialism at home. On 4 June the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) received a thank you message of solidarity from

Kavekini Navuso, general secretary of the Fiji Mineworkers Union, noting that *Australasian Spartacist* "is a very attractive newspaper that deals with the depth and misery of human suffering in particular the deprived sector of society and the workers of the world."

When Los Angeles and other U.S. cities erupted in protest at the capitalist court's acquittal of Rodney King's

### Sub Drive Totals

Local	Quota (points)	Total Sold	%
Sydney	500	640	128
Melbourne	400	460	115
At Large	-	74	-
<b>National Total</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>130</b>

would-be killers, SL comrades distributed copies of the U.S. PDC statement "There is no justice in the capitalist courts!" in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane. In Sydney they were snapped up by visiting black U.S. sailors denied news of the LA events by their naval command. The *Workers Vanguard* (*WV*, fortnightly paper of the Spartacist League/U.S.) special supplement "Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case" (reprinted in this issue) was distributed in the hundreds to campuses, union sites and among Aboriginal communities.

The events in the U.S. highlighted the desperate plight of the deeply oppressed and marginalised Australian Aborigines for whom murderous cop terror is a daily fact of life. The SL's fight for mass union/black/minority mobilisations to crush racist terror and our record of defence of Aborigines has provided us with a consistent hearing amongst the Aboriginal community. Our packet of literature which brings together *ASp*

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Australasian

# SPARTACIST

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# The Murder of American Trotskyist Martha Phillips

# International Campaign Puts Heat on Moscow Authorities

## We Demand a Serious Investigation!

After ten weeks of stalling, smoke-screens and incompetence by the Moscow militia (police), in late April the International Communist League launched a worldwide campaign of publicity and protest to pressure the authorities to begin a *serious* investigation into the February 9 murder of our comrade Martha Phillips. Capping a series of demonstrations outside embassies and consulates of the Russian government around the world, on May 5 ICL spokesmen and a Soviet lawyer representing Martha Phillips' family held a press conference at the House of Journalists in Moscow which was attended by more than 40 representatives from the Soviet and international media.

Reporting on the international campaign and what necessitated it, ICL speaker Jon Branche stated:

"In the twelve weeks since Martha was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of February 9, Moscow authorities show no progress in tracking down those guilty of this abominable crime. For weeks Phillips' comrades, friends and loved ones have cooperated in good faith with the militia investigation. But our urgent inquiries have met with incompetence, evasion of responsibility and constant delaying tactics."

Among the documents distributed to the press was a 21 April letter to the Moscow procurator's office by Yossi Schwartz, a Canadian lawyer retained by Martha Phillips' family. Protesting the handling of the investigation, Schwartz detailed the grievous shortcomings of the investigation. Criticizing the numerous omissions from the autopsy report, the failure to perform essential laboratory tests and the stonewalling of those charged with pursuing the case, he concluded that it was impossible to know "whether it is a case of negligence or a conscious attempt to prevent a thorough investigation leading to the prosecution of the guilty party."

A 1 April article by Oleg Rubnikovich in the Soviet newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* pointed to the opaque and mysterious manner in which the police investigation has been pursued. As late as March 20, Moscow Morgue No 5 said that "the preliminary diagnosis was sudden heart failure," the article reported. "Meanwhile by 11 February an autopsy showed that the death was violent, and why the spokesman of the morgue tried to deceive the reporter remains unclear."



Sydney, 30 April. International demonstrations in more than a dozen cities demand a serious investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips.

Now more than two dozen leading papers around the world, ranging from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* and the *New York Times* in the U.S. to the *London Independent*, *Le Monde* (Paris), *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Japan Times*, have put the spotlight on the Moscow authorities. An article by Seamus Martin in the *Irish Times* (4 May) noted that the case "is currently raising a minor storm here in Moscow."

Boris Yeltsin, which is introducing free market reforms, and the anti-Semitic Pamyat nationalist movement."

The *Il Manifesto* article, headlined "Moscow, the Strange Death of Martha Phillips, Trotskyist Militant," pointed out that "This is a case with many anomalies that aren't part of normal crime stories." Reporter Astrit Dakli noted how the doctors who first arrived at the scene of the murder "diagnosed 'sudden death of natural causes' in spite of the evidence of knife wounds and marks of strangulation. The functionaries of the militia did the same thing." She added, "The functionaries respond with annoyance to relevant questions (in other similar cases there was always an extraordinary mobilization, often with very rapid results)."

Judi Buehrer, writing in the English-language *Moscow Times* (30 April), encountered the same stonewalling from Moscow militia and U.S. embassy officials. Investigator Marchenko "declined to comment on any of the specifics of the case," while chief police investigator Andrei Voyeykov "refused to comment about why the doctors didn't immediately suspect foul play" and "also declined to divulge other information about the case." The U.S. embassy, an official told her, had "done all it could."

An article "on the mysterious stabbing in Moscow of a Trotskyist" in the *London Independent on Sunday* (3 May) by Steve Crawshaw reported that an aide to Denver Democratic Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, who intervened in the case on behalf of Phillips' family, complained to him about the State Department's response: "First we were told that it was natural death—then a knife wound. We still haven't seen an autopsy report, although we've asked for it." Crawshaw elicited a blunt admission from the State Department of "an unwillingness to intervene for the moment." One can hardly imagine the same posture being taken if the victim were a Reaganite businessman rather than a Jewish Trotskyist woman.

Remarking on the virtual press blackout which preceded this campaign, Astrit Dakli noted in the Italian *Il Manifesto* (3 May): "The violent death of an American citizen is an event that in other cases has raised a lot of noise in Moscow." Just how unusual this case is was underlined by Howard Witt in the *Chicago Tribune* (10 May): "The circumstances might have been lifted from the pages of a Cold War-era thriller. Phillips was, in fact, the first American murdered in Moscow in recent memory, according to U.S. embassy officials."

In what amounts to the first public response by the Yeltsin regime, the government-controlled ITAR-TASS news agency issued a tortuous justification for the lack of official progress in a 30 April dispatch, which scurrilously sought to put the blame on the victim. The dispatch retailed the Moscow procurator's office claim that "there are no reasons to suggest that the investigation is being conducted in secret." Yet the first brief account of the murder in the Soviet press, in *Vechernaya Moskva* (26 February), said flatly that the investigation was "being conducted in the strictest secrecy."

A 27 April Reuters dispatch from Moscow by Anthony Barker broke ground in the international press. Barker interviewed Moscow case investigator Pavel Marchenko, who "said he could not yet disclose details of his inquiry." It also cited the dismissive response from a U.S. embassy spokesman: "The Moscow police have assured us that they are doing everything that they can."

Many of the articles emphasized the ICL's Trotskyist politics and opposition to Yeltsin counterrevolution. Barker, for example, wrote of Martha Phillips: "Her organization was critical of the former ruling Soviet Communist Party, the present government of Russian President

## World Press Coverage



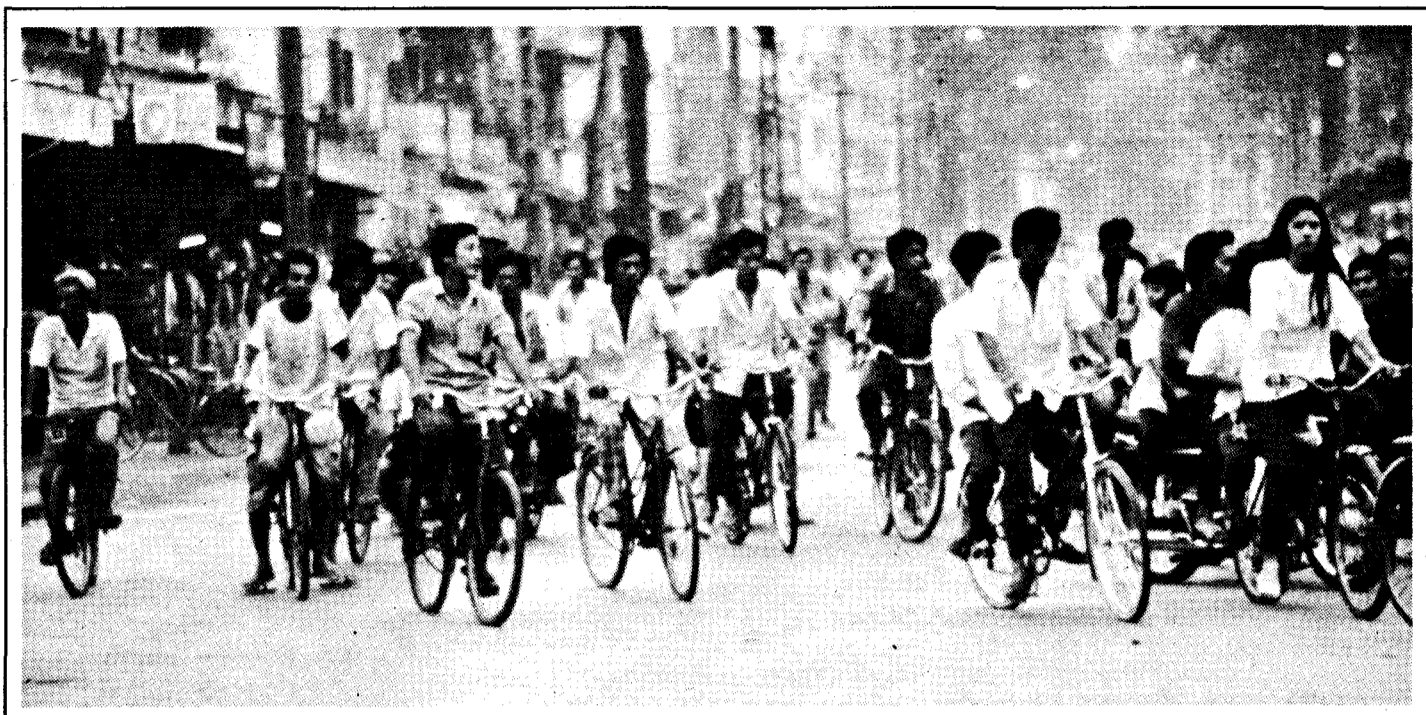
# Report from Vietnam

We received the following eyewitness account from Inga, a sympathizer in Australia who is a nurse and travelled to Vietnam this past summer, in part to check on the delivery of medical supplies she had collected in Sydney as a contribution to a Vietnamese hospital. This was our correspondent's second visit to Vietnam, the first was a year ago. She arrived in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) and travelled from there to Hanoi. The report is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No 553, 12 June 1992.

I was stunned by the difference in Ho Chi Minh City between last year and this. It's looking more what I imagine Saigon must have been before '75. Bright lights blink at you from shop fronts, hotels and a few bars (there were none of these last year). English signs abound—advertising all sorts of electronic, electrical and photographic goods. Some Vietnamese investment/business companies have sprung up and the banks are now clearly identified as such. Bars/cafes had names like "Suzie" or "Ma Chère" and one was even called "Apocalypse Now," named after that anti-Communist film. I was proudly told by a restaurant manager. "Apocalypse Now" is famous there for its rock music which blares out at night. Music tapes from the West are now readily available—at what price I don't know. All the old hotels have had facelifts and there seem to be quite a number of new ones—some of them now have names in English.

I saw more cripples on the streets compared to last year—mostly begging—young men victims of chemical warfare—deformed or missing limbs (clearly not the result of accidents). Also I saw people sleeping on the sidewalks and in empty building lots. I didn't see this last year—doesn't mean they weren't there—just that in a little bit of time I did more walking all over the central city area.

Two things really hit me as indicators of where the government is going. All the old billboards in Ho Chi Minh City celebrating the '75 victory and end of 30 years of struggle have gone. They have really cleaned up in readiness for capitalist investment. The past is being buried—no more daily reminders for the people or for the capitalists of that great victory for the workers and peasants/defeat for the imperialists. And secondly—the bookshops! All full of books in



Photos by Inga/Australasian Spartacist

**In Ho Chi Minh City bicycles are still the main mode of transportation. Down with the vindictive Imperialist embargo!**

English on how to invest and set up businesses. Books on laws and regulations. I even saw a schoolbook in Hanoi on business regulations!

Once I'd done my organising I dumped my pack and took off to the Ben Thanh markets to find Ta Thu Thau Street (named for the leader of Vietnamese Trotskyism) before it got dark. Well, the street exists but is now called Luu Van Lang Street. Many streets have several names—from the time of the French occupation, the American war (Vietnam war) and post-'75. Most people know all the names.

I had hired an interpreter from one of the main tourist companies to go with me to Xuan Loc Hospital, about 80 kilometres north of Ho Chi Minh City. The next morning we met at the tourist office and each took a cycle to the bus station. We walked around looking for a "bus" going to Xuan Loc. Not your regular buses, but little covered pickup vans—some very old. All with two narrow benches down each side and another in the middle. So off we went jammed in knee to knee.

## Xuan Loc Hospital

To recap what I was doing at Xuan Loc. Last year I visited the hospital, which is in Dong Nai Province. This was

the area where the Australian troops did most of their dirty work during the war. It also has many rubber plantations where thousands of Vietnamese perished through exhaustion and starvation during French rule. Today it is the area most heavily infested with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The hills in this area are still completely denuded of vegetation from chemical defoliation.

A few details about the hospital at Xuan Loc might be interesting. Although it's a district hospital (the city hospitals would be a little better off), it's probably fairly representative. It serves a population of 300,000, has 400 beds and is staffed by 42 doctors, 150 nurses and 50 specialist technicians. Their main health problems are malaria and dengue fever. My guide's sister died from this a few years ago. Eighty percent of their equipment was left over from the U.S. occupation. The government finances 60 percent and the rest comes from the patients.

The doctors' average monthly salary was 70-80 thousand dong (at last year's rate this is US\$12). The nurses get 40-50 thousand dong, work a 48-hour week and often overtime up to another 48 hours! Last year this wasn't mentioned but this year they told me private medical practice is allowed. Given their

lack of resources the patients appeared well looked after. There was no bed linen and some lay on newspaper on the beds. There was no running water to scrub for operations—water is poured out of a bucket over their hands, as is soap. Operating linen is washed by hand and the suture cupboards were bare. The anaesthetic machine was primitive and they have no intra-operative monitoring equipment.

I was quite shocked to see how poor they were and what little equipment the hospital had. I had told them I'd see if I could do anything to help, and after returning to Sydney I managed to collect quite a lot of supplies, intravenous equipment, for example. I wanted to visit the hospital and see if the equipment I'd shipped on had arrived.

Spent some time talking to the deputy director who I'd met last year. He asked why I was so interested in the country so I told him that the American war was a crucial factor in my becoming a communist. He immediately wanted to know if I still was one. Along with two visiting Chinese doctors (malaria experts who have perfected a cure using traditional medicine) I was taken out once again for lunch. On introducing me at the table the deputy director announced I was a communist—at which the Chinese doctors applauded and cheered. (The other doctors just smiled.)

I talked about the International Communist League's position of military victory to the NLF during the war, our opposition to the seating of Pol Pot at the United Nations, and worldwide protests we launched against the 1979 invasion of Vietnam by Peking in collusion with U.S. imperialism. I likened the government to the old bureaucracy in the Soviet Union—bureaucratic, building socialism in one country. Now they're trying to deal with their economic problems by inviting capitalist investment—a strategy for defeat. The director was very sure that the government knew how to handle things.

I also talked about the counter-revolution going on in the USSR, the capitalist reunification of Germany and the withdrawal of Soviet aid to Vietnam. I made the point that the Soviet workers owed the Vietnamese workers a debt for staying the hand of U.S. imperialism with their great victory. The director was very astonished and appreciative—they began talking amongst themselves—then turned to me to say that this was a unique view and no one thought like



**Streetcorners that used to sport revolutionary posters now have ads for Western capitalists. Left: Ho Chi Minh City, 1990; Right: Hanoi, 1992.**



that today. I don't think, though, my interpreter translated everything I said—I'd gone on to mention Ta Thu Thau and the Vietnamese Trotskyists—that's where he cut out, I think.

They insisted on driving me back 80 kilometres to Ho Chi Minh City in the brand-new hospital ambulance. Last year the ambulance was an old Australian army jeep which they'd said then belonged in a vehicle cemetery. My interpreter sat in the back seat and I sat in the front next to the driver and we continued to discuss politics all the way back to Ho Chi Minh City. It was a little difficult as the driver tooted the horn all the way home.

### From Ho Chi Minh City to Hanoi

Last year I spent three weeks in Vietnam, travelling from Ho Chi Minh City down to Vinh Long in the Mekong Delta, then up to Dalat in the mountains. I went out to the coast and drove up past Cam Ranh Bay (empty) to Danang and Hue. From Danang I flew to Hanoi and was driven out through Haiphong to Halong Bay.

In Ho Chi Minh City there's a museum dedicated to the role of women in the anti-imperialist struggle. It's in a beautiful old converted mansion run by a young woman who clearly adores

of them. I crawled through about 50 metres (widened for tourists)—and it was quite terrifying. The guide had a little torch but when he turned a corner it became pitch black. It was hot, stuffy and smelled of urine, and my back kept bumping against the tunnel roof. I was very glad to get out but it was worth doing—you couldn't but be impressed at their courage and guts.

At Danang I went out to the Marble Mountains—a few little hills of rock in an otherwise flat landscape—and I wondered how on earth the U.S. military hadn't been able to blow to smithereens the women NLF guerrilla units who took potshots at the U.S. air base from there. I climbed up the top of one mountain—from the inside—wriggling and hauling myself up through shafts in the rock (almost impossible to descend that way if you suddenly took fright). The cave I started from had several plaques in memory of those killed by bombs being dropped on them. Now the bomb holes in the roof of the cave are almost overgrown with vegetation. I swam in the sea at China Beach just out of Danang—clear warm water and soft breakers. Had to borrow a bikini from a local woman as I'd left mine in the hotel.

The roads are generally very poor. Highway 1 between HCM City and Hanoi is in parts full of potholes—south



These unemployed, demobilised soldiers were among the many people lined up to visit Ho Chi Minh's house in Hanoi.

Uncle Ho. Was very impressive—photos from the turn of the century on—many of leaders whom I hadn't heard of. Quite a few photos of women in prison—hunger strikes and the awful conditions. Didn't get a chance to go back this time so don't know if it's still there.

I also went out to the tunnels at Cu Chi—30 kilometres west of Ho Chi Minh City. There is a building there and a guide to tell you how they lived and fought and used the tunnels (which were the main supply and transportation route for the NLF-North Vietnamese forces during the war). Also two maps—one of the actual tunnels and the other showing the U.S. army's approximation

of L. Danang we drove at 15 kilometres per hour to avoid hitting them—and you wouldn't want to drive at night. Road repairs are primitive—large rocks and stones are used to fill the holes—and they just sit there loosely. Between Hanoi and Haiphong I saw a truck full of rocks and stones and 4-5 people shoveling them into the holes. This work was done by both men and women in quite hot weather (last year it was an unseasonably hot winter). Many bridges have only been partly rebuilt, allowing only for one-way traffic, so you may have to wait up to one hour to get across.

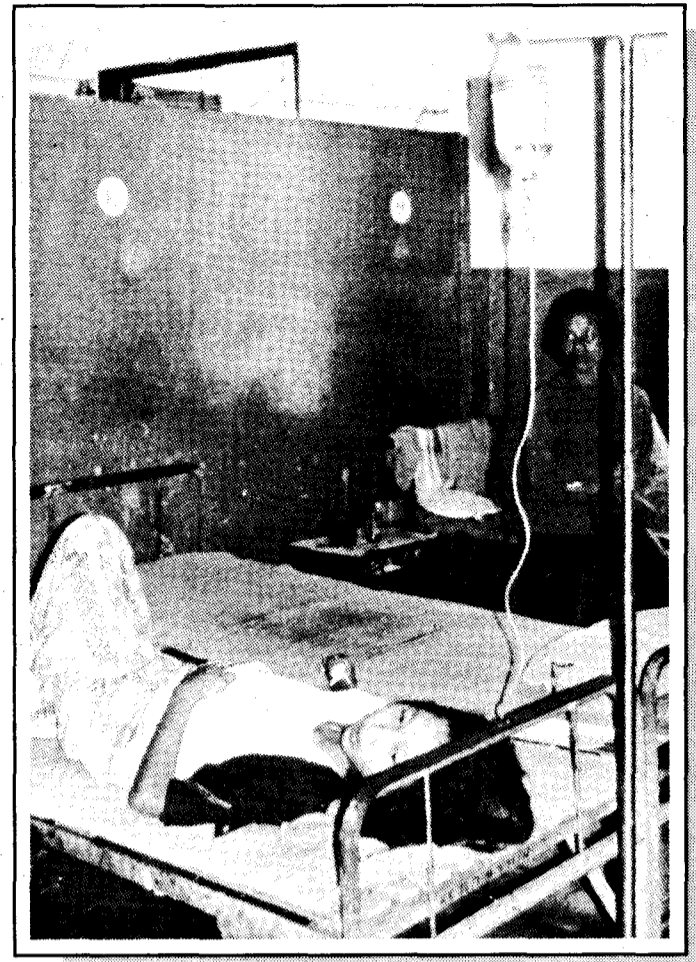
Like the road repairs—the lack of mechanisation is also seen in the rice-

Martha Phillips was not a nameless, faceless victim. The attention by the international press to this suspicious murder has thrown a sharp light on the case. We have served notice on the Moscow authorities that we will not allow the tracks of the murderer to be covered over by bureaucratic indifference or worse. To date, no further progress has been reported in the murder of our comrade. As ICL spokesman Victor Granovsky told the *Moscow Times*: "We can't allow the case to be forgotten. Martha never backed down, she would never let anyone else down, and we can't let her down." *We demand a serious investigation into the murder of Martha Phillips!* ■

## International Campaign...

(continued from page 3)

for a growing number of anti-Semitic attacks and killings." Crawshaw explained that the ICL "wanted to see a reconstitution of the old Soviet Union" and "unlike most Trotskyist groups, they were not anti-Soviet." He concluded, "however unusual Phillips's own politics may have been, the apparent lack of enthusiasm to pursue the possible political or anti-Semitic aspects of her murder is striking."



Patient in Xuan Loc Hospital.

threshing techniques. Bundles of rice stalks are placed on the roads so that vehicles driving over them separate out the grain, which then gets swept up.

### Hanoi

The countryside around Hanoi's airport is dotted with little ponds—bomb craters in fact. Generally Hanoi is much poorer than Ho Chi Minh City—fewer cars and more people more shabbily dressed. At first I thought it looked the same as last year, but the same changes are taking place there—though not so immediately obvious. Hang Ba Street has many shops jammed with stereo and video equipment—Sony, Sanyo, Sharp. Also in this street are several Honda motorbike shops. Other shops have such things as electric cookers made in the West. In Tran Tien Street there were more tourist shops than I remember, selling watches, cameras, (old) arts and crafts. Some young women in Hanoi were wearing makeup—didn't see that last year—also street stalls were selling eye shadow, lipstick and face creams.

Most of my time in Hanoi I spent going round the museums—history, military, revolutionary history, Ho Chi Minh museum and mausoleum. In one was a book, *Trotsky and Counterrevolution*. This was the only reference I saw to the genuine revolutionary traditions that once existed. Every time I came to photo displays of the 1945 Saigon events I asked my guide for translations. Of course it was all Stalinist banners, leaflets and demos.

Today there are something like ten and a half million people who require some form of health care as a result of the war, ie, are limbless or known to be chemically affected. Many people still die or are maimed by stepping on unexploded mines. The metal is precious and can be sold, so people try to retrieve mines unaware of the danger. Of course the U.S. government has refused to hand over maps of the minefields.

Dioxin is present in the food chain and thus in breast milk. Many young women have cervical cancer and are sterile. There is a high incidence of aborted foetuses and in the HCM City war crimes museum is a foetus with no brain, four arms and four legs. Soldiers who fought in the south (VC/NLF and DRV) have a 17 times higher cancer rate than those who remained in the north. Some 27 percent of forests in the south were destroyed, affecting climate and crop yields.

The housing shortage is acute—young married couples often live with their parents. Marriage is often delayed because of poverty and lack of housing. My 30-year-old driver from last year said he was too poor to marry. While contraception is supposedly available, I bet it's too expensive (didn't find out), and is definitely unavailable in rural areas. You know most if not all these things anyway—like the rise in prostitution, massive unemployment and children growing up without education not only because it's too expensive but also because they must work to help support the family.

\*\*\*

On her way to Vietnam, our supporter was in Moscow on November 7, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. *Pravda* (9 November) spoke with her there and in a sampling of opinions from the crowd they wrote: "An Australian woman from the International Communist League: 'The October Revolution was directed to the whole world. What is happening with you these days is a blow to communists in all countries.'" Not least of these is Vietnam. It's all the more necessary to struggle for Trotskyist parties to turn back the tide of counterrevolution. For workers political revolution from Moscow to Peking and Hanoi! Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. and Australian imperialism! ■

### Melbourne Spartacist League Class Series

#### Fight for the Communism of Lenin & Trotsky!

- 27 June: For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!
- 11 July: Smash Yeltsin's Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!
- 25 July: We fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

All classes occur on Saturdays, commencing 3pm and are held at the Sir Robert Peel Hotel, 1st Floor, 351 Queensberry Street, North Melbourne. For readings and more information, contact the Spartacist League on (03) 654 4315, GPO Box 2339, Melbourne, 3001.



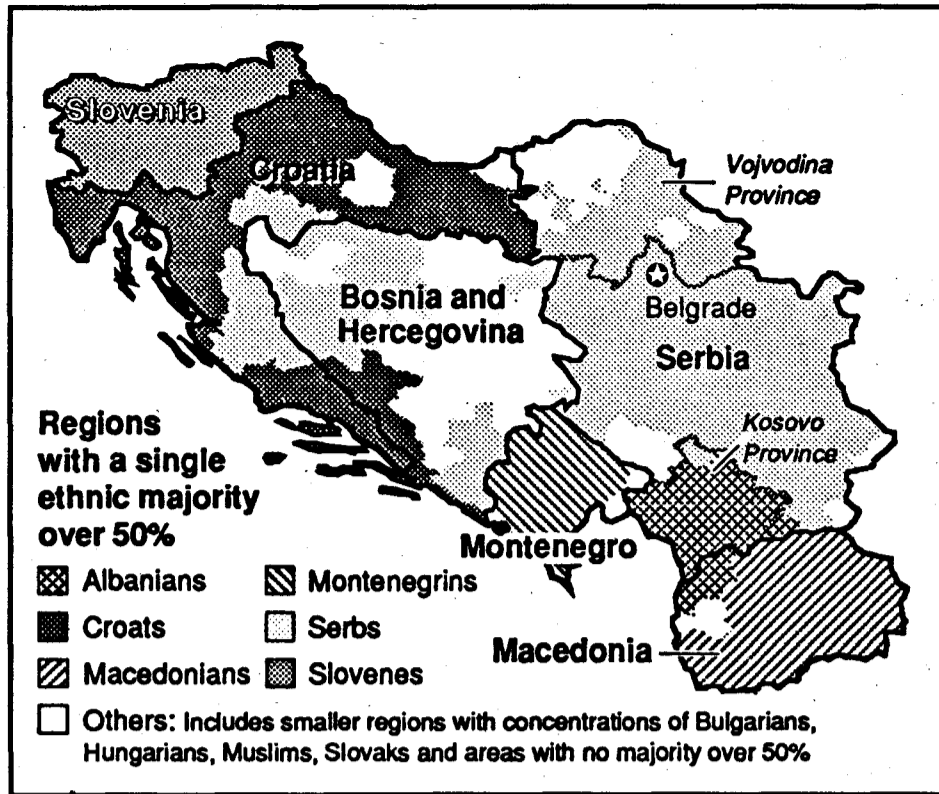
# Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 1)

in pursuing their respective chauvinist projects, it is only because they have greater numbers and firepower. In the dog-eat-dog competition of returning capitalism, it is only "natural" that each gang of bourgeois nationalists seeks to carve out as big a piece of the pie as it can.

Milosevic is certainly a nationalist bastard, while Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman is an open admirer of the clerical-fascist Ustasha, which under the Nazi occupation massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). And the leader of the stillborn "independent" Bosnian state, Alija Izetbegovic, is known for having authored a 1990 "Islamic Declaration" which begins: "Our goal is the islamization of Muslims. Our motto is: believe and fight" (*International Weekly* [Belgrade], 23 May). Meanwhile, this nationalist agitation has brought to the fore uncontrolled gangs of criminal terrorists who are carrying out murderous pogromist atrocities on all sides. Even a UN report conceded that Milosevic has little control over the Serbian militias in Bosnia.

In Croatia as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian militias that model themselves on the Ustasha, and army-backed Serb militias that call themselves "Chetniks," after the wartime royalists who collaborated with British imperialism (and blocked with the German and Italian fascists against the Communists), are pursuing genocidal forced



AP Graphic

with maps in hand to work out the details of the carve-up...where they agree. Where they don't, they fight.

Western liberals moan about the nationalist "excesses" accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia and counter-revolution in East Europe. But this deadly eruption of national chauvinism is a necessary concomitant of capitalist restoration. The bourgeois state is based on the dominant position of one nation and the subjugation and oppression of all other nationalities within its borders.

people. Once, Milosevic had to disguise his followers as socialists. Now, in place of indoctrinated Titoist generals, he relies on more educated Serbian nationalists among the younger senior army officers."

—*Guardian* [London], 15 May

A dispatch from the official Tanjug news agency reported: "In regard to changes in the army [air force] General Stevanovic said that this army is in fact a completely new one and added that the new generation of young highly trained officers has gotten rid of all the ideological principles which had burdened the former Yugoslav People's Army."

While Milosevic now stands at the helm of a nascent capitalist state, shorn of "burdensome ideological principles" which proclaimed at least a verbal connection to socialism and internationalism, his position is hardly secure. Even without the imperialist sanctions, the Serbian economy is a shambles, as vast resources have been funneled into the war. Inflation is out of control, with prices almost doubling every day. Many factories have been disabled as a result of mass conscription or because they relied on goods from the other Yugoslav republics. For example, the Zastava auto factory in Kragujevac has been shut down because since the beginning of the year it has no longer been able to get needed parts from Croatia and Slovenia.

Politically, Milosevic is buffeted by ultranationalist forces on one side and pro-imperialist elements on the other. May 31 elections called to legitimize the new constitution were boycotted by all but Milosevic's Socialist Party, the extreme nationalist Serbian Radical Party of Vojeslav Seselj and a handful of other tiny formations. Seselj and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic denounce Milosevic for being "too moderate" in pursuit of a "Greater Serbia." At the same time, Crown Prince Alexander, the Serbian Orthodox church and opposition parties like Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Movement for Renewal have been seeking to accommodate imperialist pressure and attacking Milosevic as a closet Communist. The day after the UN sanctions vote, these types organized a middle-class "antiwar" demonstration in Belgrade with chants of "Slobo, Saddam." Meanwhile the crown prince—a shill for British imperialism who was born in London—is being feted by both London and Washington.

The opposition is no less committed to Greater Serbian nationalism than Milosevic. Draskovic, for example, is a hard-bitten chauvinist who idolizes Chetnik leader Draza Mihailovic, executed in 1946 by the victorious Partisans. Unveiling a monument to Mihailovic in May, Draskovic rhapsodized to his dead mentor: "The Serbian people are experiencing the same tragedy as half a century ago, when you came to Mt Ravna Gora,

raising our banner from the dust, showing us the way of salvation and healing the broken wings of the nation."

## Communist Partisans Defeated Nationalist Pogromists

That Serbian monarchists and Croatian fascists who were Nazi collaborators are today being honored speaks vividly to the reactionary transformation which has overwhelmed Yugoslavia. Tito's tortured version of federalism looks pretty good in hindsight. The social revolution carried out under Tito's leadership laid the basis for economic and national equality for all the Yugoslav peoples, Serbs and Croats as well as Bosnian Muslims, Voj Magyars and Kosovo Albanians. As we noted in "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* No 106, 23 April 1976):

"With such a conglomeration of nations compressed in a restricted area, the interpenetration of peoples frequent in border regions becomes far more than an incidental factor. In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression."

Particularly in polemicizing against leftist apologists for Arab nationalism and Irish Republicanism in the early 1970s, the Spartacist tendency insisted that in the case of interpenetrated peoples—as in Israel/Palestine, Sri Lanka, Ireland or Cyprus—there could be no just solution to the national question on the basis of bourgeois democracy. Such conflicts of different peoples claiming the same territory could only be resolved in a reactionary manner through genocidal forced population transfers, or in an equitable, democratic way through the creation of a workers state. Yugoslavia has demonstrated the truth of that statement, first positively and now negatively.

From the very outset, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the only political formation in the country which embraced all of that country's diverse mosaic of nationalities. Forced underground almost immediately after its formation, the CPY attracted cadre on the basis of its opposition to all variants of national oppression in the Serb-dominated Yugoslav monarchy of the interwar years. This continued even after its Stalinization, which led it to attempt (unsuccessfully) to bloc in the prewar period with the Croatian Ustasha and at the beginning of the war with the Serbian Chetniks. If for no other reason than its multinational composition—Tito had a Croat father and Slovene mother, his chief lieutenants included the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, the Serb Alexander Rankovic, the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas and the Jew Moshe Pijade—the CPY was seen as an enemy by Croatian and Serbian nationalists alike.

As we have written, during the genocide of World War II "workers and peasants came to know they were safe when the partisans with the red star on their caps arrived in town" (*WV* No 429, 29 May 1987). Fighting against both the Ustasha and Chetnik pogromists as well as the Nazi and Italian fascist invaders, Tito's victorious Communist Partisans emerged from the war with widespread authority as the sole unifying force among Yugoslavia's nationalities. The 1946 constitution proclaimed "a community of peoples with equal rights" and stated: "Every legal act, which would give privileges to citizens or limit their rights on the basis of their belonging to a different nationality, race, or religion, as well as any preaching of national, racial, or religious hatred and disunity, is unconstitutional and punishable by law."

But while Tito's CPY enshrined the equality of nations within Yugoslavia—to the point that latter-day Chetniks claim the predominant Serbs were "oppressed"—the national question in the Balkans could not be resolved within the borders

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

**Leadership of Communist Partisans in World War II was drawn from the many nationalities making up Yugoslavia. Kardelj (second from left) was Slovene, Tito (third from left) was Croatian, Rankovic (fourth from left) was Serb, Djilas (second from right) was Montenegrin.**

population transfers in the name of "ethnic cleansing." This has been particularly savage in ethnically intermingled Bosnia, where 43 percent of the population is Muslim, 31 percent Serbian and 17 percent Croatian, but more than one-third of all families are the product of mixed marriages.

While imperialist attention has focused on the Croats and other Yugoslav minorities fleeing Serbian militias, more than 140,000 Serbian refugees have been forced to flee neo-Ustasha terror in Croatia and Bosnia. One of the largest forced population transfers in the year-long fighting came when thousands of Serbian refugees were recently driven out of northern Bosnia by Muslim and Croatian militias.

Even as they slaughter each other, the Serbian and Croatian nationalists are more than willing to cut a deal over the body of the Muslim Slavs. As *Der Spiegel* (25 May) reported: "The Croatian and Serbian presidents, Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic, already last summer agreed in principle over the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia would get northern and southeastern Bosnia, Croatia would get the better part of Herzegovina." In a well-advertised "secret" meeting in the Austrian town of Graz in early May, Bosnian Serb and Croat militia representatives showed up

And that is precisely what is happening in Yugoslavia today, as competing nationalist gangs scramble to construct bourgeois states on contested territory and over the corpse of Tito's Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

While various pseudo-leftists like Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat fell into line behind NATO's support for Croatia's "national liberation" last year, we insisted that revolutionaries had no side in the fratricidal civil war. Pointing out that the secessionist regimes in Croatia and Slovenia were clearly counterrevolutionary, we also noted that the "army/Milosevic campaign is not to preserve the Yugoslav workers state but, in fact, is speeding its demise through an explosion of nationalist rancor and bloodletting" (*WV* No 540, 6 December 1991). And that has now come to pass, with the new constitution formalizing the decomposition of the Yugoslav deformed workers state into competing counter-revolutionary nationalist regimes.

The recent military purges cap the transformation of the federal army into an instrument of Greater Serbian nationalism. As Belgrade journalist Branislav Milosevic noted:

"The purge does not mean that Milosevic's strategic aims will change; only that the policy will be carried out by different

4 MAY 1992

### Workers, Blacks, Latinos, Asians— Organize to Sweep Away this Rotten Racist System!

# Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case

MAY 3—Even as the first flames leapt into the sky over Los Angeles, accumulated seething anger erupted in cities across the country as word of the racist verdict spread. As L.A. burned, turmoil spread coast to coast. While paramilitary cops, National Guard and U.S. troops occupied South Central L.A., a state of emergency was clamped on San Francisco and Atlanta, the National Guard was called in to Las Vegas, and curfews were imposed in half a dozen cities from Berkeley to Atlanta. In every city which erupted in indignation over this verdict, bitter memories were stirred of the many other victims of rampaging cop terror.

The searing image of a lynch mob in blue uniforms sadistically, methodically, repetitively torturing a black man lying helpless on the ground became the symbol of racist police brutality in America. Now the verdict broadcast to the world what black people already know well: there is no justice in the racist capitalist courts. "They've been killing us, stomping us, slapping us for years," bitterly remarked a street gang member in L.A. "And when we get 'em on tape, they get found not guilty in a system that doesn't count for us," added another.

"This says it's open season on black people," said Jody Earl, a black Angeleno, 33. Ron Boyle, 40, added, "The justice system doesn't work in America" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 May). This conspicuously interracial



Chinn/SF Examiner

As outrage swept the West Coast after the verdict in the Rodney King case, a San Francisco protester is seized by the cops.

outburst against the oppressive cops and courts spread so dramatically because of years of grinding poverty and social conditions oppressing Latinos and man-

whites as well as blacks. Polls show an overwhelming majority of the population disagreed with the verdict absolving the cops who beat Rodney King. One

reported that even 47 percent of whites think the rioting is "understandable."

The racist media, while playing over and over pictures of the vicious beating of a white truck driver, hesitated in vilifying the desperate crowds that took to the streets. They whine that "there are better ways" to protest, but it's obvious that the wave of unrest has at least focused world attention on the grievances of black America. As demonstrators from Berlin to New Delhi solidarized with the explosion of rage in Los Angeles, and racist rulers from Japan to South Africa scoffed at Washington's pretensions to world "leadership," Bush & Co. worry that their "New World Order" could go up in smoke. *America's rulers know they are guilty, and they're nervous as hell—as well they should be.*

The malicious California governor Pete Wilson—who wants to starve welfare mothers and just ordered the first execution in the state in 25 years—called out the National Guard, at the behest of black Democratic mayor Bradley. And the haughty imperial president George Bush got on TV with a "get tough" speech announcing that U.S. troops were being deployed. Armored personnel carriers rolled into South Central. It was the Seventh Infantry from Fort Ord, which carried out the invasion of Panama, Marines from the Gulf War, SWAT kill squads made up of FBI, federal

*continued on page 8*

# There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

## L.A. Racist Cops Walk

The following is adapted from a statement by the *Partisan Defense Committee* issued on April 30.

The videotape of Los Angeles cops viciously pummeling black motorist Rodney King sparked a wave of outrage in L.A. and across the country. The amateur video caught the cops in their routine practice of terrorizing blacks and other minorities. Now the despicable verdict by a no-blacks-allowed Simi Valley jury acquitting the would-be killers is a green light for racist terror—from skinheads and KKKers to big-city and small-town cops across the country.

Moving the trial out of L.A. to virtually all-white Simi Valley—where active cops and their families outnumber the black population—was a sure way the racist capitalist state could come up with a not-guilty verdict. The jury watched

the same videotape the whole world saw—they saw over and over again how Rodney King was stunned by Tasers, repeatedly beaten and kicked as he lay helpless on the ground. But it didn't matter. The judge instructed the jury to see the videotape "through the cops' eyes" and that's what they did.

Now the rage and explosion over this hideous injustice will be used to justify more repression and more cop violence in the name of white racist "law and order." Already the National Guard has been placed in readiness to impose martial law. A state of emergency has been declared and a dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed. We say: cops and National Guard, army of occupation—out of the ghettos and barrios!

This racist verdict was a provocation  
*continued on page 9*



Dykes/L.A. Times

Mass arrests of suspected looters: Free all the victims of the racist dragnet! Stop the migra raids!

# Cops, Troops, Migra Out of the Ghettos and Barrios!

# Outrage...

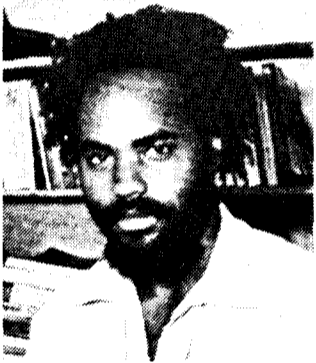
(continued from page 7)

marshals and Border Patrol. Now this army of occupation of 30,000 heavily armed troops aims its bayonets at blacks, Latinos and Asians at home.

In the face of the police-state occupation of black and Latino L.A. it is necessary to mobilize the power of the integrated union movement. Hours after the cops moved in, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a leaflet (see page 1) demanding that the major unions including longshore, aerospace and city workers must organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the ghettos and barrios now literally under the gun. We demand: *Cops, troops out of the ghettos and barrios!*

After three days in L.A., the death toll exceeded that of the 1965 Watts riots and even that of Detroit in 1967: it currently stands at 49 dead, of whom at least 17 are black, 15 are Hispanic, 8 white, and 2 Asian. The police and press are covering up the numbers of victims of the cops. As CNN reporter Charles Zewe reported from the scene, of the dead "most of those who died were black, most of those who died were shot in confrontations with police." There were 1,765 reported injuries and 6,345 arrests.

L.A. is "seething with a kind of rage I've never seen," said Zewe. A 52-year-



Philadelphia Magazine

**Mumia Abu-Jamal is on Death Row in Pennsylvania because this crusading black radio journalist, known as the "voice of the voiceless," earned the enmity of Philadelphia rulers and cops for his outspoken defense of black radicals against racist repression. The fight to save Jamal has become a rallying cry for death penalty abolitionists around the world.**

old black man remarked, "Martin Luther King was a waste. His methods have changed nothing." Black people are being pushed beyond the limit, terrorized by cops and courts, driven out of the industrial workforce, denied decent education and housing. U.S. capitalism has no use for a whole generation of black ghetto youth who were once kept on the bench as a "reserve army of labor." Now all that awaits them is death—slow death from epidemics of disease, malnutrition and drugs, or fast, in the gas chamber or gunned down on the streets. On points, the U.S. is now worse than South Africa, where they just sentenced a white

cop to hang for ordering a 1988 massacre of eleven black people, but the death penalty has been suspended there.

The rage of the inner city intersects widespread frustration and disgust extending throughout the population. Particularly in this election year, it is self-evident that both capitalist parties are bankrupt. Meanwhile, the abject betrayal by the UAW tops of even the mainly white, middle-aged Midwest Caterpillar strikers has driven home the need to sweep out the racist, bought-and-paid-for AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The Rodney King verdict has illuminated the whole system of American capitalism, built on a bedrock of racist oppression. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed. The question is how. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all.

## King Verdict Lit the Match

Day after day, black L.A. watched on TV the "trial" of four of the more than a dozen racist cops involved in beating Rodney King. Once the case had been moved out of L.A. to lily-white Simi Valley, a bedroom suburb for cops and home of the "Ronald Reagan Memorial Library," it was all over. In Simi Valley they love L.A. police chief Daryl Gates, the Sultan of SWAT, who earned his spurs as an LAPD commander in Watts in '65 and defended his killer cops by "explaining" that blacks just die more often than "normal people" from the choke hold. For anyone trying to get a conviction of the cops (which the prosecution wasn't), this was "the jury from hell," as one commentator put it. As his aunt, Angela King, said on TV: "Rodney King is out there on that ground begging for his life, and I'm sure those jurors saw that videotape 1,000 times and felt no remorse."

In contrast to Simi Valley, South Central is 95 percent non-white, equally black and Latino, "a flat plain of poverty and high unemployment" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 May). A decade ago, ten of the twelve largest non-aerospace factories in the area were shut down, decimating the unionized black workforce. Between 1973 and 1986, the average yearly income of black high school graduates in Los Angeles declined by 44 percent, while Latino earnings fell 35 percent. This is the tinderbox in which the racist verdict in the "Rodney King trial" lit the match. One effect of the rioting was to bring together the warring black and Latino street gangs against the cops. Graffiti on one wall read, "Crips Bloods Mexicans together forever tonite 4/30/92."

The ghetto explosion exacerbated tensions between black residents and Korean merchants (as well as the community of Koreatown just north of South Central). When Jewish shopowners left after the '65 Watts riots, the Koreans moved in—and became a lightning rod

DRED SCOTT, 1857  
RODNEY KING, 1992

**Labor Must Call Out It's Ranks!**

The L.A.P.D. brutally beat Rodney King to the point of near death. The court system has now exonerated the L.A.P.D. racist torture squad.

These same courts outlaw our strike weapons, and unleash the police to beat and arrest striking workers.

**We are not helpless and impotent!**

Organized labor's voice must be heard! It's power and organization must be wielded to stop police terror against black and minority communities!

The decent folk of this country are in shock, and outraged.

**THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW!**

We, the undersigned, demand the unions protest this racist injustice.

This petition is being circulated in the Bay Area by a militant black socialist.

for plebeian resentments. This was crystallized by the killing of black teenager Latasha Harlins last March, shot in the back of the head by a Korean store owner. Now, caught in a vise, Korean merchants responded to the looting with murderous gunfire, while thousands of Koreans then marched with desperate appeals for "peace and justice." The racist hostility against Koreans, whipped up by black nationalist demagogues and aspiring black businessmen who want to exploit "their" market, is a poisonous diversion from the real enemy of the black masses. Most West Coast Asians are among the most miserably exploited people around.

While the bourgeoisie fumed about the "criminality" of looters trucking away goods from broken store windows, by all indications this was a thoroughly integrated affair of downtrodden and impoverished people. This is indeed understandable, but won't do anything to eliminate the entrenched poverty of America's inner cities. As we wrote at the time of the 1960s ghetto explosions:

"For the last three summers ghettos across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of 'normal' brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction."

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* Supplement, May-June 1967

The point is not to seize articles of consumption but to expropriate the means of production. And that takes a leap in consciousness and organization to do away with the capitalist order.

Riots are an expression of despair, often including ugly incidents of indiscriminate attacks on individuals who happen to find themselves at the wrong place. In the '60s, ghetto uprisings were the product of the failure of the civil rights movement to make a dent in the racist conditions in the urban centers of the North. To do so meant going up directly against the Democratic Party—to which the liberal preachers like Martin Luther King Jr. were beholden—and attacking the capitalist economic underpinnings of black superexploitation and discrimination. While avowed revolutionary nationalists like the Black Panther Party were active in the ghettos at that time, today what is most striking is the utter vacuum of black leadership.

There's a sense among many blacks

that they won't get anything until they burn the place down. But as many have pointed out, after the '67 riots that devastated black Detroit, it was never built up again. But the deeper truth is that Detroit turned into a ghost town because the auto bosses looted the industry and closed down plant after plant. It's the capitalists who have destroyed the wealth of this country built up by the sweat of the workers. It's not who's in the White House but the inexorable workings of an irrational system.

## For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

A program for black emancipation must start with the knowledge that the whole system of racist capitalist oppression has got to be brought down. In the '60s this was taken as a given by militant radical leaders, like Malcolm X and the Panthers, but many were gunned down by the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO or thrown behind bars, while more opportunist elements joined the Democratic Party. But even the best of these militant fighters failed to understand that the only social force that could eliminate this racist system is the integrated working class.

To change the consciousness of frustrated black youth, in the first instance what is required is a powerful struggle for jobs. This is not a matter of going hat in hand to lobby (beg) Congress, but of mobilizing the organized labor movement in militant struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for union hiring halls with union-run job training and skills upgrading programs to enroll minority youth. In sweatshop havens like L.A., organizing the unorganized can greatly reduce the rampant poverty.

The power of labor, breaking with the tame trade-union bureaucrats, must be brought to bear in the fight for black emancipation, acting as a champion of all the oppressed. For mass organized labor/black defense against racist terror—gun control kills blacks! And the working people must be mobilized politically to defend their class interests. As Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander said at a May 2 Bay Area SL educational conference, "From black Democratic Party mayor Tom Bradley to Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton and Willie Brown and Ron Dellums, the capitalist ruling class and their political representatives are united in defense of white racist 'law and order' and in suppressing with cops and troops the burning rage of the masses." "Workers revolution... that's when we'll get our justice!"

This generation has grown up without seeing mass social struggle, so many don't see where the power will come from to accomplish this. There is a basis for multiracial unity in this country, but it can never be on the basis of "reforming" a status quo which forcibly keeps one race on the bottom. Not empty appeals for "brotherhood" but the fight to smash capitalist exploitation and oppression can bring the working people of all races together. The key factor in that struggle is the building of a multiracial workers party on a revolutionary program. ■

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

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**PC Partisan Defense  
Committee**

**CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES**

Number 17 \$1.00 Spring/Summer 1992

**Outrage Over Racist Acquittal  
of Cops in Rodney King Case:**



**There Is  
No Justice  
in the  
Capitalist  
Courts**

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# American Trotskyist Murdered in Moscow

## Worldwide Protests Demand Serious Investigation

Protest pickets were held in a dozen cities around the world on April 29 and 30 demanding a serious and energetic investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips, an American Trotskyist murdered in Moscow. Phillips, 43, was the leading spokesman in the Soviet Union of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). She was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of February 9, just hours before a major demonstration against the starvation policies of the Russian regime of Boris Yeltsin. Yet 12 weeks later, Moscow authorities show no progress in tracking down those guilty of this abominable crime.

The demonstrations were called in response to an appeal by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of the ICL. Held on the eve of May Day, the international workers holiday, they also denounced the drive to impose capitalism on the Soviet peoples. Seventy protesters outside the Russian consulate in New York City chanted, "Yeltsin is tool of Wall Street rule!" and "Free market misery, we say *nyet*—Power to workers soviets!" Signs in Russian and English demanded, "No more stalling! Full investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips!"

Martha Phillips lived and worked in the S.F. Bay Area for nearly 20 years, where she was actively involved in the antiwar, civil rights and labor movements. In 1983, she ran as Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council on the program "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats—For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan." She was a founder of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, which grew out of her election campaign.

Pickets were also held in Washington, D.C., Ottawa, Sydney, Warsaw, Rome, Milan, Berlin, Hamburg, Paris and London. In Tokyo, despite a ban on demonstrations and a heavy presence of riot police, the Spartacist Group Japan delivered a statement to the

Russian embassy. Earlier in the week, when a representative of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia brought a packet of information to the Russian consulate in Milan, he was given a seemingly concerned hearing until he mentioned that Martha Phillips was Jewish, whereupon the vice consul launched a stream of anti-Semitic abuse. Our comrade indignantly walked out.

The week of protests began with a press conference at the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán (Mexico City) on April 27, the house where the Bolshevik leader was slain by a Stalinist assassin in 1940. Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson, declared: "We wish to add the name of Martha Phillips to the long list of fallen revolutionary heroes, a list that is headed by the great revolutionary and Marxist Leon Trotsky, who initiated this struggle in 1923 when the whole process began of betrayal and moving away from the October Revolution which today is reaching its final stage, that of the return to capitalism." Volkov added: "We still cannot say clearly the circumstances in which she was murdered, but there are many elements which suggest that it was a political crime of reprisal against the Spartacist group. And the actions of the Russian militia leave a lot to be desired and raise many doubts."



**Martha Phillips**

10 March 1948 - 9 February 1992

At the New York demonstration, a spokesman for the SL/U.S. noted that "Talking of 'freedom' and 'democracy,' the imperialists want to impose a society where vicious cops can brutally beat a black man bloody and then get off free, as just occurred in Los Angeles. We are doing everything in our power to prevent that. We dip our red flags in honor of Martha Phillips, and we raise the red banner of revolution in continuing her fight."

### Paul O'Dwyer: "This Heinous Murder Must Be Solved"

The following statement was received from former New York City Council president Paul O'Dwyer:

An American Trotskyist has been murdered in Moscow. This fact alone demands a serious and energetic investigation by the Moscow authorities. Martha Phillips was a woman who devoted her life to fighting injustice wherever it appeared. A proud member of the union movement, she fought the encroachments of industry against the interests of labor. A Jewish

woman and socialist, she organized on behalf of all minority groups and all oppressed people against the Nazis and Klan. In the last year of her life, in a country not her own, she struggled on behalf of the working people of the Soviet Union in a time of terrible crisis. I add my voice and support to those rallying worldwide in memory of Martha Phillips. This heinous murder must be solved.

April 30, 1992

## No Justice...

(continued from page 7)

guaranteed to generate desperate outrage by the city's besieged minority population. The point is not to seize articles of consumption but to expropriate the means of production. That's a big leap, representing the shift in consciousness from that of outraged poor people to that of conscious and organized working people.

This country today "leads" the world in the percentage of its population incarcerated by its "justice" system, exceeding even apartheid South Africa. Unable to provide jobs and homes to millions of people, this country's rulers are willing to spend ever greater sums of money to lock up those the system has no use for, as well as those who want to fight for something better. The only "growth industry" in America today is construction of new prisons, where the number of blacks and Latinos behind



WV Photo

Geronimo (ji Jaga) Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner, has spent over 20 years in the prison hellholes of San Quentin and Folsom for a crime the government knows he didn't commit, because their own phone taps showed he was in Oakland when it happened. A former leader of the L.A. Black Panthers, he survived a 1969 LAPD/SWAT machine-gun raid on Panther headquarters, only to be framed for murder as part of the FBI's infamous "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" radical black leaders. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

bars is vastly disproportionate to their weight in the population.

This is life in the "New World Order." The beating of Rodney King took place just days after the U.S. mass murder mission in Iraq, prompting Bush to declare, "The kind of moral force and national will that freed Kuwait City from abuse can free America's cities from crime." Rodney King knows well the immoral force of the Los Angeles police, as does former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent over 20 years in prison framed by the LAPD and FBI, and the families of the 28 victims killed over the past 25 years by the Special Investigations Section (LAPD's secret hit squad). This is what black Democratic mayor Thomas Bradley calls "the finest large-city department in the nation."

The cops and courts are instruments of racist class oppression. This is how the thugs in blue "serve and protect" their capitalist masters, not just in L.A. but in the inner cities across the country. When not terrorizing the ghettos and barrios they are out busting picket lines, like the 1990 cop riot against striking Los Angeles janitors. Wednesday's verdict is a grotesque reaffirmation of Supreme Court Justice Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case 135 years ago that blacks "had no rights which the white

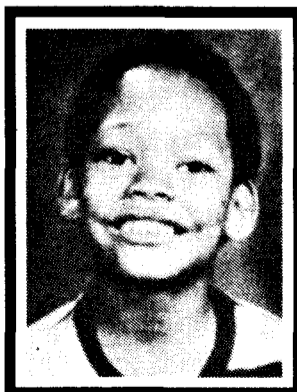
man was bound to respect." The message written in blood and bruises upon the body of Rodney King, and now buttressed with all the pomp of "due process," is that the racist cops can do anything they want to anybody they want anytime they want.

Black people in Los Angeles are increasingly vulnerable—shoved out of the labor force, they are pushed back and forced to survive on the shrinking margins of the dangerous inner cities. The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community as the LAPD looks to spill more blood to "celebrate" their racist victory over Rodney King. It is a measure of the craven prostration of the pro-capitalist union "leaders" in the face of this racist crime that instead of organizing powerful actions against the cops who torture and kill black people, who arrest strikers and protect scabs, they are busy whipping up anti-Japanese protectionism and turning out working-class votes for the Democratic politicians.

There is no justice in this racist capitalist country for Rodney King, for Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black

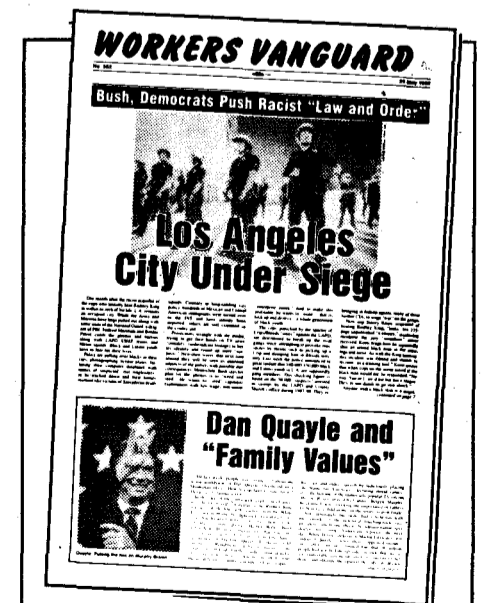
child shot and killed inside his own apartment by a trigger-happy Orange County cop, for the countless victims of cop terror nationwide. Justice will come when the killer cops are tried by tribunals of their intended victims—when the power of the capitalist class and of their racist hirelings in blue is smashed by a thoroughgoing revolution so that those who labor will rule.

Over a century ago this country promised freedom to its black citizens, 200,000 of whom fought in the Union Army to smash the slaveholders' rule in the South. But that promise was betrayed by victorious Northern capitalism. It will take a third American Revolution, a revolution by the working people and all the oppressed, to win black liberation—in a socialist America. ■



L.A. Times

Remember Patrick Mason. The five-year-old black child was blown away in his own home in 1983 by an Orange County cop who kicked in the door and shot the little boy with a .357 magnum from a distance of 3 feet.



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# Defend the Immigrants and the Right of Asylum! Down with the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!

## Strikes Rock Kohl's Germany

The following article is translated from a special supplement of Spartakist (2: May 1992), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

**Break with Social Democracy—  
Not a "Grand Coalition" of Capital,  
But a Workers Government to  
Expropriate Capital!**

**Bring Down Kohl with  
Workers' Action!**

MAY 22—The strike in West German public service and transport was the biggest labor struggle here since World War II and the first strike by the government workers union (ÖTV) since 1974—when they brought down the government of Willy Brandt. This wasn't about a lousy 5.4 percent. It was a provocative test of strength on the part of the German bourgeoisie with major international repercussions. Together with the Social Democrats (SPD), they first bulldozed the East German collectivized economy and have thrown six million unemployed on the street nationally. And now there is a de facto Christian Democratic (CDU)/SPD coalition that wants West German workers to pay for the devastation caused by capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) and East Europe.

German imperialism is emboldened by what they see as capitalist victory over "communism" with the collapse of Stalinism, and at the same time it is under severe economic pressure as it seeks to digest the spoils. But CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl's gang and the SPD labor traitors miscalculated with the most powerful working class in Europe. They precipitated an overwhelmingly popular strike against themselves and the consequences of capitalist reunification. Moreover, the strike began to spread to the East, showing the tremendous potential for united class struggle.

In spite of the government's anti-union propaganda, with the Berlin gutter

**Postal workers  
picket in Hamburg  
during public  
service strike. Two  
years after capitalist  
reunification,  
German rulers face  
massive working-  
class unrest.**



Der Spiegel

press *BZ* writing about "the first rats sighted on the Kurfürstendamm," the strike had wide support; discontent among the population turned against the regime. According to the latest polls, Kohl is the most unpopular politician in Germany next to (Free Democratic economics minister) Möllemann, and a popular joke about the "tax lie" (Kohl's election promise that there would be no tax increases to pay for reunification) refers to the new "sucker-bait surtax" (*Volksverarschungsabgabe*). With this kind of anger, it was a good time to strike, and strike hard. During the strike Bonn was playing with the idea of sending in the Bundeswehr (army) to pick up garbage. If that had happened, it should have been answered with a general strike.

There was a lot of sentiment among strikers to hold out for at least "six [percent] before the decimal point," but any real struggle to regain and defend workers' jobs, wages and benefits from the inroads of economic devastation in

the East and the slashing of social programs, inflation and tax hikes in the West would require the full mobilization of the working class *East and West*. Because what's involved here is not a squabble over a few D-marks, but a sharp *political class confrontation*. The bourgeoisie has announced the end of the "German model" of organized class collaboration. They would like to introduce the economic policies of Reagan and Thatcher, which signals a hot war against the unions.

This confrontation with the German state is not over. Workers everywhere say they're "pissed off" about this shameful sellout, which means a stinging pay cut—because they knew that for eleven days they had the government where it hurts. In Braunschweig the strike continued after the settlement was announced. The ÖTV ranks—particularly transit and garbage workers—rejected the contract by a resounding 55 percent, but the bureaucrats are shoving it down their throats. Negotiations are under way for East German public employees and strikes are directly posed, but any struggle is being orchestrated by the union tops to begin after the strike ended in the West.

Right behind the public sector workers were four million metal workers, as well as construction workers and printers; already tens of thousands of metal workers and printers have walked out in "warning strikes." Traditionally, struggles in metal have been restricted to "pilot" regions—a national metal strike could set off an explosion. The *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) worried that "A full-fledged metalworkers' strike would be devastating for Germany's economy." But after the ÖTV strike and contract vote, IG Metall union leader Steinkühler is so worried that the ranks could get out of control that he wants to impose 5.4 percent for this year and 3.3 percent for 1993.

What's necessary is to bring down Kohl through workers' action. Break with social democracy—a "grand coalition" of capital will mean escalating attacks on workers, immigrants, women.

What we need is a workers government to expropriate capital!

**From "Social Partnership"  
to Class War**

Since the '50s the bosses have kept the workers in line with the help of the SPD-fostered myth of "social partnership." But now, as the bourgeoisie declares open war against the working class, *Die Zeit* notes, "The social consensus is disintegrating." After swallowing the East German deformed workers state, German imperialism has grown more aggressive, seeking its "place in the sun" as did Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany leading up to World War I. And in its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), it has taken on new economic burdens that challenge even its tremendous strength.

The Bonn regime has bitten off more than it can chew. In Yugoslavia it bent the rest of the EC to its will by forcing recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, only to see the whole region blow up in inter-necine civil war. The departure of Genscher after 18 years as foreign minister, the third cabinet resignation in a month, shows how shaky the Bonn regime is. TV coverage of German tanks in Turkish Kurdistan blowing away women and children on Kurdish New Year cost Kohl's defense minister his job. And while mocking the Americans for having to beg Bonn for money to finance the carpet bombing of the Iraqi population in its Persian Gulf "war," the Fourth Reich is accumulating its own debt "mountain."

Bonn pumped more than 180 billion D-marks into East Germany last year (168 billion in public subsidies, 15 billion in private investment). It has also invested 75 billion D-marks to further counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and another 105 billion in East Europe to turn the former deformed workers states into Deutsche Bank neocolonies. So it has to get the money from somewhere. The Bundesbank, the central banker for Europe, can put the squeeze on the capitalists of Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc., by keeping interest rates high. But that is not



Thilo Rückels

**East Berlin, May 4: Transport workers spread West German public service strike to the East in wildcat strike demanding "Equal Work, Equal Pay." United workers struggle could bring Fourth Reich to its knees.**



enough. The bourgeoisie is also seeking to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers throughout Germany.

This has been at the heart of the current offensive against the unions on the part of the bourgeoisie and government. Even before *Anschluss* (annexation of the DDR) Bonn began its campaign of slashing benefits with its so-called "health services reform." Last year they launched a concerted campaign over sick pay, with *Der Spiegel* screaming about workers "partying" on sick days (*krank-feiern*). Now, after 40 years, the CDU/FDP (Free Democratic) cabinet is demanding the reintroduction of unpaid sick days, provoking an angry reaction from the unions.

This year the wage confrontations began in steel, a lower-paid sector of IG Metall where negotiations were dragged out to the beginning of 1992. Then came the bank employees, where despite weak union organization rotating work stoppages went on for six weeks. Next up were ÖTV, postal workers and rail. Bonn intended to face down these sectors before a showdown with the Metal Workers, the most powerful union in the capitalist West. And in the middle of the ÖTV strike, tens of thousands of layoffs were announced in West German auto as part of "rationalization" schemes in the name of "international competitiveness."

Yet the steel bosses backed off from a strike at the last minute. In ÖTV, Kohl threw down the gauntlet over 4.8 percent, determined to make the union crawl. But he suffered a defeat even though ÖTV leader Wulf-Mathies sold out the ranks—who were ready to strike for a lot more, and a lot longer than eleven days. Yet with its "warning strikes" and "rolling strikes" the ÖTV leadership played by the rules of the class-collaborationist game. While Kohl got a slap on the ear, the unions should have shut the country down tight, against both the CDU/CSU/FDP federal government and the SPD-led state governments. That would have thrown a wrench in the bosses' drive against the Metal Workers and the rest of the labor movement.

### East and West—Strike Together!

We wrote in May (*Spartakist* No 95):

"Just casting a glance at the Berlin subway shows that a spark could set off a citywide strike. A common strike of all ÖTV members, in the West and the East, would really shake the country and demonstrate the strength of the working class."

On Monday, May 4, East Berlin transit workers walked out in a spontaneous strike in solidarity with their class brothers in the West, risking their own jobs in the face of mass unemployment. One after another, several barns went out. Altogether 30 out of 38 streetcar lines and a dozen bus lines in East Berlin shut down. The subway did not run at all. For 24 hours East Berlin transit was virtually closed down. At the Lichtenberg depot the gate was shut

with a banner that read "Equal Work, Equal Pay!"

The old Stalinist lie that the West German workers would never fight has been burst. As a letter to the editor in the *Berliner Zeitung* said, "Mass strikes produce clarity." Now East Berlin transit workers are particularly bitter about ÖTV bureaucrats who worked overtime to get them back to work, with the threat of punitive firings hanging over their heads. But remember—the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. There were also reports of brief stoppages in Thüringen and Sachsen. The prospect of a nationwide transport strike had the bourgeoisie sweating. Joint strike action East and West is key!

The bosses and the SPD/DGB (trade-union federation) bureaucrats have tried everything to keep the workers in East and West divided, and to play them off against one another. The anti-Communist witchhunt they have been running is designed to ideologically purge the workforce and to demoralize and paralyze it. This was graphically shown in the East Berlin nurses strike last autumn, where a witchhunt at the Charité hospital was instrumental in demobilizing the strike. But now workers are increasingly sick of it, particularly when they start to fight. At the Lichtenberg transit depot, the city's firing of bus drivers and other workers as part of the anti-Stasi witchhunt has produced outrage among their coworkers.

Last December the Hennigsdorf steel workers occupied their plant near Berlin for 13 days against plans for a takeover and mass layoffs. On the eve of the negotiations in the West German steel industry, they were ready to strike in solidarity with their fellow workers in the West—even the picket signs were ready. Instead, with the steel bosses the IG Metall tops pulled out all the stops to get the factory occupation off the agenda before the confrontation in West German steel, and sold the workers down the river. In the ÖTV strike, the Tempelhof and Tegel airports in Berlin were shut down, but the bosses agreed with the ÖTV tops to keep open the Schönefeld airport in the East. Joint action with Schönefeld workers cutting off the new imperial capital would have had enormous repercussions. But that's exactly what the union bureaucrats didn't want.

The DGB even tried to hold its May Day demonstrations under the pay-for-*Anschluss* slogan "Sharing Binds." Following Kohl, the bureaucrats' idea of "solidarity" is telling the workers in the West to tighten their belts for the Frankfurt moneybags, after destroying the East German economy. Thus the arrogant union bureaucrats foster disgusting anti-"Ossie" sentiment (while as part of the witchhunt mainly "Wessies" staff their offices in the East). But the bureaucrats' appeal to Fourth Reich nationalism was hastily withdrawn in the face of outraged protest from the member unions and replaced in a number of cities, including Augsburg (the central DGB rally),

Essen and Berlin, with "Solidarity Is an Obligation."

Now the banks and trusts are raking in profits like never before. For them the government has announced drastic cuts in taxes on interest and capital gains; for the workers there are draconian austerity measures. Bonn dismembered the East German health care system and is slashing it in the West, and now it wants to finance reunification out of unemployment and retraining benefits. While the SPD/DGB is verbally protesting this measure, it too is an effect of a counterrevolution in East Germany which they spearheaded, giving the capitalists free rein to liquidate historic gains of the East German working people. The German bourgeoisie and its helpers want revenge for its defeat by the Red Army in 1945, and want to root out any memory of the workers state in the East.

In late 1989 and early 1990, as the Stalinist Honecker regime started to crumble and masses of East German working people in the streets were demanding real socialism, the SpAD's predecessors, the Trotzkistische Liga and Spartakist-Gruppen, intervened to fight for proletarian political revolution from East Berlin to Moscow, and for a social revolution in the West—for a red Germany of workers councils. When the working class failed to move in the absence of a revolutionary party strong enough to lead it, German imperialism mobilized its power to ram through counterrevolution by reunification. The Spartakists alone intransigently opposed capitalist reunification. Meanwhile the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR) and the rest of the so-called left were on their knees begging for reunification "one (DDR-mark) to one (West German D-mark)," and the SPD were Kohl's bloodhounds as Bonn moved in for the kill.

In the aftermath, we Spartakists called for workers' resistance against the destruction wrought by the Fourth Reich while the SPD-led factory councils were strangling workers' struggles and "co-determining" East German plant closures. From the beginning the SpAD has fought against the vicious SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt, exposing it as a tool of the rulers to paralyze and split the workers, and demanded "Hands off Markus Wolf [chief of DDR intelligence], Erich Honecker [DDR head of state] and Erich Mielke [DDR state security minister]!" Throughout we have fought for joint class struggle by workers East and West.

### Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants

A campaign to weaken the working class by splitting it along lines of nationality is being run by a racist popular front against immigrants that extends from the CDU to the SPD, the Greens and the PDS. First they are going after the most vulnerable—those who have arrived most recently and are seeking

asylum. Bonn consistently encourages the Nazi/skinhead terrorists by its racist policies and economic devastation. As the elections in the states of Schleswig-Holstein and Baden-Württemberg show, so far the biggest winners in the government's racist manhunt are the fascists. Tens of thousands voted fascist there—disproportionately former SPD voters, spurred by the racist policies of CDU/CSU and SPD. The CDU and SPD in turn use the fascist electoral successes to escalate their own attacks on immigrants.

Immediately after the ÖTV settlement, SPD candidate for chancellor Engholm announced agreement with the CDU/CSU on policies to torpedo the right of asylum and deport additional thousands of immigrants to misery and death. The defense of all immigrants is key to unlocking the power of the organized workers movement. As we wrote in our last issue: "The workers movement must be mobilized to fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and those seeking asylum." An attack on one is an attack on all. Class unity is vital to workers' struggle. Among our disenfranchised foreign-born brothers and sisters are many of the best fighters for the workers' cause.

### Mobilize Worker/Immigrant Power to Stop Nazi Terror

On May 9 the fascist "Nationalen" threatened to rally with Hitler fan David Irving in the Soviet garrison town of Berlin-Karlshorst—in front of the museum commemorating the Red Army's liberation of Europe from the fascist nightmare on that day in 1945. The SpAD intervened in May Day demonstrations, in the public service strikes and in key metal plants calling for a worker/immigrant mobilization, finding strong sentiment in the ranks to stop this ominous provocation. The PDS and Greens/Bündnis 90 instead appealed together with the SPD and Heinz Galinski (head of the Berlin Jewish Community) for the Berlin Senate to ban the fascist rally, and launched a vicious violence-baiting campaign against the anti-fascists. Under the impact of the ÖTV strike and pressure from the ranks, and after the ban was confirmed, the DGB along with the SPD joined the call for a counterdemonstration at the last minute.

It was indeed a good thing that the Nazis didn't march in Karlshorst on May 9, but it was not a good thing that a massive presence of riot police held the residents of Karlshorst hostage all day long. It is a deadly illusion to rely on the Fourth Reich to "ban" the fascists. That same night 60 skinheads attacked a leftist pub in Magdeburg with baseball bats, clubs and iron bars, sending eight people to the hospital, one of whom, the young worker Torsten Lamprecht, died. Murder was the fascists' answer to the anti-working-class, "no violence" popular front.

continued on page 12



Spartakist



Bolesch/Fotoarchiv

Spartakist Workers Party called for workers mobilisation against Nazi provocation in Halle (right), 9 November 1991. Banner calls for: "Workers/Immigrants: Stop the Nazis, Now!"

# Germany...

(continued from page 11)

In Magdeburg on May 9, police in front of the pub stood idly by during the attack, despite neighbors' demands that they intervene. In Berlin-Marzahn on April 24, a young Vietnamese, Nguyen Van Tu, was stabbed to death in broad daylight by skinheads, while the SPD-led Marzahn district council runs a "youth club" for Nazi/skinheads. The government turns its fascist-ridden cops loose against anti-fascist demonstrators. On May Day in Berlin thousands of cops and Federal Border Guards were mobilized first to protect the Nazi/skinhead FAP and then to tear apart the immigrant Kreuzberg district. Obscenely, the so-called cop "union" had an official booth at the DGB rally earlier that day, and their representatives were not pleased with our placard demanding "Cops Out of the DGB!" But the cops as well as the Bundeswehr are the armed fist of the bosses' state.

Stopping fascist terror is a necessary extension of working-class struggle—strike pickets are the embryo of the workers militia. The Spartakists say: Mobilize the workers to stop the Nazis!

## Kohl: The Would-Be Kaiser Sits on a Shaky Throne

Given Kohl's shaky regime, his one-liner, "I am not Willy Brandt," is the joke of the year. The Treuhändanstalt (state agency charged with dismantling the DDR economy) has changed leaderships three times (not always of its own accord), and its "scorched earth" policy was stopped by the bourgeoisie itself. They need East Germany as a low-wage, class-peace paradise and a pivot for the drive to the East.

In a world where escalating inter-imperialist rivalries revive great power lineups reminiscent of the years before World War I, reunited German imperialism is again probing everywhere to see how far they can go. They again want to be the masters in the Balkans and are arming the Turkish army to the teeth. At a Leipzig commanders' conference where Kohl and the new war minister, CDU hawk Volker Rühe, were present, Bundeswehr general inspector Klaus Naumann said training of German soldiers would now be "hard, challenging and similar to battle conditions" for action outside Germany. And now they are sending troops to Cambodia, where the imperialists are preparing new killing fields.

The appetites of the Fourth Reich's rulers lie now, as before, beyond its eastern borders. By bankrolling Yeltsin's counterrevolution to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, they expect to grab for themselves the choicest pieces of the Soviet and East European feast. But for the "New World Order" they now need a new foreign policy—which, given the price tag, is not going to be easy to orchestrate, either to the East or West. The fruits of SPD/Genscher *Ostpolitik* (Germany's "Eastern policy" first implemented by Willy Brandt) are growing economic difficulties at home and bloody civil war abroad. With his unerring nose for changing political winds, the Machiavelli Genscher jumped ship on the eve of the public employees strike.

For decades Bonn's motto has been "a European Germany," in Thomas Mann's famous phrase, as the Federal Republic sought its place as a junior partner in the U.S.-led anti-Soviet imperialist alliance. In a declaration of our international tendency published in June 1982 (*Spartakist* No 44) when Reagan flew to Europe to bring his NATO allies into line, we noted:

"West Germany, of late Washington's most loyal NATO ally, is today the most détenteminded. But behind the 'peace-loving' image of Brandt/Schmidt's *Ostpolitik* stands the appetite to reverse the outcome of World War II and recreate a unified capitalist

Germany as the dominant European power."

Today the rulers in Bonn want a "German Europe," for now not with panzers but through the D-mark, but they are still too weak to impose it. Despite protest from the Common Market countries the Germans dictate interest rates in Europe and they even occasionally try to tell the U.S. imperialists where to get off. Kohl & Co rail about how the workers in Germany spend less time working and more time on vacation than anywhere else in the world. "Sir" Ralf Dahrendorf threatens in the "liberal" *Die Zeit* (15 May): "Germany's public service cannot remain as it has been, nor can Germany's social services.... The necessary restructuring will be very, very painful." But the German working class is still a lion blocking their way and has showed it will fight hard against this onslaught.

While Kohl & Co dither, it is SPD

the plant councils. The Communists were purged, militant anti-capitalist resistance was broken, and the councils themselves were turned into class-collaborationist straitjackets—enforcing the reactionary plant council (*Betriebsrat*) law, passed in 1952. With the DGB's support for the Cold War Marshall Plan, workers were firmly tied politically to the state, and the state to anti-Soviet NATO.

While there was much talk of "co-determination" of workers and capitalists (an impossibility in any case), these schemes merely meant a framework to ensure the complicity of the union tops in managing exploitation and purging reds. Increased productivity was accompanied by persistently high unemployment. Millions of immigrant "guest workers" were brought into heavy industry but denied all citizenship rights. The Bundeswehr was built under the *Social Democrats* into the strongest



Counter-revolution particularly targeted women workers. Nurses demonstration in East Berlin, September, 1991.

chief Bernd Engholm who makes the "sweat and tears" speech on behalf of the German bourgeoisie. The SPD is aiming for the chancellor's office with offers of round table discussions, hints at "grand coalitions" and threats against immigrants and the workers.

## Break with the Social Democracy!

On May Day, IG Metall chief Steinkühler questioned "whether the social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away." Significantly, he is compelled to raise the "Russian question," although in his own way. Since it was the Soviet Union that crushed Hitler fascism, a victory that led to the planned economies of the Eastern European deformed workers states, West European capital felt compelled to tout the "welfare state." After World War II in the zones occupied by the imperialist victors, capitalism was re-established as a bulwark against Soviet "Bolshevism"—with the inestimable help of the SPD politicians and trade-union bureaucrats. Ludwig Erhard proclaimed the capitalist "social market economy," built on the crushing of mass proletarian struggles.

In the prerevolutionary situation which arose after the war the working class, in the Western occupation zones as well as the East, engaged in mass struggles to prevent the restoration of capitalist rule, demanding socialization of basic industry. But the U.S.-financed Social Democrats were determined to dissipate proletarian resistance and break the considerable Communist influence resurgent in the unions, particularly in

European army in NATO. The SPD was the architect of *Ostpolitik*—designed to economically undermine the Soviet Union and the East European workers states. As German imperialism grew strong enough to again vie for great-power status, resurgent German nationalism—clothed in the "left" garb adopted by the "peace" movement of the '80s—was spearheaded by the SPD.

This was the Social Democrats' "Modell Deutschland" (German model). And thus the SPD naturally acted as the Trojan horse of the counterrevolution in the DDR, giving it a mighty shove so that the "competing system fell away" there. Subsequently, with their anti-Communist witchhunt, with their stranglehold on the unions and as the spearhead of the all-party manhunt against the "flood of asylum-seekers," they have sought to split, paralyze and strangle every instance of workers' resistance. This has divided workers East and West, men and women, immigrant and German. The "left," including the PDS, all help fan the flames of the anti-Communist witchhunt and the racist drive against immigrants, and now they seek to convince the workers that an Engholm government would be better than Kohl. This is a dangerous illusion.

The SPD blames everything in the ex-DDR on "40 years of Communism." Today East German workers are being hit in the face with the results of 40 years of social-democratic class collaboration in the Federal Republic. SPD bosses, for example, run or have run Mercedes-Benz, Volkswagen, Lufthansa, Hoesch—not to mention the Deutsche Bank and the Treuhänd. Steinkühler

and his comrades are themselves experienced labor cops in the unions. Under the Cold War flag of "social partnership" the SPD tops have for decades managed the mass layoffs in the West and have directly attacked wages—from the Saar and Ruhr to the North Sea coast. And they were literally on the other side of the class line in the ÖTV strike in the SPD-governed states.

The bureaucracy that these "labor lieutenants of capital" have at their disposal is truly legion. This includes 30,000 union members of plant councils whose salaries are directly paid by the bosses. Among them are many serious unionists, including immigrants. But if they are to defend the workers' interests they must break out of the *Betriebsrat* trap with its "oath of secrecy" and other airtight obligations to act in the bosses' interest. The plant council makes them complicit every time a worker is fired and every time a strike is sold out.

The SPD-controlled council members sit around the table at every *Betriebsrat* meeting "in the same boat" with the bosses. And yet various fake-leftists such as the national-Stalinist DKP and pseudo-Trotskyists, followers of Ernest Mandel, in the VSP have long enjoyed the bureaucratic privileges that rubbing shoulders with the bosses in the *Betriebsräte* brings. We Spartakists fight for the complete independence of the workers movement from the bourgeoisie and its state. Our tendency in Germany was forged with the Trotskyist understanding that since 1914 the SPD has been a bourgeois workers party, the transmission belt for German nationalism into the workers movement; the SPD must be split in order to win its proletarian base on the road to socialist revolution.

## Workers Need Revolutionary Leadership! For Proletarian Internationalism!

The ÖTV ranks threw Wulf-Mathies' stinking contract on the garbage heap but see no alternative to the treacherous ÖTV/DGB tops. Whereas workers massively joined the union at the beginning of the strike, now many are quitting. But despite their pro-capitalist leadership, the unions are today the workers' sole defensive organs. If we want to win, instead of throwing out your union card, throw out the bureaucrats who turn the unions into organs for disciplining the workers on behalf of the imperialist state, and thus risk their destruction. The SPD/DGB tops know very well that a real solid class struggle in East and West would sweep away not only the Kohl gang but them as well. To conduct a fight to push through and secure their own interests, the workers need a program that serves their class interests, not those of the bosses. We need a revolutionary leadership and party that is prepared to mobilize the working class to take on the bosses and their state in a struggle leading to the fight for power.

The bourgeoisie talks big about the "death of Communism," but the struggles of the working class the world over give the lie to these pipe dreams of a "New World Order." In Seoul, 20,000 South Korean workers struggling against superexploitation and police terror expressed their solidarity with the German strikes. In Warsaw, 15,000 came out on May Day against the capitalist regime of Solidarność leader Walesa. When Los Angeles exploded in rage over an atrocious racist provocation and desperate poverty, the American rulers answered with cop terror and troop occupation. In Berlin, May Day marchers in Kreuzberg carried signs and banners expressing solidarity with Los Angeles.

In the Los Angeles upheaval in the U.S. and the ÖTV strike here, we have seen watershed events in two of the three leading world imperialist powers—and the third, Japan, isn't doing so well either, as the continued decline of the Nikkei stock index shows. Capitalism has

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# Soviet Withdrawal Was a Betrayal

## Bloodbath Looms in Afghanistan

APRIL 27—A week after the dramatic collapse of the regime of President Najibullah, Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") are swarming through the streets of the Afghan capital of Kabul. Fourteen years to the day since Soviet-backed modernizing left-nationalists came to power in Kabul, offering women some prospect of emancipation from centuries of feudal and pre-feudal slavery, the reforms they implemented are about to be swept away in a counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

The battle over Afghanistan was the opening shot, and the bloodiest front line, of Cold War II. When Soviet troops moved in December 1979 to prop up the beleaguered government of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against CIA-backed reactionaries, the Spartacist tendency declared, "Hail Red Army!" Succumbing to the prevailing winds of anti-Sovietism, much of the left fell in line behind Washington's war cry of "Soviet troops out!" A decade later, when Gorbachev abandoned Afghanistan, we denounced this as a betrayal of the Afghan peoples and of the Soviet Union itself. The deadly consequences of this treachery are now before our eyes.

Little over a year ago, the imperialists carried out the wanton slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis in the name of Washington's "New World Order." Now they plan to proclaim another triumph for "freedom" and "democracy" over mountains of corpses of those who fought for social emancipation. In their name, we cry out: *this crime must be seared into the memory of the international working class!*

One swaggering guerrilla commander on the outskirts of Kabul said, "The only people who have anything to fear are Najibullah's." In the eyes of these reactionary cutthroats, "Najibullah's people" include every secular teacher, every leftist, every schoolgirl who has learned to read and write, every woman who has thrown off the suffocating head-to-toe *chador*. As soon as word spread that the *mujahedin* had entered the capital, government offices emptied, shops and homes shuttered down. The Kabul River may soon flow red with the blood of thousands of "infidels."

As the guerrillas massed outside Kabul, the price of *chadors* skyrocketed, a measure of the panic gripping emancipated women in the capital. *Mujahedin* gangs chanted "God Is Great!" as they roamed through the capital. One of them railed: "We want everything to change according to Islam. For example, if a woman does not want to dress in an Islamic way, I will not let her walk in the city." The *Washington Post* (26 April) reported: "Only a month ago, scores of women strode through Kabul streets in Western skirts and high heels; today those who ventured into the streets wore Islamic head coverings." One young woman law student at Kabul University said simply, "Of course we are very much frightened."

Fundamentalist gangs based on rival ethnic and tribal formations have already begun shooting it out in the streets of the capital and distributing arms to the population at large. The Pathan-based forces of the fanatical fascist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar are engaged in a blood feud with rival forces commanded by the northern Tajik rebel commander Ahmad Shah Masood. What awaits is an all-sided fratricidal ethnic slaughter of horrendous proportions, a Lebanon writ large. If anything, the civilian population



Der Spiegel

### CIA's Cutthroats on the Loose



DPA

As Islamic *mujahedin* enter Kabul (top), unvelled women and other "infidels" face vindictive terror. Above: fundamentalist guerrilla executes school teacher.

of Jalalabad—the last government stronghold to fall and the scene of heroic resistance against a fundamentalist siege three years ago—faces a fate worse even than that of Kabul.

President Najibullah himself went into hiding, reportedly at the United Nations offices in Kabul. Despite UN attempts to guarantee him safe passage to join his family in India, the Islamic rebels vowed that the former Afghan leader would not leave the country alive. But the *mujahedin* killers got what they deserved when they tried to storm the Cuban embassy in Kabul. An embassy statement tersely explained: "Cuban officials who watch over the embassy and protect Cuban citizens under our flag defended the integrity of the places under their protection."

With the *mujahedin* poised to take over in Kabul, dimwitted State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler piously drawled, "Please do not resort to violence." That takes some chutzpah. From Democrat Carter to Republicans Reagan and Bush, the U.S. funneled billions in high-tech weaponry to the CIA's Afghan cutthroats to *kill Soviet soldiers*. Now, with the Soviet Union in a shambles, Washington is worried that

the array of mutually warring fundamentalist groups it has sponsored and bankrolled over the years will produce havoc and regional "destabilization."

Washington's press agents are now trying to hide the fact that the chief recipient of CIA largesse over the years was the sinister Hekmatyar. So they have been playing up the supposedly "moderate" Masood as a *mujahedin* "hero." A wide-eyed "Gidget Goes to Peshawar" account by Donatella Lorch in the *New York Times* (21 April) lionizes the "soft-spoken guerrilla commander with a wispy beard, craggy face and rakishly tilted Afghan woolen cap." But this reputed "moderate" launched his insurgency well before the "Communist" PDPA came to power in 1978. He objected to even the tepid paper reforms of the Daud regime in 1973.

The downfall of the Najibullah regime came not as the result of a *mujahedin* military victory but due to internal disintegration along ethnic and tribal lines as Soviet support disappeared. A month ago, a government militia commander, General Abdul Rashid Doestam, an Uzbek, formed an uneasy alliance with Masood in the northeast. The commander of the Kabul garrison, also a

Tajik, threw in his lot with Masood and Doestam. In central Afghanistan, the Shi'ite Hazaras have taken control of a whole region, while another tribal army established its fiefdom in the south. Meanwhile, elements of the former secret police from the dominant Pathan nationality have reportedly linked up with Hekmatyar.

For years, the imperialists and their left tails howled about Soviet intervention trampling over the "self-determination of the Afghan nation." We pointed out that Afghanistan was not a nation at all, but an artificial entity carved out of this mountainous region by imperialist Britain and tsarist Russia. If anything, the PDPA, the first genuinely multi-ethnic formation in Afghan history, posed the possibility of consolidating a real nation out of the numerous ethnic and tribal groupings. In "Battle for Afghanistan" (*Workers Vanguard* No 471, 17 February 1989) we warned: "Should the *mujahedin* topple the Kabul nationalist government, the two-sided civil war could well become a war of all against all."

Now UN emissary Benon Sevan pleads with the disparate feudalist guerrilla organizations that "unless you first start thinking as Afghans and less about your ethnic backgrounds, things will not get better. They will get worse." However unclear the situation in Afghanistan may be right now, things will certainly get worse.

### From the "April Revolution" to Soviet Betrayal

The so-called April Revolution of 1978 which brought the PDPA to power was largely carried out by pro-Soviet junior officers in the military and promised a series of relatively modest reforms, notably land redistribution and a reduction in the bride price. In the context of this hideously backward society such minimal measures posed nothing short of a revolutionary transformation. Yet in a country where mullahs outnumbered industrial workers, the social base necessary to sustain such a transformation was utterly lacking. Particularly reforms relating to the status of women were met with a fundamentalist insurgency organized by the mullahs and tribal chieftains. The CIA moved in to finance this anti-Communist insurgency on the Soviet Union's strategic southern flank.

By the time of the Red Army intervention, the PDPA was on the verge of being overrun by the Islamic insurgents while tearing itself apart internally through internecine blood purges. Moreover, according to a recent six-part account in the journal *Soviet Soldier*, then KGB head Andropov had been notified in December 1979 that the Pakistani military was planning an invasion of Afghanistan. By New Year's 1980, some 100,000 Soviet troops had crossed the border into Afghanistan. We wrote at the time:

"There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army...."

"By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in

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# Afghanistan...

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Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities.... Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

—"Hail Red Army!"  
WV No 247,  
11 January 1980

Within a few years, even the Western press was conceding that a Soviet military victory over the ragtag feudalist "freedom fighters" was pending. Soviet intervention made possible the revolutionary transformation of Afghan society. By the late 1980s, the number of women in the workforce had increased fiftyfold, a majority of students at Kabul University were women, and 15,000 women served as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army. As we noted in "Battle for Afghanistan": "Although conducted halfheartedly, sending troops into Afghanistan was the one unambiguously decent and progressive act of the corrupt and conservative Brezhnev regime, going against the grain of the reactionary Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country'."

But we warned from the outset that in their futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with hostile imperialism, Brezhnev and his successors could try to cut a deal at the expense of the Afghan peoples. When Gorbachev took over, he began implementing his "new thinking" of down-the-line appeasement of Western imperialism. The Soviet media began churning out defeatist propaganda about the Afghan war to turn the population against it, echoing the insidious Western lie that this was "Russia's Vietnam." Nonsense. In Vietnam the U.S. fought a dirty colonial war to stop a social revolution, and was defeated on the battlefield. In Afghanistan, Soviet soldiers saw themselves as carrying out their "internationalist duty" to stop a bloodthirsty counterrevolution, and they were stabbed in the back by a bureaucracy which never fought to win.

But for the Kremlin bureaucracy desperate to buy peace with imperialism at any price, it was an albatross around their neck. When Gorbachev ordered the troops out, there was no quid pro quo from the U.S. As the last Soviet units left in February 1989, imperialist pundits predicted that the PDPA regime would collapse in a matter of months. The U.S. and its Pakistani clients masterminded a brutal *mujahedin* siege of the provincial capital of Jalalabad. But heroic Jalalabad held strong, and for more than three years after the Soviet withdrawal the Najibullah regime held out. It was Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup last August, leading to a total cutoff of aid, that spelled the doom of the fragile Afghan economy and central government.

Following the Soviet withdrawal, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote to the Afghan government in February

## Mujahedin Target: Education and Social Emancipation



Planeta

**More than half the students at Kabul University were women. Now they stand in deadly peril at the hands of feudalist reactionaries.**

1989, offering to organize international brigades to fight against the CIA's *mullah* cutthroats. Kabul instead appealed for humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the siege of Jalalabad. The PDC and fraternal organizations around the world organized the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, which raised over [U.S.]\$42,000 in three months. As an expression of solidarity, we dispatched a correspondent to Kabul and Jalalabad to report the truth to our readers.

Despite the evident desire by Afghan women, leftists and youth to fight to defend their gains, this backward, isolated country could not hold out alone forever. In the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, the PDPA regime attempted to save itself through a policy of "national reconciliation" aimed at splitting away rival *mujahedin* groups. We warned:

"The PDPA may think that as long as they can conciliate and neutralize the clerical-feudalist opposition while retaining control of the cities, they will be able to secure oases of relative social progress in a desert of rural backwardness (where women will continue to be enslaved). But sooner or later, the cities will fall victim to entrenched feudal reaction, and the continuation of ethnic and tribal divisions in the country at large will begin to wreak havoc on the multinational PDPA itself."

—"Afghanistan: Civil War and Social Progress,"  
WV No 489,  
10 November 1989

Tragically, this has now come to pass.

### Now More Than Ever, Reforge the Fourth International!

It is a bitter moment for revolutionaries to be proven right in warning of a bloody betrayal. But we have nothing but contempt for those who mouthed socialist rhetoric while tailing behind the perpetrators of murderous terror against Afghan women and leftists. Three years ago, we wrote: "If the *mujahedin* succeed in butchering every leftist, teacher and

unveiled woman in Afghanistan, their blood will be on the hands not only of the Bushes, Thatchers and Kohls, but also on their 'left' camp followers."

While the "Eurocommunists" denounced the Soviet intervention and Kremlin-loyal Stalinists tried to duck the question, a panoply of supposed Trotskyists climbed aboard Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet bandwagon. The followers of Nahuel Moreno not only hailed the *mujahedin* cutthroats but



Asp photo

**Spartacist hailed 1979 Soviet intervention against CIA-backed forces and organised international aid to embattled Jalalabad following treacherous 1989 pullout.**

called for the extension of Islamic counterrevolution into Soviet Central Asia itself. Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat echoed the imperialist war cry for "Soviet troops out!" And others like the British Workers Power group denounced the Soviet intervention as counterrevolutionary only to then turn around and denounce the withdrawal also as counterrevolutionary. Yes, they all have blood on their hands.

In founding the Fourth International

in 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote that "Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind." In the past couple of years alone, in addition to the bloody rape of Iraq at the hands of U.S. imperialism, fratricidal civil wars have engulfed Yugoslavia and the Soviet Caucasus. The looming bloodbath in Afghanistan may well draw in all the neighboring countries and peoples.

It was a straight line from Gorbachev's betrayal of Afghanistan in the service of imperialism to the present counter-revolutionary chaos, presided over by the openly pro-imperialist Yeltsin, which threatens to destroy the Soviet Union. A Red Army victory in Afghanistan was not only possible but eminently feasible. This would have stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism and secured a future for the people of Afghanistan. Far better, we said, to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than inside the borders of the Soviet Union. Instead, the conciliatorist Soviet bureaucracy refused to pursue the war to victory and, with Gorbachev, simply caved in to Western imperialist *diktat*.

The martyrdom of Afghanistan is a direct result of advancing counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. Defense of the social gains of the October Revolution is acutely posed in Soviet Central Asia, where the encroaching forces of medieval obscurantism threaten to throw a relatively advanced industrialized society back by centuries. The multinational Soviet proletariat must learn

the lesson of Afghanistan. There can be no conciliation of counterrevolution. Stalinism is bankrupt. An authentically Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged to lead the proletarian political revolution that can sweep away Yeltsin counterrevolution and restore the banner of internationalism to the Kremlin. *Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!*

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 550, 1 May 1992.

# Germany...

(continued from page 12)

in store for humanity only grinding misery, racist terror and imperialist war. The only way to root out this rotting, exploitative system is through socialist revolution.

Against the poisonous nationalism spewed by Bonn and their social-democratic flunkies it is necessary to counterpose a program of proletarian internationalism. We fight like Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht for the *revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet workers*. A resolute struggle uniting German and immigrant workers in the entire Fourth Reich would be a beacon to our class brothers and sisters to the Urals and beyond—to defend the Soviet workers state and regain political power in the face of Yeltsin's counter-

revolution, with its capitalist "shock treatment" misery and murderous nationalist civil war.

Germany and its West European allies want to create a "Fortress Europe" to keep out refugees escaping the economic and social havoc they have wreaked worldwide. Hardly a day goes by without an incident of vicious anti-Semitism and racist/fascist terror. *Anschluss* turned the clock back 50 years for East German women, destroying the social institutions which provided comprehensive free medical and childcare, and driving women back to "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church). Whereas over 90 percent of women worked in the DDR, two-thirds of the jobless in East Germany are now women. As the Protestant and Catholic churches drive to re-Christianize the East, all governmental parties are nearing agreement on a *grossdeutsch* (Greater Germany) anti-abortion law putting women and doctors

at the mercy of blackmailing clerical "counselors."

To undo this all-sided social devastation, the working class must be mobilized to fight for all the oppressed. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—Stop Nazi terror through worker/immigrant mobilizations! Preachers, cops and judges out of the bedroom and doctor's office: Abolish Paragraphs 218/219! Down with the church tax! For separation of church and state! In the face of the destruction being carried out by the bourgeoisie, we must fight for a massive program of public works to rebuild the plants and social institutions, to build millions of quality affordable homes, to clean the filth out of the environment. We must fight for equal pay for equal work—women and men, immigrants and Germans, East and West. The DGB tops go on talking about winning a 35-hour week in 1994, but the bosses are on a

drive to *increase* the workweek. The fight for massive social reconstruction, dividing up the work among all hands with a significantly shorter workweek and no loss in pay, means a revolutionary struggle.

Germany remains the key to Europe, for barbarism or socialism. To rebuild this country in the interest of all the working people and plan the economy sensibly on an international scale, it is necessary to fight for a workers government that *expropriates* capital, putting the means of production into the hands of those who produce the wealth. To organize that struggle and lead it to victory, the workers need a revolutionary workers party. Such a party, in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, is what the Spartakists are fighting to build. Join us!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 552, 29 May 1992.



## Students...

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a program to open up the universities to the working class and oppressed: Open admissions to all tertiary institutions! Abolish fees! Abolish quotas! For a real living stipend for all! SL interventions into the student protests have consistently pointed to the necessity to build a revolutionary party to mobilise the working class against the racist, union-busting ALP government.

But such a class-centred program is anathema to the various NUS "leaders" and their fake-left ISO tail. They have sought to channel widespread student dissent into sub-reformist campaigns to "pressure" vice-chancellors to support the students' cause, along with calls for greater student representation on university councils—as if the various corporate "big names" occupying seats on university councils could ever be anything other than capitalism's henchmen. We demand universities be run by those who work and study there: Down with the Administration! For staff/student/worker control of the campuses!

Who are these capitalist administrators that NUS and the ISO crawl to anyway? Sydney University Chancellor Dame Leonie Kramer is chairman of the *Quadrant* magazine (notorious for its CIA connection) and a director of the union-busting Western Mining Corporation. In contrast to liberal appeals to these capitalist parasites SL supporters on campuses have been collecting money for, and fighting for class solidarity with striking Fijian miners at Vatakoula who have been subjected to apartheid-like treatment by Western Mining for years. It will take a socialist revolution led by the working class to put all the resources of society, including education, at the service of society as a whole.

The NUS tops are apprentice capitalist politicians and careerists promoted by the Labor party as compliant student leaders for the government to deal with. During the March student protest in Melbourne NUS president Tony White and education officer Brendan Darcy acted as finger-men for Kirner and her cops, blaming student "violence" on leftists. The rad-lib DSP have taken to castigating the NUS as pro-ALP careerists. However they reveal their own true appetites for bourgeois respectability by scandalously echoing the bosses' slanders about student violence, fingering the "ultra-left" ISO to the capitalists for allegedly engineering deliberate "confrontations with the cops" at student demonstrations in Melbourne and Sydney (*Green Left Weekly*, 8 April). Far from the raving reds the Murdoch press makes them out to be, the ISO's fake "militancy" is merely their way of attempting to distinguish themselves from NUS leaders for whom they serve as waterboys. The ISO has been Labor's loyal supporters in every election. Their "student power" parochialism dovetails neatly with NUS' perspective of extracting "concessions" from the university administrations. Thus at Sydney University the ISO absurdly called for students to "pressure" the Vice-Chancellor to "pressure" the police to release arrested students.

What drives the ISO is fanatical anti-Sovietism. They cheered on and back Bush's man Yeltsin in his drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and overturn the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. They lined up behind the

Labor government in fulsome support of every imperialist provocation against the Soviet degenerated workers state throughout Cold War II. This includes support for the reactionary Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan who have fought a 12-year civil war to deny women the right to read and write. In class counterposition our comrades here and in the USSR are fighting to build a Trotskyist party to lead workers political revolution to smash Yeltsin's counter-revolution to defend and extend the gains of October.

### Build A Communist Youth Movement!

Revolutionaries fight to bring the enormous social power of the working class to bear as the only force capable of smashing the government and bosses' attacks. Last year's NSW 24-hour general strike demonstrated the will of the multi-racial proletariat to fight, and their ability to shut down capitalism. More recently in Burnie, Tasmania, paper mill workers fought hard with strike action and picket lines in defence of their union, jobs and hard won conditions. Their struggle attracted widespread working class support across the country—a measure of seething working class anger at capitalist austerity. But the ACTU bureaucrats acting as the labour lieutenants of capital sold the Burnie strike out, sending the mill workers back to work while conceding to all the bosses' giveback and speed up demands. The ACTU then cynically trumpeted this treachery as a victory for the bosses' Arbitration Court and "industrial harmony." To translate workers' militancy into some victories it is necessary to forge a revolutionary class struggle leadership that splits the working class base from the treacherous Labor tops. The partnership of labour and capital is a lie. Those who labour must rule! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Imperialist war, cop terror and increased immiseration of working people is all the rulers of this deeply irrational system have to offer a new generation of youth. What's needed is a socialist revolution to rip the wealth of this country out of the hands of the ruling class so that we can begin to build a planned, socialist, egalitarian society that provides jobs and education for all. *We have a world to win!* We of the Spartacist League are dedicated to this struggle. Build a communist youth movement! Join us! ■

## Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 6)

of the Yugoslav state. No less than Stalin, Tito was intent on pursuing construction of his own "socialism in one country." Early postwar talk of reviving the call for a Balkan federation, albeit on bureaucratic lines, was scuttled in pursuit of competing nationalist interests. The Yugoslavs dropped their demand for Macedonian unification after Stalin ordered the Greek Communists to abandon their guerrilla struggle against the British occupying forces. Finally, following the break with Stalin in 1948, Tito notified the Stalin-loyal Dimitrov regime in Bulgaria that he now opposed the goal of a socialist federation of the Balkans. As a result, the Macedonians, Albanians and others remained divided by state boundaries.

Moreover, in pioneering "market socialism" in the guise of "workers self-management," the Tito regime allowed vast regional economic disparities held over from capitalism to continue—disparities which would subsequently fuel the rise of nationalist forces within the Stalinist bureaucracies of the different republics. Where the Soviet Union—even under the Great Russifier Stalin—channeled resources and investments

into more backward regions like Central Asia, promoting relative equality, in Yugoslavia "self-management" and regional economic autonomy increasingly meant that the better-off republics benefited from investment in comparison to their neighbors, despite efforts by the central government to overcome such differences. Thus in the 30 years after 1953, the per capita gross social product in Kosovo (the poorest region) relative to that in Slovenia (the richest) actually declined, from 28 to 14 percent.

Economic decentralization gave many Croatian and Slovenian bureaucrats appetites for "market socialism in one province," leading to the rise of openly nationalist elements like Tudjman, and their counterparts in Serbia like Milosevic. A Yugoslav journalist observed: "The electoral victory of the nationalist parties, under Milosevic in Serbia and Tudjman in Croatia presaged the beginning of the end for Tito's Yugoslavia." Tudjman, a former general and university professor, asserted his counter-revolutionary appetites through his open apotheosis for the Ustasha. Milosevic, a former head of the state bank, proclaimed his support for a "market economy" and linked the Yugoslav dinar to the deutschmark. The Serbian regime also had its ties to the U.S., notably through Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger, who had been on the board of directors of the Yugo car manufacturer's American subsidiary.

Shortly after Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987, we warned against "an ominous rise in Great Serbian nationalist agitation fomented by the new strongman of the Serbian bureaucracy, Slobodan Milosevic, who comes off sounding like a full-blown fascist" (*WV* No 463, 21 October 1988). Milosevic became the spokesman for a 1986 manifesto issued by nationalist academics at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science, and rose to power through a vicious chauvinist campaign against the Kosovo Albanian autonomous region. A wave of strikes and workers protests against the ravages of IMF-dictated austerity was deflected and subverted through deliberate nationalist agitation. As we wrote then:

"Clearly the massive nationwide strike movement presents a crucial opportunity for a genuinely communist vanguard to reforge the fraternal links among the Yugoslav working people so badly eroded by decades of 'market socialism.' As Trotskyists we stand for equality among peoples on the basis of increased material well-being. This can only be achieved through a proletarian political revolution to establish workers democracy, soviet power, central planning and a rational allocation of investment resources. Above all this requires a definitive break from the Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country,' and its replacement with the program of proletarian internationalism."

In the absence of an internationalist vanguard party, and in the context of a rising counterrevolutionary wave unleashed by Gorbachev's perestroika, the Yugoslav proletariat was overwhelmed by capitalist restoration and fratricidal nationalism.

Now with Yeltsin pushing forward capitalist counterrevolution in the pros-

trate Soviet Union, developments there threaten to unfold as in the Balkans. If the murderous internecine slaughter which already consumes the Soviet Caucasus is not to engulf all of the former Soviet republics, what is urgently necessary is to forge a multinational vanguard nucleus in the Soviet Union committed to the program of Lenin and Trotsky's October. Proletarian political revolution must sweep away Yeltsin's starvation regime before it is too late.

Amid the horror of the nationalist slaughter, a new generation of internationalist Yugoslav proletarian militants will have to be cohered. The only program to halt the counterrevolutionary drive remains the construction of Trotskyist parties, to preserve and extend the gains of the October Revolution. As Trotsky stated in the early 1930s:

"A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into a federation of the United Soviet States of Europe."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 553, 12 June 1992.

## Sub Drive...

(continued from page 2)

articles of the past decade, a unique record of protest against apartheid Australian capitalism under the Labor government, were eagerly sought after, particularly in Brisbane where comrades sold a significant proportion of their subscription total to Aborigines. From the U.S. to South Africa to Australia revolutionary Trotskyist parties are needed to champion the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for workers revolution!

Over the last few years we have noted that our subscription base has included an increasing readership for the press of the ICL particularly *WV* and *Women and Revolution* (*W&R*, produced by the Women's Commission of the SL/U.S.). At Brisbane May Day, comrades featured the latest *W&R*'s coverage of international struggles against attacks on abortion rights and the fight for free abortion on demand. They sold well to women protesting the Goss Labor government's reactionary anti-abortion stance.

We welcome new readers, as well as the many resubscribers to *ASp* and other publications of the ICL. The role of our revolutionary press is not merely to comment and inform, but to provide a guide to action, a program for victory for the working class and all the oppressed. As one of the comrades who joined the Spartacist League during the subscription drive noted in her application statement:

"...you understand the world to the extent you intervene in it. I have reached that point where I am keen to intervene with the program of Trotsky, Lenin and Marx." ■

### Contact the Spartacist League

#### Sydney

GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001  
Phone: (02) 281 2181

#### Melbourne

GPO Box 2339, Melbourne Vic 3001  
Phone: (03) 654 4315

### Australasian

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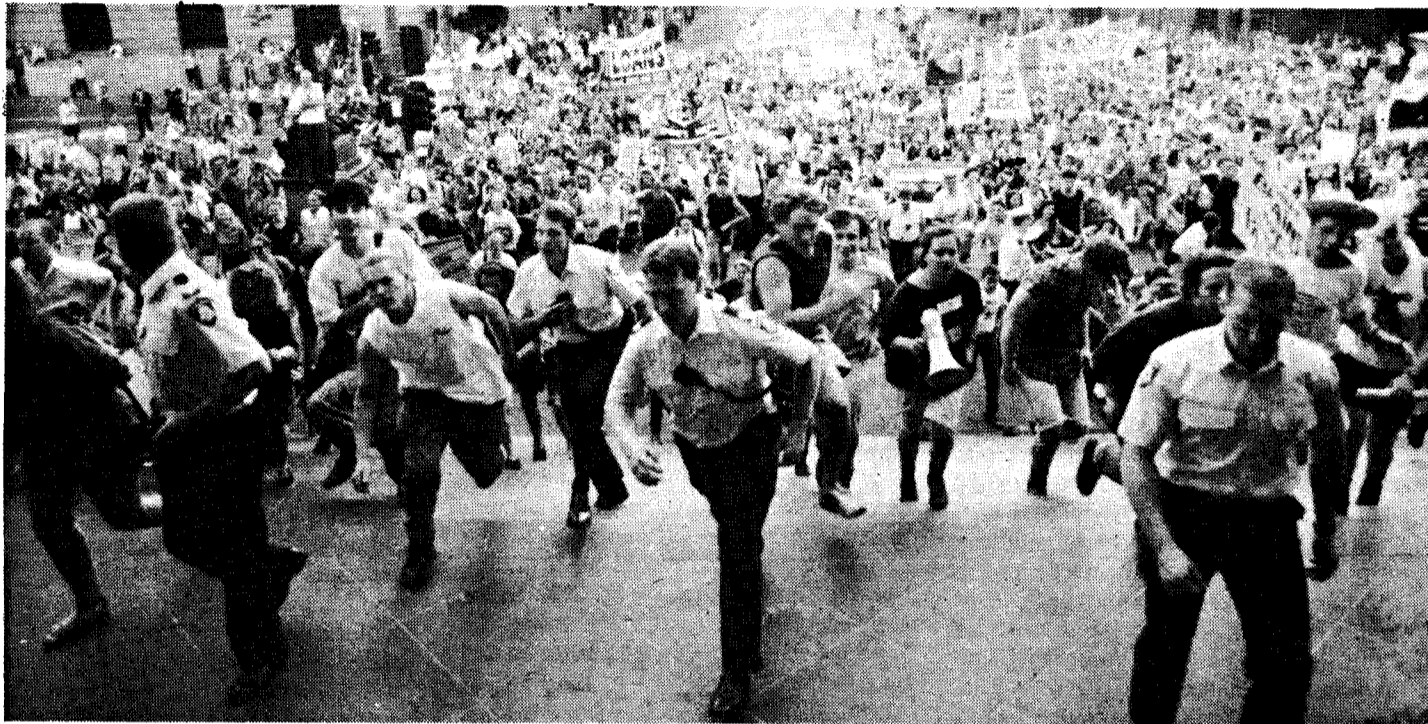
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# Student Anger Mounts at Keating's Austerity



Age

Melbourne, 26 March: Cops scramble as students storm Parliament House in mass protest march.

## Down with the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!

Part and parcel of the Keating Labor government's vicious union-busting austerity and all-sided attacks on the oppressed has been a systematic and years-long slashing of education services. For three months now thousands of tertiary students have taken to the streets, angrily demonstrating against the gutting of education. The latest "National Day of Action" on May 28 saw student rallies across the country. Up to 1000 students marched through the centre of Melbourne. At La Trobe University in Melbourne and Macquarie University in Sydney students took over administration offices. The La Trobe occupation was busted up by the cops. At Macquarie, after being evicted by security cops, students defiantly rallied and retook a section of the administration building before being ousted by state police. Days later security guards at Queensland University attacked students protesting cutbacks, hospitalising four. *Cops off campus!*

These demonstrations highlight the wretched state of education after ten years of Labor rule: massive funding cutbacks, hopelessly overcrowded lectures, increased fees (overseas students can pay more than \$20,000 a year!). Now the pitiful Austudy allowance, available to only 40 percent of full-time students is threatened by plans to replace it with a loans scheme—a form of indentured servitude, further bolstering the class bias of the education system.

### ALP's Anti-Red Witchhunt

While the student protests have been dominated by appeals to the capitalist

state and its university administrators, these self-same forces are sending an unmistakable message to all opponents of capitalist austerity that any challenge will be met with naked force. On 14 April the cops staged gestapo-style dawn raids on the Melbourne homes of seven students including supporters of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). The cops seized computer files, address books and notes and charged five ISO supporters with offences ranging from "unlawful assembly" to "rescuing prisoners from lawful custody." A 16 April protest statement by the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defence Committee demanded: Drop all the charges against student activists! Hands off the ISO and all left and working class organisations! An injury to one is an injury to all!

The immediate pretext for this anti-communist witchhunt was a march by 3000 students in Melbourne on 26 March. The protesters took over the entrance to Parliament House before being flailed by mounted cops. But the cops got a rude shock when students defended themselves against attack and secured the release of four arrestees, leaving Labor premier Joan Kirner cowering in her office. The bourgeois press fearing such protests may signal the start of wider social struggle against the rotting capitalist system, immediately howled for "action" against students who dared to challenge the bosses' "authority." The *Age* (27 March) headlined its front page "Students' city brawl" blaming "violence" on leftists who attended and solidarised with the demonstration including the ISO, Left Alliance and the "Spartacist" League. We note that this particular misspelling of our name has been invariably connected with the attentions of the capitalist political police.

Smearing leftist organisations as "violent agitators" is the codeword for

unleashing the *real* violence of cop provocation and attacks. The next day the cops announced the establishment of a "special investigation unit aimed at cracking the violent socialist organisations," (*Herald-Sun*, 29 March) and threatened that for future demonstrations they would be equipped with riot gear. Rupert Murdoch's *Herald-Sun* (28 March) chimed in with calls to deport "foreign" ISO members. When 1500 students took to the streets of Melbourne on 15 April to protest cop violence and the arrests they were met by hundreds of cops. Parliament House was turned into a cop-occupied fortress and a police helicopter buzzed overhead. The next night at a public defence meeting of over 100 people a Spartacist League speaker pointed out that these attacks

"...cannot be separated from recession, racism and rampant reaction. The Labor governments' only answer to capitalist misery is more cops and secret police. This is a threat to all working people. I can't be fought through purely student campaigns, a mishmash of coalitions of campaigns, or reformist schemes of 'curbing' police behaviour.... It's necessary to mobilise the social power of the working class, to fight to win students to take a side in the class struggle."

### Keating's New World Obedient Order—No Sex, No Jobs, No Future!

Today the Keating and Kirner Labor governments celebrate the "death of Communism" and proclaim the triumph of imperialist chief George Bush's "New World Order" which was heralded by the bloody massacre of over 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians. A new, world imperialist slaughter portends as the U.S., Germany and Japan form trading blocs and compete to redivide the world. In the Soviet Union Bush's man Yeltsin is unleashing "free market" shock treatment of poverty and bloody nationalism.

But as the public service strike in Germany, the explosion of outrage in LA and the stock market chaos in Japan show, the "New World Order" has feet of clay. The imperialists' drive to increase the rate of exploitation is coming up against widespread opposition. The forging of revolutionary internationalist parties in the imperialist centres to lead the struggles of the working masses to revolution is the burning task of communists today. Falling ever deeper into recession and squeezed by increasing economic rivalry and tension between Japan and the U.S., the capitalist Keating Labor government fears their "social consensus" could be blown apart by mounting working class anger. Such uncertainty fuels their desire for a strong state and a cohesive and obedient population.

Working class and minority youth are bearing the brunt. Having destroyed the industrial plant and looted millions for themselves the bosses have no jobs for poor and working class kids and correspondingly no use for spending on their education. Even official statistics put youth unemployment at a staggering 34 percent—in Victoria it is 46 percent! In working class areas it's much higher. And for Aboriginal youth in Apartheid Australia the only "future" awaiting them is imprisonment and intensified, murderous state terror at the hands of the cops. As part of the drive to instil social conformity in the service of reaction, youth are bombarded with moralist propaganda on the "evils" of drugs, alcohol and sex along with new laws and more police to keep them off the streets.

Earlier this year Keating personally intervened to stop the *Young People's Guide to Sexuality* for daring to offer information on sex! The NSW Greiner government, backed by Keating, banned the University of Technology student association's orientation handbook for providing information on drugs. And in June vice squad police seized copies of the University of NSW student paper because it featured a composite centrefold of Pope John Paul with his hand on the papal organ replete with condom (presumably enjoying the only sort of "safe sex" youth are expected to practise these days). Obscenely the National Union of Students (NUS), with the ISO and Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in tow, joined this puritanical "moral majority" crusade by organising a campaign to censor the tits 'n' bums *People* magazine because of its sexist portrayals of women. This anti-sex crusade is profoundly anti-woman, attempting to drive women back into the home and shore up the patriarchal nuclear family, a fundamental pillar of bourgeois rule, necessary not only to raise the next generation of wage slaves but also as the bedrock of conservatism. *We say: Down with thought-police censorship! State out of the bedroom! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

### NUS/ISO—Laborite Lackeys, Student Reformists

A common refrain from many of the student protests has been the call "Education a Right, not just a Privilege." But under capitalism quality education can never be anything more than the preserve of the wealthy few. Working class and minority youth have always been condemned to run-down, hopelessly under-resourced schools. The primary role of universities is to train the future administrators of the bosses' profit system. To challenge the class bias of the education system revolutionaries advance

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