

# Australasian SPARTACIST



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## Moscow: Cops Unleashed Against Anti-Yeltsin Demonstrators



Financial Times



Epa

Soviet Army Day, February 23: Pro-Communist demonstrator beaten by Moscow militia (police), called out by Yeltsin regime in attempt to provoke and intimidate opponents.

# Soviet Union in the Balance

More than 12,000 militia (police) and OMON elite "anti-crime" units clad in riot gear were thrown at Moscow demonstrators marching to celebrate Soviet Army Day on February 23. As the protesters attempted to march through police barricades sealing off the city center, cops waded into them with batons flailing. A 16-year-old youth who stood atop a truck waving a red flag with Lenin's portrait was subjected to a particularly vicious beating. "I stood up there because I support communism, I support Lenin," he said. One demonstrator, 71-year-old retired Soviet Lt. Gen. Nikolai Peskov, died after being kicked by police.

While the series of demonstrations in Moscow since the January 2 price rises have remained limited to several tens of thousands, the Soviet working population grows increasingly restive and desperate over exorbitant food prices and shortages. Production is plummeting, falling by 17 percent overall and 27 percent in steel in January alone. The naked display of force on February 23 was a deliberate provocation by Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Moscow mayor Gavriil Popov aimed at intimidating the entire Soviet working people.

For the first time since the botched August coup and Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup, the capitalist-restorationist forces have drawn blood on the streets of Moscow. A pro-Yeltsin Moscow television commentator felt compelled to deny any comparison to "Bloody Sunday," the tsarist police massacre of a January 1905 workers protest which triggered a revolutionary workers uprising. Even prominent pro-capitalist

"democrats" like Yelena Bonner expressed alarm over Yeltsin/Popov's brutal tactics. The Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* was openly critical of the "politicians" who turn to the baton "to save Russia." Several hundred who turned out for Peskov's funeral were more forthright, denouncing Yeltsin and his gang as "bloody heirs of Hitler."

Yeltsin has been looking for a bloody provocation with the aim of testing the militia. The February 23 police assault came on the heels of a near-confrontation two weeks earlier, as some 40,000 turned out for an anti-Yeltsin protest in Manezh Square near the Kremlin. Moscow deputy police chief Leonid Nikitin was fired after revealing that he had refused to obey orders to use special agents on February 9 to "provoke disorder" among the demonstrators and provide an excuse for sending in riot police. Meanwhile Yeltsin has been trying to buy off the officer corps by doubling military salaries and handing out *dachas* (country homes) to high-ranking officers. But this does nothing to improve conditions for the ranks of the army, who feel the brunt of the growing impoverishment and economic dislocation. On February 24-25, hundreds of desperate conscripts rioted at the Baikonur cosmodrome, launch site for the Soviet space program.

Nor is the military happy with Yeltsin's obsequious groveling before his American paymasters. When Yeltsin came begging for a miserly handout, Bush turned a deaf ear while continuing to spend billions on new Pentagon weapon development projects. The U.S.

has even banned the *import* of military technology from the USSR, part of an "Administration policy intended to force the Russian space and military industry into such a decline that it poses no future threat to the U.S." (*New York Times*, 1 March). The collision between a Soviet submarine and an American sub *inside Soviet waters* on February 11 indicates that, whatever the state of the Cold War, the U.S. continues to target the Soviet Union and the Soviet military. Yeltsin tried to play down the incident, but the Soviet naval command expressed its indignation in no uncertain terms.

In this context, reactionary Russian-nationalist forces are seeking to appeal to the military to oust Yeltsin and re-establish a "strong state" under the old tsarist watchword, "Russia, One and Indivisible." The fascistic Liberal-Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy featured prominently at the Army Day demonstrations. Zhirinovskiy was joined by the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRK) and other Stalinist "patriot" rumps. Among the speakers were such "hardline" military figures as anti-Semitic RKRK Central Committee member General Albert Makashov and "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis, who recently joined with the monarchist demagogue Nevzorov in forming a Russian-nationalist party called *Nashe* (Ours). But the chief aspirant for a new nationalist strongman to replace Yeltsin is his own increasingly critical vice president, Air Force General Alexander Rutskoi, who has become self-appointed spokesman for the military-industrial hierarchy. The ever more stridently nationalist Rutskoi was

the main speaker at a right-wing nationalist conference in early February, where he declared:

"We have to restore the true face of Russia. We have to revive faith and spirituality. We have to revive the glory of the Russian army."

Last August's abysmal coup attempt by the "gang of eight" Gorbachevite officials—who resolutely turned their faces against any working-class mobilization to defend collectivized property—was little more than a vicarious dispute over who would get the (non-existent) cash flow from perestroika. Now, in the face of ascendant counterrevolution, many former Stalinist bureaucrats hope to get in on the ground floor and become the new capitalists. But Yeltsin economic aide Anatoli Chubais vows that "privatization by nomenklatura is inadmissible." Yeltsin, and before him Gorbachev, found their main base of support among technocrats and intellectuals in the lower layers of the bureaucracy who want to live like yuppies in the West. But it won't be so easy to cash in on the counterrevolution—their careers have been built on managing (or, more to the point, mismanaging) the centrally planned economy, and if that goes, so will their jobs.

Yeltsin and his cohorts know they have to cohere a capitalist state apparatus and new, loyal agencies of anti-working-class repression if they are to consolidate their counterrevolutionary drive. While the military high command continues to keep its distance from Yeltsin and his counterparts in the other republics, the use of the militia in

*continued on page 10*

## For Workers Political Revolution in the Soviet Union!

# Partisan Defence Committee Notes

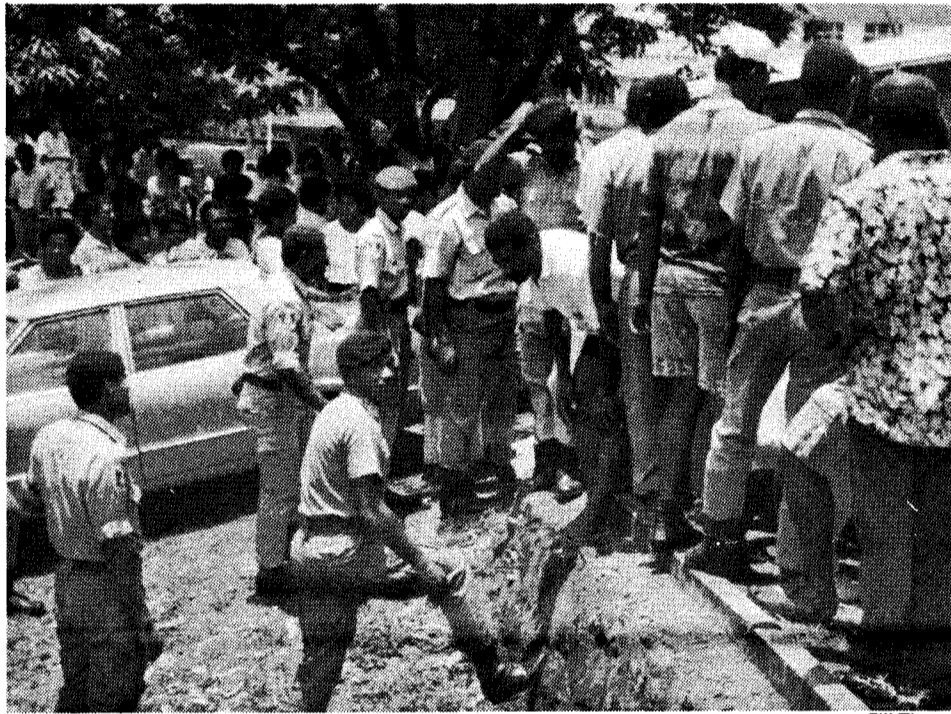
## Victory to Fijian Miners Strike! Free Jailed Miners!

On 21 February the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) sent a statement to the Fijian Ambassador in Australia, protesting the jailing of six striking miners from Fiji's Vatukoula gold mine, demanding their immediate release and the dropping of all charges against them and all striking miners.

The miners were jailed on 10 February. Six days earlier they had been attacked by 30 riot squad police using tear gas in an attempt to evict miners from company housing. The miners courageously defended themselves and

their families live in a company-owned shanty town without electricity, adequate water or the most basic facilities.

The heroic Vatukoula strike is already the longest in Fijian history. The Vatukoula miners must not be left to fight alone! The more than 200 scabs working the mine must be taught that scabbing is hazardous to their health. For mass picket lines that mean don't cross! The miners' struggle has coincided with strikes by predominantly Fijian-Indian sugar workers and women textile workers across Fiji, confronting vicious anti-



Fiji Times

**Fiji, 10 February: Striking miners surround police bus outside Tavua courthouse after trial of Vatukoula Six.**

their families against this state and company assault. Six miners were charged with assault, obstruction and damaging a police vehicle. They were railroaded through the courts without any access to legal and union representation and now languish in jail. Another five miners were later arrested on similar charges and have been released on bail, while one miner has been charged with murder over the death of a bailiff killed during the police assault.

Situated on Viti Levu, the largest of the islands in the Fiji group, the Emperor Gold Mining Company's Vatukoula gold mine has been the scene of a bitter 12-month strike by mine workers for better wages, safety conditions, living standards and company recognition of their union. During the course of their struggle, the miners have been subjected to a series of eviction threats, attacks on their picket lines, and constant harassment by the company and cops. The mainly ethnic Fijian miners earn a pitiful F\$1.55 per hour (approx A\$1.78) under unsafe work conditions and along with

union laws brought in last year. These struggles need to be linked. Unity of the working class, cutting across the institutionalised anti-Indian chauvinism of the government and landowners, is crucial to defeating the government's vicious austerity that targets all the oppressed throughout the Fijian Islands.

The Australian-owned Western Mining Corporation, which until recently managed Vatukoula gold mine, ran it with Apartheid-like brutality that is synonymous with Australian neo-colonialist rule in the region. As in South Africa, where black miners earn a fraction of white workers' wages, Western Mining and their partners have treated the dark-skinned Fijians like dirt. At home Western Mining tramples over the rights of Aborigines and has been attempting to drive down miners' wages and destroy hard-won working conditions.

A statement distributed by the PDC on 24 February to mining, maritime and transport unions, demanded:

"From the mines of WA [Western Australia] to South Australia to Queens-

land, members of the ETU, the Metal Workers, the AWU and FEDFA must strike a blow against Western Mining and down tools in support of the Fijian miners' strike. Alongside such solidarity strikes, black bans against Western Mining by maritime and other transport unions can insure the victory of the Vatukoula miners."

The PDC has fought to bring the cause of the Vatukoula miners to the attention of the international working class to forge links of international solidarity. Australian workers, who have been struggling against the union-busting, anti-working class Keating Labor government, have a stake in this fight. There is a common enemy—the rapacious mining bosses. It is only class struggle at home in the belly of the imperialist beast that can concretely serve the Fijian working class. The ACTU bureaucracy however seeks to divert working class solidarity, whether it be in support of the Vatukoula miners or against the Fijian anti-union laws, into reactionary pro-imperialist sanctions against Fiji. Far from assisting the Fijian working people such sanctions only serve the interests of Australian imperialism. Inevitably it is the Fijian masses who would bear the brunt.

The Australian bourgeoisie lord it over their neo-colonies in the South Pacific including Fiji. Companies like

CRA and BHP pillage the island peoples through racist exploitation. Large parts of the tiny island of Bougainville have been reduced to virtual rubble. Today Australian imperialism arms and backs its Papua New Guinea (PNG) neo-colony in their brutal suppression of the Bougainville secessionist movement. Since 1989 more than 1,500 people have died in the bloody secessionist uprising and over 3,000 are believed to have been killed by PNG's total blockade of this tiny island.

A decent future for the South Pacific island peoples can be envisaged *only* in close connection with the proletarian struggles in Australia, New Zealand and in particular Japan, the powerhouse of Asia. The Australian proletariat, which has a crucial role to play in the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the South Pacific, must champion the cause of the exploited and oppressed throughout the region, particularly against racist Australian imperialism. It can do so only in hard class opposition to the ruling capitalist Labor government. The fight for workers revolution to smash "White Australia" imperialism requires an internationalist perspective. Free the Vatukoula Six! Drop the charges against all striking miners! Down with all anti-union laws! ■

## Drop the Charges Against Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates!

On 26 February Aborigines Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates went before the NSW Supreme Court in Sydney in an appeal against frame-up charges of riotous assembly and assaulting a police officer, stemming from the 1987 cop riot against Brewarrina Aborigines. The charge of riotous assembly was dropped and a decision on the other charges is still pending. The organised working class must come to the defence of Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates. A few thousand building and maritime workers at the courthouse demanding the dropping of all charges would have sent a powerful message to the bosses' racist court.

Representatives of the Partisan Defence Committee and the Spartacist League took part in demonstrations called by the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee in Sydney, and CEFTAA (Campaign Exposing Frame-Ups and Targeting Abuses of Authority) in Melbourne, to protest the continued racist witchhunt of Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates. Our comrades carried placards demanding: "Drop the charges against Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates: Victims of Racist Cop Frame-Up!" and "For Labour/Black/Minority Action to Stop Racist Terror!"

The charges against Murray and Bates arise from the police attack on the funeral wake for Lloyd Boney, a young black man who died in a police lockup in the small northern NSW town of Brewarrina in August 1987. Boney, the sixteenth young Aboriginal man to die in police custody that year, was found hanged in a police cell shortly after he was arrested for breach of bail conditions. His family and other Aborigines in the township of Brewarrina reacted with outrage and disbelief when informed of Boney's "suicide." When the wake for Boney was attacked by police, Aborigines courageously defended themselves, giving the cops some of their own. In response the town was placed under a state of siege by TRG riot police (and white vigilantes), and 17 Aborigines were charged with offences ranging from riotous assembly to conspiracy to murder! Charges against nine defendants were subsequently dropped, and five others received suspended sentences or community work. Lloyd Boney's brother, Glenn, sentenced to six months in jail, served 75 days before being released after a successful appeal. Murray and

Bates were sentenced to eighteen months jail. The bail conditions against Arthur Murray include a ban on drinking, a ban on leaving NSW, and having to report to the police every day!

Arthur Murray and his family have been singled out for an ongoing racist state vendetta. Arthur organised the extremely exploited Aboriginal cotton chippers in north western NSW during the 60s, winning improved wages and conditions through bitter struggle. In 1981 Arthur and Leila Murray's son, Eddie, was found "hung" in his cell in Wee Waa lockup. Having fought relentlessly to bring to justice the "person or persons unknown" (as the coroner put it) responsible for Eddie's death, Arthur and family were driven out of town. In 1987 the graves of Eddie and his younger sister Jacqueline were desecrated by racist pigs. Arthur and Leila's daughter, Anna, one of the Brewarrina 17, suffered a vicious cop beating in the police riot in Brewarrina. After returning to her home town cops beat her again and tied a noose around her neck! The state and backwater racists have the Murray family in their sights because they have dared to stand up for their basic rights in this Apartheid hell called Australia.

At the 26 February demonstration in defence of Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates in Melbourne, a Spartacist representative spoke of the necessity of hard class struggle to fight the common oppressor of the working class and blacks—the "White Australia" capitalist class and their Labor and Liberal servants.

"Australian Apartheid deprives Aborigines of basic human rights and frames up victims of racist terror for exercising the basic right of self-defence. The vicious federal Labor and state Labor and Liberal governments are attacking workers' rights while presiding over the slashing of jobs, education and all social services. By convicting Murray and Bates, the state is sending a message to all those who would stand up for their rights. Workers must take up and lead the fight against racist and cop terror, and as building workers did in protesting the police killing of David Gundy in Sydney in 1989, march hand in hand with the Aboriginal people.... Socialist revolution in Australia is necessary to put an end to this viciously racist, sexist, capitalist society and open the road to a life of human decency."

Drop the charges against Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates: Victims of Racist Cop Frame-Up! For Labour/Black/Minority Action to Stop Racist Terror! ■

Australasian

# SPARTACIST

For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Marxist journal of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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Our beloved comrade Martha Phillips died February 9 in Moscow. A professional revolutionist and supporter of the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist tendency (International Communist League) for 20 years, Martha was living and working in Moscow as a teacher of English at the time of her death. As the senior cadre among several comrades who were working to reimplant the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky in the land of its birth, Martha was engaged in a crucial struggle whose outcome still hangs in the balance. Her death is a bitter blow to the future Soviet section of the ICL and a shattering tragedy for her many close friends in our party. We extend our sympathy also to Martha's family, the Greenbergs, to Jeff, and to her son Lael, who she deeply loved.

Martha was won to Spartacist politics along with several other comrades out of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency/Leninist Faction left opposition inside the Socialist Workers Party. Originally recruited to the SWP as a college student in Madison, Wisconsin, Martha was living in Washington, DC when she and others there came to see in the Spartacist League the embodiment of the authentic program of Trotskyism. After fighting for their views in the Leninist Faction, they formally fused with the SL in November 1972. This regroupment laid the basis for winning other comrades from the SWP in the U.S. and from their sometime cothinkers internationally over a period of several years.

In 1972 Martha moved to the Bay Area and took up her first party post as organizer of the Revolutionary Communist Youth there. She spent the bulk of her political life as a comrade of the Bay Area SL, including a stint as party organizer. She also spent briefer periods in Los Angeles (1973-74), Detroit (1981-82), New York (1982-83) and Seattle (1987). Always one of our most effective campus activists, Martha also worked closely with young comrades as party representative to campus fractions and as a party educator. A powerful public speaker and public polemicist, Martha led the party in numerous campaigns. She was Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council in the spring 1983 election.

A lifelong fighter for women's liberation, Martha was passionate and thoughtful on all questions of special oppression and was heavily involved in launching the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. She was an active campaigner and spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee. In 1982 she helped organize the November 27 militant mass demonstration which stopped the fascist KKK from marching in Washington, DC and was on the front lines of that successful action.

In the fall of 1990, after studying Russian diligently in her spare time over the course of several years, Martha went to Moscow for an intensive language course. Although most of the students had had considerably greater preparation and were half her age, and while pursuing a heavy schedule of political activities, Martha worked hard on her studies and passed her course with flying colors. Her progress enabled her to return to Moscow in May 1991 and take up a job teaching English. Martha was a dedicated teacher who used everything she had learned in politics and in her life to spark her students' interest. Their stories, as well as her own experiences in Moscow, informed her letters home to her comrades.

# Martha Phillips



10 March 1948 — 9 February 1992



Spartacist

In July 1990 Martha presented greetings from the ICL to a meeting of the Moscow Workers Congress. Her remarks, published in *Workers Vanguard* No 532 (2 August 1991), sought to lay bare what capitalist restoration would mean for the working people of the Soviet Union and to present a fighting perspective of proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist program which animated the October Revolution of 1917. She sharply denounced the anti-Semitism which permeates the Stalinist "patriot" milieu.

After her return to Moscow, Martha wrote up some points for consideration by an SL/U.S. Central Committee plenum held in October 1991. Coming out sharply against "any tendency to write off the Soviet Union in advance," she summarized her observations in light of Yeltsin's triumphant countercoup against the halfhearted coup attempt by the so-called "hardliners":

"In the absence of active working-class resistance there is certainly not dual power in the sense that it existed in 1917. Nevertheless, all maneuvering here operates under what I'd call, for lack of a better phrase, the 'shadow of the working class'—that is, it is not accidental that the 'democrats' have failed to firmly consolidate their hold, have not moved even more boldly in the situation after their easy victory in August. They are afraid of the 'dark people'—what will happen if they are pushed too far. So there have been a lot of half-measures.... Probably it is in *In Defense of Marxism* that Trotsky makes the point that terminology on the workers states is an attempt to as closely as possible describe the contradictory reality. My best approximation is that Yeltsin has consolidated an unstable bonapartist

regime over what remains of the workers state. The bourgeoisie is attempting to consolidate its hold over the fractured apparatus of the workers state. Nevertheless, that consolidation is far from accomplished.... Greetings from the Trotskyist Group of the Soviet Union."

Martha courageously faced many obstacles in her life, but none greater than the struggle to function as a communist in Moscow as a foreigner, an American and of Jewish background, and as a woman in the face of the pervasive social backwardness toward women as political people and leaders. She confronted this challenge with the courage, intelligence, humor and unswerving determination that were characteristic of her, until her

life was cut short with brutal suddenness.

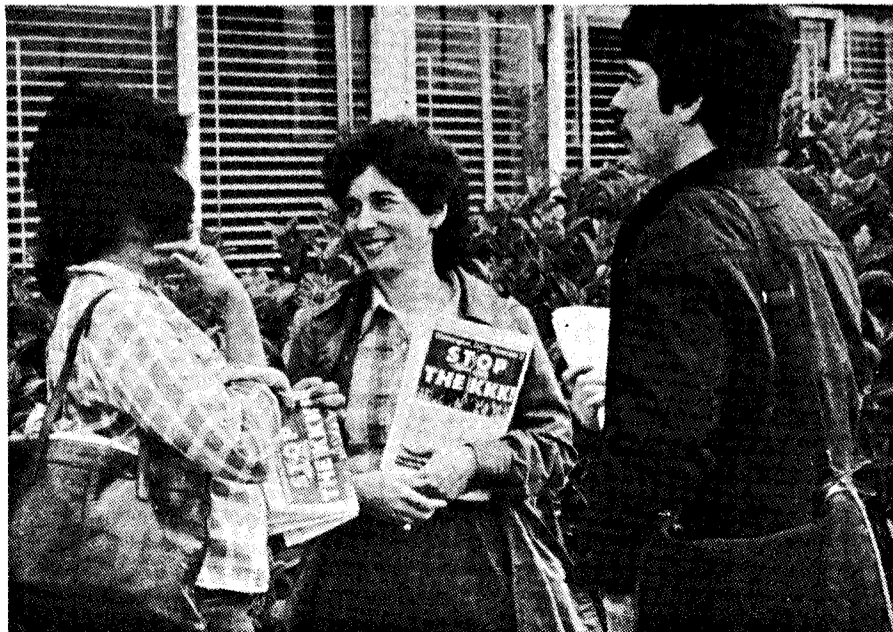
Martha was murdered. Comrades who arrived at the apartment where Martha was staying on the morning of February 9, the day of the most recent large demonstration against Yeltsin, found her there having apparently died in her sleep. Although she had recently been quite ill with a kidney ailment, her death seemed medically inexplicable since she had been improving. In the midst of their shock and grief, the comrades asked for an autopsy which, when it was finally performed, revealed that she had been stabbed. At the present time, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this hideous crime may have been politically motivated. The Moscow militia is carrying out an investigation in which our friends and supporters in Moscow are cooperating.

Many moving messages from comrades who knew Martha and loved and valued her greatly have been received and we will share excerpts from some of them in future issues of our press. In the U.S., formal meetings to honor her are planned in the Bay Area and New York City. Other ICL sections are planning their own commemorations, as we seek to celebrate Martha's life in the communist movement, to rededicate ourselves to the goals she cherished and fought for with all her intelligence and energies, and to come to grips with the shock and sorrow of our irreparable loss.

Comrades in Mexico City plan to lay red carnations in honor of Martha at Trotsky's memorial in Coyoacán. The ICL's French section will gather to remember Martha at Leon Sedov's grave outside Paris. On February 16, German comrades held a memorial meeting for her at the Friedrichsfelde Monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin. At the ceremony held February 15 at Marx's grave in London, a spokesman for the Spartacist League of Britain told the assembled comrades:

"We are gathered here today to honor Martha Phillips, who died in Moscow on the front lines in the urgent fight against counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In her work there, on the numerous occasions she was asked why the International Communist League was in the USSR, Martha explained that the Soviet Union was the birthplace of our communist program, that the Russian Revolution in fact belonged to the workers of the whole world, and that we were coming home to fight to defend the gains of the October Revolution. For us Trotskyists the Soviet Union has never been a foreign country, and we can say truthfully that Martha died in her homeland."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 545, 21 February 1992.



Workers Vanguard

Campaigning for Oakland City Council in 1983, Martha talks with UAW members at the East Bay Skills Center.

# Abortion Battle Shakes Ireland



Dublin, 22 February: Singer Sinéad O'Connor at head of demonstration of 5,000 protesting Irish government's anti-abortion law.

The following article is adapted from "Workers Must Rule in Ireland If Women Are to Be Free," a leaflet distributed by the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group at a February 22 protest in Dublin and published in *Workers Hammer No 128* (March-April 1992), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. Our Dublin comrades participated in the mass protests, demanding, "Down with the injunction now! For free abortion and contraception on demand! For the right of divorce! For the complete separation of church and state!" This adaption first appeared in *Workers Vanguard No 546* (6 March 1992).

On February 27, the Irish Supreme Court overturned a lower-court ruling banning a pregnant 14-year-old from

## Teen Tormented by Clerical State

obtaining an abortion anywhere in the world. In an unspeakable outrage, a government injunction had banned the young woman, who says she was raped, from leaving the country for nine months. It was a bald attempt by the Catholic church and the Irish state to bolster the constitutional ban on abortion and impose a virtual house arrest on thousands of women who are

forced to seek abortions outside of the country every year. Such is the grip of cruel superstition on this savage and unthinking society that a judge ruled the girl's vow to commit suicide "much less and of a different order of magnitude than the certainty that the life of the unborn will be terminated" (*New York Times*, 19 February).

Throwing into stark relief the depraved, corrupt and repressive character of the Irish clerical state's capitalist rulers, the case triggered opposition among broad layers of the population, threatening to backfire on the wretched gang lording it over the working people. Thousands demonstrated in Dublin, with smaller protests at the Irish consulates in London and New York.

Front-page headlines in bourgeois newspapers across the world riveted attention on Ireland. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (2 March) editorialized: "The Irish people, whom polls show to support a liberalization of the abortion law, should not permit this issue to be swept under the rug." Opposition from other Common Market countries threatened the hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies Ireland receives. It was a political crisis which the week-old coalition government of prime minister Albert Reynolds, member of the ruling Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny), could not afford, and so the police-state "morality" of clerical reaction judged it prudent to back down this time.

But while the Catholic hierarchy kept a back seat on this one, its overweening influence in Irish politics sets the basic framework. The Catholic church and its allies won every major "moral" battle of the eighties. They forced and won the 1983 referendum to enshrine the anti-abortion "right to life of the unborn" in the Irish constitution. The rabidly anti-abortion SPUC (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) has harassed, sued or closed down clinics, counselling centres and student groups printing abortion information in college handbooks. In 1986 a campaign of fear squashed divorce reforms. In March 1991 a government proposal to lower the age at which a person may legally purchase condoms from 18 to 16 provoked a storm of outrage from Ireland's bishops. These "crusades" have unleashed a frenzy of anti-woman hatred with harsh consequences: Anne Lovett, a frightened

pregnant teenager, died with her baby in a grotto where she hid to give birth in secrecy; Joanne Hayes, falsely accused of infanticide, was grossly framed up in the 1984 "Kerry babies" case.

### "New World Order" Anti-Woman Bigotry

The "new world order" onslaught on abortion rights extends far beyond the particular viciousness of the Irish clerical state. The same nightmare threatens and blights the lives of women in the countries of Eastern Europe which have fallen victim to capitalist counter-revolution, such as Poland and East Germany. Attacks on the rights of women world-wide are the inevitable product of the capitalist system in decay. And from Warsaw to Dublin, from Belfast to Teheran, social reaction, chauvinism and clerical domination are the handmaidens of anti-communism. The Pope, the judges and the Ian Paisleys are the enemies of working people and profoundly committed to the enslavement of women.

To fight for women's liberation must mean a fight for the defence of the workers states against the counter-revolution of Yeltsin/Bush and for worldwide socialist revolution. Those fake-left organisations such as the Socialist Workers Movement (SWM) and the Irish Workers Group which aided the quest for an imperialist "new world order," supporting Wall Street's tool Yeltsin in August last year, are accomplices of the system which would crucify a pregnant teenager.

Now, filled with angst for Ireland's "international reputation," the denizens of the Dail (Irish parliament) wriggle around suggesting a little amendment for "special cases." Feminists play into this crap, as if only victims of rape deserve access to abortions. Revoltingly, the SWM joins this bourgeois clerical mainstream with the subminimal slogan: "Rape victims have the right to abortion." Of course they do—and so does every other woman! As a journalist wrote in the English Tory London *Sunday Times* (16 February):

"Much is made of the girl's claims to have been raped. It is an emotive added extra, though not yet proved and certainly not the point. The point is that here is a child who is pregnant and who wishes not to be...but the law of her land dictates that her misery may not be relieved. This is not even an illustration of the law being an ass. It is an illustration that the law should not have any role to play in the issue of abortion."

Furthermore, reactionary "age of consent" laws deny young women access to contraception and health care. Lower the age of adulthood!

Irish president Mary "I am against abortion" Robinson is part and parcel of the state perpetrating this obscenity. Robinson, the front-runner for yet

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another coalition between Labour and the bourgeois opposition party Fine Gael, supports the British troops occupying Northern Ireland and is a member of the anti-Communist Tri-lateral Commission, a Cold War cabal whose other members include Henry Kissinger and George Bush. Just like her Labourite mentors, she is a backer of the Programme for National Recovery and its successor, the Plan for Economic and Social Progress, austerity pacts which have delivered lower wages and higher profits over the last few years. The Dublin Spartacist Youth Group said "No vote to the Robinson popular front" when most of the rest of the left was cheering her to the heavens.

### For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The workers must rule if women are to be free! The whole gang, from the Fianna Fail crooks to the Labour Party lackeys, must be swept aside. Likewise, the crisis-ridden Workers Party, which supports the presence of the British imperialist troops in the North, of course backed Robinson and has lurched rightward under the impact of the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe. And the pressure of bourgeois and Catholic order extends beyond the servile reformist Labour and Workers parties. The Irish republican Sinn Fein, in keeping with their nationalism, have repeatedly refused to approach any social issue that might alienate Catholic reaction. Thus one of the most bitterly contested debates at the recent Sinn Fein conference was over abortion. While the conference condemned the court's attempt to keep the 14-year-old from having an abortion, it would go no further than to agree that "no woman should be forced by state legislation to continue with a pregnancy as a result of rape or incest" (*Independent*, 24 February).

Fascistic Unionists of the Paisley ilk feed on Northern Protestant fears of Irish Catholic domination, manipulating backward workers' anti-Catholic prejudices stirred by such grotesque cases as this one. Meanwhile the Presbyterian churches in Ulster vie with the Catholic church in reaction. It was their pressure which halted the extension to Northern Ireland of the British 1967 act decriminalising abortion, forcing Northern women to join the thousands from the South travelling to Britain for expensive abortions. North and South, the callous, grinding rule of the religious bigots must be smashed so that no more will women travel in secret to London for their rights, no more will people be denied something as simple as a Brook Advisory Clinic for the most basic information and counselling! With its 20 percent unemployment, barbaric clericalism, the constant cycle of British imperialist repression and communal conflict in the North, Ireland—North and South—cries out for a proletarian solution. The elementary demand for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army is imperative in such a perspective.

Socialist revolution will tear down the pro-British Loyalist masters in Northern Ireland and the rule of the "gombeen" bourgeoisie in the South, the small-time, small-town capitalists and exploiting farmers, bulwark of the overweening Catholic church. No forcible unification! For an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles! The industrialisation and construction of a planned economy alone can provide the quality health care which will make abortion and contraception free and safe for all women, on demand. Such a society would provide a job for everyone and free 24-hour childcare, laying the *material basis* for the genuine liberation of women.

The workers state which emerged from the 1917 Russian Revolution abolished all laws restricting rights to abortion and

# Outrageous Redneck Bigotry Against Magic Johnson!

*The following protest statement by the SLIA was issued as a leaflet on 7 February.*

Australian national basketball team players Phil Smyth and Ray Borner, backed up by the team's medical director Brian Sando, last month sparked an international outcry by refusing to play in the Barcelona Olympics against black American basketball superstar Magic Johnson because he is HIV positive. Johnson's courageous decision to announce that he was infected with the AIDS virus brought the tragedy of AIDS home to millions around the world. Johnson is a basketball genius, one of the very few who changed the way basketball is played. Not only are Smyth, Borner and Sando backwoods racists, they're chickenshit, scared that this powerful

deep-going racism and chauvinism of capitalist White Australia. Straight-faced, Foreign Minister Evans said: "I am outraged that a comment by a person who has no authority to talk for Australia should have put at risk Australia's excellent reputation for common sense and balance in relation to AIDS" (*New York Times*, 25 January). Common sense and balance? From Gareth Evans and his ALP government?! Prospective immigrants to Australia who are compulsorily tested for HIV and disqualified if they test positive know otherwise. So do working people, the poor, Aborigines and AIDS sufferers, who after a decade of capitalist austerity get medical services not much better than those of many third world countries. AIDS is a fatal and as yet incurable

could have AIDS! The cowardly ignorant racism of the Australian basketballers over Magic Johnson is writ large in the barbaric treatment meted out to 56 Chinese "boat people" refugees in January by the ALP government. They were incarcerated in the Port Hedland Immigration Department concentration camp, five crew members were put in solitary confinement in Darwin jail and their boat was burned. On the pretext of the risk of "disease," a veiled invocation of "White Australia's" fear of invasion from the north by the Asian masses, the venal, racist Australian ruling class seeks to enforce "racial purity" with Immigration Department concentration camps. They've looted the economy and increasingly fear becoming what they call the "white trash of Asia."

In 1983 we described "little Australia" social-democratic nationalism as not only "white racist, but proud of its brutally male chauvinist and self-indulgent parochial philistine 'national character'—best described as the culture of white pigs." (*Women & Revolution*, No 26, Spring 1983). The years-long state and media-run persecution of Lindy Chamberlain plumbed the depths of anti-woman chauvinism. And recently a Victorian court ruled that it was "less heinous" to rape a prostitute than a "happily married woman." Sex and disease is a potent mix for reactionaries who welcome AIDS to instil fear as part of a repressive drive to regiment the population for war.

The outrage against Magic Johnson, like that against the Chinese refugees, is a result of the racist ideology which is pushed by the bosses and their labour lieutenants to divide the working class and shore up the rotting foundations of White Australia capitalism. The Spartacist League sets as its task the building of an internationalist multi-racial workers party, built in struggle to split the ALP's working class base from the pro-capitalist tops and mobilising the power of the working class to fight for socialist revolution. Only then will we be assured of a world in which bigotry has no place and society's resources will be placed at the service of the working people, including to treat and find a cure for ravaging diseases like AIDS. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■



**Magic Johnson, target of racist bigotry and AIDS hysteria.**

Kevork Djansezian/AP

black man with the HIV virus will make them look like leadfooted losers. The scornful outrage of millions worldwide was expressed by the chief medical adviser to the Commonwealth on AIDS, Professor Ian Gust, who said "On current knowledge, my estimate of the chance of contracting AIDS playing basketball is the same as being kicked to death by a duck. And that is a serious statement" (*The Age*, 25 January). To their credit Basketball Australia sent a letter of apology to Magic Johnson, inviting him to lead an NBA all-stars team in a game against the Boomers in Canberra.

The outrageous outburst against Magic Johnson is a reflection of the

disease caused by a virus—not sin or any kind of sex. There needs to be billions of dollars provided for AIDS research and treatment. But what AIDS sufferers get is criminal government neglect and official anti-gay bigotry. From the beginning AIDS has been used to whip up anti-gay hysteria. Anti-gay bigotry has been an integral component of the alarming escalation of gay-hate bashings and murders on the streets of Australian cities.

The intersection of anti-AIDS bigotry and racism is explosive. Last year, after an on-field clash, Aboriginal star AFL footballer Chris Lewis was singled out for a racist media slander campaign suggesting that he

divorce, established full democratic rights for homosexuals and eliminated all legal distinctions between children born in marriage and "illegitimate" babies. Understanding that it was necessary to replace the functions of the oppressive institution of the family by providing social institutions for childcare and housework, the Bolsheviks immediately began to establish collective crèches and kitchens. As tribune of the people, Lenin's party fought too against all forms of national and special oppression, just as here the official discrimination and racist attacks on Travellers must be smashed.

The DSYG is fighting to build a party in the tradition of the Bolsheviks, a revolutionary party to lead the working class in the overthrow of this rotten capitalist system. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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## Women and Revolution

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# "Little Australia" Nationalist Sabre-Rattling Over East Timor

On 12 November last year Indonesian troops fired on 3000 participants of a march in Dili, East Timor, killing over 100 people. Indonesia's 16-year war against the East Timorese resistance movement, along with famine and forced "Indonesianisation" resettlement schemes, have left a massive death toll of over 200,000, one third of the population. Working class protest action centred on the Indonesian working class and backed by their class brothers and sisters in Australia and internationally is urgently required: *Bloody Indonesian troops get out of East Timor!* Such solidarity action can only be forged in hard class opposition to the Australian imperialist ruling class and their bloody allies in Jakarta.

The 12 November massacre was the cue for Laborite nationalists like Victorian THC secretary John Halfpenny to initiate a chauvinist campaign for union-enforced sanctions and a total blockade of Indonesia. This was linked to demands for greater Australian imperialist action and UN intervention against Indonesia. Halfpenny was joined by "left" South Coast Labour Council secretary, Paul Matters, who complained of Australian government "hypocrisy." The trade union movement, said Matters, had supported the government trade embargo on Iraq in 1990 and "there is not a distinction between that issue and the recent events in East Timor" (*Illawarra Mercury*, 21 November).

Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans dismissed calls for sanctions against Indonesia and issued some mild criticisms (for public consumption) of Indonesia's "human rights" record. Careful not to upset the Suharto regime, Evans supported the Indonesian government-appointed "investigation" into the massacre which resulted in a slap on the wrist for a few officers. But far from the "hypocrisy" that the Laborite nationalists charge, Canberra's actions are consistent with their strategic imperialist interests. The Indonesian generals are key allies for U.S. imperialism and their Australian junior partners, critical to maintaining anti-communist "peace" and "stability" in the region. This "stability" underpins the lucrative Australian business relationship with Indonesia. Australian investment in Indonesia is now more than \$1.3 billion and Indonesia is Australia's eighth largest export market.

The "little Australia" Laborite nationalists have a strategic vision of a more aggressive "independent" Australia. This is nurtured by racist "Fortress Australia" xenophobia. Critical of government "gutlessness" toward Indonesia they insist Australian imperialism include East Timor within its "democratic" imperialist orbit. They would make East Timor prey to Australian neocolonial exploitation and oppression of the sort witnessed in Papua New Guinea and Bougainville. A Melbourne-based May Day Committee off-shoot of Halfpenny's THC demanded that Canberra cancel the Timor Gap oil treaty with Indonesia presumably to ensure that Australian imperialism renegotiate for itself a major portion of the oil resources with an "independent" East Timor. The Australian fake-left to a man have bought into the union bureaucrats' reactionary campaign. The sinister Laborite and anti-Soviet Socialist Labour League (SLL) echoed the call to "impose bans on all trade, communications links and military supplies" (*Workers News*, 29 November).

Blockades and sanctions are a prelude



Community Aid Abroad

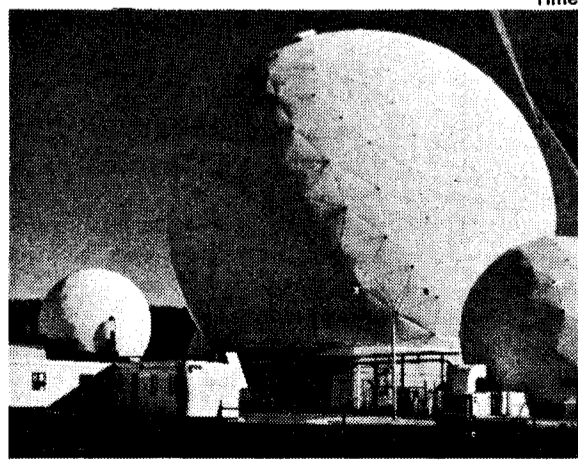
**Dili, East Timor, 12 November: Memorial march at Santa Cruz cemetery minutes before Indonesian troops open fire, killing over 100.**

to war. This was graphically demonstrated with the implementation of sanctions against Iraq in 1990—supported by all wings of the ALP and union tops. They were the direct precursor to imperialist invasion and the massacre of over 100,000 Iraqis. The war-like character of the Laborites' sanction calls was made clear by Bob Smith, joint secretary of the Federated Ironworkers and Manufacturing Engineers Employees, who advocated "giving the Indonesians a little piece of their own medicine" and proposed UN military action (*Age*, 1 December). In 1984 addressing a similar rise in anti-Indonesian chauvinism we pointed out:

"For revolutionaries a key test is class opposition to this anti-Indonesian chauvinist campaign—the only basis for class solidarity with the Indonesian workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities. Any Australian war against Indonesia would be reactionary and revolutionaries would fight for the defeat of Australian imperialism, using these reverses to facilitate its overthrow."

—*Australasian Spartacist*,  
No 109, Summer  
1984/85.

It is the Indonesian working people who would suffer from the effects of any blockade, just as South African black workers had to endure economic dislocation and deprivation during the eighties as a consequence of imperialist divestments and boycotts. The Australian government and the trade union bureaucracy were then willing partners in the imperialist boycott campaign, although they were careful not to advertise how Australian capitalists reaped healthy profits in wool, uranium and coal exports at the expense of their South African rivals.



**U.S. spy bases like Pine Gap (above) collect electronic and photographic intelligence—used to carry out imperialist massacre of Iraqi people last year (right).**

Last November Port Kembla steelworkers imposed bans on BHP's steel shipments to Indonesia. In early December Waterside Workers in Brisbane held up the first Indonesian ship to enter Australian ports after the massacre. Both were examples of effective class solidarity actions. They were impelled by genuine working class outrage at the East Timor massacre and cut against Canberra's interests, laying the basis for strengthening class solidarity between Australian and Indonesian workers. The actions were time-limited, lasting less than a day in both cases, which did not suit the labour bureaucrats' desire for a blanket boycott. Paul Matters for instance saw the steelworkers' action as a chance to break Australia's trade reliance "on a two-bit backwater under dictatorship like Indonesia" (*Illawarra Mercury*, 7 January). Class struggle militants would seek to intervene into the Port Kembla and Brisbane workers actions aiming to raise the consciousness of the working class of its internationalist duty to fight its own imperialist government. Class struggle solidarity action, including the banning of all military shipments to Indonesia, stands in sharp class opposition to the "little Australia" Laborites' chauvinist campaign. Key to achieving this is the building of a revolutionary leadership forged through breaking the working class from the pro-imperialist Labor tops.

Australian imperialism is today actively supporting the blockade of the tiny island of Bougainville. This has not drawn the attention of our local pro-imperialist union bureaucrats because it is Australian imperialism which reaps the

profits from the superexploitation of the Bougainvillean people. Canberra has been the guiding hand and willing supplier to Papua New Guinea's brutal suppression of the Bougainville secessionist movement along with the near total blockade of the tiny island. These actions have resulted in the death of more than 4,500 people. Revolutionaries demand: *Break the blockade of Bougainville! Bloody Australian imperialists and PNG lackeys—hands off Bougainville!* (See *Australasian Spartacist*, No 133, August/September 1989.)

## Australia and Indonesia—Anti-Communist Regional Allies

Even before Indonesia's takeover of East Timor in 1975, Labor prime minister Whitlam surprised Indonesian President Suharto when he indicated that Australia was amenable to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. By 1975 the heroic Vietnamese Revolution had decisively defeated bloody U.S. and Australian imperialism on the battlefield. That humiliating defeat shaped Pentagon and Canberra plans. As far as they were concerned Fretilin were communists about to launch a mini-Cuba on Canberra's doorstep.

Paramount amongst U.S. imperialism's "security interests" are the strategic Ombai-Wetar sea lanes to the north of East Timor, one of two deep-water straits that U.S. nuclear submarines use to pass submerged between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. They form part of a network of strategic U.S. military assets in the region that target the Soviet Union and Vietnam. These assets include the U.S. spy satellite ground stations at Pine Gap and Nurrungar which collect electronic and photographic intelligence from around the world. The Omega station in East Gippsland, Victoria provides worldwide radio navigation for aircraft, surface ships and submarines. Class solidarity with the cause of the East Timorese and Indonesian working people must of necessity be linked to the demand—*U.S. bases out of Australia!*

Australia last year supplied Indonesia with up to \$1 million in military aid and helps train Indonesian officer cadets. The military cooperation is small scale but its character is very clear—both Indonesia and Australia are regional anti-communist cops. Recently a battalion of 600 Indonesian troops joined Australian troops as part of the UN imperialist "peacekeeping" force in Cambodia. Canberra ran point for the implementation of this imperialist plan which aims at restoring capitalist



Derek Hudson/Syigma

exploitation in Indochina. In November last year the Spartacist League of Australia issued an urgent call for political strikes and bans to stop Australian troops to Cambodia (see *Australasian Spartacist*, No 144, Summer 1991/92). These must be linked to organised working class action in Indonesia and internationally to spike imperialism's counter-revolutionary plans. *Defend the Indochinese revolution!*

### "New World DisOrder" in South East Asia

The xenophobic Australian ruling class still operates on the fears that motivated them to beg their U.S. big brother for the ANZUS military alliance in the fifties against their triple fears of communism, Japanese expansionism and the Indonesian masses. Japan is today Australia's biggest trading partner but this hasn't dampened any of the current jingoistic Japan-bashing celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Pacific War battles. Similarly the racist fear of Indonesian invasion still dominates "defence thinking." In the Northern Territory today Australia's military forces are practising war games against a mythical "Kamarian" invader that emanates from the near north.

"New World Order" imperialist triumphalism over the collapse of Stalinism has hardly brought about the stable balance of power that Canberra would have hoped for. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. wrote last year:

"The situation today is different from before World War II. Then the Japanese were economically weak and lashed out militarily. Today the Americans are economically weak and militarily assertive, but the Japanese are also economically very vulnerable. And the U.S. and Japanese economies are deeply intermeshed. There is tension and rivalry, and also a lot of co-operation. But the drive for trade advantage can be dangerous, particularly since the Stalinist collapse in Moscow has undercut the unifying strategic axis of obsessive anti-Sovietism."

—*Workers Vanguard* No 540, 6 December 1991.

South East Asia is as likely as anywhere to be a cockpit of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries. Japan today is the economic powerhouse of the Asia-Pacific region and is consolidating a new Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. But the U.S. also has overpowering economic reasons to maintain its presence—the largest proportion of U.S. world trade is with this region. Competing demands for imperialist investment have also heightened discord between South East Asian capitalist regimes. Washington was furious when Malaysia's prime minister Mahathir floated the idea of an East Asia Economic Group that included Japan but specifically excluded the U.S. and Australia. Indonesia promptly vetoed the idea for fear it might exacerbate already heightened U.S./Japan tensions.

### 1965—Anti-Communist Massacre Aided and Abetted by CIA and ASIS

For over a quarter of a century the military regime in Indonesia has sought to maintain its "iron grip" through brutal repression of the working class, poor peasantry and national minorities. In addition to the forced population transfers and colonisation schemes in West Papua and the recent massacre in East Timor, there have been reported killings of hundreds, possibly thousands of people in the north Sumatran region of Aceh, part of a crackdown against Muslim-led rebels. But the Indonesian

prisonhouse of peoples and its edifice of brutal and bloody terror has widening chasms. While the top military elite in Indonesia jockey for position over who will succeed the corruption-ridden Suharto clan, there have been significant strikes and protests by the Indonesian working class over the last year which have shaken the generals. The minimum wage in Indonesia is still little more than a dollar a day and nearly 20 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. In the industrial region of Tangerang just outside Jakarta strikes broke out almost every week last year primarily over demands for wage rises. In August the government called in the army to end a strike of 12,000 workers of a large tyre-making compound of 14 factories. These actions point to the potential social power of the Indonesian working class, whose militancy has been demonstrated many times this century.

In 1965 the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI—Indonesian Communist Party) counted its members and supporters in the millions. Yet the Indonesian worker and peasant masses were defeated in one of the most massive and savage massacres in modern history, leaving over half a million dead. They were betrayed by the PKI, whose support to the nationalist-populist demagogue Sukarno left them politically and militarily unprepared when Suharto's generals struck. This was the product of the Stalinist class-collaborationist strategy of "two-stage revolution," the subjection of



Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-communist bloodbath in Indonesia.

no credit

the proletariat to a political alliance with a supposedly "progressive national bourgeoisie" whose interests are counterposed to those of the working people.

The bloodthirsty 1965 slaughter was aided by the CIA who provided a hit list of PKI members to the murderous death squads. This was part of the CIA's "destabilisation" operation in Indonesia backed by the Australian secret service (ASIS) which provided "deep cover" for U.S. secret service operatives participating in Sukarno's downfall. In 1958 Australia was up to its neck in the CIA-sponsored "Outer Islands Rebellion," providing a base of support for CIA-backed rebels and sending two naval vessels to the area. The venal Australian bourgeoisie breathed a collective sigh of relief at the brutal 1965 massacre. Former Labor defence minister, Kim Beazley, reflected that "if the PKI had been victorious in the mid-1960s, our security prospects over the last two decades would have been very different from the favourable circumstances we enjoy today" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 March).

To this day the spectre of mass working class struggle in Indonesia continues to haunt the Jakarta regime. Periodically the generals dredge up the threat that "the PKI will waken while we sleep," a watchword for attempts to crush any signs of opposition to their rule. Over the last few years the generals have repeatedly threatened to execute the remaining PKI prisoners languishing in

prison. A Spartacist League-initiated picket in December 1987 demanded freedom for the condemned Indonesian Communists. The Partisan Defence Committee has launched appeals for international working class protest. This is sharply counterposed to the anti-Indonesian chauvinism of the Laborite nationalists and posits the central necessity of Australian working class unity with their Indonesian class brothers and sisters. Such action stands on the proudest traditions of the Australian working class, who stood in solidarity with the Indonesian national liberation struggle from 1946 to 1949 when large-scale bans of Dutch shipping by maritime workers sparked working class solidarity actions around the world.

### For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Region!

The most basic democratic tasks facing the Indonesian masses cannot be completed short of the uprooting of capitalist social relations through social revolution. This is the fundamental lesson of the 1917 Russian Revolution which confirmed Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. In the epoch of imperialism the pathetic national bourgeoisies of the neo-colonies are utterly dependent on the imperialists and their instrumentalities like the IMF/World Bank. The struggle for land to the masses of Indonesian peasants, the championing of the rights of all the oppressed minorities



ASp photo

SL-initiated picket in December 1987 demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.

their struggles against Indonesian domination. The emancipation of the oppressed minorities however requires a regional solution to break the grip of imperialism. This struggle is inseparable from the fight for permanent revolution in Indonesia and for workers revolution in Australia.

The historic example of the 1917 Russian Revolution was an inspiration to the exploited and oppressed of the world, particularly those of the Asian region. The fate of the Soviet Union has always been intrinsically bound up with that of the world's working class. This is dramatically posed today in the fight to smash Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary threat. There is an urgent necessity to forge a new and genuine Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union to organise the power of the working class. *For workers political revolution!* The Australian working class must forge links of internationalist revolutionary struggle with its class brothers and sisters from Indonesia through Asia to the proletariat of the Japanese industrial powerhouse. In turn such struggles will give enormous impetus to the Soviet proletariat in its struggle to defeat Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Everything depends on the forging of Trotskyist parties and the rebirth of the Fourth International. The Spartacist League/Australia is dedicated to this task. *For a workers republic of Australia part of a socialist Asia!* ■

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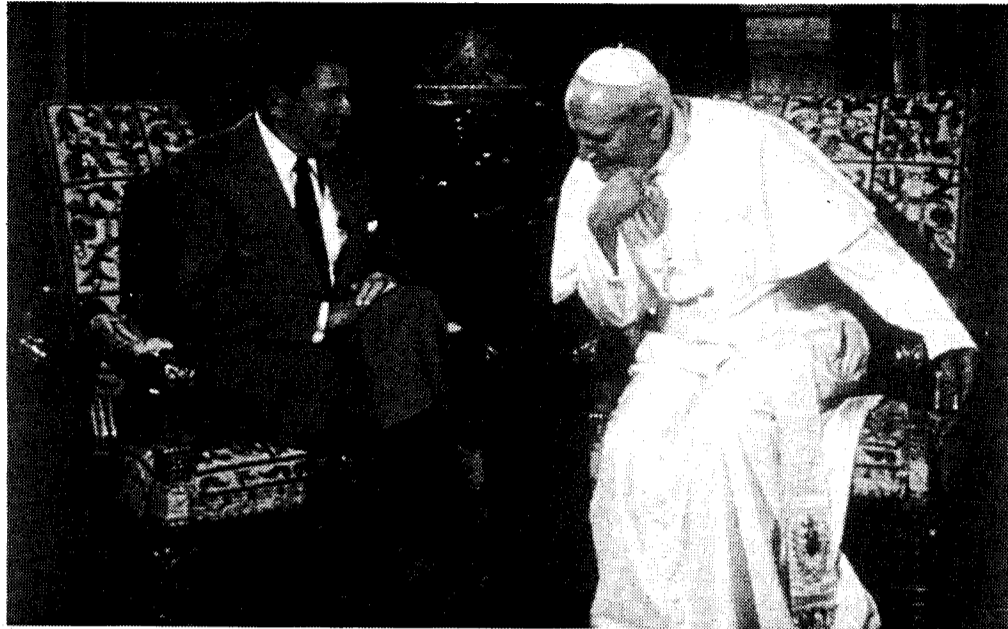


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# \$olidarność Godfathers: Reagan and the Pope



Jarecke/Contact



Bulletin

Reagan and the Pope's "Holy Crusade" against Communism funneled CIA money to Solidarność and Lech Walesa.

The recent *Time* magazine (24 February) cover story titled "Holy Alliance" by Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein is being treated by the press as quite a bombshell. Extensively documenting "how Reagan and the Pope conspired to assist Poland's Solidarity movement and hasten the demise of Communism," the article confirms what we said at the time and what much of the rest of the left furiously denied as they tailed after Lech Walesa. Bernstein describes in detail how the CIA, the AFL-CIO and the Vatican joined forces to finance Walesa's outfit in a mammoth campaign aimed at "destabilizing" the Polish deformed workers state and fomenting anti-Communist counterrevolution. He writes:

"Until Solidarity's legal status was restored in 1989 it flourished underground, supplied, nurtured and advised largely by the network established under the auspices of Reagan and John Paul II. Tons of equipment—fax machines (the first in Poland), printing presses, transmitters, telephones, shortwave radios, video cameras, photocopiers, telex machines, computers, word processors—were smuggled into Poland via channels established by priests and American agents and representatives of the AFL-CIO and European labor movements. Money for the banned union came from CIA funds, the National Endowment for Democracy, secret accounts in the Vatican and Western trade unions.

"Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity received strategic advice—often conveyed by priests or American and European labor experts working undercover in Poland—that reflected the thinking of the Vatican and the Reagan administration."

We may not have Bernstein's high-level connections and "deep throat" informants. But basing ourselves on the Trotskyist program, *Workers Vanguard* (WV) had this "scoop" a long time back. More than ten years ago, in October 1981, we published a Spartacist pamphlet, "Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers," including a series of WV articles running down Walesa's ties to Washington and the Vatican and the role of AFL-CIO tops like Lane Kirkland, Doug Fraser and Irving Brown as Company accomplices. Among the headlines were "Wall Street Journal Loves Poland's Company Union," "Kirkland, Fraser on Cold War Assignment: AFL-CIO Tops—Hands Off Poland!" and "All the Pope's Dissidents." We continued to track this CIA/Vatican-sponsored "union" over the years, in articles like "The Pope of Counterrevolution," "Solidarność' Dirty Dollars" and "AFL-CIA' and Solidarność."

Our exposure of Solidarność' unholy alliance with the White House and Vat-

ican was in the service of seeking to mobilize the Polish and international proletariat to defend the gains of the collectivized economy against the counterrevolutionary cabal for whom Walesa was a front man. We fought to win the Polish workers to a program of proletarian political revolution against the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy. In the year following the August 1980 workers' upsurge from which Solidarność issued, we sought to split its mass base away from the clerical-nationalist tools of the CIA and Vatican. As Solidarność consolidated around an

*President's Men*, having recently published puff pieces on Reagan CIA chief William Casey and Persian Gulf butcher Colin Powell. With the imperialists crowing over the "death of Communism," Bernstein is called in to tell "the real story"—at least part of it. Even now, he completely covers over the fact that Washington and the Vatican financed and controlled the Solidarność leadership well before 1982. Bernstein claims the Reagan-Pope plot was begun only after Jaruzelski declared martial law in December 1981 to spike Solidarność' power bid and was cemented at a closed

destabilize the Polish government through covert operations involving propaganda and organizational aid to Solidarity...."

The Solidarność office in Brussels "became an international clearing house" for papal emissaries, CIA and NED operatives, and representatives from the AFL-CIO and the West European social democracy. Meanwhile, the "American embassy in Warsaw became the pivotal CIA station in the communist world and, by all accounts, the most effective."

The Solidarność operation was run right out of the White House, under the direct control of Reagan, CIA chief William Casey and National Security Adviser William Clark. In on the ground floor were virulently anti-Communist "scholar" Richard Pipes and former Carter aide Zbigniew Brzezinski. The go-between with the Vatican was Archbishop Pio Laghi. And key to the operation were the "AFL-CIA" and the West European social-democratic parties and trade-union federations:

"It was through Casey's contacts, his associates say, that elements of the Socialist International were organized on behalf of Solidarity—just as the Social Democratic parties of Western Europe had been used as an instrument of American policy by the CIA in helping to create anticommunist governments after the war...."

"Casey decided that the American labor movement's relationship with Solidarity was so good that much of what the CIA needed could be financed and obtained through AFL-CIO channels."

Presumably in the interest of preserving Kirkland & Co's "integrity" for future operations, Bernstein claims that "AFL-CIO officials were never aware of the extent of clandestine U.S. assistance." And he implies that AFL-CIO aid to Walesa before '82 was carried out independently of the White House.

This is ludicrous. The AFL-CIO's "International Affairs Department" has been a CIA conduit since right after World War II. We noted early on that "U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in fomenting anti-Communist reaction in Poland, especially through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which has contributed \$300,000 and their first printing press to Solidarity" ("Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" WV No 289, 25 September 1981). In another article in the same issue (both reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet), we nailed Irving Brown, invited along with Kirkland by Walesa to attend the Solidarność conference, as "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself and exposed his long bloody history of anti-Communist subversion and wrecking.

International Department East

## You Read It Here First

1981

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

1992

Spartacists told the truth about Solidarność when it counted (our 1981 pamphlet is still available—\$1.00). Now *Time* (24 February) "exposes" Reagan/Pope plot.

anti-socialist program in September 1981, we urgently called to "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" vowing our support even to a military intervention by the Kremlin Stalinists, "whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit." Today the sinister role of Solidarność is all too clear to the Polish workers, as they struggle to survive under its vicious austerity program.

### "AFL-CIA" in Action

Bernstein is hardly the crusading liberal muckraker glorified in *All the*

meeting between the two in the Vatican in June 1982, when "Reagan and the Pope agreed to undertake a clandestine campaign to hasten the dissolution of the communist empire."

But he does document the extent of the CIA "destabilization" project:

"Less than three weeks before his meeting with the Pope in 1982, the President signed a secret national-security-decision directive (NSDD 32) that authorized a range of economic, diplomatic and covert measures to 'neutralize efforts of the U.S.S.R.' to maintain its hold on Eastern Europe.... The primary purposes of NSDD 32 were to



# NED Dollars and CIA "Free Trade Unions"

The well-publicized role of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in Poland is only the tip of the iceberg. Set up in 1983 to promote "democracy," the NED is responsible for financing some of the most reactionary scum on the face of the earth, including an outright fascist outfit in the Soviet Union which calls itself the "National Toolers Alliance" (NTS). In recent years, the NED and "AFL-CIA" have toured a string of NTS-connected Soviet "free trade unionists" around the U.S. and Britain. The NED openly brags that, in its attempts to promote Yeltsinite counterrevolution, "it pumped nearly \$15 million into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1990 alone" (cited in *Lies of Our Times*, May 1991).

A chief target of this sinister operation has been Soviet miners—notably the Independent Miners Union (NPG) set up at a conference in the Ukraine in 1990. A sizable chunk of the NPG top leadership has been the recipient of NED/AFL-CIO largesse for several years. After stopping off in Poland to hail the "death of Communism" in 1990, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland hosted a Labor Day gathering of "free trade union leaders" in Moscow—at the home of the U.S. ambassador. The following spring, Kirkland returned to hold meetings with various "miners' leaders," including one Sergei Masalovich, billed by the AFL-CIO "Department of International Affairs" as "a Christian Democratic trade union activist."

In fact, Masalovich is a member of the fascist NTS. A few months later this same Masalovich popped up in Britain featured at a conference of the scab "Union of Democratic Miners," created to break the heroic 1984-85 British miners strike led by Arthur Scargill. Masalovich's job was to peddle anti-Communist smears claiming that Scargill had pocketed strike funds donated by Soviet miners.

Another "independent unionist" who joined the bourgeoisie's hysterical witchhunt against Scargill is one Yuri Butchenko, who it turns out is a representative of...the NED. Butchenko was given an entrée into various authentic British workers organizations that same summer under the aegis of fake-lefts like the Workers Power and Socialist Organiser groups. The shared anti-Sovietism of these outfits came

Europe coordinator Adrian Karatnycky subsequently admitted that as early as 1980-81, "hundreds of thousands of dollars" of aid for Solidarność "poured into the AFL-CIO headquarters." We remarked at the time: "Where those big bucks came from is no doubt part of the 'much of the story' which he says 'will have to be told another day'—but it sure wasn't collected at factory gates" ("AFL-CIA" and Solidarność," *WV* No 490, 24 November 1989).

As for the Vatican connection, even before the rise of Solidarność we labeled John Paul Wojtyla as the "president's pope" (*WV* No 217, 20 October 1978). We later publicized the fact that in the year following the Gdansk strike the Vatican-controlled Banco Ambrosiano funneled some \$10 million to the Walesa gang (see "God's Banker" Sent Millions to Solidarność—Vatican Connection II," *WV* No 329, 6 May 1983). As we noted then: "Anti-Sovietism is the common denominator linking Reagan, the CIA, the Vatican and fake-left cheerleaders for Solidarność."

With the exception of the Spartacist tendency, virtually all of the left joined Reagan, Wojtyla, Thatcher and Mitter-

rand in hailing the "Polish workers movement." From Pierre Lambert's OCL/PCI to Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat to the British Workers Power group, they marched in lockstep behind the CIA and Vatican in "solidarity with Solidarity." And they continued to do so, in some cases even after Solidarność took power and immediately began attacking Polish workers with a brutal Pinochet-style "shock treatment." Today the support of these groups to anti-Communist reaction has culminated in their grotesque hailing of Yeltsin counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

In some cases, the various outfits masquerading as "Trotskyists" stood far to the right even of their social-democratic godfathers. In late 1985, the Mandelite LCR in France joined hands with the CIA-financed Force Ouvrière to protest Mitterrand's meeting with Jaruzelski. The German Mandelites even organized their own operation trying to funnel aid into Poland in parallel with the big-time Social Democrats. To this day the American Mandelite *Socialist Action* continues to sport the Solidarność logo on its masthead, even as the counterrevolutionary government's



Miners conference in Donetsk last October. International Communist League representatives countered imperialist-orchestrated campaign against British miners leader Arthur Scargill (above).

home to roost when Butchenko ostentatiously joined the anti-Scargill witchhunt in a televised press conference. Butchenko's "control" turned out to be prominent NTS spokesman George Miller (see "Workers Power Caught With Russian Fascists, Thatcher's Scabs," *Workers Vanguard* (*WV*) No 513, 10 August 1990). Miller is editor of the *Soviet Labour Review*, which has received at least \$129,000 in NED funds. At the independent miners conference in the Ukraine in 1990, International Communist League representatives exposed this CIA-organized campaign to turn Soviet miners into a battering ram against Scargill and the British miners.

U.S. and British spy operations. Last August, the NTS featured prominently on Yeltsin's barricades, where they distributed a leaflet pushing anti-Communist reaction. Now the Soviet journal *New Times* (1 October 1991), a pro-imperialist rag which was formerly a mouthpiece of the Stalinist bureaucracy, features a self-congratulatory piece by NTS executive board member Boris

ious for CIA infiltration of trade unions from Chile to El Salvador. AIFLD executive director William Doherty was even flown into Grenada by the U.S. military during the invasion! The Free Trade Union Institute was created in the 1970s explicitly in response to working-class explosions in Portugal and Spain, to augment CIA-organized counter-revolutionary activity there.

Miller, father of George, boasting of this sinister outfit's exploits on behalf of counterrevolution.

The NTS is the real face of the NED and Kirkland's "free trade unions." Through its "AFL-CIA" conduit, the NED has sent dollars and organizers flowing to every Cold War hot spot from Europe to Asia to Central America to carry out U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary schemes. Right-wing union-hater Senator Orrin Hatch crows that "The unions have a political effectiveness the CIA has often lacked." And indeed, the NED was established precisely to fund the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO and its Free Trade Union Institute, run by the viciously anti-Communist Cold Warriors of the Social Democrats, U.S.A. As much as 98 percent of International Affairs' budget comes from the NED and other U.S. government agencies.

The International Affairs Department has a long and bloody track record. Longtime director and CIA operative Irving Brown paid out CIA dollars in 1948 to recruit goons to crush Communist-led dock workers in France. In Latin America, the American Institute for Free Labor Development is notor-



NED cash figured prominently in the "electoral coup" that toppled the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990. For years the NED channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars to *La Prensa*, the anti-Sandinista contra organ owned by 1990 presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro. The NED brokered the Chamorro opposition coalition, funding the campaign with \$12.5 million between October 1988 and the elections in February 1990 (see *National Endowment for Democracy: A Foreign Policy Branch Gone Awry*, Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1990). And today, the "AFL-CIA" tries to sabotage factory seizures by Nicaraguan workers fighting to defend themselves from Chamorro's attacks.

Now Kirkland screams "China next! Cuba next!" His latest operation for the NED/CIA crowd is his "Labor Committee for a Free Cuba," a collection of Cuban exile *gusanos* and CIA Cold Warriors dreaming of destroying the Cuban Revolution and retaking the island for their imperialist masters.

While triumphantly crowing over the "death of Communism," the AFL-CIO tops preside over ever more brutal attacks against workers and minorities in

the U.S. In exposing these labor traitors we fight not only to defend the historic gains of the Soviet working people in the face of capitalist counterrevolution but to build the revolutionary workers party needed in this country to put an end to rapacious U.S. imperialism.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 546, 6 March 1992.

vicious assaults on the working class have made it so despised that Walesa ranks lower than Jaruzelski in recent popularity polls in Poland.

The virulently Stalinophobic Lambert group justified its support to the Cold War crusade by vituperating against the "counterrevolutionary holy alliance of imperialism and Stalinism" against the world proletariat, supposedly aimed at upholding forever the partition set up by the 1945 Yalta agreement. Thus they cynically claimed that Washington, the Vatican and Moscow were all allied against Solidarność. Now we have it right from the horse's mouth that the "holy alliance" of Washington and the Vatican was directed against the Soviet Union. Here is how Reagan recounts his meeting with the Pope: "We both felt that a great mistake had been made at Yalta and something should be done. Solidarity was the very weapon for bringing this about."

In the final analysis, it wasn't CIA dirty tricks that brought down the Polish deformed workers state, but the bankruptcy of Stalinism and the absence of a Leninist-Trotskyist party rooted in the Polish working class to lead the fight

for proletarian political revolution. But where the U.S. & Co lined up behind the CIA and Vatican while mindlessly bleating that "ten million Polish workers can't be wrong" (ignoring the millions who stayed with the Stalinist trade unions), we swam against the stream and fought for the real historic interests of the Polish and international proletariat.

It didn't take a fly on the Vatican walls to recognize Solidarność for what it was. Walesa's ostentatious embrace of papal authority and his obsequious fawning to Reagan made it obvious. If the rest of the left denied Solidarność' reactionary ties and refused to see what was in front of their noses, it is because they were and are animated by a program counterposed to Marxism—seeking popularity in the eyes of the labor lieutenants of imperialism. As we wrote in our 1989 article "AFL-CIA" and Solidarność":

"The fake-left hid the truth in order to jump on the Cold War 'Solidarity with Solidarity' bandwagon. We Trotskyists told the truth about Solidarność when that was unpopular, and when it counted."

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# Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

cracking down on anti-Yeltsin protesters marks a dangerous turning point in determining the fate of the Soviet Union. Our comrades of the International

Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) in Moscow responded with a leaflet (reprinted below), raising the alarm over this bloody escalation of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary course and calling urgently for the formation of workers and soldiers soviets (councils) to repulse the capitalist-restorationist tide and seize power.

## Away With the Yeltsin Government! "White Tsar" Boris Wants a New Bloody Sunday

### Form Workers and Soldiers Soviets to Stop Capitalist Restoration!

FEBRUARY 25—The "democratic" counterrevolution has drawn its first blood. Called up by Mayor Popov, approved by Boris Yeltsin, thousands of militia were mobilized to stage a provocation against workers, pensioners, soldiers, officers and veterans honoring Soviet Army Day. Soviet working people be warned: they're trying to restore capitalism over your bodies!

From the moment the forces of capitalist restoration gained the ascendancy with Yeltsin's counter-coup on August 22, the alternatives were sharply posed: either the proletariat reconquers political power, taken from it by the Stalin-led bureaucracy in 1923-24, or

The dark forces of counterrevolution are fueling nationalist fratricide aimed at tearing apart and smashing the multinational Soviet working class.

Now we see blood on the streets of Moscow. And it will get only bloodier as the Yeltsin gang gains in confidence.

Some, like the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRK), say the Soviet Army "is our last hope." Yes, many soldiers and officers within the Soviet armed forces remain loyal to the ideals of socialism and to the workers state. But to preserve the multinational Soviet state and army requires defending the socialized property upon which it was created. *The hope for reversing the tide of*



Economist

**Anti-Semitic fascist blackshirts, clerical reactionaries, seek restoration of the tsarist prisonhouse of peoples.**

there will be the bloody consolidation of social counterrevolution and national disintegration. The weak Yeltsin government has restrained its bloodlust against the working class only because it lacks a loyal apparatus of repression.

With the assaults against Army Day demonstrators, the Moscow militia and OMON units allowed themselves, perhaps reluctantly, to be used against the working class. Chastised by outraged demonstrators, one militiaman defensively responded: "I'm just following orders. Why did you vote for these people? Next time elect better leaders."

But these "leaders," stooges of imperialism, won't be unelected by anyone. They must be swept away by the power of a mobilized working class. That is the proletarian political revolution that we Trotskyists call for, to stop the forces of counterrevolution, to prevent hunger, to reforge the Soviet Union on internationalist principles.

The crisis wracking the Soviet Union has reached a dangerous turning point. The collectivized economy is being dismembered. Production is disrupted and grinding to a halt in many enterprises. Rapacious price rises imposed by Yeltsin and his cohorts in other republics are reducing the working class to utter poverty and degradation. The lot of women, now being driven out of the workforce, is descent into a living hell.

*counterrevolution lies in organizing the workers, soldiers and collective farmers into soviets, and forging a revolutionary leadership which aims to return to the liberating and egalitarian goals of the October Revolution.* When the working class moves into struggle, pro-socialist sections of the army and militia will certainly follow suit.

But in this crisis, sinister elements are seeking to appeal to the desperation of the working people. Beware of fascist Zhirinovskiy, who openly spews poisonous anti-Semitism! Beware of Makashov, whose presidential bid last year was endorsed by the fascist blackshirts of Pamyat! Beware of Nevzorov, whose populist words hide a program of monarchist reaction! Beware of Alksnis, who is no communist but wants to impose the market on the Soviet peoples, along the lines of the "Chilean model"—iron-fisted repression! They are organizing for Rutskoii, who would be bonaparte.

Beware all those who seek to divide the multinational working people through chauvinism and racism! The poison of anti-Semitism is the tool of the would-be bourgeois slavemasters to divide and cripple the workers' struggle. Was it a coincidence that on Army Day the militia aimed its truncheons against youth bearing red flags and portraits of Lenin? In the factories, in the mines, in



Spartacist

**Revolution Day in Moscow, 7 November 1991. The working class must form soviets to take power and defend the state born in 1917.**

the collective farms, there are workers of different nationalities. They must come together in proletarian unity, not be rent apart in nationalist feuding. Nationalism is the game of the parasites and capitalists!

The only way out of the current crisis is through revolutionary working-class action. In the summer of 1917, there was also a crisis of food supplies. The capitalists made their last-ditch effort to hold on to power and force the revolutionary workers into submission by starving them. Lenin advanced a way forward. In "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," he insisted that the only way to stop the capitalist sabotage was for the councils of elected deputies of the workers and soldiers to *take the power*, to take control of production and organize distribution of food. This pointed directly to the October Revolution, which swept away the exploiters.

Today new exploiters are trying to destroy the workers state. The question is: *Who will prevail?* The speculators, mafia parasites, entrepreneurs and the former partocrats seeking to become capitalists by selling off the economy to the imperialists? Or the working class which built it up at terrible sacrifice?

Through their own independent committees, composed of delegates elected by the enterprises, the working people must take control of food supplies and oversee distribution. What is needed once again is to form authentic soviets, not talk shops like the fake soviets and impotent parliaments of today, but organs for struggle composed of deputies elected by and recallable to the workplace and barracks. Formed into powerful soviets—internationalist, egalitarian, revolutionary—the working people will be able to sweep away the shaky regimes of the capitalist-restorationists with a flick of the finger.

*No new tsars—away with Yeltsin—for a republic of the working people!*

There can be no return to the old crap of Stalinism. Out of yesterday's Stalinists come today's Yeltsinites. The era of Brezhnev paved the way for the market reforms of Gorbachev, which in turn catapulted Yeltsin into power. The parasitic bureaucracy ran out of steam and is spinning off a layer which together with a new generation of yuppies wants to sell off the Soviet Union. And for that they need a strong state that can coin blood into profit.

Under the leadership of a new and genuine Bolshevik party, modeled on the party of Lenin and Trotsky, workers and soldiers soviets will ensure the fullest workers democracy, according full rights to all parties that would fight in the name of socialism. To build a genuinely collectivist society capable of using the creative forces of the working people, the planned economy must be reconstructed and revised from top to bottom, purged of all favoritism and privilege, of bureaucratism and arbitrariness. From the shopfloor to the highest echelons of the state, decisive power must rest in the hands of the workers and their elected representatives.

Workers: the moment is growing late. Do not wait until your children grow pale from hunger. The would-be bosses are taking the streets of Moscow away from you. Form authentic soviets now! Drive out the restorationist forces through workers political revolution! Defeat all attempts at nationalist fratricide—down with the poison of anti-Semitism! What is needed urgently is to bring together the cadre of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, dedicated to restoring the proletarian foundations upon which the multinational Soviet workers state was built.

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Spartacist  Forums

**Smash Yeltsin's Counterrevolution!**

**For Workers Political Revolution  
in the Soviet Union!**

**1 pm, Wednesday, 15 April**  
Tutorial Room 4, Carlaw Building  
Sydney Uni

**7 pm, Friday, 24 April**  
MEWU Council Room  
136 Chalmers Street, Surry Hills

**SYDNEY**

**1 pm, Tuesday, 14 April**  
Function Room 2, Ground Floor  
Union Building, La Trobe Uni

**3 pm, Sunday, 26 April**  
Auditorium, YWCA  
489 Elizabeth Street, City

**MELBOURNE**

For more information phone: Sydney (02) 281 2181 or Melbourne (03) 654 4315

# Witchhunt in Germany

## Revenge of the Third Reich

BERLIN—A vicious anti-Communist witchhunt is sweeping the reunited Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Its chief inquisitors are Social Democratic (SPD) Berlin justice minister Jutta Limbach and her crony on the federal level, Klaus Kinkel, former head of the BND, the German CIA. The German bourgeoisie wants revenge for the Red Army's victory over Nazi Germany in World War II and seeks to erase any memory of the DDR (East German) deformed workers state built upon the rubble of the Third Reich. The chief target of the witchhunters is 79-year-old Erich Honecker, the Stalinist former DDR leader, who spent over a decade in Nazi prison chambers for anti-fascist resistance. Now they want to drag him out of a Moscow clinic where he is suffering from advanced cancer, to put him back behind bars.

To get Honecker, they have launched the so-called "Wall trials" of DDR border guards. The first of these revenge trials ended with a three-and-a-half-year manslaughter sentence for former East German soldier Ingo Heinrich. The judge, Theodor Seidel, was himself active in reactionary "refugee organizations" organizing "flight" to the capitalist West during the 1960s. As the trials continue, three other soldiers have been convicted. They are being tried because they were literally front-line defenders of the DDR against NATO and West German imperialism. Meanwhile, the murderers



AIZ

Weimar police arrest May Day demonstrator in Berlin, 1929 (left). Erich Mielke in 1931 (below), in glass cage in court today.



Der Spiegel

AFF

charges that stemmed out of the Nazi period. In a measure unprecedented since the West German Baader-Meinhof "terror trials" of the '70s, the seriously ill Mielke, slumped over and barely conscious, was forced to sit in a glass cage. After doctors earlier declared Mielke unfit to stand trial, the Berlin government, which funds the city hospitals, exerted enough pressure to extract

Hamburg, accused of killing a Nazi military judge who imposed 100 death sentences on Soviet partisans and "disloyal" Wehrmacht soldiers.

Mielke is accused of participating in the shooting deaths of two Berlin policemen and wounding a third in 1931, more than 60 years ago. The two police who were shot dead were notorious for dispersing workers' demonstrations by riding their horses into them at full gallop with sabres drawn. During the intense class struggles under the Weimar Republic, cops brutally went after leftist workers in SPD-governed Berlin. In the bloody May Day massacre of 1929, known as the Zörgiebel affair for the Social Democratic police chief, cops charged an unarmed workers' rally. Using machine guns they murdered 33 and wounded nearly 200 more.

No charges were ever brought in the 1931 killings under the Weimar Republic, and the case was dropped. It was only revived by a Nazi court in 1934, in the very room used for the trial today. Mielke had by then taken refuge in the Soviet Union. Now "testimony" extracted through torture from "witnesses" dragged out of concentration camps is the basis for the present charges against Mielke! A recent article in *taz* (24 February) exposes the case as an SPD blood vendetta, quoting a 1950s brochure by the SPD *Ostbüro* (a CIA front) titled "The Mielke Case" which called for "expiation" of the "murder of both Social Democratic police officers...in a reunited Germany."

Perhaps no other case provides such clear and decisive evidence of the Fourth Reich's claim to be the legal successor to the Third. Limbach and Seidel are the long arm of the Gestapo! Mielke's chosen defense counsel is now threatened by Limbach with disbarment. His office was broken into and crucial defense documents were stolen. Moreover, the court-appointed attorney for Mielke has received death threats and his office was also broken into and wrecked. As the February issue of *Konkret* ironically noted, those "who exempted Nazi war criminals for 40 years, not least because they slaughtered Communists, have to make up for it today by not letting any Communists escape without punishment."

Nazi judges were a particularly noxious lot. They played an active role in the sterilization and crippling of Gypsies (Sinti and Roma), in the so-called

"euthanasia" mass murder that went on in the concentration camps, and condemned another 30,000 people to death. They also participated in the 1942 Wannsee Conference that planned the extermination of European Jewry. None of these Nazi mass murderers in black robes were ever tried in West Germany; on the contrary, their Nazi "service" counted toward their later pensions as they advanced through the West German judicial system.

### Fourth Reich Witchhunt

Meanwhile, charges are now being brought against former East German judges involved in trials of Nazi war criminals. In 1950, the Red Army dissolved its prisoner-of-war internment camps and the 10,500 prisoners were turned over to DDR authorities. Most were immediately released. Of the remaining 3,400 prisoners, a total of 32 were sentenced to death. We're dealing here with the most minimal justified war measures against those responsible for the most hideous war crimes in the history of mankind: the extermination of six million Jews, millions of Slavic peoples, 500,000 Roma and Sinti.

What's going on now is part of a Goebbels-style Big Lie campaign to rewrite history and make Nazi war criminals into "victims." Comparable to the Nazi apologist filth that "Auschwitz was a lie" and the official state campaign to cover former concentration camp sites with parking lots, supermarkets and tax offices, they're pretending that the real death camps were run by the Soviets! But the 1950 trials demonstrate the exact opposite: namely, how extremely selective the Red Army and East German authorities were in who they executed. The real problem is that too many Nazi criminals escaped to the West.

Hounded by the Fourth Reich, one of the former East German judges in this case, 76-year-old Otto Fuchs, and his wife leapt to their death on February 14.

Demonstrating the all-embracing character of this witchhunt, recently politicians from the ruling Christian Democrats launched a hate campaign to pillory noted author Bernt Engelmann, whose books document the Nazi roots of West Germany's rulers (see "Whose Creature Is Helmut Kohl?" *Workers Vanguard* No 506, 13 July 1990). This was followed by an equally vicious TV

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Bach/Junge Welt

Berlin, February 10: Spartakist Workers Party protests Fourth Reich show trial, demands "Freedom for Erich Mielke!"

of 20 East German border guards have never been charged.

The Berlin Wall was built at the height of the Cold War, against a capitalist campaign, in part orchestrated by the CIA, to disrupt the East German economy by bleeding it of skilled labor. As the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, forerunner to the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), wrote in a *Spartakist* supplement in October 1987: the Wall "constitutes a defense of the collectivized economy of the DDR, albeit in a bureaucratic manner. Therefore the bourgeoisie hates the Wall and therefore we Trotskyists defend it." During the upheavals of 1989-90, the Spartakists were the only party that unambiguously said, "No to capitalist reunification!"

### Hands Off Erich Mielke!

On February 10, 84-year-old Erich Mielke, former head of the East German State Security ("Stasi"), was dragged into the courtroom of the same judge that presided over the first "Wall trial," on

a decision that he could be subjected to 90-minute periods twice a week, thereby ensuring that this spectacle of courtroom torture could be dragged out for months or at least until it kills him.

Outside the courtroom on the first day of this grotesque show trial, a protest rally was held, organized by the SpAD and its fraternal defense organization, the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV). Demonstrators demanded "Freedom for Erich Mielke!" "Hands Off Honecker and the Border Soldiers!" and "Hands Off Markus Wolf!" the former head of East German intelligence. The protest received widespread media coverage.

The demonstrators also called for charges to be dropped against two heroic anti-fascist fighters: Karl Kielhorn, who led an anti-fascist group in a Soviet POW camp in Lithuania, and Gerhard Bögelein, who left the Wehrmacht to fight with the Red Army against the Nazi occupiers in the Balkans. Today they are on trial in the SPD stronghold of

## Yugoslavia and Kohl's Euro-Reich

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No 92, January 1992, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany. Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No 543, 24 January 1992.

"We will plan an independent Croatia in the framework of the new European order if the Yugoslav state, due to its errors, perishes." Sound familiar? That was not (current German foreign minister) Hans-Dietrich Genscher but von Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister, writing to his ambassador in Zagreb on 31 March 1941. Ten days later the "independent state of Croatia" was declared under the Nazi puppet *Poglavnik* ("leader") Pavelic as the German Wehrmacht marched on Belgrade. Slovenia had already been incorporated into the Third Reich. Together with Il Duce's Italy, the Nazi-backed Croatian fascist Ustashi, whose ferocity offended even hardened SS officers, murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs and other Slavs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies) before Communist-led Partisans liberated Yugoslavia from the hell of the fascist genocide machine.

German imperialism, grown more assertive after swallowing the former East German deformed workers state (DDR), relies on the power of its banks, instead of its tanks...for now. But if there were any question over who was in charge of the "New European Order" proclaimed at the Maastricht EEC (Common Market) summit conference in December, this was cleared up a few days later over the issue of recognizing the German-backed "independence" of Croatia and Slovenia. The United States, England, France and other West European powers argued that "selective recognition" would only escalate the civil war in Yugoslavia, perhaps drawing in neighboring countries with overlapping nationalities, and the imperialist powers themselves. They wanted to pursue a policy of seeking to keep Yugoslavia intact while attempting to transform the now fractured multinational deformed workers state into a field for capitalist exploitation. But Kohl insisted, and the rest finally capitulated, in effect recognizing Germany as the pre-eminent European imperialist power.

Even if no Bundeswehr soldiers are sent, recognition of Croatia and Slovenia is itself an act of war. Serbia was Germany's enemy in two world wars. And today a new German "Axis" is emerging, including Italy, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, the Baltic "republics" and Czechoslovakia. A basis for this axis is their dependence on the D-mark, so that the Bundesbank determines the economic policies of many of these countries. Germany, backed by mini-imperialist Austria (whose president, Kurt Waldheim, was implicated in Nazi war crimes as a Wehrmacht intelligence officer in Yugoslavia in World War II), wants to pluck the richest morsels from the re-balkanization of Yugoslavia: Croatia and Slovenia, the predominantly Roman Catholic regions once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And right on the January 15 deadline set by Bonn, the EEC duly recognized the two splinter states. Fifty UN "observers," the advance guard of an expeditionary force of 10,000, have already been dispatched to keep a precarious imperialist-imposed "peace."

### The German Racket

Washington and London had hypocritically complained that Germany as well as Japan refused to shed a little of their own blood for such glorious causes as



Der Spiegel

Reich chancellor Kohl promotes "independent" Croatia and Slovenia, seeks German-dominated "new order" in Europe. Right: Black-masked Croatian soldiers prepare for action.

the "Desert Storm" massacre in the Gulf to assert Bush's version of the "New World Order." At the same time, Japanese and German rearmament, combined with a more assertive foreign policy commensurate with their growing economic strength, sends shivers down the spines of their World War II adversaries. Suffering from what could be called the "WWII syndrome," for decades Bonn tried to maintain a low profile in foreign policy, while helping South Africa develop atomic weapons and bankrolling counterrevolution from Portugal to Poland. Now pursuing a more aggressive foreign policy in the face of the rapid decline of U.S. economic strength, it has counterposed to the U.S.-dominated NATO the German-dominated West European Union, with the perspective of developing WEU armed forces, while using for its own purposes that all-purpose fig leaf for imperialist adventures, the United Nations.

Bonn supported Slovenian and Croatian claims for "independence" for months while claiming that it would not act alone. However, in a speech to the Bundestag (German parliament) in late November, Reich chancellor Helmut Kohl promised Croatia and Slovenia diplomatic recognition before Christmas. Thereby Bonn thumbed its nose at the UN and EEC negotiators in the Yugoslav civil war, Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance, as well as defying the U.S., Britain and France—and got away with



Filip Horvat/Saba for Time

it. Although Germany is not even a member of the UN's highest body, the Security Council backed down from voting on a motion against any measure that would "postpone" a diplomatic resolution of the fighting in Yugoslavia, shorthand for recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. And Fourth Reich foreign minister Genscher bullied his EEC counterparts to adopt an Italian "compromise" for recognizing Slovenia and Croatia by January 15.

And if there were any doubt that the "Common Market" was going to be deutschmark-dominated, if not directly DM-denominated, that was dispelled when the Bundesbank raised interest rates to a 60-year high, forcing France, with its record unemployment, and other economically depressed West European powers to follow suit. This came the day after the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank lowered its discount rate, thus undercutting Washington's attempts to jump-start the stagnant American economy, and undermining President Bush's re-election chances. In a snub that underlined the new power relations, when Bush tried to telephone Kohl to plead for postponing recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, the chancellor refused to take the call. He was too busy at a conference of his Christian Democratic Union (CDU) celebrating "a great foreign policy success for us."

Other parties, especially the Social Democrats (SPD), have been even more

nationalist than the CDU. Thus SPD chief Engholm attacked Bonn's delay in recognizing the Croatia of Ustashi-apologist Franjo Tudjman and a Slovenian government which has already amnestied all Second World War collaborators with Hitler's Germany and Il Duce's Italy. SPD foreign policy spokesman Norbert Gansel went even further, calling the EEC agreement a "rotten compromise" requiring that "conditions be fulfilled which are not required of any other state." To spell out this Social-Democratic *Realpolitik*: Turkey massacres Kurds and Germany persecutes Turkish and Kurdish workers—and Turkey and Germany (therefore) have very warm diplomatic relations. Meanwhile, Roma and Cinti Gypsies are murdered with impunity by fascists and hounded from land to land by the governments of various West European "democracies," including SPD-governed German federal states.

Reaction in the American media was muted but anxious, trying to put the best face on a diplomatic defeat that graphically exposed the dwindling influence of bankrupt U.S. imperialism in "Fortress Europe." "Kohl to Compromise on Yugoslavia" was how the *New York Times* (18 December 1991) packaged it. But another piece of Metternichian *Realpolitik*, titled "Recognize the Power of the New Germany," argued that "Europe's greatest power should be made a permanent member of the directorate of the world's greatest powers: the UN Security Council." Germany "evidently has perceived that its interests in the Balkans go beyond revising European institutions, to revising European borders," it noted, adding, "Can global revisionism be far behind?"

West European reaction ranged from annoyed to hysterical. The Paris conservative daily *Le Figaro* whined: "The Europe designed at Maastricht was not supposed to be a German Europe." Oh no?! Margaret Thatcher's trade minister Nicholas Ridley said of the Common Market, before she had to sack him, that it was "a German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe." The British Labourite *New Statesman* (20 December 1991) ran a piece by BBC correspondent Misha Glenny whose title reflects the view in London: "Germany Fans the Flames of War." Glenny makes the rather obvious point that "There appears little doubt that Germany wishes to establish itself as *primus inter pares* in Europe." But don't get too worried, he argues, this time they are using economic means, including in the Balkans.



Christopher Morris/Black Star

Vukovar, Croatia: Fratricidal war has torn Yugoslavia apart, creating thousands of refugees.

Yet now an independent Croatia buys arms on the open market, rather than having them smuggled out of Germany through the large and powerful right-wing Croatian community in Bavaria. And the war will expand southward to Bosnia, Macedonia and beyond. Capitalist economic expansion is "peaceful" after conquests are made and competitors are eliminated, but that inevitably requires war, as anyone with the least familiarity with the last two world wars would have to admit.

### UN "Blue Helmets": Camouflage for Imperialist Murder

Many view with hope the UN Security Council plan to send 10,000 infantry and police to serve on three fronts in Croatia. In Germany this view is shared by the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the social-democratic successor to the Stalinist governing party of the former DDR. The PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (6 January) writes: "The ending of the war in Croatia is probably no longer possible without the stationing of blue helmets" (UN "peacekeeping" troops). Shamelessly, and with apparently no sense of the grotesque irony, next to this article appears a piece titled, "The Greatest Losers in the Gulf War Are the Children," which reports that due to the continuing UN blockade, medicines are unavailable in the hospitals, and cholera and typhus have reached epidemic proportions. The article doesn't mention that in 1990 the PDS supported UN sanctions, which served as the pretext for the massive U.S./NATO buildup for mass murder in Iraq. Now the PDS calls on the UN, which is bringing the Khmer Rouge "killing fields" back to Cambodia and murdering the children of Iraq, to bring "peace" to the Balkans.

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.

The German media are chortling that rather than "postponing" peace, their recognition of Slovenia and Croatia actually helped bring about the present cease-fire. But this is due more to the exhaustion and accomplishments of the warring parties than to the diplomatic skills of Genscher, or Vance and Carington. Croatia has won "recognition"; the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army has won one-third of Croatia. For Greater Serbian chauvinists like Serbian strongman Milosevic, such UN "peacekeepers" stationed along the battle lines inside Croatia can mark off the borders of their conquests, just as they do for Israel in occupied Palestine. For Tudjman they can provide the wall behind which he can, with Deutsche Bank

credits, build up a full-fledged army as Croatia and Slovenia are turned into neocolonies of German imperialism.

Even so, this "cease-fire" appears no more stable in the long run than the 14 others, providing only a breathing space for a regroupment of forces. Serbian nationalist militia leaders inside Croatia are already denouncing the UN plan. Milosevic is proceeding to realize his chauvinist dreams of a "new Yugoslavia" reduced to a "Greater Serbia" consisting of Serbia and Montenegro together with newly declared "republics" proclaimed by the Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia/Hercegovina. In the latter they are claiming one-half of the land although they are only 31 percent of the population, as against 44 percent of Muslim descent and 17 percent Croatian. Secret meetings between Milosevic and Tudjman may have already discussed the partition of Bosnia between them. The next and potentially bloodier stage of the civil war is already being prepared, as Yugoslav army units are shifted from Croatia and are taking up positions inside Bosnia, as are Serbian and Croatian nationalist militias.

But nationalist claims do not end at the Yugoslav borders. Bulgaria and Greece both have claims on newly "independent" Macedonia, which in turn

the Kosovo-Albanian border. Meanwhile, Hungary under the right-wing nationalist Jozsef Antall is talking about defending the 400,000 ethnic Magyars of Vojvodina in northern Yugoslavia, whose autonomy was crushed by Milosevic.

### Socialist United States of Europe

Decades of imperialist economic pressure, including the leverage of German bank loans, combined with "market reforms" and economic and political "decentralization" within Yugoslavia, served to exacerbate regional economic differences and revive historic national hatreds that have their origins in earlier imperial conquests and rivalries. The multinational deformed workers state forged with such heroic effort and at such great human cost by Tito's Partisans is being ripped apart today by a civil war between "Great Serbian" chauvinists and counterrevolutionary nationalists in which both sides are the bitter enemies of the Yugoslav working people.

Milosevic's Serbian nationalist militias in Croatia call themselves Chetniks, after the Serbian royalist guerrillas in World War II whose allegiance swung between British intelligence and the Italian fascist forces, whereas Tudjman's militias

halt not because the insatiable chauvinist appetites have been fulfilled, but rather because it has run up against the growing economic desperation and war-weariness of the working people of both nations. Desertions from and refusal to serve in the Yugoslav army have shot up dramatically. Last April, 750,000 Serbian workers staged a one-day general strike to protest intolerable working conditions. In November in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 20,000 Muslim, Serbian and Croatian workers united in a strike for wages owed them since September.

Within the nationalist framework of Stalinism, the Tito regime went about as far as possible to establish a genuinely multinational federation. But "socialism in one country" is a fraud, especially for a relatively backward Balkan country, as the present disintegration of Yugoslavia demonstrates. Capitalist counterrevolution can only mean nationalist genocide and savage imperialist exploitation. It is desperately necessary to mobilize the working class and socialist-minded officers and soldiers to fight the forces of fratricidal nationalism, which directly serve the predatory interests of Western imperialism, and to overthrow the Milosevics and Tudjmans. That requires the forging of a multinational vanguard in a revolutionary party based on the proletarian internationalism of Lenin, Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky.

It was the assassination of the Austrian heir apparent by a Serbian nationalist in Bosnia which triggered the First World War. But the real origins lay in the sharpening interimperialist rivalries, caused not least by the belated rise of the German Reich as a world power. Today with the disintegration of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the world takes on more the character it did on the eve of World War I. Pacifism continues to run very deep among West European workers, including in the powerful German proletariat, where the bourgeoisie had to destroy the workers movement and impose the shackles of Nazi dictatorship before it could proceed to imperialist war and the Holocaust. It is urgently necessary today to mobilize the European working class against the rising tide of racist chauvinism and fascist terror aimed first against immigrant workers and refugees, just as it is necessary to mobilize the proletariat of East Europe against fratricidal nationalism and rising anti-Semitism.

In summoning communists to forge a new party of world revolution, Leon Trotsky wrote: "To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of the *Socialist United States of Europe* as a stage toward the United States of the World." ■



Driscoll—Gamma/Liaison

**Lebanon: UN  
"peacekeeping"  
troops policed  
Israeli border  
against  
Palestinian  
guerillas. No  
UN troops to  
Yugoslavia!**

has a sizable Albanian community that comprises 20 percent of its population. Milosevic brutally crushed the autonomy of Kosovo province in Serbia, where Albanians constitute 80 percent of the population. After brutally throwing out of Italy thousands of Albanian refugees, Italian troops are now back in Albania, which they occupied during World War II. And fighting has been reported along

look to the genocidal fascist Ustashi. Their six-month bloody civil war has left more than 10,000 dead and created 600,000 refugees. And it has drawn a blood line, inflaming historic hatreds between nations whose working people had united in the comradeship of combat against fascism in its most monstrous forms.

The war has ground to a temporary

## Third Reich...

(continued from page 11)

smear against Engelmann's colleague, Günther Wallraff, whose book about racism in West Germany, *Ganz Unten*, won world renown. Their "crime" was having applied to the DDR Ministry of State Security to use former Gestapo archives. Wallraff and his family have been forced into hiding by Nazi death threats.

Manipulating the bloated Stasi archives, West German authorities are orchestrating a witchhunt that penetrates every aspect of life today in the former DDR. Now a vicious "drugs" campaign has been launched against East German athletes, who are among the best in the world. They're particularly going after runner Katrin Krabbe, who refused to carry the Federal Republic flag after winning the 100-meter world championship, saying "It's not my country."

The witchhunt began in 1990 with an

SPD campaign to expropriate the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), successor party to the DDR's ruling Stalinist party, and the DDR trade-union federation FDGB. From the very beginning the Spartakist Workers Party called for united-front action to defend the entire left and labor movement. Instead the PDS voted for the very mechanism that would be used to expropriate it, the capitalist administrators of the Treuhand, responsible for dismantling the East German economy. The PDS turned its treasury over to the Treuhand, and handed its financial officers over to the capitalist police and SPD inquisitors.

But no amount of groveling will spare the PDS, as was tragically confirmed this month. PDS chairman and Bundestag fraction chief Gregor Gysi is being witch-hunted as an "informal collaborator" of the Stasi. Gysi in turn called for the inquisitors to investigate the entire PDS Bundestag fraction. Allegations were raised against three members. One of them, Gerhard Riege, was driven to take his own life. Riege's suicide note is a searing indictment of the PDS's

pathetic role as would-be loyal oppositionists to the Fourth Reich of German imperialism:

"I have anxiety in the face of the hatred that confronts me in the Bundestag [parliament]...from people, that perhaps have not the slightest idea how immoral and merciless the system is that they have devoted themselves to. They want to enjoy to the full the victory over us. Only the complete execution of their opponents will allow them to rewrite history and remove all the brown and black spots."

This blood sacrifice only whetted the appetites of the witchhunting vultures in Bonn and Berlin. On February 24, a hundred cops seized the Berlin PDS headquarters, Karl-Liebknecht-Haus; at the same time PDS offices in six other East German cities were raided. A week before, the Nazi swastika was smeared over a monument to fallen Communists, and a Jewish star was daubed over the grave-stone of Rosa Luxemburg in East Berlin.

To be sure, many of the Stalinist rulers and secret police of the former DDR were guilty as hell of crimes against the working class—but that's not up to the heirs of Hitler's Third Reich!

They are charged with the wrong crimes before the wrong class. What began as a nascent political revolution in 1989-90 was derailed by the intervention of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism with its millions of D-marks, which cut across the whole question of working-class justice.

Today, the German bourgeoisie is using this crusade to demonize communism, to atomize the working people of East Germany in the face of the catastrophic effects of capitalist reunification, and to intimidate working people on both sides of the Elbe. It takes place in the context of a rising tide of racist violence against refugees and immigrant workers. But the demented proportions of the witchhunt are beginning to generate opposition: a recent *Süddeutsche Zeitung* poll showed a large majority opposed to the obscene campaign to get Honecker.

To defend themselves, the German left and workers movement must mobilize to stop this witchhunt now!

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No 546, 6 March 1992.

# Keating's ALP...

(continued from page 16)

to lead the struggle to expropriate the banks and industry and carry out the socialist reconstruction of society!

In Australia in December official unemployment hit 10.6 percent—nearly a million workers. The recession has ravaged whole sections of industry, in particular auto, steel and metal manufacturing. Tens of thousands of skilled and semi-skilled, unionised jobs have been lost forever. Meanwhile, under the ALP government the top one percent of income earners increased their portion of national income, from four to nine percent, in the six years to 1989 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 July 1991)!

Throwing tens of thousands of working people onto the streets, the bosses have relied on the ALP union tops to grease the rails to the dole queues. When in February Nissan announced it would close its Clayton plant in Melbourne and throw 700 workers onto the scrap heap, many of them with 20 years seniority, the Vehicle Builders Union tops announced a fight...for better redundancy. The workers' most fundamental right is the right to work. Jobs have to be fought for, with mass strikes, pickets and plant occupations. There must

"topped up" to the level of the 18-year-old dole!

These cuts to living standards are accompanied by reactionary campaigns promoting "fundamental values." The continuing offensive against abortion rights is linked to the reactionary assertion that a woman's place is in the home raising children. Youth are being bombarded with moralist propaganda, focusing on the "evils" of drugs and sex, along with new laws and police to keep them off the streets and in their homes. The hideously oppressed and marginalised Aboriginal people, who have always borne the worst of it ever since the genocidal wars carried out with European colonisation, are today experiencing intensified state-sponsored racist terror (see article page 16). The organised labour movement must use its power to defend the rights of all the oppressed through fighting for jobs for all and against the wholesale slashing of social services from education to health care.

## Down with Racist Protectionism!

In order to sell mass unemployment and drive up the rate of exploitation of labour the bosses and their government are fuelling a racist scapegoating campaign. Senior cabinet member John

bosses instead of fighting against them. The only way forward is through aggressive defence of the rights of immigrant workers, fighting for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, as well as for the revolutionary unity of Australian and Asian workers.

## NSW General Strike: Working Class Power, ALP Treachery

The ALP tops have served their capitalist masters by attacking their own working class base, but by now they have all but exhausted their political capital. There is a deep working class resentment of the ALP government, shown by the spate of largely isolated, bitter, defensive strikes last year. For example, union pickets fought against cops and scabs, shots were fired and whole towns were divided down the middle when Victorian meatworkers in Camperdown and Wodonga fought to stop the wholesale destruction of union conditions and the use of union-busting contract labour. But for all their militancy the meatworkers have been unable to defeat the scabberding abattoir bosses because the union tops have refused to mobilise the power of the labour movement in their defence.

The enormous potential power of the working class was demonstrated in NSW last October by the 24-hour general

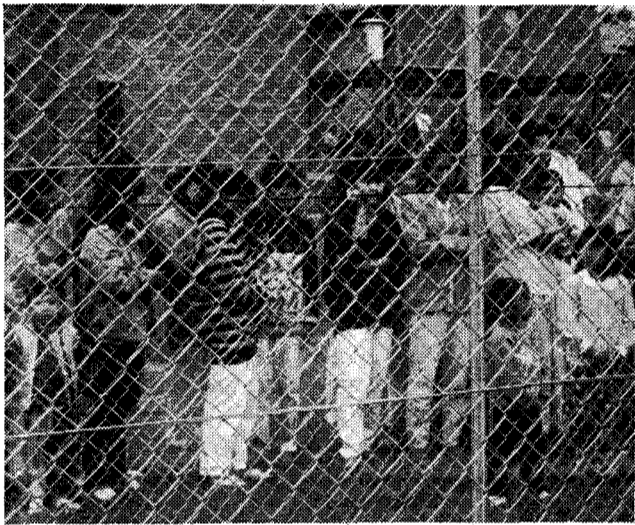
highly multi-racial workforces, including a large Asian component; from the metal shops with their skilled, mostly male workforces to the largely immigrant women who work in the unionised textile plants, support for the strike was overwhelming. On 23 October last year working men and women of all races and nationalities were united against their common enemy, the bosses and their government, demonstrating the potential of the working class to throw off reactionary bourgeois ideology like racism and sexism in the struggle for its own interests. But without a revolutionary leadership aiming to unite all the oppressed in the struggle for working class power, this potential cannot come to fruition.

The general strike is one of the most potent weapons in the working class arsenal. A general strike, even of limited duration, poses the question, which class shall rule? Certainly a general strike aimed at stopping the passage of the legislation could have succeeded. But this could not only have brought down the already very unstable, minority Greiner government, but shattered the remains of the federal Labor government's "consensus" and along with it any remaining hope it might have of holding onto the reins of power. Fearing the power they were unleashing the Labor Council sought to limit the strike to a stay-at-home protest, forbidding rallies, meetings and demonstrations. The heavily immigrant Wollongong workforce staged one of the few demonstrations across the state that day.

For the NSW Labor Council, the one-day strike was endgame, a protest days before the legislation passed. For revolutionaries, the general strike showed the enormous social power of the working class. This power needed to be harnessed in a fight to reverse the widespread capitalist attacks and to begin an offensive against capitalism in decay. A revolutionary alternative in the unions would have fought for mass militant picket lines to defeat attempts at scabberding and for democratically elected strike committees to run the strike and provide the greatest degree of organisation. In a general strike that is fought to win, the working class must first assert its primacy over production. By doing so it must also begin to enforce its ability to organise society as a whole by organising transport and communications, food distribution and health care, etc, for itself and its allies during the strike. While revolutionaries seek to heighten working class consciousness of its ability and need to rule, the ALP tops promote false consciousness and shackle the workers to the capitalist state.

## Smash Arbitration! For Hard Class Struggle!

In the lead-up to the strike the Labor Council promoted the existing Arbitration system as the alternative to Greiner's anti-union law. The Arbitration system, whereby the courts of the capitalist state regulate the unions, in every sphere from the conduct of strikes to the election of union officials and the disbursement of union funds, is the sacred cow of the Laborites, who make the system work. Today there is a whole generation of union officials whose only experience of "struggle" is within the sterile confines of Her Majesty's courtrooms. The capitalist state is not neutral! The state of the law is a reflection of the class struggle. To win significant and lasting victories the unions need to defy the bosses' rules, rip up the court orders and injunctions and wage hard class struggle. The whole system of Arbitration needs to be smashed! Ironically for the Labor Council the general strike showed how to do it. On 15 October the NSW Industrial Commission banned participation in the general strike by government employees. These workers thumbed their noses at the court and struck anyway and in face of union power the court and the



Sydney, 22 March: protest (right) against racist incarceration and deportation of Cambodians at Villawood Detention Centre (above). Down with racist White Australia immigration laws!



ASp photos

be a generalised struggle for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to spread the available work around and for big wage hikes to make up for the years of wage cutting by the capitalists and the ALP government.

## Unions Must Defend All the Oppressed!

The most vulnerable are made to bear the brunt of capitalism's crisis. The rate of female unemployment, officially quoted at 10.1 percent, has been cynically and artificially shrunk by the government, through discouraging people whose spouses are working from registering. At the same time already threadbare child care places have been slashed. In the last period there has been an explosive growth of non-unionised, part-time and casual jobs almost exclusively occupied by women who are savagely exploited by the bosses.

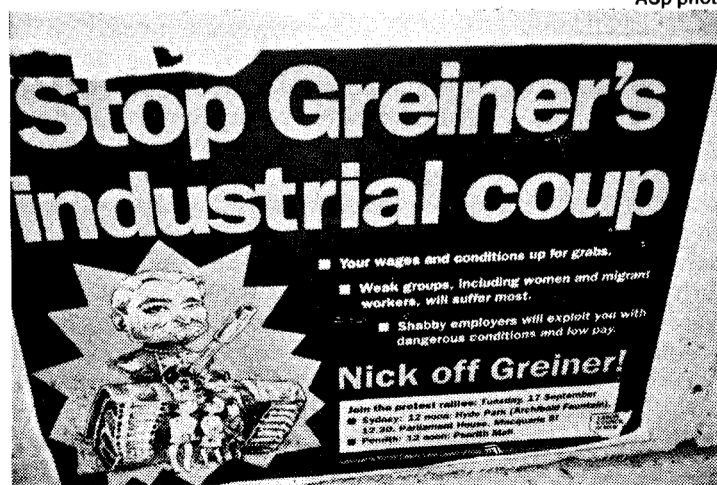
The ALP government abolished the dole for under-eighteens, forcing them to stay at schools which are becoming little more than overcrowded holding pens for teenagers. Youth unemployment (15 to 19 years) stood at 32.7 percent in February and in working class areas it's double that. In the NSW steel city of Wollongong youth unemployment is 55 percent! Now, former Communist Party official and Metalworkers Union leader, Laurie Carmichael, chief architect of the ALP-ACTU Accord, has authored a new plan for slashing youth wages. The scheme envisages paying apprentices and other trainees according to "productivity instead of age" (*Australian*, 11 March). Its authors estimate that youth wages would fall so far as to have to be

Dawkins has called for cutting immigration levels by half. The ALP left's immigration minister, Gerry Hand, boasts that his department has rounded-up a record number of "illegal" immigrants in their factory sweeps. The ACTU calls for slashing immigration in order to divert anger from their own complicity in massive job-shedding by the capitalists.

Union bureaucrats and ALP lefts like Victorian premier, Joan Kirner, are calling for increased tariff protection, seeking to blame Japanese, Korean and other Asian workers for the economic crisis of the Australian bosses. In late March Keating and Dawkins set about portraying their government as the defender of jobs through the maintenance of protection for "vulnerable" industries. This protectionist poison is fatal to working class struggle. Protectionism doesn't defend jobs—it's racist and seeks to line up the workers behind their own

strike against the Greiner government's draconian industrial relations bill. The legislation outlaws strikes while lengthy "grievance procedures" are carried out, all solidarity strikes, "preference to unionists" in awards and industrial agreements, political donations by unions except under strict conditions, and restricts union officials' right of entry to workplaces for purposes of recruitment or checking for suspected breaches of conditions. Massive new penalties have been imposed, including sequestration of union funds and fines of up to \$100,000 per day for a union and \$10,000 per day for an individual. The bill also removes all restrictions on daily working hours by providing that the maximum hours should be 40 per week averaged over 52 weeks.

The NSW Labor Council's strike call was eagerly heeded by almost a million workers. From the post offices to the bus depots to the car plants with their



ASp photo

TLC poster depicts Greiner as Stalinist coup-plotter in attempt to line up workers behind Yeltsin's pro-capitalist counter-coup in the Soviet Union.

government both announced they had neither the intention nor the capacity to enforce the ruling.

From the time the legislation was first proposed the TLC bureaucrats' strategy was to pander to the reactionary Call to Australia Party of Fred Nile, in the futile hope that they would block the legislation. Increasingly they found themselves caught in a contradiction. Whilst cravenly loyal to the capitalist system, they were confronted by mounting pressure from their base to act as well fearing for their own cosy jobs. The strike was called for 15 October, then postponed "in the national interest" because that day the International Olympic Committee was assessing Sydney's bid to host the games in 2000. For the federal and state governments and the bosses the Olympics spell profits. The "national interest" so beloved of the ALP leaders is the interests of the capitalist rulers. It spells racism, depression and war.

### TLC Brings Yeltsinite Counterrevolution Home

The most reactionary strike propaganda issued by the TLC bureaucrats was a poster demanding "Stop Greiner's Industrial Relations Coup," portraying Greiner as an authoritarian dictator and evoking images of the botched Stalinist coup in the Soviet Union the month before. Easson, who told the *Australian* (21 October 1991) "I'd rather think of myself as Boris Yeltsin," wants to line the working class up behind the Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The Spartacist League stood for dispersing the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades last August as the opening shot in the struggle for proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union.

To be sure Easson has plenty of reasons to admire Yeltsin. Yeltsin is spearheading the imperialist drive to restore capitalism to the Soviet Union while Easson, the trade union bureaucrat, attempts to police the working class on behalf of his imperialist masters here. And they have some common "advisers." During his reactionary countercoup Yeltsin had a hot line to the White House, while Easson comes from a long line of ALP officials who enjoy the favour of the CIA. Chief amongst these was ex-prime minister Hawke himself, who counts George Bush as a "personal friend" going back to Bush's time as CIA director.

For all the desire of the ALP tops to breed pessimism and despair in the workers with their "Communism is Dead" claptrap, the breadth of support for the NSW general strike indicates that the multinational proletariat here are not buying the "magic" of capitalism. Hard class struggle in the imperialist heartlands can thwart the imperialists' ambitions to dismember the Soviet Union. This in turn would serve as a mighty impetus to Soviet workers in their struggle to defend the social gains embodied in the Soviet degenerated workers state. *For workers political revolution in the Soviet Union!*

The historic bankruptcy of Stalinism has brought the world's first successful workers revolution to the edge of the abyss. What is urgently required is a revolutionary leadership of the working class. The International Communist League has set itself this task. In the Soviet Union our small forces are struggling tooth and nail against the counterrevolution and to build a new Bolshevik Party to lead the Soviet proletariat in struggle to defend and extend the gains of October; in Australia we are fighting to split the workers from the pro-capitalist tops of the ALP and build a revolutionary workers party to carry out a social revolution from top to bottom. Only workers rule across the globe can avert a catastrophe for humanity and lay the foundations for a decent future and material plenty in a socialist world. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■



London Express News Service



Bulletin

## The English Queen ... and the Lizard of Oz

After finally succeeding in ousting Bob Hawke from the Lodge late last year Paul Keating faced a big problem. The new Labor prime minister was loathed by the working people who hold him directly responsible for a near decade of grinding austerity, union busting and depression-level unemployment. So in his own words he has pulled the "switch to vaudeville" and emerged as a born again republican and "aggressive" Australian.

At a reception in February for the English Queen, Elizabeth II, Keating laid his hand in the vicinity of the aged monarch's *derriere*. Presumably Keating was not motivated by the *amour* of the Empire-loyalist Menzies who, in the 1950s, declared "I did but see her passing by, and yet I love her till I die." Nonetheless, the British gutter press went nuts at this "wild colonial boy's" over-familiarity with the person of this most sacred of English sacred cows and dubbed the PM the "Lizard of Oz." Top local tory John Hewson added that he thought the boy from Bankstown showed a lack of "respect."

Keating retaliated:

"I learned [at school] about self-respect and self-regard for Australia—not about some cultural cringe to a country which decided not to defend the Malayan Peninsula, not to worry about Singapore and not to give us our troops back to keep ourselves free from Japanese domination."

—Age, 28 February.

His minders calculated that this would go down well with youth, the working class and the huge post-WWII non-English population who at best see Australian fealty to Elizabeth II as a bizarre anachronism. The ties that bind Australia to the English monarchy are an outrageous affront to the working class and the most elementary democratic

sentiment. But Keating's "aggressively Australian" posture is reactionary. He is expressing the strategic interests of Australian capitalism and the gut white racism that is the one true article of Laborite faith.

Taking his lead from Bush during last year's media blitz surrounding the Pearl Harbour anniversary, Keating used a commemoration of the bombing of Darwin to demand that Japan "apologise" for the temerity of dropping bombs on Australian soil. While whipping up anti-Japanese chauvinism Keating reaffirmed the centrality of the U.S. alliance.

Integral to the nationalism of Australian imperialism is a white colonial settler pig mentality and evocations of military prowess. Founded on the genocidal wars and total dispossession of the Aboriginal population, the slavish loyalty of the Australian capitalist class to the British empire meant sending workers to be slaughtered in huge numbers on far-away imperial battlefields. This was blood money for British defence of Australia against invasion from the dreaded "Asian hordes." The Australian bourgeoisie has never fought a war on its own. To this day the Libyan masses remember the Australian troops as the most racist, rapacious thugs of all the imperialist armies that countermarched across their land during WWII. Could anyone imagine Keating today apologising for that? When Australian imperialism and its Big Brother allies win it is put down to the heroics of the ANZACs. When they lose whingeing and whining about the superior imperialism's command is the order of the day. Churchill may have duplicitously decided to cut his losses over Singapore and Malaya, but you don't hear too much about the

Australian divisional commander, Major-General HG Bennett who slipped out on a flying boat leaving his troops behind.

When Japan's armies took Singapore in 1941 the Australian bourgeoisie and then-Labor prime minister John Curtin drew a fundamental lesson—U.S. imperialism would be the indispensable life-line for the defence of fortress White Australia. Australia became the U.S.'s key regional cop in the Cold War against the Soviet workers state and rushed troops to fight against social revolutions in Korea and Vietnam. Keating's wife Annita may not curtsy to the Queen but her husband bows and scrapes before the U.S. Big Brother. Within days of Keating's "Churchill betrayed us" speech it was revealed that the Air Force base at Tindal outside Darwin was being rapidly expanded to accommodate U.S. Air Force units transferred from the Philippines.

In 1975 Labor prime minister Gough Whitlam, his government the object of a concerted CIA destabilisation campaign, threatened to expose the role of the top secret U.S. spy bases. The Queen's man and more importantly the CIA's man, Governor General John Kerr, dismissed the elected government. Utterly committed to the institutions of the capitalist state, including the constitutional powers invested in the Queen, the ALP tops preached loyalty to the parliamentary process rather than let an enraged working class get "out of hand." The events of 1975 illustrated how the constitutional monarchy in Britain and here could be used in some future crisis to bestow "legitimacy" on the establishment of a reactionary, possibly military regime to defend the capitalist order.

The attachment of local Tories to British "values" and the monarchy flows from the same class outlook that leads British capitalism to maintain an expensive anachronism that should have been abolished centuries ago and once was with a headman's axe. The English monarchy is a deeply ideological assertion of gross social privilege and rigid social hierarchy in which proletarian class struggle is meant to be the ultimate unnatural act. For their part the Laborites have generally embraced the "magic of the monarchy" as testimony to their commitment to capitalism—witness the career of Bill Hayden, once ALP leader and supporter of an Australian "republic," now the Queen's viceroy in Canberra.

Revolutionaries demand: Down with the monarchy! But our goal of a multi-racial workers republic stands in class opposition to Keating's drive for racist Australian capitalism to engage more directly in the superexploitation of the Asian masses under the imperialist yoke. Our Trotskyist perspective is to build a fighting socialist labour movement that will sweep away racist White Australia capitalism and establish a planned economy throughout this region. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

## Racist Cops...

(continued from page 16)

mobilisations to smash this racist terror. A small but important example of this type of action was given by building workers who downed tools to join the protest march in 1988 against the blatant murder of David Gundy. Nine years of the Hawke and now Keating Labor governments have brought untold misery, union-busting and racist terror. Hard class struggle in defence of unions and conditions must be tied to the defence of Aborigines and all minorities. But bringing working class power to bear requires the leadership of a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle to break workers from the racist, pro-capitalist Laborite misleaders.

In 1987 we uniquely warned that the

Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody would be a white-wash. We knew this because, as Marxists, we understand the racist capitalist state will defend its own. The \$30 million, three-year Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody endorsed police and coroner verdicts in all 99 cases from John Pat to Lloyd Boney. *Not one killer cop was ever put behind bars!* 28 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders have died in custody since the Royal Commission's final report in May last year (*Koorie Mail*, 11 March). And according to the Sydney University-based Institute of Criminology, in the four years since the Royal Commission began the level of Aboriginal imprisonment has risen by 25 percent nationally (for Aboriginal women it was 63 percent), a staggering 70 percent in Victoria and 80 percent in NSW!

The reformist left started pleading for a Royal Commission as far back as 1983 with the death of John Pat in police custody in WA. Still preaching reliance on the capitalist state, they now demand implementation of the Royal Commission's recommendations, as if this would end racism. They are promoting a deadly illusion. Racist state terror can only be eliminated by overthrowing the capitalist state itself! The working class in fighting racist terror must fight for the integration of blacks, for full equality in work, education, political and legal rights. This goes hand in hand with the fight for socialist revolution. The key is forging an internationalist, multi-racial workers party, the tribune of all the oppressed, to lead the seizure of power and put an end to racist terrorism once and for all. Smash Australian Apartheid! ■



## Recession, Racism, Rampant Reaction

# Keating's ALP: Enemy of the Workers!

### Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

What do Boris Yeltsin, NSW Liberal premier Nick Greiner and NSW Labor Council secretary Michael Easson have in common? Answer: they all love Boris Yeltsin. This is not a joke. The working class is under all-sided assault from the bosses and the Labor government, suffering mass layoffs and threats to the existence of the unions themselves. But the misleaders of the working class in the ALP and ACTU are busy making common cause with their imperialist masters who are sponsoring the forces of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. Last October, when the NSW Labor Council launched a one-day general strike against the Greiner government's draconian new industrial relations legislation, both the left and right wing bureaucrats tried to outdo Greiner in their support for the Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

From the U.S. to Australia Bush's "New World Order" spells record unemployment, plummeting wages and immiseration for workers, the poor and oppressed minorities unequalled since the Great Depression. A new, worldwide imperialist slaughter is being prepared as the three great imperialist powers, the U.S., Germany and Japan, form trading blocs and compete to redivide the world. Contrary to the "Death of Communism" triumphalism of the imperialists, the fate of the Soviet Union is far from decided. Yeltsin's attempts to bring the capitalist "free market" to the Soviet Union have met with strikes and mass protests. Thus far the various



Union picketers battle cops during Camperdown meatworker's militant struggle against the use of union-busting contract labour last year.

counterrevolutionary governments have been unable to cohere a reliable machinery for the formation of a capitalist state. And their imperialist patrons have their own problems. From Europe to the U.S. to the mini-imperialist backwater of Australia the capitalist economies are sinking into ever deeper recession and the class struggle refuses to lay down and die.

### Keating Labor Government Wages War on Workers

Hawke's ALP came to power in 1983 promising to be U.S. imperialism's loyal ally in anti-Soviet Cold War II and to

use its "special relationship" with the unions to bolster the bosses' profits by holding down wages. On both counts Hawke surpassed all expectations. Under the class-collaborationist Accord, industrial disputes dropped to the lowest level in decades. When anyone got out of line the ALP government, assisted by the ACTU, carried out open union-busting—the BLF in 1986, the pilots in 1989.

Now Hawke has been dumped in favour of Keating, with his snake-oil salesman's promise of an "economic blueprint for the future." The name's changed but the game's the same. Keat-

ing's "One Australia" plan contains an economic placebo and a potent dose of populist nationalism as his reactionary cure for the deepening recession. The ALP/ACTU continue to push their corporatist "Australia Reconstructed" scheme to save Australian capitalism. It envisages the creation of 20 conglomerate business unions, and demands the deepening of "award restructuring" which has already gutted union conditions of decades-long standing. Enough is enough! It's desperately necessary to fight! The ALP traitors must be dumped and a revolutionary workers party built  
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## Racist Killer Cops

### For Union/Black Mobilisations to Smash Racist Terror!

"[It] just brings all the pain back and the tears.... Ever since I lost Lloyd, I worry about my other sons. I cringe every time I see a police van" (*Australian*, 14-15 March). Priscilla Boney's anguished remarks came after the national screening of scenes from a video of a police charity party in 1989, showing two laughing, beer swilling cops from Bourke, NSW, with blackened faces and hangman's nooses around their necks obscenely mocking the deaths of Aborigines David Gundy and Priscilla's son Lloyd. Lloyd Boney died in the police lockup in Brewarrina in 1987. David Gundy was shot dead in his bed by members of a SWOS team in Sydney in 1989.

In response to the furore caused by the video Prime Minister Keating blath-

ered about "vowing to eliminate racism." But the state apparatus Keating presides over is racist to its core, as was laid bare when the president of the NSW Police Association proudly proclaimed "I have become a racist" (*Age*, 14 March 1992). Days later, at Duntroon military college, four officer cadets solidarised with the Bourke cops' celebration of murderous racism by going in blackface with nooses around their necks to a cocktail party.

The racist home video was screened barely a week after an ABC documentary, "Cop It Sweet," caused widespread outrage over police harassment of Aborigines living in the inner-Sydney suburb of Redfern. Made with police approval, it showed cops routinely threatening Aborigines and Asians and using vile

racist epithets. This was the "boys in blue" on their *best* behaviour! A spate of other racist incidents suddenly made the news, including the racist exclusion of Mandawuy Yunupingu, of the renowned Aboriginal band Yothu Yindi, from the yuppie Catani Bar in Melbourne's St Kilda. Trades Hall Council secretary and ALP honcho, John Halfpenny, threatened bans on the Catani Bar. He did nothing. Spartacist supporters joined an angry 100-strong picket organised by local Aborigines the next day. In Brisbane, prominent Aboriginal leader Don Davidson had his home firebombed by racists for the third time in five weeks.

Worried about their international standing—even the U.S. State Department condemned Australia's treatment of Aborigines—Keating issued pious words about changing "19th century attitudes" towards Aborigines. But both federal and state governments provide worse than 19th century conditions for Aborigines, who suffer appalling living and health conditions and systematic social and economic exclusion. In many areas Aboriginal unemployment is 95 percent! Keating is turning a blind eye to the draconian legislation his ALP colleagues in WA recently passed, which

provides for mandatory sentences for convicted youth and indeterminate jail sentences for "serious and repeat offenders." This legislation targets Aboriginal kids, who comprise 66 percent of the state's detained youth population.

The state's real response to the latest outrages is captured by the continuing racist persecution of Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates (see article page two). The "liberal" establishment *Sydney Morning Herald* on 6 March defended the racist state apparatus, warning against an "overreaction," describing Redfern police actions in "Cop It Sweet" as "probably the best that can be hoped for." Three days later, Redfern cops burst into a flat with guns drawn, terrorising an Aboriginal mother and five children. Aboriginal residents confront a reign of cop terror. Youth particularly have been targeted, including with humiliating strip searches and instances where cops have locked terrorised youths in the boots of cars.

After riot cops rampaged through black Redfern like Nazi stormtroopers in 1988 the Spartacist League organised the only protest, at Sydney University, raising the call for labour/black  
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