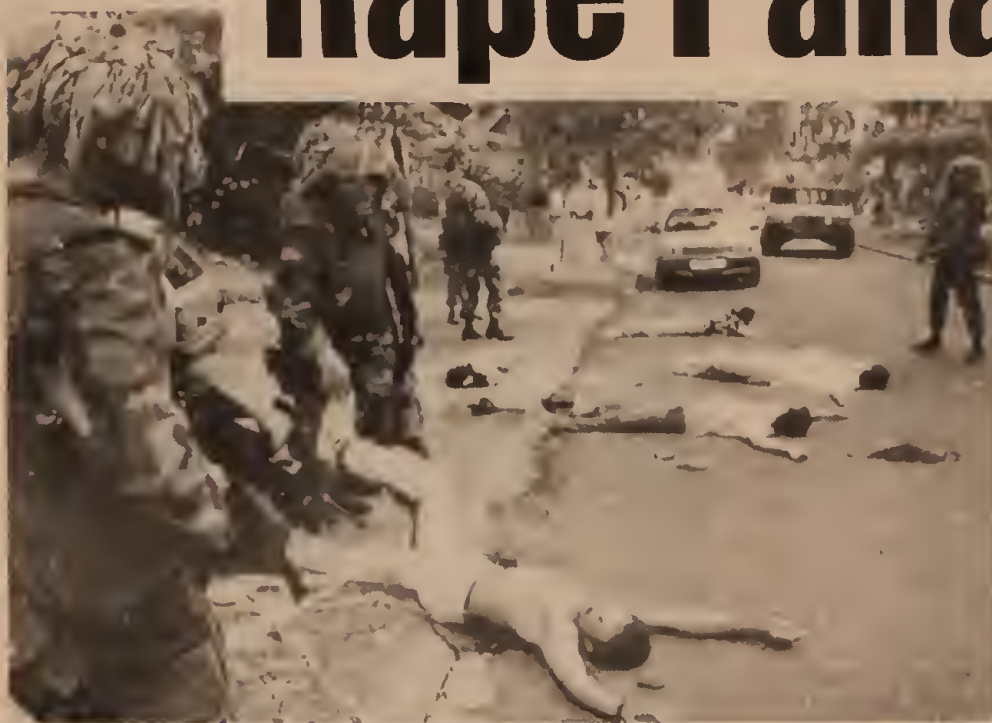


U.S. Troops Out, Now—All of Them!

Yankee Imperialists Rape Panama



AP Photos

"Free world democracy." U.S. invaders "detain suspects" (above), as Panama City burns after American bombing.

It was Teddy Roosevelt and the Big Stick all over again, complete with a puppet Panamanian president "sworn in" at a U.S. military base, and a servile "yellow" press worthy of a William

Randolph Hearst. Washington said it went in to restore democracy, protect American lives and apprehend a dangerous criminal. To "restore democracy," they imposed martial law and erected

concentration camps. To "protect lives," they obliterated entire neighborhoods and dumped the corpses in mass graves. And in the Big Lie spirit of Hitler's propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, they called it

"Operation Just Cause." Recalling the Orwellian doublespeak of the Vietnam War, one Panamanian engineer remarked bitterly, "The country is being destroyed to save it." A university lecturer said, "If I was a military man, I'd go to the mountains, not because I support Noriega, but because of the nation. It's like being raped."

Egged on by the Democrats for his failure to send troops in to salvage the miserable coup fiasco last October, this was George Bush's way of saying, "I'm no wimp." To score a victory on the cheap, the spineless Rantobos in Washington threw 26,000 troops against the minuscule Panamanian Defense Forces and Noriega's Dignity Battalions. And even with three times as many troops as the whole of Panama could muster, with columns of tanks, with helicopter gunships and high-tech Stealth fighters, it still took the Americans days to "win."

As they rode roughshod over the Panamanian people, the Yankee invaders carried out one war provocation after another. With its death squad regime in El Salvador unable to score a win against the leftist rebels, with its contra killers and rapists incapable of posing any sort of challenge to Sandinista Nicaragua, Washington decided to wage war against Cuban and Nicaraguan diplomats in Panama City. U.S. troops blockaded the Cuban and Nicaraguan embassies, kidnapped two Cuban diplomats and ran-

continued on page 13

East Berlin Protest Against Fascist Desecration of Soviet War Memorial

250,000 Say: No Nazis in East Germany!

Special Supplement
See Pages 7-10





WW Photo

Comrade Vincent

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

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

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

— International Executive Committee,
International Communist League
8 January 1990



TROTSKY

Lenin on the German Social Democracy

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



LENIN

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

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

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

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

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



Spartakist

Spartakist Gruppen banner at East Berlin's Treptower Park, January 3, reads: "For a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe!"

Spartakist Gruppen Speaker:

"March Separately, Strike Together!"

At the January 3 demonstration against neo-Nazi desecrations of the graves of Soviet soldiers in East Berlin (see pages 7-10), a Spartakist Gruppen spokesman addressed the rally. His remarks are translated from the 4 January issue of *Arbeiterkampf*, published by our comrades of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*.

Anti-fascists of Berlin,

We are here today to condemn the desecration of the memorial to Soviet soldiers. We must now consider what we can do against the neo-Nazi scourge. We must build a broad united front of all working people. We cannot stand idly by and wait until a *Verfassungsschutz* [Office for the Protection of the Constitution] is founded. No *Verfassungsschutz* in the world has yet been able to stop the Brown

Plague. What we need is a broad organization of the working masses, the masses of working people of the whole nation. They must organize themselves in soviets, in workers and soldiers councils.

We need the united front just as we needed it in the '30s against Hitler. And we now have a historic opportunity to build this united front. And all political forces, all anti-fascist political forces must be represented in this united front. Remember Lenin's slogan: March separately, strike together! We must build a genuine workers democracy. Only that can root out fascism. We need a party in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! We must extend the social gains of our revolution so that we can survive in our country. For a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Jorge Ramirez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co. 41 Warren Street New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions \$7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 493

12 January 1990

As Solidarność Cracks the Whip Against Polish Workers... Walesa's "Left" Fans Run for Cover

Eight years ago, almost every self-declared "Trotskyist" organization in the West took the imperialists' Cold War rallying cry of "Solidarity with Solidarność" as their own. They heralded Solidarność as a glorious uprising of the Polish working people against Stalinist "totalitarianism," as an example for the American labor movement, as the inspiration for revolutionary struggle around the globe, *ad nauseam*. The international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]) stood virtually alone in recognizing Solidarność for what it was—"a company union for the CIA and bankers."

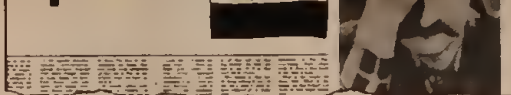
Walesa & Co. hardly kept their program for capitalist restoration a secret. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarność opposed any mention of "socialism" in its constitution, while taking up the CIA call for "free trade unions" and "free elections" in the Soviet bloc and demanding that Poland join the bloodsucking International Monetary Fund. Lane Kirkland, the hardline Cold Warrior who heads the AFL-CIO, was invited to attend. So was Irving Brown, the CIA's main "labor" operative in smashing Communist-led unions in Europe after World War II.

A month after the Solidarność congress, Lech Walesa secretly met with top American corporate executives at a posh restaurant outside Paris (see "Friends of Lech Walesa, Inc.," WV No. 296, 8 January 1982). Meanwhile Solidarność was getting millions through various CIA conduits, including the German Social Democracy and the AFL-

Bulletin

—2 January 1981

Lech Walesa speaks:



David North's *Bulletin*, 1981, hailed IMF/CIA front man Walesa as savior of 10 million Polish workers. Now, Workers League political bandits bury their history...again.

Bulletin

—15 December 1989

White House Backs Stalinist Repression

against workers

The political consequences of this procapitalist economic program were most clearly voiced this week by Lech Walesa, who has become the principal spokesman for turning Poland over to the Western banks. In a speech December 12 in Gdansk, Walesa called for the Solidarity-led government to be driven

leading for Solidarność. Not surprisingly the award for the most consummate hypocrisy and cynicism in this endeavor has to go to David North's Workers League.

An editorial in the *Bulletin* (15 December 1989) entitled "Eastern European Revolutions Threaten World Capitalism" warns against the "program of capitalist restoration and mass impoverishment... imposed through the joint collaboration of the sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialist stooges like Lech Walesa." But a few years back, under the heading "Lech Walesa Speaks," the *Bulletin* (2 January 1981) rhapsodized over this imperialist stooge as a veritable working-class savior: the "son of a carpenter," who "had to live in a tiny two-room flat...with his wife and five children" but now "leads of [sic] union

leader Ernest Mandel as "an agent of capitalist restoration" who is "absolutely hostile to questions of political principle" for his support to Solidarność! When the Northites talk about "political principle," hold on to your wallet! The Workers League has consistently stood on the side of every and any force hostile to the Soviet Union from Walesa to the ayatollah Khomeini to the CIA's Afghan *mujahedin*. Vitriolic Russia-haters, the Healy/Northites hailed the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime in 1979, as only one among many of their paid services for a variety of Middle East despots.

The Pope's "Trotskyists"

Of course the USec took a back seat to no one in its enthusing over Solidarność. Mandel called Walesa & Co. "the best socialists in the world," while the U.S. Mandelites in Socialist Action were so inspired by Walesa that they took the Solidarność logo as the masthead for their paper. In a 1984 speech to commemorate the birth of Solidarność, Socialist Action's Larry Cooperman declared, "For us, Polish Solidarity has been and is a reminder of the 'socialism we want'" (*Socialist Action*, October 1984). Now we read that "Walesa steps in to direct attacks on Polish workers" (*Socialist Action*, September 1989).

In yet another American Mandelite group, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, support to Solidarność seems to be causing some friction today. In the December 1989 *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, an article by Samuel Adams chafes that FIT leader Steve Bloom "tends to make light of Solidarity's rightward thrust." "Let's Not Forget the Role of the Masses," replies Bloom, dismissing Solidarność' program for capitalist restoration as "a purely abstract possibility raised by Mazowiecki in his public pronouncements!"

The bottom line for Walesa's "left"

enthusiasts was "ten million Polish workers can't be wrong." Like their support to the ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic revolution"—which they also now seek to deny—they couldn't resist Solidarność because it too was a "mass movement." Above all, support for Solidarność was the ideal calling card for getting hired on as waterboys by the anti-Communist U.S. labor bureaucracy.

Spouting revolutionary jargon does not a revolutionary make. Those incapable of swimming against the stream when the masses are intoxicated with backward consciousness will not be capable of leading them to victory when a revolutionary opportunity arises. As we wrote at the time of Solidarność' first national congress:

"The choices facing revolutionaries over Poland in the absence of a mass Trotskyist vanguard are not attractive even if they are clear. Abstentionism is not a choice; it is backhanded support to counterrevolution. No less a danger is abandoning the perspective of struggle for the conscious factor in history, for the international proletarian vanguard."

—"Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!" (WV No. 289, 23 September 1981)

Today there is an opening for common struggle between the workers who were the base of Solidarność and those in the much larger, formerly Stalinist-led trade unions against the unholy gang of Stalinist bureaucrats and Solidarność leaders who are controlled by the bloodsucking international capitalists of the IMF. While necessarily beginning around immediate economic demands for survival, what is posed implicitly is a working-class struggle for political power. What is desperately needed, as we wrote eight years ago, is a genuine Trotskyist leadership "reforged in a reborn Fourth International by revolutionaries who defended the gains of October when the danger was near, the situation complex and need for programmatic clarity and backbone urgent." ■



Socialist Action

—October 1984

Polish Solidarity sets example for U.S. labor movement



Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein (left) joined with anti-Communists in December 1981 rally for Solidarność.

CIO "International Department" (see "AFL-CIA and Solidarność," WV No. 490, 24 November 1989). The tapes of the secret Radom leadership meeting in December 1981, publicly broadcast by the Jaruzelski regime, exposed Solidarność' plans for a counterrevolutionary coup.

Our call to "Stop Solidarność Counter-revolution!" provoked howls of outrage from the left. Now Walesa openly brags, "We are setting out...to return to the prewar situation when Poland was a capitalist country, after having gone through a long period of socialism" (*Il Messaggero*, 22 August 1989). Cracking the whip for Western bankers the Solidarity-led government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has begun to slash wages and subsidies for food, housing and social services—the price of coal for home heating has already been jacked up by 600 percent! Whole industries are to be dismantled, with up to one million workers laid off. If Walesa, Mazowiecki & Co. got their way, conditions of life in Poland would make Ceausescu's Romania look tame by comparison.

So now Walesa's former "left" fans are trying to bury their years of cheer-

of 10 million workers which has...the bureaucracy trembling in its boots."

Today Walesa's program is "capitalist restoration and mass impoverishment." But when Solidarność decisively took the road of capitalist restoration at its first congress, the *Bulletin* (15 September 1981) crowed "Poland: On the Road to Political Revolution" and heralded "an undaunted, young, vigorous and independent trade union movement—the strongest in Eastern Europe—Solidarity."

Now the *Bulletin* asks "What Is Lane Kirkland Doing in Poland?" and points out that "Kirkland's specific assignment on behalf of the White House is to set up a CIA-run trade-union bureaucracy to brutally suppress the struggles of Polish workers." But in 1981 they somehow "neglected" to mention that Kirkland was invited to the Solidarność congress. Even now the Northites' German outfit, the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter, damns the Trozkyistische Liga Deutschlands for "slander[ing] the mass movement of the working class in Solidarność as a 'company union for the CIA'" (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, 15 December 1989)!

Meanwhile the Australian Northite press is attacking United Secretariat



New York, September 1981 Spartacist League demonstration at Solidarność office: exposing Solidarność as company union for CIA and Wall Street.

Vietnam Withdraws From Cambodia

U.S., China Arm Pol Pot Butchers

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

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

But the Cambodian people will never countenance the return of the monster Pol Pot, nor will the Vietnamese masses give up the revolutionary gains which they won through 40 years of struggle against one after another imperialist power. After ten years of Vietnamese assistance, Cambodia can today claim a standing army of 40,000, supported by a 100,000-strong militia. Vietnam boasts one of the largest and most combat-tested armies in the world. And they will fight to the death before they allow the im-

Der Spiegel



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

Independent (London)



Phanvut/AFP

Phnom Penh, 26 September 1989: the last Vietnamese soldiers leave Cambodia.

perialist marauders and their genocidal puppets to once again wreak havoc on their land. Working people the world over are indebted to the heroic Vietnamese people, whose victory over U.S. imperialism in 1975 still haunts the American rulers when they contemplate another full-scale invasion, this time in Central America. That debt must be repaid by fighting the counterrevolutionary intrigues of the U.S. and its Cambodian contras.

Vietnamese Intervention Gave Cambodia a Future!

The Vietnamese Stalinists went into Cambodia out of a sense of self-preservation, but in doing so rescued the Khmer people from barbarism and rebuilt the country. After the peasant-based Khmer Rouge guerrilla army of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary smashed the ramshackle U.S.-hacked regime of Lon Nol in April 1975, it created a grotesquely misnamed "Democratic Kampuchea," a barbaric nightmare which was not even a hideously deformed version of a workers state. The ultranationalist Pol Pot/Ieng Sary clique proceeded to seal off the country and carry out the brutal, total and immediate depopulation of the cities. Most of the economic infrastructure of a modern society that existed was abandoned or destroyed and the educated strata and small working class necessary to operate it were deported to become rural slave labor. Factories, schools, hospitals, markets were shut down, even currency was abolished.

The Khmer Rouge immediately began attacking Vietnam and ethnic Vietnamese

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

Today Phnom Penh has grown from a ghost town to a real city of 800,000 with

Allen/Washington Post

Pol Pot's lesser partners, Bush's assets in war against Phnom Penh/Hanoi. Son Sann (left); "Peacock Prince" Norodom Sihanouk (right).



AP

bustling markets full of goods. Agricultural output, which involves 80 percent of the population, has increased dramatically. Rice production alone has quadrupled since 1979, with last year's harvest of 2.7 million tons almost matching that of 1969. In 1979, only 45 of the country's 450 doctors remained; since then, more than 350 new doctors have been trained, as well as 550 medical assistants. A high school in Tuol Seng, which was transformed by Pol Pot into a torture center where some 20,000 people were put to death, is today a "holocaust museum" in memory of the victims.

In *Kampuchea—Punishing the Poor* (1988), Oxfam aid worker Eva Mysliwec describes the enormous strides forward by the Kampuchean people in the area of education since the Vietnamese went in: "Of the 22,000 teachers in the country at the beginning of 1970, only 7,000 remained in 1979 and only 5,000 of them returned to teaching. Since then more than 50,000 teachers have been trained and retrained in the new teacher training centres located in each province." The government places particular emphasis on "education of minorities and the development of minority regions, especially along the more remote northeastern areas

bordering Laos and Vietnam." Children through the age of 13 are guaranteed universal primary education. And by 1987 fully 83 percent of the adult population had become functionally literate, the result of two massive literacy campaigns mobilizing teachers, the women's association, the youth corps and trade unions. In one of the poorest countries in the world, this is a tremendous achievement.

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

U.S.: "Bleed Vietnam White"

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

General Van Tien Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnamese People's Army and commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975, tells in his memoirs, *Our Great Spring*

Victory, of the forces arrayed against Vietnam:

"At the height of their invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. had used 60 percent of their total infantry, 58 percent of their marines, 32 percent of their tactical air force, 50 percent of their strategic air force, fifteen of their eighteen aircraft carriers, 800,000 American troops (counting those stationed in satellite countries who were taking part in the Vietnam war), and more than 1 million Saigon troops. They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over \$300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

The American ruling class has never reconciled itself to the humiliating, stinging defeat it suffered at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in April 1975. It set out to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution by starving the people into submission. Washington promptly reneged on \$3.25 billion in war reparations it had agreed to give Vietnam in the 1973 Paris Peace Accords. Subsequently, the U.S. imposed a full-scale economic embargo on Vietnam, pressuring its NATO allies and Japan to go along. In 1987, Washington even put the

continued on page 11

Romania: Mass Revolt Topples Stalinist Dracula

George Bush once called Nicolae Ceausescu "one of Europe's good communists." Ceausescu dubbed himself the "Great Conductor" and ruled over the Romanian working people in the manner of a feudal lord. While the Ceausescu clan huilt themselves luxurious palaces, the Romanian working people were forced to starve and freeze in order to pay off the country's debt to imperialist hankers. Any hint of opposition was brutally suppressed by the inmurderous Securitate secret police. Said one resident of Sibiu after the tyrant's downfall, "When the Securitate's cars were hurned in front of my house I realised it was probably the first time it had been warm in my apartment."

The beginning of the end for Ceausescu came on December 18 in the city of Timisoara, when protesters attempted to block the arrest of Laszlo Tokes, a Protestant pastor who had courageously defended the rights of Romania's oppressed Hungarian minority. The army and Securitate opened fire. Everyone in the first three rows was killed or wounded, according to a doctor who treated the victims. "Everywhere there was blood and torn pieces of clothing."

This latest atrocity drove the long-suffering Romanian people into a desperate uprising. In Timisoara, workers forced the army to withdraw by threatening to blow up a petrochemical factory. Insurgents commandeered two tanks and drove them to the city's center. In the industrial center of Brasov—the scene of worker protests a few years ago—thousands marched on the government headquarters. Mass workers strikes hit the oil-refining center of Ploesti.

While his men were turning Timisoara into a killing field, Ceausescu was on a state visit to Iran, where he paid homage to a kindred spirit, the late ayatollah Khomeini. When he returned to Bucharest and addressed his previously terrorized subjects, the Great Conductor was stunned by chants of "Down with Ceausescu! Down with the killers!" Tens of thousands of unarmed people stormed government buildings. As the Securitate forces shot them down, it looked like another Timisoara massacre in the making. But then the army went over to the side of the anti-Ceausescu rebellion.

While many individual soldiers refused to fire on the demonstrators, what occurred in Romania was not a mutiny



Triumphant demonstrator on the balcony where bloodthirsty tyrant Nicolae Ceausescu made his last public speech. Financial Times

within the army. Rather the generals decided it was time for the Great Conductor to go. Ceausescu had long degraded the professional officer corps as he built the Securitate into a personal praetorian guard. It is said that the core of the Securitate was recruited from orphanages so they would have no family ties to the population they terrorized. While army soldiers spent most of their time doing construction work, the Securitate criminals were lavished with fancy weapons and received intensive combat training.

The army high command rode the mass revolt in reasserting their authority. On December 21, the minister of defense, General Vasil Milea, told Ceausescu he would no longer order his soldiers to fire on the demonstrators. For this act of defiance, Milea was killed by Ceausescu's guards, perhaps even by the psychopathic dictator himself. But his fellow generals would soon have their blood vengeance. A few days later Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, were summarily executed after a secret military tribunal. While the execution deprived the Securitate diehards of any hope of restoring Ceausescu

short of resurrection, it was also intended to dampen the fury of the popular revolt.

The end effect of the upheaval has been to *strengthen* the role of the military in Romanian society. The army is now basking in popular acclaim for destroying the bloodthirsty monster and his henchmen, while the generals and their political allies moved quickly to re-establish a monopoly of armed force. The first proclamation of the self-styled Council of National Salvation stated:

"The army is the only one to possess arms, the firm arm defending the interests of the people. All those who, these days, have come into the possession of arms and ammunition, regardless of the circumstances, have to urgently deliver them by Monday, Dec. 25...."

—*New York Times*
(25 December 1989)

There are also reports of the army protecting the Securitate criminals from popular justice.

The Stalinophobic centrists of the British Workers Power group, no doubt stimulated by the sight of Stalinists' blood flowing in the streets, enthuse over "a real, armed and bloody revolu-

tion." They glorify the revolt against Ceausescu as a great workers revolution, even comparing it to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. "The smashing of the Securitate and the execution of Ceausescu have opened the road for the working class to impose its own rule in Romania," proclaims the *January Workers Power*.

Certainly, the working people of Romania did not rise up only to be ruled by Ceausescu's generals and out-of-favor cronies or, even worse, to restore the old order of King Michael and the fascist Iron Guard. However, at present the working class appears politically atomized and disoriented. No doubt anything looks better—a lot better—than Ceausescu. At the same time, the forces of reaction are strong and active. During the fighting in Bucharest, it was reported that monarchists briefly took over a radio station. The exiled prewar monarch, King Michael, has declared his desire to return to the throne, an offer favorably received by the revived National Christian Peasant Party, whose declared aim is "moral rehabilitation on a Christian and peasant foundation, which for 2,000 years proved to be the Romanian nation's backbone" (*Financial Times*, 27 December 1989).

For the moment the main figures in the Council of National Salvation are Stalinist apparatchiks like Ion Iliescu and Silviu Brucan who for one reason or another fell afoul of Ceausescu. The Communist Party is now talking of dissolving itself entirely, while Ceausescu's former flunkies are violently denouncing Communism and declaring themselves in favor of "free enterprise." But the real power behind the "transitional government" remains the military high command. Of all East European countries, conditions in Romania appear most favorable for military bonapartism. It will be a long, hard road to establish the political power of the working class in Romania, especially since Communism is

continued on page 6



Mass grave in Timisoara, where Ceausescu (above) ordered massacre of unarmed protesters.

Romania...

(continued from page 5)

now widely identified with the nightmarish world of Nicolae Ceausescu.

A Cross Between Stalin and Dracula

If someone had written a novel about a country like Ceausescu's Romania, it would have been considered a wild political satire. He was officially termed the Great Conductor—also "the genius of the Carpathians, the founder of Romanian socialism and that great statesman of the contemporary world." (It brings to mind Prince Vigo, the Dracula-like character in *Ghostbusters II* who proclaims himself "the scourge of Carpathia, the sorrow of Moldavia." Indeed, looking at Ceausescu, one could think of Vigo as Romania's last democrat.) His wife was not only head of the Academy of Sciences but also first deputy prime minister—awaiting her execution, she reportedly chastised the firing squad, claiming that she had treated her people like a mother. One of his brothers was head of the Supreme Political Council of the Armed Forces, another was editor of the Communist Party paper. Ceausescu's son Nicu was a local party boss in Sibiu but better known as a playboy and sometime lover of the country's top international celebrity, gymnast Nadia Comaneci.

The degree of repressive control in Ceausescu's Romania might well have astounded Stalin himself. Every type-writer had to be registered, and a former head of the Securitate who defected to the West claimed there were ten million microphonic bugs hidden in Romanian walls, television sets and ashtrays. People could not move from the city or village in which they lived. Abortion was illegal, and this law was enforced with all the brutal power of a totalitarian police state. It is said that Romania's orphanages were full because families could not afford to raise unwanted children.

In recent years the Romanian economy has come to resemble a poor Third World country just after a devastating natural disaster. The only meat available in state shops was chicken feet and repulsive grey sausage. Homes, factories, offices went unheated in the dead of winter. Each apartment was allowed only one 40-watt light bulb. A Yugoslav, long resident in Timisoara, summed it up: "You can't imagine the misery—no bread, no milk, no meat, no heat, no electricity. You couldn't complain to friends; you couldn't go from city to city" (*New York Times*, 30 December 1989).

Yet there was a method in all this madness. During the past decade Nicolae Ceausescu carried out—with great success—an economic policy similar to the one that Lech Walesa and the Solidarność-led government is trying to impose in Poland in the service of capitalist restoration. In 1981, Ceausescu boasted that the country's \$10.2 billion foreign debt would be paid off by the end of the decade. Last spring he announced his world-historic triumph—but if the debt didn't last out the decade, neither did Ceausescu. For all his vainglorious boasting, Ceausescu was just an agent of Wall Street and the Frankfurt bankers in sucking



VO Press



Der Spiegel

Ceausescu clan built palaces (top) while starving the Romanian workers and peasants to repay Western bankers.

the blood of the working people of Romania.

Ceausescu: The Washington/Tel Aviv Connection

These days U.S. officials and the American media cannot find words strong enough to revile Ceausescu. Washington even invited the Soviet Union to intervene militarily during the fighting. This diplomatic posture was intended not least to legitimize U.S. imperialism's rape of Panama and self-declared role as policeman for "free world" capitalism. (Mitterrand's France even offered to send in "volunteers," reflecting Romania's prewar status as part of French imperialism's sphere of influence.)

Yet for almost two decades Ceausescu was Washington's favorite Stalinist despot, lauded and rewarded for his "independence" from Moscow. In 1975 Romania was granted "most favored nation" trading status, so that it paid tariffs no higher than America's capitalist allies. In 1983 then vice president Bush stated that the "United States will engage in closer political, economic, and cultural relations with those countries such as Hungary and Romania which assert greater openness [!] or independence" (quoted in Paul D. Quinlan, ed., *The United States and Romania* [1988]). Ceausescu even received an

honorary knighthood from Queen Elizabeth in 1978!

With Gorbachev's drive to appease U.S. imperialism in practically all areas of the globe, Ceausescu's usefulness as a maverick East European Stalinist was sharply devalued. In fact, Washington's "special relationship" with the "genius of the Carpathians" became a minor diplomatic embarrassment. Thus in recent years Ceausescu has been displaced in Washington's affections by his comrade in blood, China's Deng Xiaoping.

However, Zionist Israel remained a loyal fan of Ceausescu to the very end, the only government in the world to publicly regret his downfall. For decades Bucharest was the only East European capital which maintained formal diplomatic relations with Israel. Even more important from the Zionists' standpoint, for a reported \$5,000 to \$7,000 a head, Ceausescu encouraged Romanian Jews to emigrate to Israel, while Bucharest became the main way station for Soviet Jewish emigration. Now the chief rabbi of Bucharest is worried that the popular nationalist fervor unleashed by Ceausescu's overthrow could lead to a resurgence of anti-Semitism, especially if fascist émigrés return from exile. Meanwhile, members of the Hungarian minority have expressed concern about the country becoming a clerical-nationalist state under the sway of the Romanian Orthodox priesthood. Given Romania's history, they have good reason to worry.

Revive the Internationalist Tradition of Christian Rakovsky!

East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria all had strong communist traditions which predated the Stalinist perversion. Not so Romania. The pre-World War II Romanian Communist Party was minuscule. In the mid-1930s it numbered only 1,300, of

which over half were Jews and Hungarians, that is, members of the oppressed minorities. At the same time, Romania's indigenous fascist movement—the Iron Guard—was the strongest in any East European country. Of all Nazi Germany's allies, General Antonescu's Romania provided by far the most forces for Operation Barbarossa, Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. "In the far south of the rimland and of Barbarossa's front line, Romanian soldiers and paramilitary fascists massacred Jews without Nazi German encouragement or coaching" (Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* [1988]). In Odessa, Romanian forces machine-gunned 19,000 Ukrainian Jews, doused their bodies with gasoline and burned them. On the home front, the Iron Guard launched savage pogroms against Romanian Jews. Only the counterattack and rapid advance of the Red Army saved the majority of Romanian Jews from the death camps.

Not only Jews but also many ethnic Romanian workers and peasants welcomed the liberation of their country by the Soviet army in 1944. However, Communism in Romania has since come to be identified with the most grotesque of East European Stalinist regimes. But there is more to Romanian history than deranged Stalinists and generals, monarchists and fascists. There is the vision of a workers' Romania represented by the greatest revolutionary Marxist in that country's history, Christian Rakovsky.

A Bulgarian by birth, in the decade before World War I Rakovsky was the principal leader of the Romanian socialist movement and editor of its paper, *Romania Muncitoare* (Workers' Romania). The Russian Revolution of 1905 inspired a mass strike wave in Romania in which Rakovsky played a big role. The Romanian government denounced him as a foreign agitator, a Bulgarian seducer of the Romanian people. To this Rakovsky replied he recognized "no country but the common country of the international proletariat." After two decades of revolutionary activity in the Balkans, Rakovsky joined the Bolshevik Party and was elected to head the new Ukrainian Soviet Republic. His experience of national conflict and oppression in the Balkans prepared him for the task of forging a bastion of soviet power out of the mosaic of nationalities that is the Ukraine, in the very midst of German occupation and civil war.

Later, after Lenin's death, Rakovsky took up the fight against recrudescing Great Russian chauvinism. He was second only to Trotsky in the leadership of the Left Opposition, which fought the Stalinist bureaucracy's usurpation of political power from the working class. These proletarian internationalists fought for a socialist federation of equal nations to put an end once and for all to the bloody nationalist conflicts which had engulfed the Balkans for centuries. It is urgently necessary to revive among the working people of Romania the proletarian internationalist spirit of Christian Rakovsky. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Thurs 5 30-8 00 p.m., Sat 1 00-5 00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues 5 00-9 00 p.m., Sat 11 00 a.m.-2 00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues 6 30-9 00 p.m., Sat 1 00-5 00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York NY Phone (212) 267-1025



Der Spiegel

Ceausescu (left), once Washington's favorite Stalinist despot, pays a friendly visit to president Jimmy Carter in 1978.

East Berlin Protest Against Fascist Desecration of Soviet War Memorial 250,000 Say: No Nazis in East Germany!

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

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

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



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

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

reunification marches, are a deadly serious matter.

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

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

continued on page 8

Trotskyist Addresses SED-Supported Rally

"For a New Workers Party!"

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

Comrades, Anti-fascists:

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

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

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

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

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

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

continued on page 8



TLD speaker at January 3 rally.

New Workers Party...

(continued from page 7)

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is directed centrally against the

Funds Urgently Needed for German Trotskyist Press

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

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

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



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

social democrats and on the terrorist far-right the fascists—are preparing to leap into the breach. All those who hate and fear the spectre of a reunified capitalist "Fourth Reich" must show their concrete support for the German Trotskyist press. There is so little time. Please make donations payable to/send to: Spartacist, P.O. Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 (earmark for "3-L's Fund").

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

East Berlin Protest...

(continued from page 7)

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

came straight from the Third Reich!

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

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

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

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

We brought this call directly to the SED leadership and urged their participation. We indicated that from our contact with sections of the working people in East Berlin after the atrocity, we believed deep anti-fascist and pro-Soviet sentiment could be mobilized by united-front protest. We said we intended to distribute over 100,000 copies of our own call for the protest (see page 8) mostly in working-class areas. In response to criticisms of our call (particularly our "tone" toward the policies of the social democrats), we urged others to issue their own calls and slogans. We solicited endorsements and speakers, including anti-fascist militants from West Germany.

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

At several points during the speech of the TLD's Renate Dahlhaus (see page 7), raucous loudmouths attempted in time-

TLD, Spartakist Gruppen Mobilizing Call

Stop the Nazis Through United Front Action!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Spartakist Gruppen
Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands

Reply to ND...

(continued from page 10)

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Red Soap Bubbles...

(continued from page 10)

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Klaus Steiniger

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

National Office Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

☐ \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ New ☐ Renewal
International rates
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)

☐ \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

☐ \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Reply to Neues Deutschland Stalinists

Yes, Revolution Is Real

And "Class Peace" Is Utopian!

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

continued on page 9

What Does Left Mean at This Time?

On Red Soap Bubbles and Reality

TRANSLATED FROM
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
29 DECEMBER 1989

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

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

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

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

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND

29 December 1989

Was heißt links in diesen Tagen?

Über rote Seifenblasen und die Wirklichkeit

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

annt ist. Die Teilnehmer des Parteitag, die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blies der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale, die nach Leo Trotzki ben-

annt ist. Die Teilnehmer des Parteitag, die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blies der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale, die nach Leo Trotzki ben-

annt ist. Die Teilnehmer des Parteitag, die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blies der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale, die nach Leo Trotzki ben-

annt ist. Die Teilnehmer des Parteitag, die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blies der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale, die nach Leo Trotzki ben-

annt ist. Die Teilnehmer des Parteitag, die sie aus Westberlin mitgebracht hatten — für viele besaßen sie den Reiz des bisher Unbekannten —, verkauften sich nicht schlecht. Schlagzeilen wie "Für ein rotes Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa!", "Weltrevolution muß Sowjetunion und DDR retten!", "Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte!" und "Für eine bolschewistische Partei!" sprangen ins Auge. Auf der Titelseite des Blattes blies der an einer 4 zwischen Hammer und Sichel erkennbare Herausgeber nicht ungenannt: die westdeutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale, die nach Leo Trotzki ben-

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

What does left mean at this time?

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

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

continued on page 9

Cambodia...

(continued from page 4)

squeeze on Tokyo to keep Honda from building a motorbike factory in Ho Chi Minh City. Today Cambodia is the only underdeveloped country in the Third World not to receive any UN aid.

In its vindictive and unrelenting onslaught against the Vietnamese Revolution, American imperialism seeks to restore the horrors of the Pol Pot regime to the Cambodian people. The UN, which for ten years has based its exclusion of the real government of Cambodia on the Vietnamese military presence, recently voted yet again at American insistence to seat Pol Pot, adding a mild admonishment that there be no "return to past policies." Meanwhile, the resolution demands that the Heng Samrin/Hun Sen regime form a "coalition government" with Pol Pot, Son Sann and Sihanouk and allow imperialist troops (a UN "peacekeeping" force) in to monitor "free elections."

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

years in secret camps."

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

For Communist Unity Against Imperialism!

Scandalously, Gorbachev and his allies have joined with the imperialists in pushing Hanoi and Phnom Penh to cut a deal with the Khmer Rouge. One East European diplomat in Phnom Penh told the *Washington Post* (26 November 1989): "There is East Bloc pressure to find an accommodation with the Khmer Rouge.... We think Hun Sen has to agree to the participation of some Khmer Rouge officials." Gorbachev's drive to appease imperialism by extinguishing "regional hot spots," from Afghanistan and Central America to Cambodia, allows the imperialists to rearm the genocidal Khmer Rouge. Moscow's shortsighted, futile and dangerous attempt to



Vietnam News Agency

Saigon, April 1975: victorious NLF tanks roll into presidential palace.

lin Stalinists, the Vietnamese government continues to labor under the illusion that it can somehow fashion a deal with its imperialist tormentors. For years Hanoi has appealed to the U.S.-sponsored Association of Southeast Asian Nations to turn its sunspots away from Vietnam and toward China. Vietnam hoped that its withdrawal from Cambodia would open the floodgates of Western capital. But while the U.S., West European and Japanese partners are increasingly chafing at Washington's irrational campaign of vengeance, the U.S. has again successfully pressured the IMF to deny Vietnam any new funding.

Meanwhile, Phnom Penh tries to lure Sihanouk away from the Khmer Rouge with concessions. As Nayan Chanda writes in *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1989): "To persuade Prince Sihanouk to join the coalition, Phnom Penh has made substantial changes in the constitution. It has not only met Sihanouk's demand to change the name of the country, the flag, and the national anthem but also has reinstated Buddhism as the state religion and legalized private property and inheritance." Most recently, Hun Sen reportedly agreed to UN-supervised elections in which the Khmer Rouge could participate, though the offer was immediately rejected by Sihanouk (*New York Times*, 14 December 1989).

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

Leftists made their peace with Western imperialism.

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

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

Ultimately, the defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states and the achievement of a socialist society requires workers revolution in the advanced imperialist countries, particularly the U.S. and Japan. Certainly, a victorious socialist revolution in the United States has a solemn obligation to share with the Vietnamese people the assets expropriated from the bloodthirsty U.S. ruling class. The precondition is the building of Trotskyist parties forged in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■



WV Photo

Spartacists protest China's invasion of Vietnam, 1979. U.S./China alliance was sealed in blood of Vietnamese workers.

imperialism's longstanding policy to "bleed Vietnam white," pursued by both Democrats and Republicans. "Liberal" Democrats like New York Congressman Stephen Solarz lead the pack in insisting the embargo of Vietnam be maintained until the U.S. gets a "satisfactory political settlement in Cambodia" (*Washington Post*, 25 November 1989).

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

conciliate the war-crazed madmen in Washington is doubly treacherous when it comes to Vietnam. It was the blood of the millions of Vietnamese maimed and killed fighting U.S. imperialism which bought precious time for the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear parity with the U.S. Moreover, the Vietnamese victory gave the Soviet navy access to the strategic deepwater port at Cam Ranh Bay.

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

No less committed to the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" than the Krem-

Spartacist Forum

For the Communism of
Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

For a Red Germany
in a Socialist Europe!

Eyewitness account of the unfolding political revolution
in East Germany

Friday, January 26, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

NEW YORK

11th Street
near 6th Avenue

For more information
(212) 267-1025

Racist State Terror, Made in U.S.A.



1985—MOVE Massacre

By the time the American invasion force had finished strafing and shelling the densely populated El Chorrillo district of Panama City, it had become known as "Little Hiroshima." El Chorrillo had the misfortune to be situated near the headquarters of Noriega's Panamanian Defense Forces. More to the point, it happens to be populated by poor and working-class people, largely black and mestizo. So, to minimize the "loss of lives," the imperialist invaders blasted the hell out of El Chorrillo—with everything from mortars to the super-secret Stealth fighter-bomber—from a safe distance. For Bush & Co. the 6,000 dark-skinned people of El Chorrillo were utterly expendable, just so much dust

under their feet.

With supreme racist arrogance and indifference they turned El Chorrillo, with its tightly packed wooden houses and apartment buildings, into an inferno. They even shot at and bombed Red Cross ambulances trying to reach the wounded. Health officials in Panama estimate the overall number of civilians killed by the invasion at around 2,000. The precise number of casualties is difficult to determine because many victims were quickly buried in mass graves, and no one knows how many men, women and children lie buried in the rubble of El Chorrillo. The self-censored imperialist press gagged on its own "newspeak," as the *New York Times* (31 De-



1989—El Chorrillo, Panama

cember 1989) finally conceded that U.S. forces had inflicted an "embarrassing" amount of "collateral damage." In plain English, that means *they murdered a lot of people!*

"Over there"? The photographs of devastated El Chorrillo were reminiscent of nothing so much as the scenes of black Philadelphia after the MOVE massacre. On 13 May 1985, Philadelphia cops massed at the MOVE commune in the black residential neighborhood on Osage Avenue in West Philadelphia. Under the direct supervision of the Reagan White House and the FBI, black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered an aerial bombing of the MOVE commune. "Attention, MOVE. This is America!" were

the last words anyone there heard, as the cops began pouring 10,000 rounds into the house. Then, a police helicopter dropped a satchel charge of C-4 explosive (supplied by the FBI) on the roof of the house. With firemen held at bay, the MOVE house and 60 others burned to the ground. Pinned down in the house by murderous police fire, eleven black people, including five children, were incinerated. Ramona Africa, the one adult survivor, has been in prison ever since for...surviving.

Accounts will one day be settled with this profoundly racist ruling class. When it takes power, the American working class will mete out due process to the war criminals and racist terrorists. ■

Defend Nicaragua, Cuba!

The U.S. made it clear from the start that the invasion of Panama was only the beginning. For years, Washington has chafed at the presence of the Cuban deformed workers state and Sandinista Nicaragua in its backyard, and Bush used the Panama invasion to drive home the point. A day after the invasion began, U.S. troops put the Cuban, Nicaraguan and Libyan embassies under siege—surrounding them with armed troops, armored personnel carriers and razor wire. On the morning of December 26, U.S. troops surrounded the Cuban ambassador's residence with "orders to arrest any Cuban diplomat trying to leave and prevent anyone from entering." Three days later 60 soldiers invaded the residence of Nicaraguan ambassador Antenor Ferrey. They ordered Ferrey and his staff to leave, stole \$2,000 and ransacked the house—supposedly searching for arms. Bush mumbled about a "screw-up," though the diplomatic immunity of the residence was clear from the manhole-sized ambassadorial shield in a front window. But White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater responded to reporters' questions by simply repeating, "We support the military. We support the military." Bush wants war!

The Nicaraguan government responded to the American war provocation by surrounding the U.S. embassy in Managua. Sandinista spokesmen are justifiably worried that the new U.S. puppet government in Panama is a carbon copy of the Nicaraguan contra National Opposition Union (UNO) and a stalking horse for a future U.S. invasion. Bush's contra cut-

Imperialist Bullyboys Run Amok

throats have taken the Panama invasion as a green light to step up their murder campaign. In Guatemala the second secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy, Jorge Adolfo Vargas, was recently assassinated by death squads. On January 2, the Nicaraguan contras took their cue from the Salvadoran government's recent murder of six Jesuit priests and murdered two

nuns, one American and one Nicaraguan.

Once Washington's bullyboys got into the swing of things, they didn't stop with Cuba and Nicaragua. Spain is a U.S. ally in NATO. But shortly after foreign minister Fernández Ordóñez announced that Spain would vote to condemn the invasion in the UN, U.S. troops invaded the Panama City bureau of the Spanish

news agency and stormed into the offices of Iberia Air Lines and Banco Exterior, a government bank. And when the Papal Nunciature in Panama City granted Noriega sanctuary, American soldiers surrounded the building, interrogating and searching priests who were leaving and entering.

Bush's actions against the Cubans and Nicaraguans in Panama City are naked war provocations. Following the ransacking of the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence, even the *New York Times* (1 January), which supported the invasion, complained about "Mindless Macho in Panama," noting with concern, "Surely the White House cannot have forgotten the invasion a decade ago of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran." Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war. In its mad drive to "roll back Communism," starting with Managua and Havana, war is clearly what Washington has in mind. American officials have already issued ominous statements that "there is no reason to invade Nicaragua unless there is fraud in the February elections" (*La Jornada*, 30 December 1989). Well, talk is cheap, but a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua is going to be no walkover; even 700 middle-aged Cuban construction workers were able to put a dent in the American invasion of tiny black Grenada. The American working people had better put a stop to the war-crazed maniacs in Washington before they blow away the whole world. Defend Cuba! Defend Nicaragua! Down with U.S. imperialism! ■



Nicaraguan ambassadorial residence, Panama City: ambassador Antenor Ferrey surveys wreckage left by U.S. troops.

U.S. Steals Panama, Again

We reprint below a leaflet put out by the Spartacist League/U.S. on 21 December 1989.

The war-crazed maniacs in Washington are at it again. Ever since Teddy Roosevelt sent the Marines in to rip away a piece of Colombian territory and create Panama as an American neocolony in 1903, the American rulers' line has been, "It's ours. We stole it fair and square." Now Bush, egged on by the Democrats after the miserable coup fiasco last fall, has invaded Panama again, for the *thirteenth time this century*.

The latest invasion comes ten days before the first stage of the Panama Canal Treaty was supposed to be implemented, which was eventually to have handed over control of the canal to Panama. Now, after the media's whores spent the last 24 hours filling the airwaves with hopeful speculations that Noriega would be heading for the welcoming arms of Fidel Castro or Daniel Ortega, U.S. troops—in a naked war provocation—have surrounded the Nicaraguan and Cuban embassies in Panama City. *U.S. troops out of Panama, now—all of them!*

More than 24,000 American troops are tearing up Panama City in order to "restore democracy." Hundreds of civilians have been killed, whole neighborhoods—mostly working-class and poor—have been burned to the ground by American tanks and mortar fire, young kids are shot down in cold blood by the Yankee invaders—that's what the White House calls "Operation Just Cause." Ever since they got creamed by the Vietnamese

workers and peasants, the Pentagon has tried to pick out victims they could beat without taking casualties, like the racist invasion of tiny Grenada (total population 113,000). So while U.S. helicopter gunships are good at shooting down

Murder, Inc. look like a church charity.

President Bush says that General Noriega is not a nice man. Bush ought to know: when he ran the CIA Noriega was a prime "asset" in all kinds of sinister deals for years. Noriega never claimed to

subject, the U.S. should get the hell out of Guantánamo Bay!

The American ruling class has also tried to extend the Monroe Doctrine to Libya and Lebanon and other small, easily accessible places. Old-fashioned

Boston, 20 December 1989: protest against U.S. imperialist invasion of Panama.



defenseless civilians from the air, they haven't even managed to take control of Panama City after two days of heavy bombing, much less to capture Noriega. The American government has even put a \$1 million bounty on his head. The Washington mob, which incidentally is the world's biggest drug-runner, makes

be Mother Teresa, but then he never invaded the U.S. to impose his president either. Washington, with the Democrats taking the lead, openly proclaims its "right" to overthrow or assassinate any foreign leader it doesn't approve of (see "Bush Unleashes 'The Company,'" *Workers Vanguard* No. 491, 8 December 1989). The U.S. capitalists claim supersovereignty over the whole of the Western Hemisphere because of the "Monroe Doctrine," which stated that whenever the British fleet would let them, the American government could do anything it wanted in Latin America—and did. Now the "war on Communism" has new language: the "war on drugs" has become the chosen excuse for military adventures overseas. We wrote last year that the "war on drugs" was "particularly intended at re-establishing American 'manifest destiny' over Latin America"—and that means, first and foremost, crushing Sandinista Nicaragua and rolling back the Cuban Revolution ("U.S. 'Drug War': License for Global Terror," *WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988).

The vindictive American capitalists are still economically strangling Nicaragua and Vietnam too while they make secret and hypocritical deals with China's Stalinist leaders. And while we're on the

honest liberals used to call it "dollar diplomacy." But it ain't as easy as it used to be. The American troops got blown out of Lebanon. And it sure didn't work when an American embassy went missing in Iran (which is remote, large and filled with millions and millions of hostile people). It asserts some god-given claim to police the whole world—it, with its lies and arrogance, is called American imperialism, and we say down with it!

American working people: the U.S. government's war on Panama, on the Nicaraguan people, on the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, is part and parcel of the same government's fight to lower your wages and rip up your unions. They give you the "war on drugs" as a ready stand-in for the war on communism and the war on sex, all of which—with suitable patriotic and vacuous religious mumbling—are meant to give the mass of people a mainline shot of idiocy. And let's not forget the strychnine of racism that they mix in to that heavy dose of reactionary crap.

It's long past time this arrogant, racist ruling class got what was coming to it—and it's going to take the American working people to do it. Down with Bush/CIA international Murder, Inc.! *U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!* ■



1975: Imperialist losers flee Saigon. Victory of heroic Vietnamese people still haunts U.S. ruling class.

Panama...

(continued from page 1)

sacked the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence.

The message coming from the White House is: "gunship diplomacy" is alive and well. And to underscore it, they just sent a battle group of warships to "intercept drug-runners" off the coast of Colombia, conveniently located not too far from Nicaragua. The starry-eyed détentés in Gorbachev's entourage in the Kremlin could well learn a salutary lesson from this—"peaceful coexistence" does not play in Washington. Soviet spokesman Georgi Arbatov complained to Ted Koppel on ABC's *Nightline* (20 December 1989):

"You know, you teach us to be moral all the time. You are the well-known teachers of morality, until it comes to

American interests or tastes or American behavior. Here you behave in a different way. And I don't think that it will be noticed in the world."

The world had better take notice. The war-crazed American rulers are the deadliest threat to the continued existence of humanity that this planet has ever seen. *U.S. troops out of Panama, now—all of them! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!*

Mass Slaughter of Civilians

The U.S. rulers' exultation would have been significantly diminished if there had been much more than the 23 body bags returned home. Despite years of chauvinist flag-waving by Democrats and Republicans alike, the "Vietnam syndrome" has left the American people with no appetite for a full-scale shooting war. So the Pentagon used heavy bombardment with artillery and aircraft to

blast away the population rather than risk their own men in infantry assaults. Heading it all up was General Maxwell Thurman, also known as "Mad Max" and "the Maxatollah." Thurman's appointment by the Bush administration last September to the "sensitive Southern Command" came as a surprise, reports the *London Independent* (29 December 1989), since he "had no Latin American experience, no Spanish and no command position for the last 14 years." But "Mad Max" had plenty of experience mowing down non-white people during his tour of duty in Vietnam.

If Thurman is a character straight out of *Apocalypse Now*, Bush sounded like a double for the maniacally anti-Communist General Ripper in *Dr. Strangelove*, who launches a nuclear war against the "Reds" to defend his "precious bodily fluids." Bush had become "extraordinarily frustrated" and even "ob-

essed" by Noriega, his "competitive juices" were now flowing, he felt the need to get that "coonskin on the wall." *New York Times* (27 December 1989) columnist Russell Baker sarcastically noted that American presidents pick on "unsavory" leaders only of "pipsqueak" countries, like Libya and tiny black Grenada. Now it was Panama's turn to get "screwed, blued and tattooed," to use an old army expression.

To get a real sense of the extent of the atrocities, one had to turn to the Latin American press. Mexico City's *La Jornada* for the last few days of December reveals:

• "The [Pentagon] spokesperson confirmed that during the first day of the invasion Stealth F-117 fighter-bombers were used for the first time in combat. One or several of these planes—the Pentagon refused to give the right number—

continued on page 14

Panama...

(continued from page 13)

dropped at least 90 powerful bombs on the PDF headquarters, located in the very populated barrio of El Chorrillo, and in the Rio Hato fort."

• The U.S. troops massacred "one hundred students of the Rio Hato base, whose ages ranged from 14 to 16 years old," a revelation by a Noriega official subsequently confirmed in an interview with Dr. Marco A. Gandasegui, director of the Center for Latin American Studies Justo A. Arozemena. In that same interview it was reported that "There are indications that the number of dead is over 2,000, mostly civilians, victims of indiscriminate 'gringo' bombings and artillery."

• "The death of Juan Antonio Rodríguez, graphic reporter of the Spanish daily *El País*, occurred when American soldiers shot at a group of photographers" outside the Marriott Hotel. His colleague from the same Madrid paper asserted "There wasn't a single Panamanian firing" at the time.

Even the Organization of American States, which Che Guevara aptly called "the Yankee Ministry of Colonies," felt compelled to criticize the invasion. The bloodthirsty Salvadoran regime was the only one in the region to back Washington. When American troops surrounded the Papal Nunciature where Noriega had sought sanctuary and began bombarding it with rock tunes like "Nowhere to Run" and "I Fought the Law and the Law Won," millions of American Catholics were justly outraged. The Vatican attacked the U.S. as an "occupying power," and even the rabidly right-wing Cardinal O'Connor of New York denounced the U.S. "attacks against the church and the Holy See."

As usual, the Democrats snapped to attention for their commander in chief's invasion. Senate majority leader George Mitchell and House Speaker Thomas Foley backed Bush, as did liberal darling Senator Ted Kennedy. Rep. Charles Rangel, despite his backing for Bush's "war on drugs," was one of the very few to oppose the invasion, denouncing it as "ridiculous" and noting that Noriega "is our bum." Not so Jesse Jackson, the hero of the reformist left, who claimed "reluctance" to condemn the invasion out of "respect" for the deaths of U.S. soldiers (*Chicago Sun Times*, 26 December 1989). In other words, to hell with the Panamanian dead.

And the media whores of the capitalist press did their usual cover-up for the war criminals in Washington. As left-wing journalist Alexander Cockburn wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* (28 December 1989): "Even by the craven



Victims of Washington war criminals were buried in mass graves outside Panama City.

standards set by the Grenadian and Libyan adventures, most U.S. coverage of the Panamanian invasion has been awful, reminiscent of the German press when Hitler invaded the Low Countries." When Bush pointed to the killing of a Marine and an alleged rape threat against his wife by Noriega troops as the pretext for the invasion, nobody in the capitalist media even bothered to ask the elementary question, what were four American officers doing riding around in a car at night near Manuel Noriega's Panama Defense Forces (PDF) headquarters?

It turned out, of course, that the invasion had been "on the shelf" for months. As Cockburn pointed out, there was plenty of evidence of "a careful program of U.S. provocations designed to elicit the pretext for invasion, even though President Bush claims it was an insult to American womanhood that made him give the green light for the tanks to roll." One wounded GI just returned from Panama let the cat out of the bag when he told reporters that their orders had been known at least five days before the invasion—i.e., before the killing of the Marine and Noriega's supposed "declaration of war"! The military officer in charge of the press conference promptly shut him up.

Dr. Strangelove Bungles Again

Not long after the invasion hit the airwaves after midnight on December 20,

it became clear the operation had run into trouble. Reporters were summoned to the White House for a 1 a.m. press conference by Bush, doubtless to announce a successful operation and the capture of Noriega. But 1 a.m. came and went with no word. At 1:30 a.m. still no Bush; White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater finally came on to announce the invasion. Washington had planned on everything...except for the possibility that their opponent might fight back! As the number of American casualties mounted and it became clear that Noriega had escaped, the White House "spin" team went to work. Bush's 7 a.m. TV speech de-emphasized the capture of Noriega, and the *New York Times* tried to rescue the administration by editorializing about the need to "safeguard the lives of Americans" and defend the holy of holies, the Panama Canal. Ironically the invasion forced the closure of the canal for the first time in 75 years (not counting landslides).

The "mopping up" continued from one day to the next, as Fitzwater started dropping hints that "It may take some time." The White House tried buying a victory with the almighty dollar. A \$1 million bounty was placed on Noriega's head. They ran ads on Panamanian radio offering a cash giveaway—\$25 for every grenade turned in, \$100 for pistols, \$150 for automatic rifles and \$2,000 for armored personnel carriers. Bush's invasion was on the whole a fiasco—but with so much firepower even the Pentagon could not lose.

And now "free world democracy" reigns in Panama. The new "president," Guillermo Endara, got his political training under a previous puppet, Arnulfo Arias, a "fervent admirer of Hitler and

slipped through U.S. army fingers after his capture was reported and is now back home in Israel.

Well-known commentator Carlos Fuentes commented during the invasion, "I suspect that the purpose of this hunt is not to capture Noriega and bring him to justice in the U.S., but to kill him as soon as possible and shut his mouth forever" (quoted in *La Jornada*, 27 December 1989). Now the U.S. is stuck with Noriega in an American jail. Of course, if he does stand trial, he'll have plenty to sing about, so Bush is already making noises about cutting a deal with his former protégé.

Noriega only fell out of favor when, for reasons best known to himself, he refused to go along with a December 1985 proposal by the White House basement crew of Poindexter and North to assist them with a planned invasion of Nicaragua. As late as May 1986, DEA administrator John C. Lawn lauded Noriega: "I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate my deep appreciation for the vigorous anti-drug policy that you have adopted" (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 December 1989). With the drug charges wearing thin, now they've found some real crimes to pin on Noriega. The U.S. military headquarters in Panama issued a special release to "reveal" that Noriega even "wore red underwear" and called his mistress, not his wife, when the invasion hit. The tabloids went wild: "VOODOO, PORNO, AND COCAINE—U.S. Soldiers Find Noriega's Witch House" (*Daily News*, 23 December 1989).

Noriega is the political heir of the nationalist dictator Omar Torrijos Herrera, who negotiated the Panama Canal Treaties which President Carter signed in 1977 turning over control of the canal to

Panamanian puppet president Endara (second from right), who was "sworn in" at U.S. military base.



Mussolini" who "attempted to start a campaign to sterilize blacks, deport West Indians and Asians, expropriate Jews and force teachers and other public employees to wear uniforms" (*Contenido*, January 1990). The new commander of the Public Force created by the Yankees to replace Noriega's Defense Force will reportedly be Col. Eduardo Herrera Hassan, whose main claim to fame as Noriega's henchman in 1987 was having his troops open fire with shotguns pointblank on unarmed protesters.

The Bush-Noriega Connection

So now Manuel Noriega is in a Miami pen awaiting trial on charges of trafficking in the drug trade. It would make a lot more sense for Bush to be standing trial in Panama City—he was Noriega's boss for much of the time. For years, Noriega was a highly prized "asset" of the CIA, receiving up to \$200,000 a year from The Company. Even Reaganite William Safire caught the hypocrisy of it all, quipping that if Noriega called his memoirs "My C.I.A. Years," it would be "Nonfiction stunner of the year." Among Noriega's many services was the supplying of Israeli arms to the contras' southern front led by Edén Pastora. In short, Noriega was a cog in the wheel of the Washington/Tel Aviv contragate network. Not surprisingly, Noriega's key adviser was a highly placed "retired" Israeli intelligence officer, Mike Harari. Harari, who was known as "Mr. Sixty Percent"—his standard cut—"mysteriously

Panama by the end of the century. (Torrijos died in a mysterious air crash in 1981.) Not accidentally, the current invasion came only ten days before the next phase of the treaty was to be implemented—turning administration of the canal over to a Panamanian recommended by Noriega's government. The 1977 treaties were a sop to Panamanian nationalism, a fraud designed to tie the local bourgeoisie more closely to Yankee imperialism. Noriega never threatened the canal or the treaties, but he was just too uppity and unpredictable for Washington's taste.

As long as Noriega was "our SOB," as FDR used to call Washington's puppet dictators in Latin America, he was okay. The American government is the biggest drug-runner of all—from the CIA's Laotian opium run during the Vietnam War to its Afghan *mujahedin* and the contra drug trade today. Washington's grotesque claim to supersovereignty, its declared "right" to kidnap and assassinate any foreign leader it doesn't like, its unbridled ambition to police the world under the rubric of the "war on drugs," pose a deadly danger not only to the people of Latin America but to all of us. It is especially the duty of the American working class to mobilize against Bush and the Democrats' filthy assault against the people of Panama and put an end to their war provocations in the region. To wipe the planet clean of the arrogant Yankee imperialists requires their defeat at home by a victorious workers revolution. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 781-7500

Detroit

Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison

Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 2198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main Post Office
Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X2
(604) 255-0636

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

and ANC openly displayed. Rumors persist that Nelson Mandela may soon be released. It is a good thing for all opponents of murderous apartheid capitalism that these formerly imprisoned fighters have at last been released.

But as the *Weekly Mail* (13 October 1989) observed: "Eight South African political prisoners are about to be released, but up to 3500 others remain behind bars." A flood of executions and death sentences have been meted out by Pretoria in the last year, many on the basis of the Hitlerite "common purpose doctrine" under which anyone present at the scene of killings of police agents and informers is deemed guilty of murder. The Upington 14 still languish on death row after being convicted for being part of a large crowd which killed a black policeman in 1985. *Free all victims of apartheid repression!*

Many victimized anti-apartheid activists never make it to prison. Last November, the *London Independent* (17 November 1989) reported that former security police captain Dirk Johannes Coetzee "has confessed to having headed a special death squad, formed under orders from the country's highest-ranking police officers, to eliminate enemies of the government." Among the assassinations listed by Coetzee were the parcel bombing in 1982 which killed Ruth First, wife of SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo; the slaying of black human rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge in 1981; the kidnapping and murder of two ANC members during a raid on Maputo in 1980. Soon after Coetzee's revelations, the police announced they were holding a former narcotics detective for the recent murders of two white anti-apartheid activists—David Webster, a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, and Anton Lubowski, a SWAPO member and civil rights lawyer who had represented defendants in the Upington trial.

The Delmas convictions were overturned due to the convicting judge's blunders and, while not likely, could be

retried. The October releases were another matter from the standpoint of de Klerk's regime. When the announcement of the release of the eight was made, "the relief was widespread—particularly among Government critics—that the steps were being ordered to appease those who might urge new sanctions against South Africa at the Commonwealth conference in Malaysia this week. Nothing since has cast doubt on this motive" (*New York Times*, 17 October 1989). Indeed, de Klerk phoned British prime minister Margaret Thatcher to announce the releases prior to the conference. She took the news to Kuala Lumpur. Soon thereafter, the South African Reserve Bank announced that it had negotiated a rescheduling of its \$8 billion short-term debt with the banks in Zurich, New York and Washington.

De Klerk also hopes to use the releases and possible "negotiations" as the carrot to accompany the stick of his vast military/police machinery of repression. In exchange for the possibility of sitting across the table from de Klerk & Co. the ANC leadership is expected to put the brakes on mass militant actions, espe-

cially strike actions by the powerful black trade-union movement. Dependent on black labor, apartheid capitalism is particularly vulnerable to the increasingly organized and combative black proletariat.

It is manifestly suicidal to place an ounce of faith in the good intentions of the apartheid butchers, but the ANC is preaching just that. Gorbachev has given plenty of encouragement along these lines as well. Having engineered the pullout of the Cuban troops which heroically defended black Angola from South African invasion, Moscow now pushes "dialogue" between the ANC and Pretoria. And at the ANC-sponsored "Conference for a Democratic Future" last month, a declaration was passed which stated: "If de Klerk can convince us that he is serious about genuine negotiations on the creation of a democratic South Africa, and he has created the necessary conditions for negotiations, we are ready to talk" (*New York Times*, 11 December 1989).

Young militants, including those in the ranks of the ANC, trade-union activists, thousands in "detention" and prison cells

might well be wary of the prospect of "negotiations" with the blood-drenched Pretoria government. The striking black transport workers in Cape Town whose march was fired on by police using rubber bullets, buckshot and birdshot last month—hospitalizing fifty—know how de Klerk & Co. conduct "dialogue." But it is the logic of the ANC's longstanding strategy aimed at "power-sharing" with apartheid capitalism to enter into such negotiations.

Explicitly committed to a "mixed" (i.e., capitalist) economy, the ANC has sent its message, "it is saying the business sector has nothing to fear from an ANC-dominated government" (*Boston Sunday Globe*, 29 October 1989). The ANC's reformist/nationalist aims dovetail neatly with the SACP's Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution. According to this schema, the workers are first to ally with "progressive" capitalists to make the national-democratic revolution and then, at some undetermined later point, make socialist revolution against the capitalists. This is a recipe for bitter defeat.

"Negotiations" with de Klerk would at best result in some cosmetic changes to apartheid capitalism in exchange for "taming" the black unions and containing the militancy of the township youth. For the apartheid rulers, such a deal can buy time. The powerful black working class, organized in strategic industry, has the power to lead all the oppressed in smashing the chains of apartheid slavery through socialist revolution. The capitalists, including "progressives" like Anglo American's Gavin Relly, are fearfully aware of that power. Just last September the all-white election was met with a massive two-day stayaway protest strike by two to three million black workers directly defying the "state of emergency."

A revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist party, must be forged to free the working class from the political shackles of petty-bourgeois nationalism. Putting the struggle on a class axis, it is possible to sweep away the whole rotten racist system and its murderous state terror. For a black-centered workers government! Smash apartheid! For workers revolution! ■

KKK Terror...

(continued from page 16)

Zionists and preachers got their way. They turned the city over to the KKK and now the emboldened fascists are threatening to march on the grave of Martin Luther King on January 20. Atlanta labor and black organizations must stop this obscenity!

The "city fathers" preach "ignore the KKK" even as the fascists terrorize civil rights activists across the South with a wave of bombings. On December 16, 11th Circuit Court of Appeals judge Robert Vance in Birmingham, Alabama was murdered by a mail bomb. Two days later, Savannah black alderman and civil

rights attorney Robert Robinson was murdered by a powerful explosion from another package bomb. In the following days, NAACP officials in Jacksonville, Florida and Atlanta were also targeted by these bombs and narrowly avoided being killed. In the wake of the bombings, Emancipation Day ceremonies and the inauguration of black mayor Maynard Jackson in Atlanta had to be held under massive security.

On New Year's Day, eight Klan and Nazi skinhead thugs obscenely "celebrated" the mail-bomb murders outside the national headquarters of the NAACP in Baltimore and called for bombing NAACP director Benjamin Hooks. The Baltimore cops stood by as the Klansmen threatened to "nuke" the NAACP. But

labor-centered mobilizations—appealing to longshoremen and steel workers from the giant Sparrows Point works in Baltimore, to integrated hospital and city workers unions in Atlanta—could sweep the fascists off the streets.

Birmingham 1963, Birmingham 1989

All four pipe bombs, packed with nails and designed to kill and maim scores of people, were mailed from Georgia and are said to be acts of "reprisal" by a shadowy outfit called the "Americans for a Competent Federal Judicial System." These crazed, racist bombers apparently targeted Vance for reversing a lower-court ruling which "could have signaled an end to mandatory busing for scores of school systems throughout the South" (*Washington Post*, 21 December 1989). Michael Sussman, an NAACP attorney who may have been the target of the Jacksonville bomb, said Vance's ruling was "a threatening decision" for opponents of integration. And Robinson, a long-time NAACP attorney, was local counsel for a desegregation suit against the Savannah school system. In targeting what little is left after 15 years of racist rollback of the limited gains of busing to desegregate the schools, the fascists perform their deadly work as the shock troops of reaction.

Last August, the NAACP's Atlanta regional office was the target of a similar bomb attack. The NAACP demanded a government investigation. After four more deadly attacks, the government is finally "investigating," as the Justice Department and the FBI are deluged by a chorus of calls to find the killers. Certainly the bourgeoisie doesn't like seeing its federal judges blown away, even when it is done in the name of racist

reaction. But reliance on the racist state to defend blacks against Klan terror is a truly fatal illusion.

The September 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, murdering four young black girls, remains one of the most heinous crimes of the years of terror against the civil rights movement. And it was carried out with the aid of the FBI's paid "informant" in the Klan, Gary Thomas Rowe. While on the feds' payroll, Rowe participated in bombings, murders and the brutal beating of Freedom Riders. The "man behind the bombings," J.B. Stoner, lives free outside Atlanta today, spewing his racist filth and again organizing terror against black people.

Stop Klan Terror!

On 21 January 1989 many who came to the labor/black mobilization got their first education in the role of the capitalist state. They saw firsthand that whether under black Democrats like Andrew Young and Maynard Jackson, or racist Republicans like Reagan/Bush, the bourgeoisie will shield and protect the fascist fringe of capitalist reaction. But participants in that labor/black mobilization also got a taste of *workers class power*, in a show of strength and defiance against fascist provocation. That power must be brought out again in Atlanta, and everywhere the Klan night-riders raise their heads.

Today, 125 years after victory over slavery in the Civil War, the promise of black freedom remains unfulfilled, and decaying capitalism spawns the racist terror of the Klan and skinheads. It will take a third American revolution—the victory of a multiracial workers party leading a socialist revolution—to avenge the victims of Klan/Nazi terror. ■



Atlanta, 21 January 1989: 3,500-strong demonstration met Klan provocation with massive show of labor/black defiance.

WORKERS VANGUARD

ANC, UDF Leaders Released from Prison Hellholes

Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

On December 15 five anti-apartheid prisoners won their release from the maximum-security Robben Island hellhole after the Appeal Court reversed their convictions for "treason" and "terrorism." The five were framed up and jailed following the 1984 protests in the black townships of the Transvaal province. Beginning in October 1985 and running over three years, the Delmas trial was one of the longest political trials in recent history. It resulted in sentences of up to 12 years for the five activists, three of whom were prominent in the United Democratic Front (UDF). Popo Molefe was the UDF's general secretary; Mosiuoa Patrick Lekota was its publicity secretary; Mabokela Moses Chikane a former member of its executive committee. The other two men were Madikwe Thomas Manthata, a field worker for the South African Council of Churches, and Geinumuzi Malindi, a member of the Vaal Civic Association.

The release of the Delmas activists followed the October release of eight senior anti-apartheid fighters imprisoned after the 1964 "Rivonia" treason trial in which the eight along with Nelson Mandela were sentenced to life imprisonment. Seven of the eight are leaders of the African National Congress, including Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, who is now 77 years old. The other ANC leaders are Raymond Mhlaba, 69; Ahmed Kathrada, 60; Elias Motsoaledi, 65; Andrew Mlangeni, 63; Wilton Mkwayi, 67; and Oscar Mpetha, who at age 80 is South Africa's oldest political prisoner and is known as the "father of South African trade unionism." While on Robben Island, Mpetha lost a

Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!



Johannesburg: South African trade unionists demand freedom for ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Powerful black working class can smash apartheid capitalism.

leg due to diabetes. The eighth man released is Jafta Masemola, 60, a founder of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). After 25 years behind bars for their struggle against the disenfranchisement and hideous oppression of their people, these men have been released to spend

what remains of their lives outside prison walls. But under apartheid rule, none of them are free.

In a departure from Pretoria's standard procedure, the eight were not proscribed from public political statements following their release, and on October 29 the

ANC held the largest political rally in its history with the acquiescence of de Klerk's white-supremacist regime. Some 70,000 rallied near Soweto, with the banner and flags of the still banned South African Communist Party (SACP)

continued on page 15

Sweep Away Fascist Killers Through Labor/Black Mobilization!

KKK Terror Stalks the South

ATLANTA—On Saturday, January 6, 75 hooded Klansmen and Nazis in military fatigues invaded Atlanta to hold a racist provocation at the Georgia State Capitol. This deadly threat was aimed at blacks, unionists, Jews, gays—all the Klan's intended victims. Yet the racist terrorists were allowed to assemble in the heart of black Atlanta, which was placed under virtual martial law by over 2,400 National Guard troops, prison guards and Atlanta cops, who penned up less than 150 anti-fascist demonstrators nearby.

One year ago, on January 21, over

2,400 Cops, Troops Shield Klan in Atlanta

3,500 blacks, unionists, gays, students and socialists met another Klan provocation with a massive show of labor/black defiance not seen in the Deep South in decades. Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, and based on

the power of the heavily black unions, the rally took place in the face of an army of troops protecting a handful of fascists.

But this year, the "New South" black Democrats in city hall and the Dixie-

crats in the state house pulled out all stops to get people to stay home. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference organized a stayaway "prayer vigil." Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson was joined by Stuart Lewengrub of the Anti-Defamation League in urging people to "ignore" the Klan rally. Last year, the professional redhatters and apologists for Zionist state terror in the ADL tried to smear the PDC organizers of the integrated, militant mobilization to stop the racist terrorists.

The black Democrats, Dixiecrats, *continued on page 15*