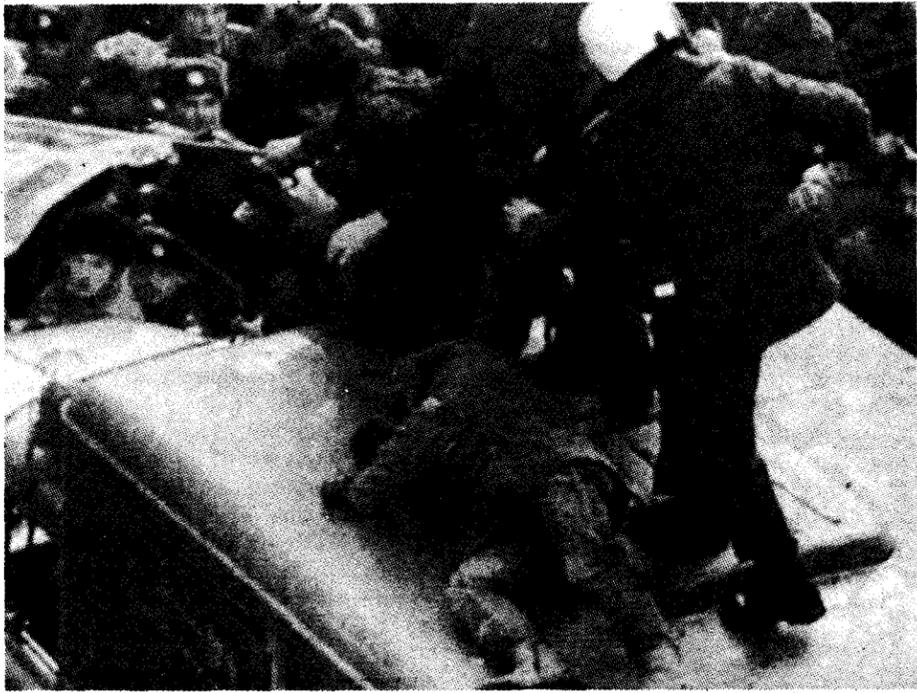


Moscow: Cops Unleashed Against Anti-Yeltsin Demonstrators



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

Soviet Union in the Balance

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

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

For the first time since the botched August coup and Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup, the capitalist-restorationist forces have drawn blood on the streets of Moscow. A pro-Yeltsin Moscow television commentator felt compelled to deny any comparison to "Bloody Sunday," the tsarist police massacre of a January 1905 workers protest which triggered a revolutionary workers uprising. Even prominent pro-capitalist "democrats" like Yelena Bonner expressed alarm over Yeltsin/Popov's brutal tactics. The Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* was openly critical of the "politicians" who turn to the baton "to save Russia." Several hundred who turned out for Peskov's funeral were more forthright, denouncing Yeltsin and his gang as "bloody heirs of Hitler."

Yeltsin has been looking for a bloody provocation with the aim of testing the militia. The February 23 police assault came on the heels of a near-confrontation

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

Nor is the military happy with Yeltsin's obsequious groveling before his American paymasters. When Yeltsin

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

In this context, reactionary Russian-nationalist forces are seeking to appeal to the military to oust Yeltsin and re-establish a "strong state" under the old

tsarist watchword, "Russia, One and Indivisible." The fascistic Liberal-Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy featured prominently at the Army Day demonstrations. Zhirinovskiy was joined by the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRK) and other Stalinist "patriot" rumps. Among the speakers were such "hardline" military figures as anti-Semitic RKRK Central Committee member General Albert Makashov and "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis, who recently joined with the monarchist demagogue Nevzorov in forming a Russian-nationalist party called *Nashe* (Ours). But the chief aspirant for a new nationalist strongman to replace Yeltsin is his own increasingly critical vice president, Air Force General Alexander Rutskoi, who has become self-appointed spokesman for the military-industrial hierarchy. The ever more stridently nationalist Rutskoi was the main speaker at a right-wing nationalist conference in early February, where he declared:

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

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

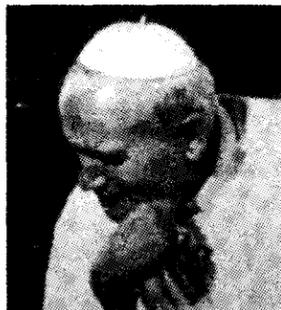
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You Read It Here First

Solidarność Godfathers:



Reagan and the Pope



See page 4

Witchhunt in Germany

Revenge of the Third Reich

See page 3

"The Sole Serious Defense Against the Hired Murderers of Stalin Is Complete Publicity"

28 February 1992

Dear Comrades,

The death of Martha Phillips in Moscow on 9 February was a tragic loss for revolutionary socialism. This irreplaceable foe of U.S. imperialism and counterrevolution in the Soviet Union must be remembered by all who struggle for working class rule, and against racism, anti-Semitism, and the oppression of women.

While attending her moving memorial meeting, I was struck by the comparisons made of Martha and Rosa Luxemburg. Both comrades were heroic Jewish women internationalists murdered outside their "own" country, while fighting

to lead the proletarian revolution.

But there are distinctions as well as similarities. In 1919 the masses understood the *meaning* of the murders of Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, partly because the Spartakusbund made history in Germany on a mass scale, and partly because the revolutionary Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky was there to explain to the world proletariat the significance of the loss. Not so with the murder of Martha. Comparatively few workers know the name of Martha Phillips or the political program of the International Communist League. For these reasons, Martha's death is more analogous to the murders of the

Bolshevik-Leninists of the 1930s, such as Ignace Reiss and Erwin Wolf, who were fighting to found the Fourth International amidst a rising tide of fascist and Stalinist terror. When the GPU murdered these comrades, Trotsky, in addition to aiding police investigations, made great efforts to publicize the crimes. He wrote articles for the workers' papers, issued press releases, gave interviews to bourgeois journalists, and urged action by defense committees—all activities in keeping with the watchword on GPU terror he had developed at the time: "The sole serious defense against the hired murderers of Stalin is complete publicity" ("A Tragic Lesson," September 1937). Trotsky understood that the natural desire of those victimized by counterrevolutionary terror during periods of historical adversity is to fall silent and become politically paralyzed. Nevertheless he felt that this desire must be resisted: *it is a matter of life and death*. He advised Elsa Reiss (Elizabeth K. Poretzky), whom he felt was in grave danger after her husband Ignace was killed, that

"The better known your name becomes, the more decisively and relentlessly you step forward in public, the more secure you will be. Naturally you must, at the same time, not give up all of the technical precautions. Yet the best measures of concealment will remain ineffective if you are not well covered politically."

—"A Letter to Elsa Reiss"
(October 1937)

Trotsky's admonition ran counter to Poretzky's own desire to maintain public silence about comrade Reiss's murder, a desire which may also have been shared by her protector at the time, the Dutch revolutionist Henk Sneevliet.

It is clear that in cases involving assassinations by organizations such as the GPU (and here I refer to the modern CIA, FBI, and to whatever the KGB is calling itself these days), "secrecy" maintained by the victims' associates only serves the assassins. The people who killed Martha, of course, know everything about her murder. It is up to her comrades to let the world know. *Therefore, the fact that she was murdered, and the meaning of her murder, must be explained vigorously, publicly and regularly, and an international call must be made as soon as possible for a complete investigation of this despicable crime until her killers are caught and punished.*

Only one comrade gave a political speech at the memorial I attended, and he rightly pointed out that there is as yet no hard evidence linking our theories about what happened with the actual crime. His point is factually correct, but lack of juridical proof should not prevent the ICL and its friends from waging a full-scale political campaign in the name of the Soviet working class around Martha's death. Such a campaign would help protect Martha's comrades inside (and outside) the Soviet Union, and would also educate the working class about the true nature of Yeltsin, Western imperialism, and Pamyat fascists. As *Workers Vanguard* has pointed out on several occasions, the Stalinist bureaucrats and police agents, CIA operatives, and Russian anti-Semitic thugs all agree on one thing: for the counterrevolution to be victorious, the potential power of the Soviet working class must be crushed. It is therefore more than likely that Martha's murder was accomplished by a concerted effort of the CIA, the

KGB, and their fascist hirelings in Pamyat.

The murder of Martha Phillips is more than a single act of reactionary terror; it signals a new stage in the ongoing counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. It is the first time in the recent struggles that an open political advocate of workers' rule has been struck down in central Moscow. Of course the potential for the bureaucracy to unleash bloody terror is great, but they have thus far refrained from doing so in the large cities and working-class centers for fear that the masses would retaliate. It is exactly this potential power that the Stalinists' imperialist masters in Bonn and Washington fear and seek to destroy—by financing inter-ethnic hatred and enforcing generalized famine. In Martha Phillips the counterrevolution has killed an isolated proletarian revolutionist who was nonetheless a potential danger to their plans. If unopposed, the would-be capitalists will continue to perpetrate such vile crimes. They have in their pay no shortage of professional killers and trained human degenerates seeking to line their own pockets. But there are also potentially hundreds of our allies inside the Soviet Union and internationally who would respond to a call for an investigation, who would bring the pressure of their outrage to bear on the authorities, and who would help shine the spotlight of world attention on the dark sources of this most despicable crime.

Such a campaign would seek to mobilize not only our friends inside the Soviet trade unions, but also those more politically distant from the ICL, such as dissidents like Boris Kagarlitsky and Roy Medvedev. Seva Volkov, and those whom he met on his recent visit to the Soviet Union—such as Joffe's granddaughter, and other descendants of the Left Opposition—should also be approached. Western trade unionists such as Arthur Scargill, left-wing scholars like Pierre Broué, and radicals such as William Kunstler and Israel Shahak, should be encouraged to participate. The support of international cultural figures must also be actively solicited; for example, Günter Grass, Christa Wolf, Bernardo Bertolucci, Sínead O'Connor, Billy Bragg, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, and John Sayles could all be approached. Finally, the support of the worldwide reformist political left should be marshalled as far as is possible. In short, the campaign should cast its net wide, and make special efforts initially to capture the attention of journalists and public figures who could help make Martha's name known and spread the outrage over the circumstances of her murder.

Comrades, I write in personal sadness as well as political solidarity. I knew Martha for several years and I worked on her 1983 campaign for the Oakland, California, city council. Perhaps the news of her death jarred me more than it would have, had I not worked with her personally. Her friends, who knew her best of all, spoke so movingly at the memorial meeting that many of us were overcome with a sense of loss. But it is the sacred duty of we hundreds who suffer personal anguish over Martha's murder to carry its greater historical lesson out to the hundreds of thousands. The workers of the world must know about this heroic fallen communist.

Fraternally,
Rick B.

WV replies: We thank comrade Rick for his solidarity and his thoughtful letter.

In the Soviet Union we are publicizing Martha's death and what she stood for. There are considerable obstacles, however, to the sort of investigative commission comrade Rick proposes. In the 1930s, when Stalin and his murder machine were assassinating Left Oppo-

International Women's Day

To commemorate the socialist working-class holiday of International Women's Day, we print excerpts from a presentation given by our comrade Martha Phillips on 8 March 1983 in the San Francisco Bay Area. Martha herself was an inspiration to many younger women comrades. Her burning indignation at every act of oppression and her commitment to learning from and extending the Russian Revolution were hallmarks of her entire political life; her forum



TROTSKY



LENIN

on International Women's Day well reflected these two central themes of her life.

On the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Lenin chose to speak on the woman question. And I believe it's one of his greatest speeches, and I wanted to begin basically with that. He says, "The bourgeoisie and its supporters, they charge us with having violated democracy. We on the other hand assert that Soviet democracy, the revolution, has given an unprecedented impulse to the development of democracy. That is, democracy for the working people as distinct from bourgeois democracy for the rich. Who is right?"

And then he proceeds to examine the woman question. He says, "Bourgeois democracy promises equality and freedom, but not a single so-called democracy has ever passed laws that made women the equal of men." And that remains the case. It's now 200 years since the French Revolution and in this country, supposedly the land of the free, the bourgeoisie—Democrats and Republicans—is completely incapable of passing a simple statement saying that women should have the same legal rights as men.

Now Lenin in his speech continues in this vein, and he talks about how the whole canon of bourgeois law is to do everything they can to give privileges to the male, to humiliate and degrade women. And I thought about that word "humiliate." Because what else can you call it but humiliation—the right-wing reaction in this country, the fight against abortion, against contraception, the "squeal rule," the unemployment, the black women on welfare. This is precisely what Lenin was talking about, the humiliation of working women, of the oppressed, even in the context of the law.

Within weeks after the 1917 Revolution, the Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky's party, passed laws that in every way struck down everything that said that women were unequal. And they did much more than that. Now, the Russian Revolution, the gains of it remain today: the workers planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade. And today it is the Trotskyists, we as the continuity of Leninism in the modern world, who are the only ones who say something very simple: that you have to defend the revolution that was made in order to go forward to make the new one, that you have to defend the Soviet Union.

And that means that the interests of women, the interests of the workers, must not be subordinated to the narrow, nationalist, petty concerns of the Soviet bureaucracy. Because from 1924 on, it was Stalin's bureaucratic clique, riding the wave of conservatism that swept Russia after Lenin died—after the failure of the German Revolution—that consolidated this national bureaucracy and usurped power away from the working class. What we stand for is getting that power back.

WORKERS VANGUARD



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

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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. 546

6 March 1992

Witchhunt in Germany

Revenge of the Third Reich

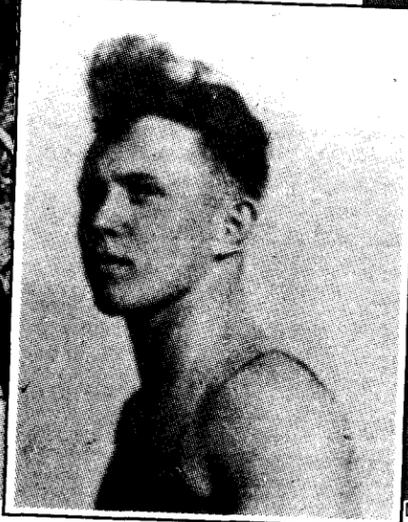
BERLIN—A vicious anti-Communist witchhunt is sweeping the reunited Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Its chief inquisitors are Social Democratic (SPD) Berlin justice minister Jutta Limbach and her crony on the federal level, Klaus Kinkel, former head of the BND, the German CIA. The German bourgeoisie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

To get Honecker, they have launched the so-called "Wall trials" of DDR border guards. The first of these revenge trials ended with a three-and-a-half-year manslaughter sentence for former East German soldier Ingo Heinrich. The judge, Theodor Seidel, was himself active in reactionary "refugee organizations" organizing "flight" to the capitalist West during the 1960s. As the trials continue, three other soldiers have been convicted. They are being tried because they were literally front-line defenders of the DDR against NATO and West German imperialism. Meanwhile, the murderers of 20 East German border guards have never been charged.

The Berlin Wall was built at the height of the Cold War, against a capitalist campaign, in part orchestrated by the CIA, to disrupt the East German economy by bleeding it of skilled labor. As the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, forerunner to the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), wrote in a *Spartakist* supplement in



Weimar police arrest May Day demonstrator in Berlin, 1929 (left). Erich Mielke in 1931 (below), and being dragged into court today.



AIZ

Der Spiegel

AFF

October 1987: the Wall "constitutes a defense of the collectivized economy of the DDR, albeit in a bureaucratic manner. Therefore the bourgeoisie hates the Wall and therefore we Trotskyists defend it." During the upheavals of 1989-90, the Spartakists were the only party that unambiguously said, "No to capitalist reunification!"

Hands Off Erich Mielke!

On February 10, 84-year-old Erich Mielke, former head of the East German State Security ("Stasi"), was dragged into the courtroom of the same judge that presided over the first "Wall trial," on charges that stemmed out of the Nazi period. In a measure unprecedented since the West German Baader-Meinhof

"terror trials" of the '70s, the seriously ill Mielke, slumped over and barely conscious, was forced to sit in a glass cage. After doctors earlier declared Mielke unfit to stand trial, the Berlin government, which funds the city hospitals, exerted enough pressure to extract a decision that he could be subjected to 90-minute periods twice a week, thereby ensuring that this spectacle of courtroom torture could be dragged out for months or at least until it kills him.

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

The demonstrators also called for charges to be dropped against two heroic anti-fascist fighters: Karl Kielhorn, who led an anti-fascist group in a Soviet POW camp in Lithuania, and Gerhard Bögelein, who left the Wehrmacht to fight with the Red Army against the Nazi occupiers in the Balkans. Today they are on trial in the SPD stronghold of Hamburg, accused of killing a Nazi military judge who imposed 100 death sentences on Soviet partisans and "disloyal" Wehrmacht soldiers.

Mielke is accused of participating in the shooting deaths of two Berlin policemen and wounding a third in 1931, more than 60 years ago. The two police who were shot dead were notorious for dispersing workers' demonstrations by riding their horses into them at full gallop with sabres drawn. During the

intense class struggles under the Weimar Republic, cops brutally went after leftist workers in SPD-governed Berlin. In the bloody May Day massacre of 1929, known as the Zörgiebel affair for the Social Democratic police chief, cops charged an unarmed workers' rally. Using machine guns they murdered 33 and wounded nearly 200 more.

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

Perhaps no other case provides such clear and decisive evidence of the Fourth Reich's claim to be the legal successor to the Third. Limbach and Seidel are the long arm of the Gestapo! Mielke's chosen defense counsel is now threatened by Limbach with disbarment. His office was broken into and crucial defense documents were stolen. Moreover, the court-appointed attorney for Mielke has received death threats and his office was also broken into and wrecked. As the February issue of *Konkret* ironically noted, those "who exempted Nazi war criminals for 40 years, not least because they slaughtered

continued on page 7



Bach/Junge Welt

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

sitionists, from Spain to France to Mexico and elsewhere, the responsibility for these hideous acts was transparently clear, with or without the presence of a "smoking gun." The aim of investigations like the Dewey Commission, which exposed and refuted the bureaucracy's outrageous slanders against the Bolshevik-Leninists, was essentially to rip away the shroud of organized Stalinist lies and focus the workers movement on the simple fact of Stalin's stated aim and criminal deeds.

The murder of our comrade Martha increasingly seems to have been of a political character. But unlike in Stalin's time, today it is not an easy task to iden-

tify the culprit(s). The former Stalinist bureaucracy is itself in decomposition, while many other sinister forces are moving amid the political and social confusion and fragmentation. While the means and the opportunity for the perpetrator appear clear, the motives are not: a multiplicity of different and sometimes mutually exclusive possibilities are suggested.

This was the work of someone not squeamish about taking the big step from slander and provocation to murder: we must have gored someone's ox in a way they considered intolerably threatening to their purposes. But there are many one can think of who had reason

to hate and want to stop our work in the Soviet Union. Within the decomposing bureaucracy, several of its wings, particularly the ultra-nationalist/racist fragments, could be implicated. But equally there are those with considerable investment in Yeltsin or ties to Yeltsin, from the CIA to leaders of the "independent" miners who seem to be run out of Washington. Smaller forces, alleged leftists or "independents," ranging from roaring anti-Semites to eager capitalist-restorationists to a few peculiarly sinister elements, may have seen our activities as a direct roadblock to their aspirations. There are the Zionists, whose designs in the Soviet Union are directly in conflict

with our politics. Nor can it be entirely ruled out at this point that it was a simple criminal act.

Attempting to sort this out right now hardly seems like the work of an International Committee of Inquiry of honest individuals with moral authority drawn from labor, socialist and civil-libertarian organizations. We are seeking to approach interested and relevant individuals. We are not now in a position to do much beyond trying to identify potential suspects and seeking to put appropriate pressure on the Moscow police authorities. We will continue, as we have been, to undertake such measures as are apparent and seem feasible to us. ■

\$olidarność Godfathers: Reagan and the Pope



Jarecke/Contact



Bulletin [Australia]

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

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

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

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

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

Our exposure of Solidarność's unholy

alliance with the White House and Vatican was in the service of seeking to mobilize the Polish and international proletariat to defend the gains of the collectivized economy against the counter-revolutionary cabal for whom Walesa was a front man. We fought to win the Polish workers to a program of proletarian political revolution against the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy. In the year following the August 1980 workers' upsurge from which Solidarność issued, we sought to split its mass base away

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

You Read It Here First

1981

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

1992

Magical Moments in Albertville

AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

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

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

"AFL-CIA" in Action

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

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

December 1981 to spike Solidarność power bid and was cemented at a closed meeting between the two in the Vatican in June 1982, when "Reagan and the Pope agreed to undertake a clandestine campaign to hasten the dissolution of the communist empire."

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

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

of NSDD 32 were to destabilize the Polish government through covert operations involving propaganda and organizational aid to Solidarity...."

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

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

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

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

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

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

NED Dollars and CIA "Free Trade Unions"

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

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

ings with various "miners' leaders," including one Sergei Masalovich, billed by the AFL-CIO "Department of International Affairs" as "a Christian Democratic trade union activist."

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

Another "independent unionist" who joined the bourgeoisie's hysterical witchhunt against Scargill is one Yuri Butchenko, who it turns out is a representative of...the NED. Butchenko was given an entrée into various authentic British workers organizations that same summer under the aegis of fake-lefts like the Workers Power and Socialist Organiser groups. The shared anti-Sovietism of these outfits came home to roost when Butchenko ostentatiously joined the anti-Scargill witchhunt in a televised press conference. Butchenko's "control" turned out to be prominent NTS spokesman George Miller (see "Workers Power Caught With Russian Fascists, Thatcher's Scabs," *WV* No. 513, 10 August 1990). Miller is editor of the *Soviet Labour Review*, which has received at least \$129,000 in NED funds. At the independent miners conference in the Ukraine in 1990, International Communist League representatives exposed this CIA-organized campaign to turn Soviet miners into a battering ram against Scargill and the British miners.

The NTS was formed in 1932 by White Guard counterrevolutionary émigrés who collaborated with the Nazis. Before and during World War II, the NTS worked with the Hitlerite invaders of the Soviet Union, as "NTS members cooperated with Wehrmacht combat units, Rosenberg's Ostministerium and Kaminisky's Russian Nazi Party" (John J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists* [London, 1978]). After the war these Russian fascists were parachuted into the USSR by the CIA and MI6 in U.S. and British spy operations. Last August, the NTS featured prominently on Yeltsin's barricades, where they distributed a leaflet pushing anti-Communist reaction. Now the Soviet journal *New Times* (1 October 1991), a pro-imperialist rag which was



"AFL-CIA" head and NED board member Lane Kirkland (second from left) meeting with Ukrainian "free trade unionists," May 1991.

formerly a mouthpiece of the Stalinist bureaucracy, features a self-congratulatory piece by NTS executive board member Boris Miller, father of George, boasting of this sinister outfit's exploits on behalf of counterrevolution.

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

The International Affairs Department has a long and bloody track record. Long-time director and CIA operative Irving Brown paid out CIA dollars in 1948 to recruit goons to crush Communist-led dock workers in France. In Latin America, the American Institute for Free Labor Development is notorious for CIA infiltration of trade unions from Chile to El Salvador. AIFLD executive director William Doherty was even flown into Grenada by the U.S. military during the invasion! The Free Trade Union Institute was created in the 1970s explicitly in response to working-class explosions in

Portugal and Spain, to augment CIA-organized counterrevolutionary activity there.

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

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

While triumphantly crowing over the "death of Communism," the AFL-CIO tops preside over ever more brutal attacks against workers and minorities in the U.S. In exposing these labor traitors we fight not only to defend the historic gains of the Soviet working people in the face of capitalist counterrevolution but to build the revolutionary workers party needed in this country to put an end to rapacious U.S. imperialism. ■



Nicaraguan president Violeta Chamorro fêted by her imperialist paymasters in Washington, D.C.

long bloody history of anti-Communist subversion and wrecking.

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

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

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

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

ues to sport the Solidarność logo on its masthead, even as the counterrevolutionary government's vicious assaults on the working class have made it so despised that Walesa ranks lower than Jaruzelski in recent popularity polls in Poland.

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

In the final analysis, it wasn't CIA dirty tricks that brought down the Polish deformed workers state, but the bankruptcy of Stalinism and the absence of

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

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

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

Young Spartacus

Stop KKK Hitler-Lover Duke at Harvard!

When word got out that Harvard's Kennedy School of Government had offered a platform to David Duke, there was a lot of anger among his many intended victims, and plans were made to stop this fascist. The Spartacus Youth Club issued a leaflet urging blacks, Jews, gays, Hispanics, leftists, labor—all opponents of fascist genocide—to unite in a massive united-front protest to stop Duke at Harvard. But instead of mobilizing anti-fascist fighters on and off campus, Jewish and black students are now at each other's throats.

The turning point toward this sorry impasse was a protest by the fascistic Jewish Defense League and others against a forum sponsored by the Black Student Association (BSA) featuring the anti-Semitic black nationalist professor Leonard Jeffries from City University of New York. On February 5, some 800 students assembled in a racially segregated auditorium to listen to Jeffries scapegoat Jews as the historic oppressors and conspirators against black people, and prattle about the innate superiority of dark-skinned "sun people" over white "ice people." Outside the auditorium 400 protested Jeffries and the BSA, including a squad of 30 Jewish Defense League thugs and Kahane Chai (rabid followers of the dead Zionist Führer Meir Kahane) who distributed a leaflet vowing that "Jews must and will strike against their enemies."

The anti-Jeffries protest was the opening shot of an ugly racist backlash against the BSA and all black students at this smug, overwhelmingly white ivory tower. Letters and editorials in the Harvard *Crimson* condemned every black person on campus for failing to join the *JDL-infested protest!* Harvard's hypocrisy is suffocating—a very priggish institution that kept an (informal, of course) *numerus clausus* on Jewish admissions for years now demands that

Students throughout Boston area joined militant, integrated united-front protest initiated by Partisan Defense Committee against David Duke provocation, 28 March 1991.



black students make common cause with the racist JDL! If these Zionist storm-troopers make their primary target the genocidal extermination of Palestinian Arabs, in the U.S. they have always been no less racist toward blacks. Meir Kahane (a.k.a. Michael King) earned his spurs in Brooklyn organizing anti-black vigilante squads. That's why the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee drew a hard line and excluded the JDL from our labor/black mobilization against David Duke at Boston's Old South Meeting House last March. There's no place for race-hate terrorists like them in a mobilization against race-hate terrorists!

Crimson editor J. Elliot Morgan, who is both black and Jewish, and says that his life was threatened by Jeffries during an interview last year, claims credit for

bringing the JDL on campus. Morgan's legal counsel and puppeteer is Harvard law professor and Anti-Defamation League mouthpiece Alan Dershowitz. Dershowitz is a professional anti-anti-fascist who has opposed every action against the Nazis and the KKK—from Skokie, Illinois where Holocaust survivors swept the Nazis off the streets some years ago, to Philadelphia in 1988 where Dershowitz tried (and failed) to sabotage through redbaiting a PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization against the KKK (see "Alan Dershowitz: Lawyer for Zionist Lies and Spies," WV No. 481, 7 July 1989).

Morgan thunders from his *Crimson* slime sheet that "All campus organizations should sever all ties with BSA.... Maintaining relations... would be the equivalent of maintaining relations with the Nazi Party...." He calls on the administration to take action against the BSA. To equate the BSA with the Nazis is as heinous as it is absurd. Blacks are the primary victims of the fascists in this country! So the BSA sponsored Leonard Jeffries, a crackpot and a dangerous demagogue—but his only weapon is his mouth. It is Harvard University, which this dubious *Crimson* creep calls on to repress the black students, which has offered a platform to the bona fide fascist David Duke to recruit for genocide!

This stuff is poison and students are in desperate need of a revolutionary antidote. The intensified racial polarization is driving black students deeper into the dead end of nationalism and exclusionism while white racists are riding high in the saddle. It is not surprising that racial solidarity among the few black students at an institution like "Hahvahd" would include a strong gut-level instinct to rally behind even the likes of Leonard Jeffries precisely because he is loathed by the white power structure. Understandable perhaps, but wrong.

Leonard Jeffries is an enemy of black struggle (see "White Racist Backlash Against Anti-Semitic Demagogue," WV No. 533, 30 August 1991). Regarding the deadly threat to black people represented by the KKK and Nazis, Jeffries says: "Not my problem." Really?! Hitler deemed black people, no less than Jews, "non-Aryan" *Untermenschen* to be murdered in gas chambers. The lesson from Germany is precisely that people who thought Hitler wasn't "their" problem discovered they too were targeted for extermination only when it was too late for united working-class action to smash the fascists. *It better not happen here.*

In a rotten rapprochement, the BSA and the Jewish student organization Hillel have agreed to rally while upholding Duke's "right to the freedom of speech." David Duke's idea of "free speech" is like the Milwaukee mass murderer Jeffrey Dahmer's idea of "safe sex." Duke means death—for blacks, Jews and all minorities. Duke wants to bring the lynch rope, the swastika and the burning cross from the cow fields and rural fascist strongholds to the citadel of state power. He must be stopped. We reprint below the leaflet issued by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club.

* * *

The recent invitation by the Harvard Kennedy School's Institute of Politics (IOP) to David Duke to speak at the IOP Forum is a dangerous racist provocation. Today a Republican, yesterday a Democrat, David Duke has always been and still is a KKK Hitler-loving fascist. In a very recent interview with the Dallas *Morning News* Duke proclaimed his pride in his years in the KKK and vowed, "I haven't changed." Lashing out at minorities as "genetically" inferior and a "threat" to "white culture," Duke reaffirmed his 1989 statement that "There's only one country anymore, that's all white and that's Iceland. And Iceland



Three-piece suit or white sheet, David Duke hasn't changed his stripes. Fascist threat must be crushed by powerful labor/black mobilizations.

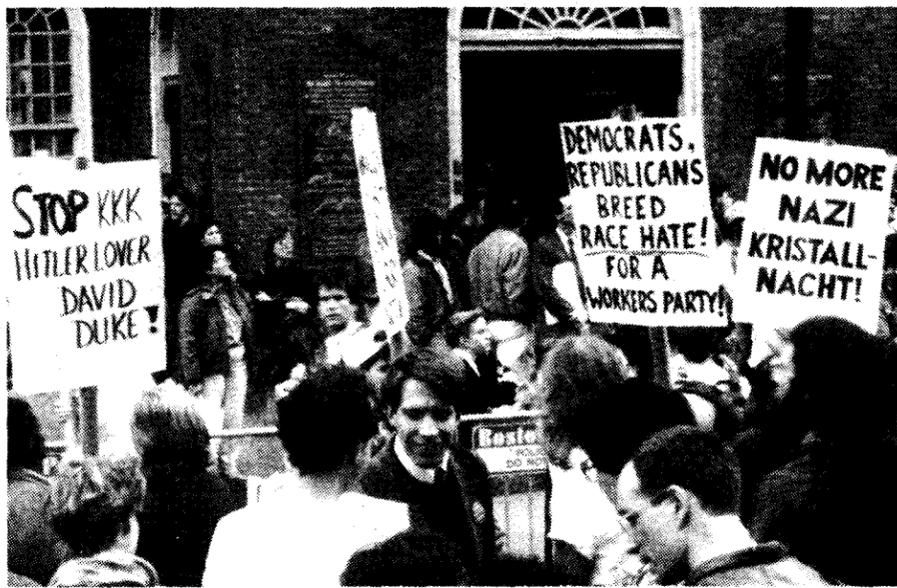
is not enough." This is the fascist demagogue the capitalist politicians, media, and now the K-School paint as a "former" Nazi and an "ex"-Klansman!

Maybe Duke's hidden his white hood and swastika under a three-piece suit, but his genocidal politics haven't changed one iota. His presidential campaign is meant to be a launching pad for a national fascist movement, as he spews out a litany of racist buzzwords and castigates the "massive welfare underclass" for all the effects of decaying American capitalism. Duke seeks to whip up lynch mob terror against black people, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Hispanics, Asians, gays, unionists and leftists. What David Duke wants is *genocide*.

In the 1960s Duke was known as the Nazi of Louisiana State University, and in the 1970s he became the "Imperial Wizard" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In 1989, Duke joined the Republican Party and rode the coattails of Reagan/Bush reaction into office as a Louisiana state legislator. Duke says that the Nazi Holocaust of six million Jews was a "myth," and only two years ago was selling Nazi tracts out of his legislative office. Duke also organized a vigilante "Klan Border Watch" targeting Mexican and Latin American immigrants for extermination.

While even the Republican National Committee wants to disown Duke, the Kennedy School bends over backwards to let this Nazi with a nose job don the robes of academia and mount a pulpit at Harvard. The K-School invite should come as no surprise—this institution is tied by a thousand threads to the White House, CIA and the Pentagon, churning out major architects of capitalist austerity against the working population at home and U.S. imperialist schemes of terror and genocide abroad. Most recently, the K-School graduated the Guatemalan butcher Gen. Hector Gramajo, who as former defense minister of that country was responsible for countless death-squad murders.

In announcing the invitation of David Duke, IOP's Student Advisory Committee president Kimberly Harris reportedly "wants to keep the atmosphere inside as calm as possible so that there can be a



Spartacus Youth Clubs built 1991 Boston protest against Duke; Democratic mayor Flynn's cops protected KKK/Nazi killers.

sharing of ideas" (*Crimson*, 14 December)! What kind of "ideas" does the IOP want to share with Duke? What kind of soap do they want to turn Jews into? What length of rope is optimal for lynching? Genocide is not debatable! It is not a question of denying "free speech" to David Duke. The fascists are not about debating ideas; their purpose is to organize terroristic *action* to wipe out those on their hit list—just about anyone who's not part of their "pure white Aryan" sick fantasy. Duke is different than someone like Robert Klitgaard, special assistant to former Harvard president Bok, whose infamous 1980 "Klitgaard Report" claimed that black students were academically inferior and would be better off at "lesser" institutions. Duke is not some racist administrator—he's Klitgaard with a baseball bat aimed at the skulls of black youth.

While we don't presume that Duke's Harvard appearance would also include firing up gas chambers in the heavily Jewish neighborhoods of Brookline or lynchings on Blue Hill Ave. in Roxbury, *this is his program* and his followers from the Connecticut KKK to Boston skinheads will be emboldened to carry out Klan terror on the streets. At the same time Duke was campaigning for gover-

nor of Louisiana this fall, we saw skinhead attacks against gays in the South End, as well as swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti around Boston and vicinity. And in a racially segregated city like Boston, where Democratic mayor Ray Flynn once led racist anti-busing mobs and where cops regularly shoot and victimize black youth, Duke's program is especially dangerous.

Just as Hitler's rise to power was fueled by the Great Depression which ravaged the capitalist world in the early 1930s, so Duke's rise to prominence is linked to the depressed state of racist American capitalism. While today Duke may be an embarrassment to the U.S. capitalists, in a crisis they will, as in Germany, arm and finance the fascists to defend their class rule. The candidacy of KKKer Duke represents another step in the backlash against even paying lip service to racial equality, as covert racism is increasingly replaced by the overt variety that is historically the norm in America. Duke gives a raw racist edge to the same reactionary agenda being pushed by Democrats and Republicans alike: union-busting, unbridled cop terror against black communities, imperialist slaughter in Iraq, attacks on abortion rights, slashing of welfare, malign

neglect of the AIDS epidemic, etc. It is fitting that Duke proclaims himself "America's Yeltsin." The U.S. ruling class is promoting the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union led by Yeltsin, who is tied to Russia's own fascists and anti-Semites like Pamyat.

Last March 28th in Boston's historic Old South Meeting House, David Duke's appearance was met by a militant 1,500-strong united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. This integrated protest drew widespread support across the city from youth, trade unionists, defenders of women's rights, Catholics, Jews, gays, leftists and students—black, white, Hispanic and Asian. In the weeks before the Klansman slithered into town, Spartacus Youth Club members got out the call to "Stop the KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" and gathered endorsements and support from other youth organizations, including at Harvard. Our protest provided a rare opportunity for hundreds of youth to join forces with working people and anti-fascist militants, speak their minds, and organize against white-supremacist reaction.

The Kennedy School invitation can only facilitate Duke's dangerous attempt to "mainstream" Klan terror in the realm of respectable electoral politics. *It is urgently necessary to mobilize a massive, united-front demonstration to stop Duke at Harvard.* Members of Hillel and BSA have already indicated a desire to protest Duke if he shows. The Spartacus Youth Club calls on these and other organizations to join a broad, united-front effort based on appealing to the power of labor and minorities to stop this Klansman in a suit.

To smash the fascists we have to fight the capitalist system which breeds them—because David Duke is *not* an aberration, he is a logical outgrowth of this sick system of exploitation. What we urgently need is to build a revolutionary workers party that can mobilize the power of labor in the interests of all the oppressed. Only when working people rule this land will we be rid of the white hood, the swastika, and all forms of racist oppression once and for all.

21 January 1992

Third Reich...

(continued from page 3)

Communists, have to make up for it today by not letting any Communists escape without punishment."

Nazi judges were a particularly noxious lot. They played an active role in the sterilization and crippling of Gypsies (Sinti and Roma), in the so-called "euthanasia" mass murder that went on in the concentration camps, and condemned another 30,000 people to death. They also participated in the 1942 Wannsee Conference that planned the extermination of European Jewry. None of these Nazi mass murderers in black robes were ever tried in West Germany; on the contrary, their Nazi "service" counted toward their later pensions as they advanced through the West German judicial system.

Fourth Reich Witchhunt

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

What's going on now is part of a Goebbels-style Big Lie campaign to rewrite history and make Nazi war crim-

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

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

Demonstrating the all-embracing character of this witchhunt, recently politicians from the ruling Christian Democrats launched a hate campaign to pillory noted author Bernt Engelmann, whose books document the Nazi roots of West Germany's rulers (see "Whose Creature Is Helmut Kohl?" *WV* No. 506, 13 July 1990). This was followed by an equally vicious TV smear against Engelmann's colleague, Günther Wallraff, whose book about racism in West Germany, *Ganz Unten*, won world renown. Their "crime" was having applied to the DDR Ministry of State Security to use former Gestapo archives. Wallraff and his family have been forced into hiding by Nazi death threats.

Manipulating the bloated Stasi archives, West German authorities are orchestrating a witchhunt that penetrates every aspect of life today in the former DDR. Now a vicious "drugs" campaign has been launched against East German athletes, who are among the best in the world. They're particularly going after runner Katrin Krabbe,

who refused to carry the Federal Republic flag after winning the 100-meter world championship, saying "It's not my country."

The witchhunt began in 1990 with an SPD campaign to expropriate the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), successor party to the DDR's ruling Stalinist party, and the DDR trade-union federation FDGB. From the very beginning the Spartakist Workers Party called for united-front action to defend the entire left and labor movement. Instead the PDS voted for the very mechanism that would be used to expropriate it, the capitalist administrators of the Treuhand, responsible for dismantling the East German economy. The PDS turned its treasury over to the Treuhand, and handed its financial officers over to the capitalist police and SPD inquisitors.

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

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

opponents will allow them to rewrite history and remove all the brown and black spots."

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

To be sure, many of the Stalinist rulers and secret police of the former DDR were guilty as hell of crimes against the working class—but that's not up to the heirs of Hitler's Third Reich! They are charged with the wrong crimes before the wrong class. What began as a nascent political revolution in 1989-90 was derailed by the intervention of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism with its millions of D-marks, which cut across the whole question of working-class justice.

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

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

In Honor of Our Slain Comrade Martha Phillips



1948-1992

Our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered at her post in Moscow on February 9. A lifelong communist and senior cadre of the Spartacist League, Martha was only 43 years old at the time of her death.

As a college student in Madison, Wisconsin, Martha was radicalized by the Vietnam War. She became a leader of a left opposition in the Socialist Workers Party and was instrumental in leading several of her comrades to fuse with the SL in November 1972.

Martha spent the bulk of her political life in the Bay Area. A single mother of a handicapped child who she dearly loved, Martha overcame pressing personal problems to give her best as an outstanding professional revolutionist. Her personal compassion, rigorous intellect, and power as a party fighter and public spokesman shaped our lives and work.

An effective recruiter and party educator, Martha took a special interest in youth work. A lifelong fighter for women's liberation, she was passionate and thoughtful on all questions of special oppression. Martha was a founder of the Bay Area Labor Black League and an active campaigner for the Partisan Defense Committee. She was our candidate in the 1983 elections for the Oakland City Council.

Through enormous effort, Martha learned Russian and got a job in Moscow teaching English. She led the International Communist League's fight to reimplant the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky in the land of its birth. Standing on the front lines of the urgent fight against counterrevolution, Martha fought with confidence and courage to bring to the Soviet working people the internationalist program of the October Revolution of 1917.

On February 22-23, the Spartacist League/U.S. held memorial meetings in the SF Bay Area and New York City to honor our comrade Martha Phillips. The speeches at the meetings, as well as written contributions received from other comrades of the SL/U.S. and International Communist League, testified to Martha's many and varied contributions to our party. We want to share with our readers some excerpts, edited and heavily condensed for space; additional material will appear in our next issue.

The Bay Area meeting was attended by 150 people, New York's by 130. Martha's comrades and friends, and her son Lael, remembered her through the speeches and through the displays of photos and articles posted in the hall. Several speakers also read selections from their own or Martha's favorite poets, including Roque Dalton, Anna Akhmatova, Langston Hughes and Victor Serge.

Al Nelson: Martha Phillips has been one of my closest and dearest friends for almost 20 years. The awful news of her death was staggering and unbearably painful. It still is. Then we learned that she died not of some medical anomaly, but as a result of a brutal and hideous murder, and then our pain was infused with rage and bitterness. Her life was stolen from her and from her comrades and friends and family. We know not by whom. But now our Martha is no more.

Despite our pain and our anger it is our duty today to honor the life of our fallen comrade, a life Martha singlemindedly devoted to the goal of international socialist revolution.

Since her death there has been an outpouring of letters and statements from all over the world by comrades who knew her as a friend or for whom Martha was a teacher and role model.

She was a highly respected senior cadre of our party and probably our most prominent woman spokesman.

Martha was a remarkable woman who rebelled against all aspects of bourgeois society and became a communist. Her convictions were deep and powerful, and she possessed a keen intelligence combined with a tremendous strength of character and an iron determination to do with her life what *she* wanted to do, no matter what obstacles were placed in her way. But she was also a very warm, sensitive, loving and generous person, with a quick and often wicked sense of humor, who tried her best to live life to the fullest. For her, a day off was not to be wasted cleaning house or doing the laundry, but was a time to *enjoy* life a little at a museum or picnic on the beach or a drive up to the Russian River in one of her terrible cars. And through all the vicissitudes of her personal life—and there were plenty—the one constant was her son Lael, who she dearly loved.

Her convictions and determination became apparent in the political course she followed. She was a woman and a Jew and part of that generation that was outraged by the imperialist slaughter in Vietnam. Having experienced anti-Semitism even as a young girl she was briefly drawn to left Zionism. In 1969, she and her former husband David spent some time on a kibbutz in Israel, but soon left disillusioned and repelled by the treatment of women. In April of 1970, at the age of 22, Martha had her son Lael. That was also the period of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the shooting down of students at Kent State by the National Guard, events that electrified the whole country. Seeking a revolutionary solution to imperialist war, women's oppression, racism and anti-Semitism, Martha and David joined the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party in Madison, Wisconsin in the spring of 1970 where Martha became heavily involved and prominent in the antiwar and women's movements. Here is where she also met her old friend Sam H.

This was the once-Trotskyist SWP that the Revolutionary Tendency, the forebear of the Spartacist League, had been expelled from in 1963-64. By the time Martha, Dave and Sam became members it had become thoroughly reformist, with a strategy of cross-class popular-front coalitions with liberal Democrats in all aspects of its work. A pseudo-left-wing local leadership tried to paper over differences, but by a year later Martha and Dave were consciously seeking out other left oppositionists within the SWP in order to wage a struggle against its reformist politics. As best as we can reconstruct, our paths first crossed politically in late 1971 in Cleveland at an antiwar conference. I recall a clandestine meeting on the upper floor of a bus terminal where comrade Seymour and I first met Martha and Dave. They were then the most left-wing members of an opposition group just forming called the Leninist Faction, and had sought us out to discuss politics and buy literature. Through examining the documents of our faction fight in the SWP nearly ten years before, they found the theoretical and programmatic explanations of the origins of the SWP's reformism, and by January 1972 they were working as Spartacist supporters within their faction, seeking to win other left-wingers from the SWP to our revolutionary Trotskyist program. For the next nine months they led a political fight culminating in a very clear political split that brought six comrades into a fusion with the Spartacist League. Two months later, four more comrades came over, including Sam H. Still more came over later as the Leninist Faction spun out of the SWP. This was our first big breakthrough in the SWP and very important interna-



Bay Area memorial meeting for Martha Phillips.

WV Photo

tionally. For it was our goal to recruit the best elements out of the SWP and their cothinkers internationally and to seize the banner of Trotskyism from them.

In June 1972 there was a quintessential communication from Martha to the SL Political Bureau. They had been sent the minutes of the PB meeting of 9 January 1972, which stated, point 4: "SWP Left Opposition: Dave P. of the Washington, D.C. PO wants to work closely with us in a disciplined way. His wife is close to us...." Martha proceeded to sharply call us to order, saying that in the Bolshevik movement "we refer to people by their *names*, not some *title* dictated by bourgeois legality!" Ouch! Boy, was she pissed off. Needless to say the minutes were corrected, and so were we.

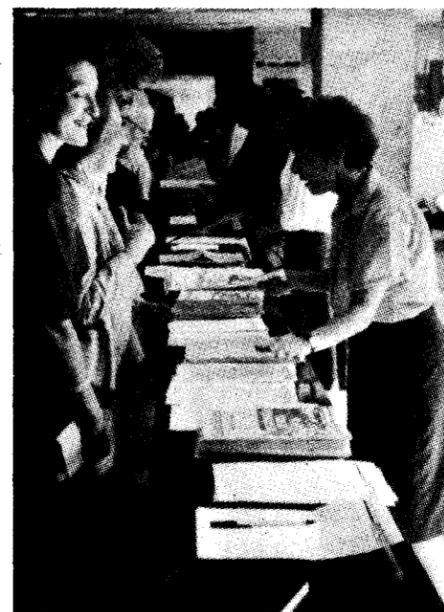
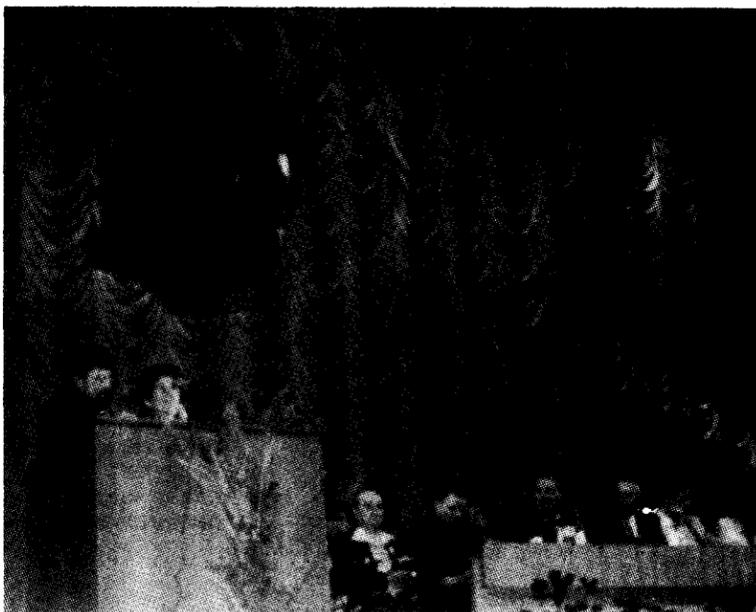
The acquisition of politically experienced cadre from this fusion and an earlier fusion with the [ex-Stalinist] Communist Working Collective, plus the recruitment of the East Oakland Women in the Bay Area, gave us the opportunity to greatly expand our West Coast organization. I transferred out here then in 1972, and so did Martha and Dave. In a letter to Sam she said, "Shortly after Ashtabula and resigning from the SWP, we gave away the bulk of our possessions, packed our books, documents and clothes, and flew to San Francisco, landing in the SF airport with \$3.00."

Thus began for me a political collaboration and personal friendship that was to last until her death two weeks ago. Along with comrades George Foster, Joan Parker and myself, Martha soon became one of the central political leaders of our work on the West Coast of North America, which historically ranges from San Diego to Vancouver, Canada. She was party organizer of the Bay Area and Los Angeles locals, the head of our work in the women's movement, the organizer of numerous political, defense and election campaigns, a candidate herself for city council in Oakland and a founding leader of the Labor Black League. In various capacities she has been a part of our youth work throughout this entire 18-year period, typically in later years as the senior party member in charge of politically supervising, educating and training the new youth recruits. In this youth work she was exceedingly patient and thorough, but she also taught them how to fight. She was an excellent public speaker and agitator. She went on to become a member of the Central Committee of the SL/U.S. and of the International Executive Committee.

But the work she got the most satisfaction from was Marxist education and studying the history of the American Trotskyist movement. She really enjoyed doing local archival work for the Prometheus Research Library, for example doing research on the history of the Cannon-Foster faction in the CPUSA of the 1920s. She understood that the greater our knowledge of past struggles, the more prepared we were for new ones.

This reflected Martha's unusual appreciation for political continuity, and she liked the idea that she was one of the links in an unbroken chain that goes back through the Socialist Workers Party of James P. Cannon to the early Communist Party and the Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky, back through the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and then through Plekhanov to Marx and Engels and the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

When we spoke of the revolutionary party as the memory of the working class, it was this programmatic continuity that was the link. But the ideas and program of Marxism are carried by individuals organized in a political party.



Spartacist Photos

Martha addressing the 700 delegates at 20 July 1991 Moscow Workers Conference and manning ICL literature table there (right).

So when Cannon said in 1939, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution," Martha Phillips knew exactly what that meant. In July 1973, while she was at her parents' home in Denver recovering from a very serious illness, she wrote a letter to a comrade in which she said, "I have been having a wonderful time reading Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution'—literally savoring every page. In my half-feverish state I felt almost as if I am living it again." And further, "But most of all I feel recharged with the incredible energy of the revolutionary Russian proletariat and the Bolsheviks' struggle to lead. And I feel very proud too, reading that book, to see how clearly the SL is the continuation of that history."

But like all of us Martha had her foibles and insecurities as well, and her ability to summon up the will to keep going in spite of life's many difficulties testified to the strength of her character. While reading over some of her letters to Liz Gordon I came across a passage that gives some insight into the origins of that strong character. A little background is required to place her letter in context. Between August 1973 and September 1974 Martha was organizer of the newly founded L.A. local. Having separated earlier from her husband David she moved to L.A. with her son Lael, who was handicapped. She was anxious but looking forward to her first independent command. It was a difficult and lonely year, living poorly on welfare, while learning the ropes of assembling a local leadership and building a functional party local. Yet in spite of everything she did a fine job and was feeling justifiably proud when she went to a National Conference in August 1974. So she was stunned and hurt when the rest of the L.A. leadership suddenly turned on her and opposed her nomination as a full member of the Central Committee. It was pretty nasty, but typically Martha struggled to get by the hurt and draw political lessons from the experience. But the experience had shaken her and she wrote Liz:

"Then back in L.A. I spent a day feeling somewhat overwhelmed and also feeling personally hurt by the events. It was pretty similar to how I felt when I was a child

and we moved so many times, and each time we moved, I'd always be the 'new kid,' younger and smaller and, until I learned better, would use too many big words, and sometimes there'd be real anti-Semitism, as I'd be the only Jewish kid, but mainly I studied and read too much, and was awfully easy to tease. I would be in a new school, and would think that I had finally been 'accepted' and then something would happen, and I would know that they still thought I was 'weird.' And after a while I decided I was 'different' and maybe that wasn't so bad. Maybe I told you this, but in the yearbook in '65 when I graduated from Scarsdale High School there are pages and pages of girls with fancy smooth flips, and then you get to this rather funny picture of me, absolutely serious, looking straight at the camera rather defiantly—with long curly hair that had not been combed in days. I refused to list my 'activities' so they just put my name, and they couldn't think of anything else so they put as a quote, 'As for me I go my own way.' I wasn't political for several years after that, but even as a small child I can remember hating and despising bourgeois society.

"I can't tell you what all that really has to do with the slate fight, nothing on a rational level, but I felt like that same vulnerable little girl."

I thought the whole section was very revealing. The loneliness and bigotry did not break the spirit of this little girl who "studied and read too much," but instead toughened her and made her defiant and proud of her heritage and intellectual capacities, producing an intelligent and independent-minded young woman capable of going her own way. And if, in her own words, she tended to agonize over her mistakes, it was not in an egotistical or self-indulgent manner. Rather she wanted to learn from her mistakes in order to become more competent as a party leader, to strengthen the party and make it more effective in the fight against all forms of oppression.

Martha was certainly a fighter, but in spite of her strong will the realities of her material and social existence sometimes were overwhelming. In another letter she wrote, "From the time he was born I always told myself, it's not

continued on next page



Part of display at Bay Area memorial meeting.



WV Photos



Martha and son Lael on Oakland teachers' picket line, 23 March 1983.

continued from previous page

going to stop me from doing the things I want to do, I'll just keep going. So we dragged Lael across country in endless Greyhound buses, and I marched in so many demonstrations with a child on one hip and leaflets in the other hand. But it is very wearing and sometimes I feel all my energy drained out of me." I remember her fighting like a tiger with various school administrations and petty bureaucrats to get Lael into the right schools with the special programs he needed. She was always proud of Lael's accomplishments.

So Martha's life was seldom easy and she was often unhappy. But like Rosa Luxemburg, Martha Phillips was above all a revolutionist, and no matter what "banalities of daily life" were dragging her down at some particular moment, when she was required to act politically, to be a fighter and a leader, then it was as though some inner switch was turned on and she could become entirely focused politically, bringing to bear that keen intelligence and iron determination. This was the real Martha Phillips, who like Rosa Luxemburg was an eagle.

Alison Spencer: Comrades, we've lost one of our best. Martha Phillips, a senior cadre of our International, a woman remarkable for her personal compassion, friendship, intelligence, and utter devotion to what we are about—the triumph of the working class internationally—has been ripped away from us, and the life she lived so fully, through a brutal act of murder. On top of our grief and shock—and rage—we face the agony of not knowing *who* killed Martha or *why*. A huge political blow to us and the fledgling, critical new Moscow station of the ICL she forged. The murder of Martha Phillips is a big chill that can't but remind our Soviet audience of the bloody repression faced by a previous generation of Trotskyists. But Martha saw a situation ripe with opportunity to build an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party, an opportunity to bring the Soviet working people back to political power.

Martha was radicalized in the New Left—in struggle against the Vietnam War and in the women's movement. Looking for a way to radically change this society, she rapidly made her way to the *Old Left*, joining what she thought was Cannon's party when she signed up with the SWP's youth group in the spring of 1970 in Madison. As Martha discovered, the SWP was no longer a revolutionary party, its appetite and eventually its program was reformist—building liberal pop-front coalitions and suppressing revolutionary politics to woo Democratic Party "doves."

Martha and her then-companion David Phillips actively began seeking out alternatives. They were already to the left of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency in the SWP, which rejected program as primary and saw the problems with the SWP as reducible to the absence of a working-class concentration. They were at the time the most left-wing members of a new opposition called the Leninist Faction.

A central issue in the split within the Leninist Faction was a roaring fight over the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, and I think that gives a glimpse into how Martha was steered. Many comrades have likened Martha to Rosa Luxemburg—not only for the obvious similarities that they were both women, communists and Jewish, but also for Martha's intelligence and devotion. Like Rosa she soared with the eagles...and, rarely, flew low with the chickens. Like most of us, Martha learned from the school of hard knocks. Unlike most, she was unusually good-natured about subordinating her ego to a communist collective and corrective, and I think it comes in part from fighting her way to the SL over the principle of democratic centralism.

Here's a very small but revealing example, not of a programmatic difference but simply how Martha handled criticism. Among the party work Martha enjoyed most was her careful and valuable archival research as the West Coast representative of the Prometheus Research Library. She made many trips to Hoover and was assisting in gath-

ering material on the early CLA. She gave a class in the Bay Area in 1988—her information was partial, her assessments somewhat off—and she was heckled by Jim most of the way through it. She wrote a letter to Emily explaining, "Actually Jim's heckling was the best (and funniest) part of the class. The worst was that I barely mentioned the key fights of the period or J.P. Cannon. Not good. Pat Quinn, much to his chagrin, trained David, Sam and me as Cannonites in 1970-71, which is why we were able to find the way to the SL. If you lose the centrality of Cannon as the leading revolutionary figure in the maze of the cast of characters in the history of American Trotskyism, for sure you come to a bad end. Anyway, one of these days, having better digested and organized the material, I'll give the class again." That's how she was—she'd just pick herself up and dust herself off and go on.

The recruitment of cadres like Martha through revolutionary regroupments—splits and fusions with leftward-moving tendencies—enabled the SL to carry out a "transformation" to a stable propaganda group with a consistent presence in a few key industries and intervening among students. From the start, Martha led our youth work, directly as one of our best campus activists and public spokesmen, and as party rep to many youth locals and campus fractions. She also made herself the unofficial party rep to a lot of youth around the country who were lucky enough to be politically adopted by her. She took an interest in us, and her patience, prodding, pedagogy and sometimes pummeling is a big part of why many of us are still in this room today.

One of her first political battles for the youth—and within the youth—was fighting a witchhunt of the RCY at SF City College in 1972. For her success in winning a fight for our legality through building a genuine united-front committee that included the YSA and even liberals like the ACLU, Martha was trashed at the RCY's Second National Conference in 1972 for "opportunism."

This fight took place just two days before the party National Conference where Martha and the other LF comrades formally fused with the Spartacist League. Until the interventions of the party delegation, the whole conference was against Martha—and Martha held her own. On the scale of her accomplishments this may seem like small



Martha with her longtime companion Jeff in 1991.

potatoes, but it was a seminal fight for the youth org and Martha led it, correcting a left-sectarian bulge on the united front and defense work. Out of this fight came *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 3, still our main programmatic document on the united-front tactic. Also, out of this fight Martha won her first seat on the party's Central Committee as a representative from the youth org. Two years later she was elected to the Central Committee in her own right.

Martha's strength of character and political integrity were among the reasons she was appointed the convener of the Logan trial body at our first international conference in 1979. A comrade from Dublin, who did not know Martha personally, wrote a moving testimonial based on what he saw at that conference.

Martha had quite a bit to do with our 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, the most left-wing expression of the gay liberation movement on the West Coast. Martha's experience as a faction fighter was instrumental in forcing the RFU to debate the central programmatic question, the class nature of the Soviet state—resulting in a sharp political split within that organization and a fusion between the RFU majority and the Spartacist League.

Martha first visited the Soviet Union in the spring of 1987. Later that fall we toured the Chicago branch together and Martha gave a forum commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. After years of confronting base bigotry in this country, she was in high spirits and filled her talk with tales of how she and her companion Jeff, a black American, were welcomed in the Soviet Union. It was like a chapter from Claude McKay's book: come to life. Martha said it was painful for them to get back on the plane and return to this racist hellhole.

Over drinks after the forum she told me in all seriousness that she was going to move to the Soviet Union. My pragmatic objections—"Martha, you're broke...what will you do for a job...you don't even speak the language"—could not and did not dampen her enthusiasm. She began intensive study of the Russian language that fall and in September of 1990 she moved to the Soviet Union for three months, enrolling in an intensive language course, which she aced. In May of 1991 she found work as a teacher and moved to Moscow. Her letters home informed us of what six years of Gorbachev's perestroika had wrought—not least for women, Jews and other minorities.

Martha's favorite political book was Lenin's *The State and Revolution*, a manual for the working-class seizure of power. She always wanted to be able to read it in the original Russian. She did. And her first public presentation in Russian was a contact class on *The State and Revolution*—an accomplishment Martha was most proud of.

Here are some excerpts from her letters from the Soviet Union:

14 September 1990: "[Trotsky's] point that the bureaucracy's international betrayals are matched by their (even worse?) humiliating treatment of their 'own' people has a daily reality here.... The constant, unpredictable shortages create constant tension: will there be meat or tobacco or milk or eggs or bread? Maybe yes, maybe no.... The uncertainty keeps people constantly off balance; everyone becomes a rude, pushing scavenger.... The only thing I could compare it to was the physical nervousness after an earthquake—waiting for the aftershocks."

5 June 1991: "Even when we tell politicians here on what passes for the left that a healthy majority of our leadership in the SL/U.S. and International are women, these guys think it's some kind of joke or tokenism.... Lenin said on the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution that if the revolution had done nothing more than improve the status of working women it was proven worthwhile. Well, to put that in reverse, if Stalinism had done nothing more than to turn women, homosexuals, Jews, national minorities, back into less than human beings—how deeply it deserves to be 'superseded.' It makes you burn with anger at what they've done!"

I'd like to give Martha the last word here, concluding with her words from a letter in January 1991. With crystal clarity of thought and iron determination, Martha spelled out the opportunities and tasks which she dedicated herself to. We will honor her by persisting and furthering the work she started:

"The truth is that my stay [in the Soviet Union] gave me *more* confidence not in the veracity of our program (which I've agreed with for a lot of years) but in *our* ability to win. In a society in severe crisis as the SU is today, all political tendencies will get their cut—including Bolshevism/Spartacism. With a consistent presence to talk to the people who like our journal, we will get a certain number of people. How many depends on how smart or stupid we play it and how much of a time period we have to work in.

"There is no middle road. When the main ideological cohesion has cracked, simple repression is not a solution. It's either bloody counterrevolution (how else will they get the workers to work?) or Trotskyism.

"Our problem is to win Soviet working people (and the small layer of the intelligentsia who will come over) to genuine internationalism (which means Soviet defensism at the highest level). That means breaking through the ideological defeatism that is at the core of Stalinism. Leninist norms of functioning, the 'tribune of the people' conception, democratic centralism—all of these are now and will be in the future critical and difficult fights. In a society built on lies it will be no small thing to build a

"Defend the Soviet Union in Its Hour of Greatest Danger"

An Intervention in Moscow

The newspaper of the International Communist League's British section recently featured this report "by an ICL member of an intervention into a 14 December meeting called in Moscow by Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy), which is supported by the British Militant group." The ICL comrade was Martha Phillips.

The Militant/Rabochaya Demokratiya meeting was held in a House of Culture in the Red Presnya district. There were at most 35 people there, mainly old male academics, five women including me, only a few workers and a few youth most of whom we knew—they'd attended our classes, previously called or written.

On the wall was a photo montage of their participation on Yeltsin's barricades, labelled in Russian "On the Barricades 19-21 August 1991," as well as pictures of them with a bunch of anarchist types in Red Square on 7 November. Talking up our line on the Yeltsin barricades we knew that a good section of the audience, like the bulk of Moscow, now hates Yeltsin. (According to a recent poll only 15 percent fully support him.)

These Granites are pretty dim—but that's what Labourite politics will do to you. So for their first point they had a Swedish trade unionist talk for at least 45 minutes about

the situation in Sweden—going back to the organisation of the first trade union. It was very social democratic/workerist: life is bad in Sweden too and you need a labour party. Then Sergei B. talked about workers committees and a bit on the economy. Most people were bored and a number around us were asking us questions, signing our mailing list and buying our literature.

I intervened towards the end of the discussion period. I had a hard time getting called on and finally just stood up and they had to call on me, as I was in the centre front. I said that every group in the Soviet Union and around the world is judged by their position on the coup/countercoup. We of the International Communist League were for taking down Yeltsin's barricades. But everyone should know that Rabochaya Demokratiya are the most vile kind of social democrats, proud of the fact that they participated on Yeltsin's barricades in defence of Bush and counterrevolution. The task right now was to defend the Soviet Union in its hour of greatest danger. Here the audience started to applaud.

Sergei B. said that the counterrevolution had already won. Then he tried to shut me up but failed. I asked if this treatment was an example of "workers democracy." Much to my surprise there was silence so I continued. I said the question is simple: revolution or counterrevolution. These people have supported Solidarność in Poland, told the workers in Poland to trust Solidarność. Now there's poverty and unemployment there. Our International said

at the time that Solidarność is a "union" of the CIA! In conclusion I invited anyone who was a genuine communist to come and talk with myself and my comrade, a former officer of the DDR who had refused to serve the Bundeswehr and became a Spartacist because he wanted to defend socialism.

This broke up the session. Sergei B. tried to answer me, but rather weakly—that it wasn't a reality to say that workers could be mobilised to take down the Yeltsin barricades, and that we're soft on Stalinism. Then I heckled him, asking point-blank whether he participated on Yeltsin's barricades. He said yes, that they participated, and that there were a lot of Muscovites there. I pointed out that they think the main enemy was Stalinism, while we understand the main enemy is imperialism. No wonder they can't see the class line!

Then a worker—one of the only ones in the room, an old guy with white hair in the front row—got up and started to shout them down emotionally about how they supported Yeltsin. Could this shameful thing really be true, that they were on the Yeltsin barricades? They tried to shut him up but someone else raised the same question. Then they lost control of the meeting. So after trying to get things back together and failing they called a break.

Then we were surrounded by a number of people who shook our hands and agreed with us that it was shameful to be on the Yeltsin barricades. So we left after the break ended, as did a number of people in their audience.

From the Pages of Women and Revolution

From her earliest days as a political person, Martha Phillips was passionately committed to the fight for women's liberation. Her concern and her knowledge animated *Women and Revolution*, the journal of the SL's Commission for Work Among Women. Martha pressed for and collaborated on numerous articles including *W&R's* salute to the "Night Witches," Soviet women combat pilots in World War II (*W&R* No. 36, Spring 1989), and "Palestinian Women and the Intifada" (*W&R* No. 39, Summer 1991). Last October, Martha conducted the "Interview with Soviet Women" featured in our most recent issue.

We reprint below some excerpts from "In the Revolutionary Vanguard of the Civil War—Harriet Tubman: Fighter for Black Freedom," which was based on a public forum given by Martha in June 1986.

As a conductor on the Underground Railroad and a military strategist and spy during the war, "General" Tubman, as John Brown dubbed her, stood in the revolutionary insurrectionist wing of the abolitionist movement in the struggle against the Southern slavocracy. Like John Brown, the heroic martyr of the 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry, and the outstanding political leader of the abolitionist movement, Frederick Douglass, Tubman knew that freedom for the slave would come about only through blood and iron. Harriet Tubman's life is a microcosm of the struggle for black liberation in the 19th century; her life directly reflects the issues of the time....

A fugitive from bondage, black and a woman, Tubman triumphed over exceptional odds to become a leader of the second American Revolution. Like Frederick Douglass, she was able to generalize her bitter and brutal experience of oppression into a revolutionary social consciousness and a determination to fight for all the oppressed. She was an advocate of militant political action and revolutionary insurrectionism. As opposed to the "moral suasion" Garrisonian wing, she was part of the revolutionary vanguard of the abolitionist movement. As the "Moses" of her people on the Underground Railroad, Tubman was famous throughout the U.S. and beyond by the time of the war....

In 1849, although it meant leaving her husband, a free-



Martha was a frequent contributor to the work of *Women and Revolution*. She pressed for an article on the condition of Soviet women and then herself conducted, in Russian, the interview shown at right.

man who refused to go with her, Harriet Tubman escaped from slavery. Rumor had reached her and her family that their owners planned to sell them to the Deep South, a dreaded fear of every slave in the border states. Already two of her sisters had been sent off in a chain gang, separated from their children. Her brothers lost courage for the escape; Tubman went on alone....

Aided by a white woman who gave her the first address of the Underground Railroad, Tubman made her way North, traveling at night. "I had crossed the line of which I had so long been dreaming. I was free; but there was no one to welcome me to the land of freedom, I was a stranger in a strange land, and my home after all was down in the old cabin quarter.... But to this solemn resolution I came; I was free, and they should be free also"....

To Lincoln and the majority of the Northern ruling class, the goal of the war was not to end slavery but to put down the secession of the South. Harriet Tubman again saw

further, earlier: that the war for the Union must become a war to free the slaves....

Harriet Tubman herself was within earshot of one of the first battles employing blacks in combat: the heroic assault on the Confederate Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in July of 1863. It was here that the Massachusetts 54th, the first regiment of free Northern blacks, led by Tubman's friend Robert Gould Shaw, demonstrated before the eyes of the nation the courage and commitment of black soldiers. It was probably this battle Tubman was describing in her dramatic words: "And then we saw the lightning, and that was the guns; and then we heard the thunder, and that was the big guns; and then we heard the rain falling, and that was the drops of blood falling; and when we came to get in the crops, it was dead men that we reaped." From then on black soldiers were thrown into the fighting on all fronts, tipping the balance of power for the ultimate Northern victory against the slavocracy....

party where comrades can fearlessly and simply tell the truth, internally and to the world."

Jim Robertson: I'm speaking because I'm going to be dealing with some hard matters. Somebody murdered her. And other comrades will fill out her qualities of personality and comradeship.

When she first died, I reacted, I think like all of us, in thinking about her over the many years that I'd known her, and worked with her and cared for her. And then because I'm a consultant on our Russian work, and there was a problem even about getting an autopsy to prove that she was murdered, I got involved in the aftermath of Martha's death. And that did something to me that doesn't usually happen. When comrades die, I've got this uncontrollable feeling that they've just gone away and I won't see them anymore. But I've been made to realize that Martha not only died but was murdered. And one cannot do much from 7,000 miles away, but I've been attempting to discharge my responsibilities in this regard. So this is the heavy stuff.

Well, by way of background, after we sued the FBI

in 1983 they swore that they were going to stay off our backs. Around 1981 the *Wall Street Journal* carried an editorial that said "We're going to get you" for objecting to Lech Walesa and Solidarność. Around the same time the leader of our German section was stabbed in the back with the intent to kill him by kill-crazed Afghan rightists in Frankfurt am Main. And nothing much else happened. But it appears that the American bourgeoisie is very tender toward the East, although I believe they're mainly in competition with the German capitalist class.

Now this is just background. I have no links between what I've just said and the murder of Martha Phillips. And I would remind everyone that, while history is not a conspiracy the way Henry Ford and the fascists think, that there are conspiracies in history. So naturally in a very tender area of work, working not only in Moscow but in six other Soviet cities, she was in an exposed position.

The personal appreciations that I have read that I thought best caught and covered the qualities of Martha Ann Phillips as a human being, a family member, a friend, a lover and a comrade, are contained in the appreciations that were written by Sam and by Liz, and I certainly rec-

ommend those. It was along those lines that I had intended to speak, rather than on these other subjects.

Now, we have a small headquarters in Moscow station, and the person who lived there left the country for a while, and Martha who'd been quite ill had moved in there, and she was on the road to recovery, both according to her medical tests and her own subjective feelings. And it is only for that reason that when we heard that she was found peacefully dead we asked for an autopsy, simply because we did not understand if she was getting well why she might have died. We repeated that request, while the State Department told her family that Russians do messy autopsies and advised against it. However, the Moscow militia, the local police force, ultimately did perform an autopsy, which is normally a matter of routine, and found out that Martha had both been strangled and stabbed. It was murder. When it first became known that Martha had been murdered, the militia began, rather late, a criminal investigation—sealing the apartment, interrogating witnesses, etc. And the circumstances are really quite obscure to us. Comrades had been with her until 11 o'clock the night before.

continued on next page



WV Photos

Martha speaking at anti-racist protest called by Labor Black League for Social Defense outside SF General Hospital, 4 December 1985 (left); at protest against Salvadoran butcher Duarte, 27 September 1981 (right).

continued from previous page

In the apartment, which had a room with an office in it, there was an unopened bottle of vodka. Comrades went back at 8 o'clock in the morning because there was a demonstration of some kind. Martha was still supposed to be too sick to participate in it, even though she very badly wanted to because she was feeling better. This bottle of vodka had been ripped open in an unusual way, unlike the way that you usually go about it. She was lying in bed apparently peacefully dead.

And I do not have any basis now to speculate. It could have been somebody within our milieu for personal or provocateur reasons. We've had altercations with Pamyat. The Kuzbass region independent mine workers union is run straight out of Washington by a Russian fascist and the CIA; we intervened and got in their way [see "Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil," WV No. 522, 15 March 1991]. There are many other possibilities. Moscow is hardly New York—that is, you don't get knifed in the street in Moscow, although increasingly with impoverishment you can get robbed. But this was not that kind of murder at all. And the plain truth is, we do not know.

But we are pursuing this. Things like lawyers and private investigators are fairly anomalous in the past 40 or 50 years in the Soviet Union, but they do exist and we are employing them. We are seeking to work with the militia, on the assumption that they are not simply interested in a witchhunt against our organization. We've been politically extremely obtrusive because we are the Trotskyists, the people who are against Yeltsin and capitalist restoration. So this naturally makes one suspicious. But I urge the comrades not to drift over into paranoia. Let's get some more evidence first if we can.

But I do know one thing, that is that Martha Phillips died at her post, doing what she wanted to do and what she was supposed to do in the effort to liberate the Russian and international working class. And that's the truth.

Pam E.: Martha's death is a profound loss to her family, comrades and friends. I want to share some of my recollections and, perhaps for younger comrades especially, try to explain partially who Martha was and where she came from. She had a crucial impact on a layer of us who knew her in the SWP of 1971 and helped light our way to the Spartacist League.

1971 was an important year for the oppositionists of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency of the SWP. Martha, 23 years old, was in the Washington, D.C. branch when I first met her. As the Tendency was facing "reintegration" into the SWP, political activists—a total of almost 30 people—were determined not to "push the peanut" for Jack Barnes and his coterie of hand-raisers. And we were chafing under the "new" org rules (drafted as a result of

the RT fight) which outlawed every instance of "non-authorized" political discourse.

In the fall and winter of that year, we met secretly in hotel rooms and private homes during SMC conferences and NPAC gatherings to work out a political program for what would become the Leninist Faction. Of course, this process wasn't in a vacuum. While we were having political fights internally, we were being bombarded externally by a host of groups including the Workers League and the Spartacist League. Martha and David met with the SL early on in D.C. and had what would become a very productive discussion. By the spring of 1972, Martha and those around her were advocating a fusion perspective with the Spartacist League. The founding document of the short-lived Leninist Faction—the Declaration—was Martha's work. She fought hard for the heterogeneous faction to accept it. That they did was a testament to her powers of persuasion.

Shortly after it issued the Declaration, however, the Leninist Faction started coming unglued, going in all directions. Martha's work and the work of the SL at this point was to sharpen our understanding as many political differences came to the fore. She pointed out how our grouping under pressure was veering away from a Leninist perspective, i.e., the fight to organize a serious disciplined party to lead the working class to power. And she helped us to see that the Spartacist League was the Trotskyist continuity from Cannon's left opposition that built the early SWP through the Revolutionary Tendency's fight in 1963. She understood this and fought for us to understand it.

I will never forget her intervention at the August 1972 Ashtabula convention—hitting hard, laying bare the opportunist trade-union appetites of the Minneapolis group, exposing the silliness of the mindless call for a "Fifth International," and coming back relentlessly to the Leninist principles of party building. She showed how the LF leaders were looking to create an organization that would be a "family of the left" in proposing a lash-up of Vanguard Newsletter, the LF and the Spartacist League. At a certain point Martha proposed that Robertson be invited to come and set us straight on Harry Turner. That brought the house down. After making it clear to us that what we needed was not a rat group like VNL, but a revolutionary party, Martha and four comrades walked out declaring their immediate intention to join the Spartacist League as soon as possible. Their exit from the LF was marked formally by the telegram that appeared in *Spartacist* No. 21.

It wasn't until later that we who were left in the disintegrating Leninist Faction swamp really absorbed what had happened. For whatever illusions we had, or naiveté, we weren't ready yet to join Martha and the others. But she left us something to chew on, and by November four more of us joined her in the Spartacist League.



WV Photos

Martha campaigning for Oakland city council, April 1983; at ILWU pay lines in San Francisco (left), outside Oakland supermarket.

Looking back, it's entirely possible that without Martha's intervention, we might not have found our way here.

We all will sorely miss Martha. Her work and dedication are a beacon for all who continue to build our organization, the International Communist League.

Diana C.: Martha was my friend, comrade and mentor for 20 years. I first met Martha in 1972. I had just joined the Spartacist League with my gang, the East Oakland Women, and within a month or so Martha came to the Bay Area to be the youth organizer. I liked Martha from the first. I was impressed with the depth of her Marxist education, something which I certainly hadn't gotten in the New Left circles in which I hung out. And I admired her as a speaker and an activist and a communist woman leader.

To Martha, the revolutionary continuity really was important, you know, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon. She was a real Cannonite. I always think of Cannon's speeches on the Russian question, where he says, "The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.... Who touches the Russian Question touches a revolution. Therefore, be serious about it, don't play with it."

Well, it was a flesh and blood reality to Martha, all the way down to her bones. No one who knew her was surprised that she learned Russian or went to the Soviet Union to build the party and be on the front lines in the fight against capitalist counterrevolution.

Like Cannon, she hated the people who Cannon called the waverers, backsliders, capitulators to the pressure of the world bourgeoisie, who had given up on the Soviet Union before the decisive battles had been fought.

It's very difficult for me to say what Martha meant to me. She was a constant in my life for two decades. She was a harsh critic and a good friend. I remember she called me up after some fight in the union work we were doing, and said, "Diana, you must read this section from *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*." Well, I could find it for you today in a minute.

So you read what she recommended. And you remembered her criticisms.

And all of these criticisms were delivered with such an evident concern that you learn something from it. I remember she used to tell me, she must have told me this about 20 times, she said, "You have to put your political mistakes in perspective. After all, what you have done is not as bad as what the Communists did in Germany in 1923."

And Martha agonized a lot over her own failures and mistakes, over many glasses of wine. But what I admired was that she picked herself up, read some books and moved on. And I would say the mistakes grew less frequent over time, actually. She tried, with some success I think, to put into practice a recommendation that Jim had given her, which was that she should worry less about the mistakes she'd already made and more about the mistakes she was going to make. She tried to do that. She succeeded at that.

Besides her passion for education, knowledge, internal education, she had a revolutionary audacity which I admired. I think if you look at the display back there, "Martha vs. the Mayor" [WV No. 327, 8 April 1983], you will see Lionel Wilson, who had the podium, the gavel, was the mayor of Oakland, trying to shut Martha up. But he just had no chance. I mean, he lost it. Martha was going to say what she was going to say about the interests of the working class.

I know I was impressed, it must have been right in 1972, when I first met Martha. We went to San Francisco State to set up a lit table and she had Lael. Lael was a baby, he was with us, and we had the requisite 50 pounds of lit for any campus lit table, the banner, the table, and being San Francisco State of course, we were parked about a mile from where we were going to set up. I was somewhat daunted by all of this, so Martha said, well, we'll leave everything here, we'll just take Lael and go on campus and scope it out. So we do this, and I was trying to figure out how we were going to do this, and she goes up to the woman at the SWP table and smiles her very charming and beautiful smile and says, "You wouldn't mind holding my baby for a moment, would you?" So the woman says, "No, honey, no problem." So we leave Lael with this SWPer, go and get all of the lit, the table, set up right next to the SWP, Martha gives her a lecture on Pabloism. She was so mad. It's lucky she didn't throw Lael at us. But I was impressed. I thought, boy, this is the way to operate.

Martha was an intensely focused person. She had a tight list of priorities in her life. Number one was politics. And that was always first and foremost, number one: politics in command. Number two was a joy in life in the here and now with the people she cared about. And everything else, really, far, far distant third. All those things that people worry about: money, things, paying the rent, doing the laundry—all of this mundane shit, she didn't think too much about it really.

And she had a lot of day-to-day troubles. There are endless Martha stories. The apartments she was thrown out of, the jobs she was fired from. Muni buses were always bumping into her car. Getting through the apprenticeship and keeping these printing jobs. That was a constant struggle, in a situation where the workforce really was under attack. And, as comrades have mentioned,

Highgate Cemetery, London, February 15: In memory of Martha Phillips, comrades and friends laid wreath at grave of Karl Marx.



Martha had a fine talent, also, for getting into trouble. I remember sitting around with Kathy and George Foster and Martha, and Martha's explaining to us about the job she's just been fired from. She said, "Well, you know, the boss wanted me to do something. It was against the union contract, you know, I read him a few relevant sections from the union contract, and then I got fired." So there's like dead silence, and Martha says, "I don't know why you're all looking at me like this. I don't think I did anything provocative. I read him some passages from the union contract." So finally Foster says, "Well, Martha, I mean, you'd only been working there three days. I mean, you could have kept your mouth shut for a week." But that was not Martha's forte, keeping her mouth shut.

But she managed to rise above all these troubles with a sense of political purpose, commitment and a sense of humor which never ceased to amaze me. I think a lesser mortal would have been daunted by the things she faced in her life. And Martha loved life. She was a vibrant, alive person. One of the most alive people I've ever met. That's why it's so hard to believe that she's dead. And that she's not coming back. And I would like to say that all those things that the Moral Majority tells us that we're not supposed to do, and not supposed to enjoy, Martha did all of them, as much as possible. She packed as much living into her life as she could. And a good thing too. I can only hope for a suitable retribution against those who cut her life so short.

Martha told me, and a couple of other people as well, before she went to the Soviet Union the last time, a story about one of her trips back to Denver. She said that all her family, for some reason, were going around the room talking about what they should have done in their life or what regrets they had and so on. And people said various things. And then they got to Martha and someone turned to her and said, "Well, I suppose you've done exactly what you wanted with your life." And she said, "That's right, I have." She said, "It would have been nice if I had a little more money, it would have made life a little easier, but that's right, I have done what I wanted with my life." And you know, I think of that with some satisfaction.

I'd like to read a quote. Martha loved quotes from Trotsky. No important meeting was done without an appropriate quote from Trotsky. Actually I recommend this to comrades; it's Trotsky's speech on the founding of the Fourth International, where he talks very powerfully about the revolutionary martyrs, but also about the determination and revolutionary optimism necessary to go on:

"Our party demands each of us totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself. Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one par-

ticipates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain."

Well, Martha's life was not lived in vain. She lived a life that she wanted in the service of the international proletarian revolution. She knew she faced dangers in the Soviet Union. She spoke about it to several comrades before she left. But she went ahead anyhow. And, you know, that's what we have to do. Although made poorer by the loss of Martha, we have to go forward as well. And as Trotsky says in this same article, "The program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and those revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven."

At Karl Marx's Grave, Highgate Cemetery, London, February 15

Jon Branche, *Spartacist League/Britain*

Comrades and friends:

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

Martha was a passionate enthusiast for the great leader of American Trotskyism, James Cannon, and no matter where she was—whether training youth in San Francisco or fighting for our program in the Soviet Union—Martha sought to impart Cannon's heritage. It was Cannon who fought to preserve our program of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the waverers and backsliders of his time. For Cannon the Russian question was the question of revolution, and the attitude taken toward the Soviet state was the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades of Menshevism, social democracy, centrism and Stalinism. As he noted, all those groups that turned their backs on the first workers state became reconciled in one form or another to bourgeois democracy.

Cannon said: "We are not disinterested observers and commentators. We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. *We have an interest! We take part in the fight!* At each stage in the development of the Soviet Union, its advances and its degeneration, we seek the basis for revolutionary action. We want to advance the world revolution, overthrow capitalism, establish socialism."

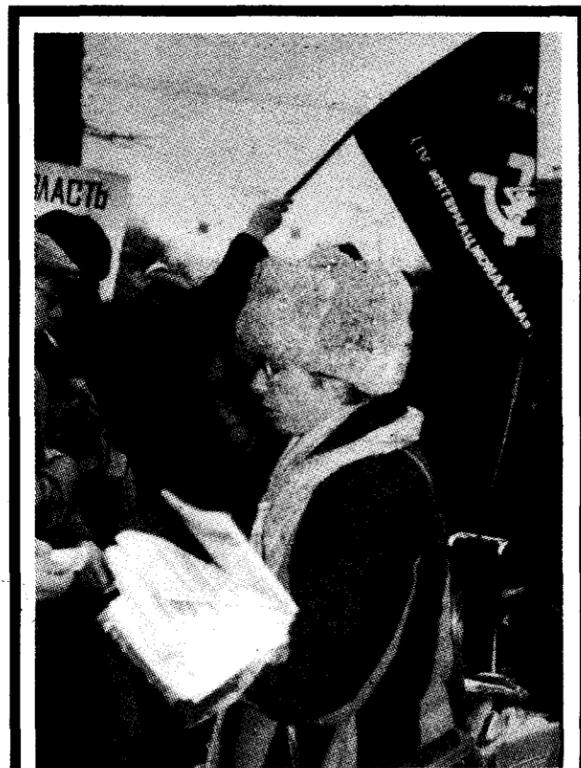
Martha was such a proletarian fighter, who understood that you had to struggle in order to change the world. It is such a person who always has formed the backbone of a revolutionary organization. Martha had nothing but contempt for those who bought the bourgeoisie's line that "communism is dead"—she mocked not only our open social-democratic opponents but all those who prematurely wanted to bury the Soviet Union. She believed passionately with Cannon that the worst kind of capitulator was the one who surrendered a position before it was lost or who capitulated before the decisive battle. In a letter she wrote from Moscow last October she referred to Cannon's fight against the Goldman-Morrow fainthearts, who in the context of the American imperialist victory in World War II became reconciled to bourgeois democracy. Martha wrote: "Perhaps one could make an empirical argument that Morrow and Goldman's pessimistic analysis was closer to what became the reality; nevertheless we proudly endorse the revolutionary optimism and working-class centrality of Cannon's theses. Goldman/Morrow's prognosis was liquidationist, as they went on to demonstrate. It is similarly dangerous to view the Soviet Union through the lens of the bitter defeat in East Germany."

Trotsky once said that all genuine revolutionaries live for the future; that is, they refuse to sacrifice principle for

temporary expedient. Martha refused to allow herself to be daunted by the temporary setbacks of today or yesterday. When asked by skeptics how many members we had, she always replied: "A few less than Lenin had at the time of Zimmerwald." She often made the point that at the time of the February Revolution in Russia the Mensheviks had larger numbers, more writers, etc. But Lenin had a hard cadre trained in a revolutionary program. This is what made the difference. For her entire political life Martha was first and foremost a party person from head to toe, understanding that it was the subjective element that was indispensable to proletarian victory. Thus, she was particularly contemptuous of political cowards and quitters.

Martha did not have an easy personal life, and was charged with bringing up a handicapped son. But she never allowed personal difficulties to destroy her political work. Entering her middle age, Martha began the difficult task of learning Russian from scratch. She regarded developments in the Soviet Union as "our chance" and wanted to be on the front lines. To come to Moscow she endured a painful separation from her son and family, and at times she was acutely lonely in the Soviet Union. She got a job in a Soviet school as a teacher and was assigned an apartment on the outskirts of the city. Her Soviet friends were often astounded that any foreigner would live like that. Undoubtedly Martha could have found an easier way to survive there, but she wanted to get a better sense of how the Soviets lived.

Martha was a powerful speaker with multiple talents. She could inspire a large crowd with a vision of proletarian internationalism, as she did last summer at a meeting of several hundred worker communists in Moscow reported by *Workers Vanguard*. She was equally devastating as a polemicist when she went up against some social traitor; it was her intervention against the Militant Tendency that *Workers Hammer* covered in our current issue. And the interview with Soviet women in *Women and Revolution* is testimony to Martha's conviction that a Leninist party must be a tribune of the people. Martha was the antithesis of the stuffed-shirt, tea-sipping teetotalers, chauvinists and Methodist moralists that dominate the British Labour Party. Martha was among a layer of women *leaders* in our party, a member of the Central Committee of the SL/U.S. for



Moscow, 7 November 1991: Martha distributing ICL literature in Red Square on Revolution Day.



Martha speaking at Red Flag Union conference in Los Angeles, June 1977.

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

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

cracking down on anti-Yeltsin protesters marks a dangerous turning point in determining the fate of the Soviet Union. Our comrades of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) in Moscow responded with a leaflet (reprinted below), raising the alarm over this bloody escalation of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary course and calling urgently for the formation of workers and soldiers soviets (councils) to repulse the capitalist-restorationist tide and seize power.

Away With the Yeltsin Government!

"White Tsar" Boris Wants a New Bloody Sunday

Form Workers and Soldiers Soviets to Stop Capitalist Restoration!

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

From the moment the forces of capitalist restoration gained the ascendancy



Spartacist
Stalinist "patriots" push vile Russian chauvinism. RKRП spokesman Anpilov (right) shoulder to shoulder with openly anti-Semitic reactionary.

with Yeltsin's counter-coup on August 22, the alternatives were sharply posed: either the proletariat reconquers political power, taken from it by the Stalin-led bureaucracy in 1923-24, or there will be the bloody consolidation of social counterrevolution and national disintegration. The weak Yeltsin government has restrained its bloodlust against the working class only because it lacks a loyal apparatus of repression.

With the assaults against Army Day demonstrators, the Moscow militia and OMON units allowed themselves, perhaps reluctantly, to be used against the working class. Chastised by outraged demonstrators, one militiaman defen-

sively responded: "I'm just following orders. Why did you vote for these people? Next time elect better leaders."

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

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

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

Some, like the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRП), say the Soviet Army "is our last hope." Yes, many soldiers and officers within the Soviet armed forces remain loyal to the ideals of socialism and to the workers state. But to preserve the multinational Soviet state and army requires defending the socialized property upon which it was created. *The hope for reversing the tide of counterrevolution lies in organizing the workers, soldiers and collective farmers into soviets, and forging a revolutionary leadership which aims to return to the liberating and egalitarian goals of the October Revolution.* When the working class moves into struggle, pro-socialist sections of the army and militia will certainly follow suit.

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

Beware all those who seek to divide the multinational working people through chauvinism and racism! The poison of anti-Semitism is the tool of the would-be bourgeois slavemasters to divide and cripple the workers' struggle. Was it a coincidence that on Army Day the militia aimed its truncheons against youth bearing red flags and portraits of Lenin? In the factories, in the mines, in the collective farms, there are workers of different nationalities. They must come together in proletarian unity, not



Moscow, February 9: Protesters carry portrait of Lenin in demonstration against Yeltsin's "free market" misery.

be rent apart in nationalist feuding. Nationalism is the game of the parasites and capitalists!

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

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

Through their own independent committees, composed of delegates elected by the enterprises, the working people must take control of food supplies and oversee distribution. What is needed once again is to form authentic soviets, not talk shops like the fake soviets and impotent parliaments of today, but organs for struggle composed of deputies elected by and recallable to the workplace and barracks. Formed into powerful soviets—internationalist, egalitarian, revolutionary—the working people will be able to sweep away the shaky regimes of the capitalist-restorationists with a flick of the finger. *No new tsars—away with Yeltsin—for a republic of*

the working people!

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

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

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

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Ireland...

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anti-abortion "right to life of the unborn" in the Irish constitution. The rabidly anti-abortion SPUC (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) has harassed, sued or closed down clinics, counselling centres and student groups printing abortion information in college handbooks. In 1986 a campaign of fear squashed divorce reforms. In March 1991 a government proposal to lower the age at which a person may legally purchase condoms from 18 to 16 provoked a storm of outrage from Ireland's bishops. These "crusades" have unleashed a frenzy of anti-woman hatred with harsh consequences: Anne Lovett, a frightened pregnant teenager, died with her baby in a grotto where she hid to give birth in secrecy; Joanne Hayes, falsely accused of infanticide, was grossly framed up in the 1984 "Kerry babies" case.

"New World Order" Anti-Woman Bigotry

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

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

Now, filled with angst for Ireland's "international reputation," the denizens of the Dail (Irish parliament) wriggle around suggesting a little amendment for "special cases." Feminists play into this crap, as if only victims of rape deserve access to abortions. Revoltingly, the SWM joins this bourgeois clerical mainstream with the subminimal slogan: "Rape victims have the right to abor-

tion." Of course they do—and so does every other woman! As a journalist wrote in the English Tory London *Sunday Times* (16 February):

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

Furthermore, reactionary "age of consent" laws deny young women access to

to the Robinson popular front" when most of the rest of the left was cheering her to the heavens.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The workers must rule if women are to be free! The whole gang, from the Fianna Fail crooks to the Labour Party lackeys, must be swept aside. Likewise, the crisis-ridden Workers Party, which supports the presence of the British imperialist troops in the North, of course backed Robinson and has lurched rightward under the impact of the collapse

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

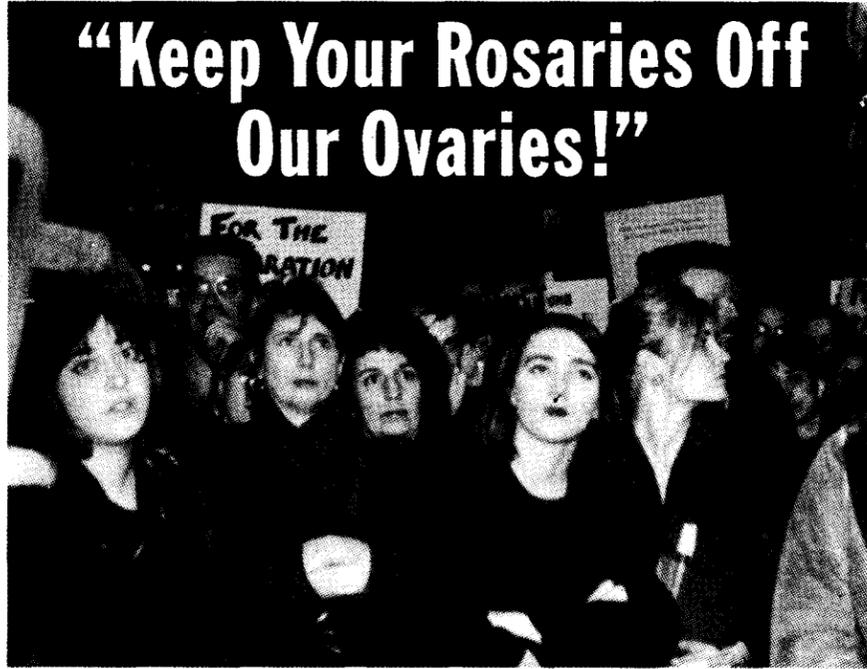
Socialist revolution will tear down the pro-British Loyalist masters in Northern Ireland and the rule of the "gombeen" bourgeoisie in the South, the small-time, small-town capitalists and exploiting farmers, bulwark of the overweening Catholic church. No forcible unification! For an Irish workers republic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

The workers state which emerged from the 1917 Russian Revolution abolished all laws restricting rights to abortion and divorce, established full democratic rights for homosexuals and eliminated all legal distinctions between children born in marriage and "illegitimate" babies. Understanding that it was necessary to replace the functions of the oppressive institution of the family by providing social institutions for childcare and housework, the Bolsheviks immediately began to establish collective crèches and kitchens. As tribune of the people, Lenin's party fought too against all forms of national and special oppression, just as here the official discrimination and racist attacks on Travellers must be smashed.

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

NYC Demonstrators Say:

"Keep Your Rosaries Off Our Ovaries!"



Abortion rights protest at Irish consulate in NYC, 21 February. Spartacist speaker said: "The onslaught against women's rights around the world is part and parcel of the drive to stabilize a capitalist system in decay."

contraception and health care. Lower the age of adulthood!

Irish president Mary "I am against abortion" Robinson is part and parcel of the state perpetrating this obscenity. Robinson, the front-runner for yet another coalition between Labour and the bourgeois opposition party Fine Gael, supports the British troops occupying Northern Ireland and is a member of the anti-Communist Trilateral Commission, a Cold War cabal whose other members include Henry Kissinger and George Bush. Just like her Labourite mentors, she is a backer of the Programme for National Recovery and its successor, the Plan for Economic and Social Progress, austerity pacts which have delivered lower wages and higher profits over the last few years. The Dublin Spartacist Youth Group said "No vote

of Stalinism in Eastern Europe. And the pressure of bourgeois and Catholic order extends beyond the servile reformist Labour and Workers parties. The Irish republican Sinn Fein, in keeping with their nationalism, have repeatedly refused to approach any social issue that might alienate Catholic reaction. Thus one of the most bitterly contested debates at the recent Sinn Fein conference was over abortion. While the conference condemned the court's attempt to keep the 14-year-old from having an abortion, it would go no further than to agree that "no woman should be forced by state legislation to continue with a pregnancy as a result of rape or incest" (*Independent*, 24 February).

Fascistic Unionists of the Paisley ilk feed on Northern Protestant fears of Irish Catholic domination, manipulating

Magic Johnson...

(continued from page 16)

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

The intersection of anti-AIDS bigotry and racism is explosive. Last year, after an on-field clash, Aboriginal star footballer Chris Lewis was singled out for a racist media slander campaign suggesting that he could have AIDS! The cowardly ignorant racism of the Australian basketballers over Magic Johnson is writ large in the barbaric treatment meted out to 56 Chinese "boat people" refugees in January by the ALP government. They were incarcerated in the Port Hedland

Immigration Department concentration camp, five crew members were put in solitary confinement in Darwin jail and their boat was burned. On the pretext of the risk of "disease," a veiled invocation of "White Australia's" fear of invasion from the north by the Asian masses, the venal, racist Australian ruling class seeks to enforce "racial purity" with Immigration Department concentration camps. They've looted the economy and increasingly fear becoming what they call the "white trash of Asia."

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

The outrage against Magic Johnson,

like that against the Chinese refugees, is a result of the racist ideology which is pushed by the bosses and their labour lieutenants to divide the working class and shore up the rotting foundations of White Australia capitalism. The Spartacist League sets as its task the building of an internationalist multiracial workers party built in struggle to split the ALP's working-class base from the pro-

capitalist tops and mobilising the power of the working class to fight for socialist revolution. Only then we will be assured of a world in which bigotry has no place and society's resources will be placed at the service of the working people, including to treat and find a cure for ravaging diseases like AIDS. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD



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

Farrell/Photocall

Teen Tormented by Clerical State

Abortion Battle Shakes Ireland

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

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

obtaining an abortion anywhere in the world. In an unspeakable outrage, a government injunction had banned the young woman, who says she was raped, from leaving the country for nine months. It was a bald attempt by the Catholic church and the Irish state to bolster the constitutional ban on abortion and impose a virtual house arrest on thousands of women who are forced to seek abortions outside of the country every year. Such is the grip of cruel superstition on this savage and unthinking society that a judge ruled the girl's vow to commit suicide "much less and of a different order of magnitude than the certainty that the life of the unborn will be terminated" (*New York Times*, 19 February).

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

Front-page headlines in bourgeois newspapers across the world riveted attention on Ireland. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (2 March) editorialized: "The Irish people, whom polls show to support a liberalization of the abortion law, should not permit this issue to be swept under the rug." Opposition from other

Common Market countries threatened the hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies Ireland receives. It was a political crisis which the week-old coalition government of prime minister Albert Reynolds, member of the ruling Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny), could not afford, and so the police-state "morality" of clerical reaction judged it prudent to back down this time.

But while the Catholic hierarchy kept a back seat on this one, its overweening influence in Irish politics sets the basic framework. The Catholic church and its allies won every major "moral" battle of the eighties. They forced and won the 1983 referendum to enshrine

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Australian Trotskyists Denounce

Outrageous Bigotry

Against Magic Johnson

The following protest statement by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia was issued as a leaflet on February 7.

Australian national basketball team players Phil Smyth and Ray Borner, backed up by the team's medical director Brian Sando, last month sparked an international outcry by refusing to play in the Barcelona Olympics against black American basketball superstar Magic Johnson because he is HIV positive. Johnson's courageous decision to announce that he was infected with the

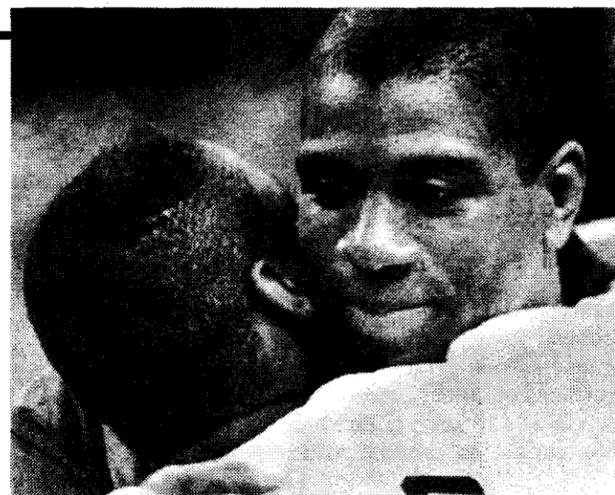
AIDS virus brought the tragedy of AIDS home to millions around the world. Johnson is a basketball genius, one of the very few who changed the way basketball is played. Not only are Smyth, Borner and Sando backwoods racists, they're chickenshit, scared that this powerful black man with the HIV virus will make them look like lead-footed losers. The scornful outrage of millions worldwide was expressed by the chief medical adviser to the Commonwealth on AIDS, Professor Ian Gust, who said, "On current knowledge, my estimate of the chance of contracting AIDS

playing basketball is the same as being kicked to death by a duck. And that is a serious statement" (*The Age*, 25 January). To their credit Basketball Australia sent a letter of apology to Magic Johnson, inviting him to lead an NBA all-stars team in a game against the Boomers in Canberra.

The outrageous outburst against Magic Johnson is a reflection of the deep-going racism and chauvinism of capitalist White Australia. Straight-faced, Foreign Minister Evans said: "I am outraged that a comment by a person who has no authority to talk for Australia

should have put at risk Australia's excellent reputation for common sense and balance in relation to AIDS" (*New York Times*, 25 January). Common sense and balance? From Gareth Evans and his ALP (Australian Labor Party) government?! Prospective immigrants to Australia, who are compulsorily tested for HIV and disqualified if they test positive, know otherwise. So do working people, the poor, Aborigines and AIDS sufferers, who after a decade of capitalist austerity get medical services not much better than those of many third world

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AP
Magic Johnson at the 1992 NBA All-Star game.