

## Pentagon Dreams of New "American Century"

In a leaked memorandum intended to "set the nation's direction for the next century," the Defense Department and Pentagon spell out their megalomaniacal vision of the United States as the No. 1 imperialist power in the world. The world they visualize is a global empire lorded over by the iron fist of U.S. military might, intervening at will to crush any country that gets out of line. High on the agenda of the Pentagon war planners, embold-

ened by the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the ascendancy of counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union, is completing the task of "rolling back Communism" in Cuba, North Korea and the Soviet Union itself. More generally, the U.S. grand strategists propose to enforce a "new order" in which "potential competitors" are convinced that "they need not aspire to a greater role." But the crumbling U.S. economy can hardly support

these grandiose ambitions.

Of course, the Pentagon's fantasy is nothing new, but the administration was embarrassed to see it in print and quickly began backpeddling. Bush's ruthless destruction of Iraq and massacre of more than 100,000 Iraqis was intended to be a declaration to the world of U.S. imperialist hegemony. Yet for all their bold swaggering, the Pentagon planners keep looking over their shoulder at their imperialist

"allies." Their "first objective" is to "prevent the emergence of a new rival," precluding "the emergence of any potential future global competitor." But for those who get too uppity, there is the "deterrent hedge" of the U.S. nuclear weapons arsenal!

The cement which held together the post-World War II imperialist alliance under U.S. hegemony was anti-Sovietism. Even under conservative Stalinist rule, the bureaucratically degenerated workers state has been the main object of imperialist hostility—a constant ever since the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, took power in the name of world socialist revolution in October 1917. It was as forward bastions against the "Soviet threat" that the U.S. favored the reindustrialization

*continued on page 13*

## Restoring Capitalism Without Capital?

# East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution

Capitalist counterrevolution is bringing untold misery to the working people of East Europe, while in the Soviet Union the counterrevolutionary offensive is provoking utter economic collapse. From Poland to Yugoslavia, economic "shock treatments" dictated by Western bankers have produced massive unemployment and hyperinflation. Large factories have closed down while soup kitchens open up. Homelessness and criminal gangs now haunt the streets of

### PART ONE OF TWO

Warsaw, Prague and Budapest. Economic output in East Europe has fallen 25 percent over the past three years, a decline comparable to that in the United States during the Great Depression of the 1930s. A ridiculously "optimistic" forecast by the Washington-based World Bank projects that not until 1996 will per capita income return to the level of 1989, the year that Mikhail Gorbachev abandoned East Europe to the ravages of Wall Street and the Frankfurt banks.

For all their desperate efforts to restore capitalism after the Stalinist bureaucracies collapsed, the counterrevolutionary regimes in East Europe have not yet succeeded in cohering a new capitalist class. The petty entrepreneurs—taxi drivers, shopkeepers, household repairmen—out to make a fast buck in Warsaw and Budapest hardly have the money to buy the nationalized steel mills, textile factories and coal mines now up for sale. Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs, the mastermind of Poland's economic "shock treatment," told the annual meeting of the American Economics Association that "privatization in Eastern Europe has been a debacle" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

And while Western businessmen hail the restoration of private property in East Europe, they aren't putting their money where their mouth is. Apart from a few

**Fatricidal slaughter between Croats and Serbs in Yugoslavia is harbinger of things to come.**



well-publicized deals like Volkswagen's takeover of the Czech Skoda works (for one-tenth its real value) and GE's purchase of the Hungarian light bulb manufacturer Tungram, Western investment is conspicuous by its absence. The Solidarność government of Poland, which pioneered the privatization drive over two years ago, has managed to sell 20 out of 7,500 state-owned enterprises. The business editor of the London *Economist* observed caustically that at the present rate it will take 30 years for Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to privatize half their nationalized industry!

Without the social base of a genuine bourgeoisie, such as existed in West Germany for the takeover of the DDR (East Germany), aggressive nationalism has been both the driving force for capitalist restoration in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and a product of the counterrevolutionary drive. From Walesa's Poland to Milosevic's Serbia, nationalist demagoguery—usually linked to aggressive religious reaction—is being used to turn

working-class anger over economic imiseration against neighboring peoples and minority communities, to break up the old military cadre (as in Yugoslavia), to purge any remaining "reds" from government posts and economic administration, and to forge a new state apparatus unambiguously loyal to a bourgeois order.

From the Baltic to the Adriatic, East Europe is threatened with wars of territorial aggrandizement, bloody border conflicts and intercommunal massacres among the region's heavily interpenetrated peoples. Anti-Semitism is on the rise, while Gypsies have been attacked by fascist skinheads in Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The grisly communal war between Azeris and Armenians over the Caucasian region of Nagorno-Karabakh and the territorial war between Serbia and Croatia are harbingers of things to come—unless counterrevolution is defeated by proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union, and the shaky capitalist regimes

now at the helm in East Europe are overthrown by the working class under a genuinely communist (Leninist-Trotskyist) leadership.

### Nationalism Fuels Economic Collapse

It has become fashionable for the Western bourgeois media—whether liberal or right-wing—to express contempt for the feuding nationalisms in post-Stalinist East Europe. The establishment *New York Times* (13 October 1991) decries "Old Tribal Rivalries in Eastern Europe," while the liberal London *Guardian* (28 September 1991) moralizes, "Irresponsible Leaders Exacerbate the Ethnic Tensions of Eastern Europe." What gall! For decades these influential imperialist organs and their political masters in Washington and London *fulsomely supported reactionary East European nationalists in order to break up the Soviet bloc.*

Now, however, the breakup of the *continued on page 10*

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

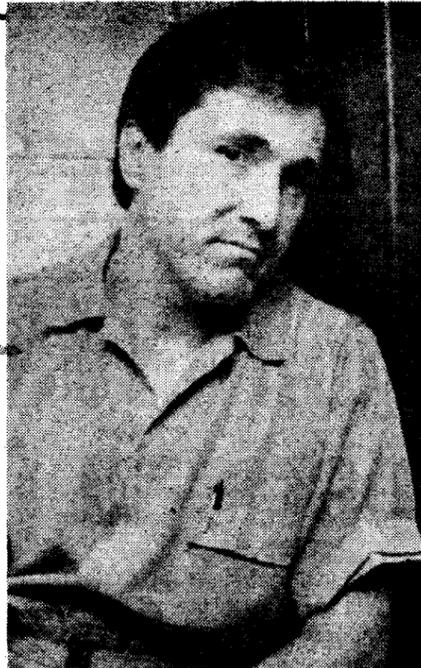
# Joe Doherty Deported to H-Block

After eight years of trying, the U.S. government finally shipped Irish Republican fighter Joe Doherty back to the infamous H-Block torture chamber in Northern Ireland. At 3:30 a.m. on February 19, federal agents operating under the cover of darkness abducted Doherty from prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, hauled him to Washington, D.C., flew him to Maine and then put their chained prisoner on a waiting Royal Air Force plane which transported him to London. Now Doherty is back in the Belfast dungeon he escaped from over a decade ago. His supporters rightly fear that one day soon a newspaper headline may report that Doherty has been killed in a prison "accident" or "suicide."

In 1980, Doherty survived an ambush by British SAS commandos in Belfast only to be convicted in a non-jury star

chamber trial for the killing of one of his would-be assassins. He escaped to the U.S. and was arrested by immigration cops in 1983 (see "Political Asylum for Joe Doherty!" WV No. 543, 24 January). For the next eight years the Reagan/Bush administrations and their sinister British ally, "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher, conspired to return Doherty to his would-be executioners. The delivery of Doherty is the rotten payoff for Thatcher's enthusiastic support to U.S. imperialism's state terrorism around the world, including the barbaric attack on Libya in 1986.

Following his arrest Doherty spent the next 3,000 days in jail—without ever being charged with any offense in the U.S. And for 3,000 days the Reagan/Bush administrations contemptuously trampled on U.S. laws, flouted multiple



New York Daily News



IRA militant Joe Doherty, deported on February 19 to British dungeon in Northern Ireland.

court decisions and scoffed at international norms to make sure their British allies got their package. After a federal court ruled early on that Doherty could not be extradited for a "political offense" under the existing treaty, Thatcher and Reagan modified the treaty and attempted to apply it retroactively. That, too, was struck down by the courts.

At each and every step the government was foiled until the reactionary Rehnquist Supreme Court slammed the door in Doherty's face, ruling in January that he had no right even to a hearing on his request for political asylum. Nor was he to have any other rights. Under immigration law allowing deportees to choose their destination, Doherty had a well-established legal right to avoid return to Britain. (Earlier he requested to be sent to Ireland, but when the Dublin government signed a treaty with London in 1987 which included an extradition clause aimed at IRA supporters, Doherty demanded an asylum hearing instead.) But no such law was going to stop the "Justice" Department from turning Doherty over to the murderers of so many of his comrades. As an outraged letter by Mount Holyoke College professor Christopher Pyle to the *New York Times* (19 February) put it: "the Supreme Court has just endorsed the executive's power to deport Mr. Doherty to a country of its choice, thereby turning deportation

into executive extradition."

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have steadfastly opposed British imperialism's brutal repression and systematic policy of cold-blooded execution of IRA and other Irish Catholic militants. Most recently, in a well-planned trap, the SAS killed four IRA youth in County Tyrone as they tried to surrender; and on February 4, an off-duty member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary gunned down three Sinn Fein activists in their Belfast office. *Free Joe Doherty and all victims of British imperialist repression!*

\* \* \*

Forgotten amid numerous articles announcing the anniversary of the U.S.' brutal devastation of Iraq is any mention of the young men and women in the military who courageously refused to be part of Desert Slaughter. Over 20 GIs who refused to join in the mass murder of Iraqi men, women and children remain in military jails. Among those still behind bars are Dr. Yolanda Huet-Vaughn, a 40-year-old Mexican American mother of two serving a two-and-a-half-year sentence; Salvadoran native Enrique González, also doing two and a half years for desertion; and Erik Larsen, a prominent speaker at Bay Area antiwar rallies, who was sentenced to six months and

*continued on page 13*



TROTSKY

*the expropriation of the capitalist exploiters, proletarian state power and socialist internationalism.*

### The Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919

*Under the impact of defeat in the first imperialist world war and the ensuing political chaos, there arose in Hungary a Soviet republic inspired by Bolshevik Russia. This nascent workers state was overthrown after three months in a bloody counterrevolution orchestrated by the Western "democratic" imperialists. The constitution of the Soviet republic expressed the organic link between*



LENIN

Sec. 4. For the sake of checking exploitation and organizing and increasing production the Soviet Republic aims to transmit all the means of production into the possession of the society of the workers. To this end it shall take over as public property all industrial, mining, and transportation establishments exceeding retail dimensions....

Sec. 7. In order to insure the power of the toiling masses, and in order to thwart the reestablishment of the power of the exploiters, the Soviet Republic shall arm the workers and disarm the exploiters. The Red Army shall form the class-army of the proletariat....

Sec. 11. The Soviet Republic shall preserve the true freedom of conscience of the workers by complete separation of church and state and of church and school. Everyone may exercise his own religion freely.

Sec. 12. The Soviet Republic proclaims the proposition of the unification of the proletarians of all lands and, therefore, grants to every foreign proletarian the same rights that are due to the proletarians of Hungary.

Sec. 13. In the Hungarian Soviet Republic every foreign revolutionist shall possess the right of asylum.

Sec. 14. The Hungarian Soviet Republic recognizes no differences of race or nationality. It shall not permit any form of oppression of national minorities nor any abridgment of the use of their language. Everyone shall be permitted to use his mother tongue freely, and it shall be the duty of all officials to accept any document written in any language in use in Hungary, to hear everyone in his native tongue, and to deal with him in that tongue.

—"The Constitution of the Hungarian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" (1919)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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20 March 1992

## St. Patrick's Day Bigotry

Once again this year, as far as New York City's Ancient Order of Hibernians was concerned, "No gays need apply." The sponsors of NYC's annual St. Patrick's Day parade dug in hard to ban the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization (ILGO) from marching. Last year, the gay group as well as Mayor David Dinkins were booed and pelted with full beer cans when they stepped off as part of another contingent. This year, NYC's Cardinal O'Connor, the patron archbishop of anti-abortion bigots, orchestrated the exclusion of the gays. In the end, the ILGO held their own high-spirited march before the official parade, then protested from the sidelines as endless contingents of cops and Hibernian notables went past.

The Ancient Hibernians presented the event as a celebration of clerical reaction. And they are increasingly out of step with a younger generation of immigrants from Ireland, where thousands protested recently against the government's anti-abortion ban. Even in County Cork, gays marched in the St. Patrick's Day parade. But in Boston on March 15, two dozen members of a gay group, who had won a court order allowing them to march, ran a gauntlet of hatred and jeers in South Boston, that hotbed of reaction where a decade ago racist

mobs stoned young blacks in school buses to head off integration of the schools.

If the Irish gays want to march, why shouldn't they? The annual green beer blast isn't everybody's favorite event, but it's abominable for people to be banned because of their sexual orientation. It wasn't so long ago that all Irish were viciously discriminated against in this country ("men wanted, no Irish need apply"), as upper-class Protestants kept them out of their neighborhoods (except as servants), while fascist terrorists like the Ku Klux Klan went after Catholics and immigrants as well as blacks. But it's dangerous to appeal to the racist, reactionary capitalist courts to arbitrate who gets to march.

What's going on here is a referendum on anti-gay bigotry. What has historically been a quasi-public ethnic celebration has been rebaptized as a religious event. However, appealing to the government to force the formally private sponsors of the parade to allow the ILGO in it could set a precedent allowing the government to interfere in political protests. In fact, when it comes to abortion rights many activists sympathetic to the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization often chant things like "Not the church,

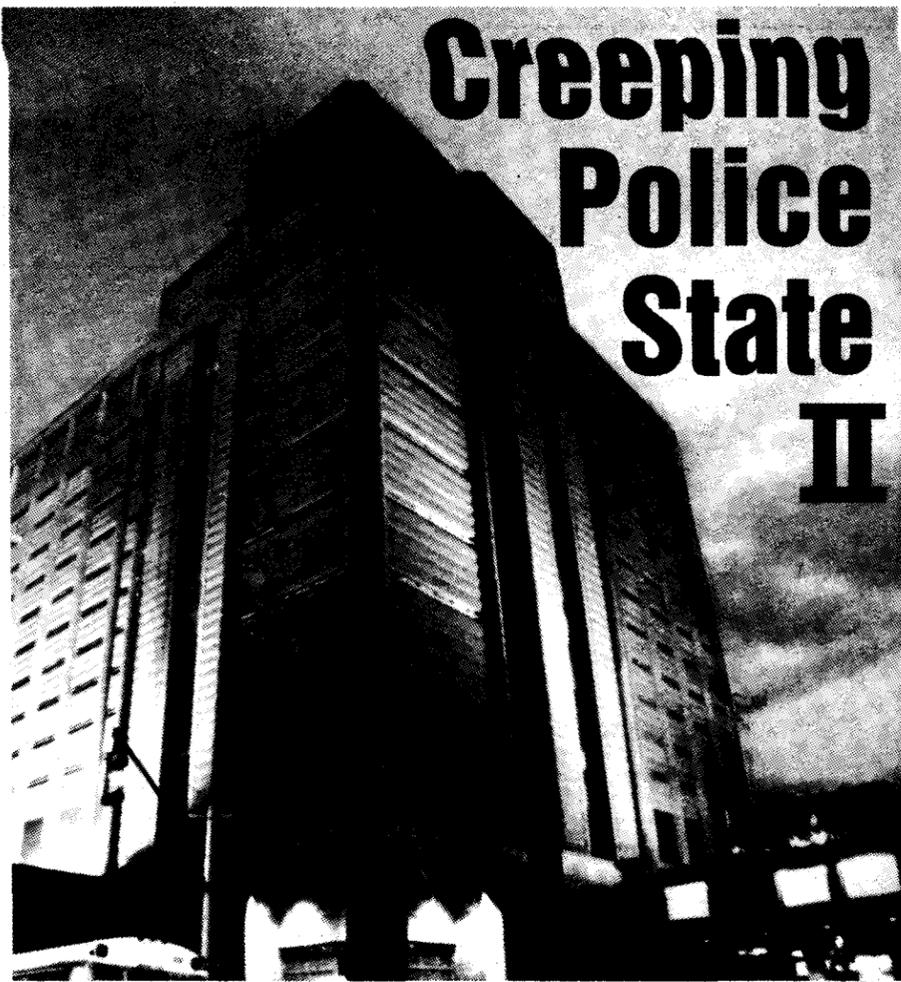
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**W**e commented a few weeks ago on mounting evidence of a tendency toward a police state in the U.S.—restricting rights to new trial when the state withholds evidence; granting the feds a license to lie to people to set them up, even though it's a crime for people to lie to them; and strong-arming scientists who dare to question the accuracy of genetic DNA "evidence" (see "Creeping Police State," WV No. 543, 24 January). The beat, alas, goes on.

In the *New York Times* (11 March) an article headlined, "Colombian Accused as Drug Figure Draws 6-Year Term for Giving a False Name." Last fall, a 26-year-old Colombian, Dandeny Muñoz Mosquera, was surrounded by federal officers with drawn guns at a pay phone in Queens and thrown in jail. Although the press refers to him as a *sicario* (hitman) nicknamed "La Quica," Muñoz insisted in court that he had "never committed any crimes." Nevertheless, six months later Judge Jack B. Weinstein of federal district court in Brooklyn sentenced Muñoz to six years in prison—with the only evidence against him being that he allegedly gave a false name to the feds when they arrested him!

The U.S. Attorney in Brooklyn, Andrew J. Maloney, of course claims he has "firm evidence from Colombia" that the man was on a vicious drug cartel mission. But as the *Times* noted, "teams of Federal agents in New York, Miami, Los Angeles and Washington were unable to confirm such a mission or to identify its target." Meanwhile, Judge Weinstein is charging Muñoz \$1,500 a month for the cost of incarcerating him in a maximum-security prison! Shades of the Sheriff of Nottingham.

Once in the system, don't count on proving your innocence to get out. "Can They Execute the Innocent? Probably,"



The new "Tombs" holding pen jail in NYC. Prisons are the main "growth industry" in the U.S. today.

headlined a chilling *Times* op-ed piece the same day. In the Kafkaesque nightmare of the U.S. prison system, what small gains advocates of prisoners' rights have won are now being slashed. The U.S. Supreme Court has sought to restrict *habeas corpus* appeals of death sentences. Now a case has come up in

which a Texas death row prisoner, Leonel Herrera, presented evidence that his brother confessed to the killing of two cops, and moreover his brother's son saw it. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, but refused to stay his execution! The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals did finally stop the killing, lit-

erally minutes before it was to be carried out. The Supreme Court will now rule on whether, as the appeals court claimed, innocence is constitutionally irrelevant. They've already made clear that the actual life or death of the prisoner is.

In another Texas case, the physical castration of a black man is once again being considered. In Houston, 28-year-old Steve Allen Butler initially agreed to have his testicles cut off instead of receiving a prison sentence for charges of sexual assault. This "deal" was suggested by his lawyer, who knew that Judge Michael McSpadden was an advocate of castration. This barbaric, racist and cruel torture was outlawed as a means of punishment in 1942 by the Supreme Court, in striking down an Oklahoma law.

However, "chemical castration" has been widely utilized around the world, including in the U.S. and supposedly "civilized" places like Denmark, England and Italy. This is unadulterated barbarism and does nothing to stop rape anyhow (see "Anti-Sex Drugs Deform Male Prisoners," *Women and Revolution* No. 18, Spring 1979).

In fact, the entire "criminal justice" system of American capitalism is dedicated to systematic racist repression. With 1.1 million inmates, the United States is "the world's No. 1 jailer," far surpassing even South Africa in imprisoning blacks. In 1990, the U.S. rate of incarceration was 455 per 100,000 people (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 February). But black males are imprisoned here at a rate of 3,370 per 100,000, almost five times the level in South Africa (681)! Over the last decade, the prison population in the U.S. virtually doubled, and it's expected to increase by another 30 percent by 1995. This is the Brave New World Order of Big Brother Bush. ■

## King George and the Journalists

# White House Cries Lèse Majesté

Back in the days of absolute monarchy, the crime of *lèse majesté*—an affront to the "dignity" of the sovereign—was high treason. But some three centuries after the Enlightenment, decaying bourgeois democracy has produced the spectacle of preppie potentate George Bush petulantly posturing as Supreme Autocrat of the "New World Order." Of late, King George has gotten exceedingly touchy toward those who would point out the moth holes in the emperor's ermine robes.

Woe to the underling who innocently asks a question whose answer is officially taboo! When Census Bureau worker Beth Daponte was assigned to update the government's population estimate for Iraq last year, little did she realize that the answer would cost her job. But in compiling her data from non-

classified military sources, Daponte estimated the number of Iraqis who died during Operation Desert Slaughter and its aftermath to be 86,194 men, 39,612 women and 32,195 children.

While reveling in their mass murder, the White House and Pentagon, as the *Washington Post* (6 March) noted, "have sought to suppress discussion of Iraqi casualties, directing analysts and military officers not to provide estimates or professional judgments." So Daponte was fired for writing "false information," and her report was rewritten, reducing the number of direct, wartime civilian deaths to 5,000, and eliminating a chart breaking down the figures for men, women and children.

Another affront to His Majesty occurred during Bush's recent trip to San Antonio for a "War on Drugs" summit

meeting with Latin American heads of state. A reporter for a local TV station, Brian Karem, had the temerity to actually challenge Bush on the conference's merit, referring to the event as a "joke." The next day, Karem was fired for being "rude" to His Excellency the President. The station's news director explained, "As we all know, an orchestrated White House press conference is a managed event, and the White House press corps is an elite club."

The hilarious extent of this elaborate stage-managing was laid bare last November, when Bush's microphone was accidentally left on after a supposedly spontaneous question-and-answer teleconference with a Christian group. The *New York Times* (27 November 1991) recounted that "reporters heard the President grouse that the questions his

audience had asked him had not come in the order in which his staff had apparently prepared him." When his scripted answers to the preprogrammed questions got "flip-flopped," Bush got so flustered he had to pretend to the convention that he couldn't hear the question. And you thought it was only Ronald Reagan who couldn't think without cue cards or a teleprompter.

As we pointed out in "Creeping Police State" (WV No. 543, 24 January), "One of the ideals of the bourgeois revolution was that the state and its police powers should not be raised above or be unaccountable to the citizenry." This is a cruel joke today, as our so-called "inalienable" rights are being systematically eroded. But unlike the shallow bourgeois American Revolution of 1776, which only declared formal equality before the law for (white) men of property—forget about slaves, or women, or the poor—the next revolution must be a thoroughgoing socialist transformation which forever obliterates the "divine right" that the modern-day masters of capitalism would arrogate to themselves. ■

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Room 159 Mulford (near West Gate)  
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BERKELEY

**For Free Abortion on Demand! Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

# KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission

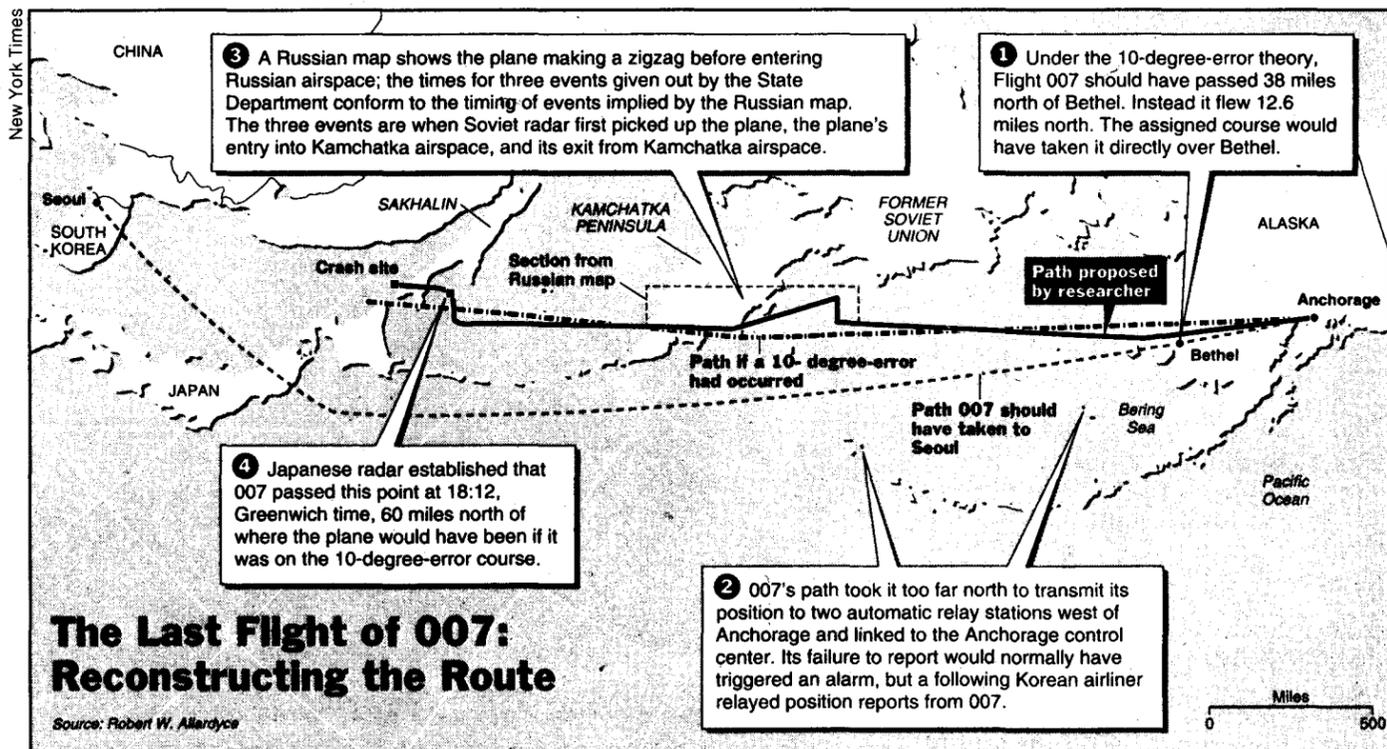
## New Study Shows Route Was No Accident

The downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 by Soviet fighter planes on the night of 31 August 1983 triggered a crazed and bellicose media barrage reminiscent of the *Lusitania* episode of World War I. The cue came straight from the White House, which screamed bloody murder about the "barbarism" of the Soviet "Evil Empire." Reagan went on TV spewing Russians-eat-babies-for-breakfast propaganda even before any of the facts about what happened had come out. Lost in all the Cold War II war cries was the glaring fact that the Korean Boeing 747, manned by experienced pilots and crammed with state-of-the-art electronic equipment including three navigational computers, was way off its assigned course for five-and-a-half hours. The plane had penetrated Soviet airspace in sensitive military regions which had long been under intensive scrutiny by U.S. military/intelligence "assets." This could not have been an "accident."

As we wrote on 6 September 1983 in "Reagan's Story Stinks!":

"It is highly suspicious that the U.S. government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to figure out what the hell *did* happen.... The plane certainly didn't 'stray off course,' it deliberately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but...passing over a succession of military bases.... When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation."

The media predictably rushed in to bolster the government's "accident" story. To combat this, we reprinted our initial articles in a 1983 Spartacist pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*. Over the succeeding years, we continued to expose the White House cover-up (see list below). Now an authoritative new 250-page study, *Technical Analysis—Korean Air Lines Flight 007—August 31, 1983* by Robert W. Allardyce and James



## White House Cover Up Story Blown Away

Gollin, examines all the publicly available data and conclusively proves what we said from the outset: the Korean Air Lines plane was following a deliberate route.

In order to explain how KAL 007 got so far "off course," the White House needed a plausible "accident" theory. This was provided by liberal journalist Seymour Hersh in his book, *"The Target Is Destroyed"* (1986). As a result of his Vietnam-era exposés of government cover-ups such as the My Lai massacre, Hersh had the requisite "independent" credentials, and he did expose a secondary administration lie that the Russians knew they were shooting down a civilian plane. Hersh showed that Soviet air defenses had confused the plane with a U.S. RC-135 electronic spy plane whose radar track mingled with that of KAL 007. But the main point of the book was the claim that the plane had "strayed" because of a one-digit mistake made when the plane's position was entered into the navigational computer before takeoff. This initial error, they claimed, pushed the plane further and further off course for some five hours.

The Allardyce/Gollin study blows Hersh and the government out of the water. Allardyce is an aviation profes-

sional who spent over 30 years as a flight engineer on TWA's transoceanic flights, and was also a crash investigator for the Flight Engineers International Association. Allardyce used the same navigational equipment as the KAL pilots did, and as he explained in the introduction, "If it can go kaput the way they say it did on 007, I want to know why and how." His eight-year collaboration with writer James Gollin produced the report whose summary conclusion is that KAL 007 "did not go astray." Rather, it flew "on a preplanned course designed to take it into Soviet airspace, a course the waypoints of which were carefully and accurately programmed into its navigational systems on the ground at Anchorage." The authors add, "We assume that the reason had to do with intelligence collection."

Since it was written last November, the Allardyce/Gollin report has circulated among aviation professionals, who have now been forced to abandon the prevailing "accident" theory. Then the *New York Times* (20 February), which had stuck to the State Department's story over the years despite tons of evidence to the contrary, published a story by Richard Witkin headlined: "Study Says Korean Airliner Was on Its Intended

Course When Downed in '83." The so-called "finger-error" theory "has been discredited," the article said. This turnaround by the *Times* editors seems of a piece with the recent *Time* magazine "revelation" that Polish Solidarność was supported by a giant Reagan/Pope/CIA conspiracy. Claiming to have "won" the Cold War, U.S. rulers figure "the truth can now be told"—up to a point. Since 269 people died on KAL 007, the *Times* stops short of drawing the damning conclusions, and the rest of the media remain silent.

### Willful Media Blindness

It was Reagan himself who laid down the line that the KAL flight had followed "a straight-line course" for two-and-a-half hours. He even planted the theory that perhaps mistaken information was fed into the plane's computer, adding "no one will ever know." At least so he hoped. The "accident" theorists rushed in to cover Reagan's keister. The *Times* ran repeated maps showing KAL 007's course as a straight line "straying" into Soviet airspace. Yet Soviet and Japanese radar data, recordings of position reports by KAL pilots to air traffic control, and even some U.S. Air Force radar data which escaped "routine" erasure showed that KAL 007 made numerous zigzags. This indicated that the pilots had *not* fallen asleep at the controls and were *consciously directing* the plane into Soviet airspace, not once, but *twice*: first over the Kamchatka Peninsula and then some two hours later over Sakhalin island, off which the wreckage of the plane was located.

On 9 September 1983, Soviet spokesman Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov held an internationally publicized press conference, complete with a map of KAL 007's course as tracked by Soviet radar, showing the telltale curved track the intruder made over Sakhalin, as well as the zigzag "rendezvous" with an American RC-135 electronic spy plane near Kamchatka. This latter event had both confused and alarmed the Soviet air defense apparatus, which predictably went into alert and scrambled their interceptors. This was no "accidental" or "innocent" penetration of Soviet airspace. It allowed the U.S. to assess how Soviet air defenses reacted in the case of an intrusion over key defense installations. And, as we wrote, "there is one particular war sce-

## You Read It Here First

Pamphlet contains first articles published in the U.S. that told the truth about Reagan's spy plane (September 1983). 50¢ (24 pages)

In addition to the articles contained in the Spartacist pamphlet *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*, WV has published the following articles:

- "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," WV No. 350, 16 March 1984
- "Yes, KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission," WV No. 357, 22 June 1984
- "KAL 007 Spy Mission: Footprints Lead to the White House," WV No. 362, 14 September 1984
- "Guardian Shot Down Over KAL 007: Dirty Stalinoid Confessions," WV No. 363, 28 September 1984
- "Nation Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up," WV No. 369, 21 December 1984
- "Rose Mary Woods and the KAL 007 Tapes," WV No. 375, 22 March 1985
- "The New York (Kept) Review of Books—KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," WV No. 379, 17 May 1985
- "Skeletons in the White House Basement," WV No. 394, 3 January 1986
- "The Spectre of KAL 007," WV No. 415, 7 November 1986
- "KAL Pilots Knew," WV No. 419, 9 January 1987
- "The KAL Tapes" and "We Accuse Reagan!" WV No. 437, 2 October 1987

For copies of these articles and the KAL pamphlet, send \$3 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.



nario for which such information is of crucial importance: a nuclear first strike" ("Reagan's 007 War Fever," *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983).

The U.S. cynically tried to dismiss the Soviet data as "disinformation." However, radar data reluctantly released by the Japanese government confirmed the curve over Sakhalin shown by the Soviets. The White House settled on the single-digit, finger-error theory as the most plausible to foist on the public. But as James Gollin told *WV* in an extensive interview, there were elementary problems with this theory:

"They went with it even though they heard from Manfred Teller in the FAA [Federal Aviation Agency] that the [U.S. Air Force] King Salmon and Kenai radars would not confirm the 10 degree error location of 007. They pushed ahead with the theory even though the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] people made that clear, even though anybody with a knowledge of air navigation could lay out on a Lambert chart, as we did, the 10 degree error theory in any one of its refinements and find that the aircraft couldn't pass anywhere near the [Japanese] radar fix."

The Allardyce/Gollin report notes that, had KAL 007 flown the track mandated by the ten-degree error theory, "it would have entered over Kamchatka some 30 or 40 nautical miles south...of the point of actual entry as shown on Soviet radar and never contested by the U.S." Moreover, they report that a State Department memo, released in 1988 under FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) requests, contains timing information on the plane's Kamchatka overflight confirming the Soviet radar data.

Allardyce/Gollin conclude that "a deliberate northward course change was required" to assure 007's transit over Kamchatka, and later yet another northward course change "to produce an intrusion over Sakhalin." This must have been consciously planned by the pilots. In his book, Seymour Hersh sought to save the "ten-degree error" theory by adding a cockamamie scenario invented by one Harold Ewing, adding another pilot "finger error" in the course of supposedly entering an unauthorized waypoint into the computer to save fuel, and then the captain taking a powder from the cockpit for five hours! Hersh admitted that it required a "leap of faith" to believe all this, and according to Gollin, Ewing today admits his theory doesn't hold water. As Allardyce told the *Times*, "The Hersh-Ewing scenario is merely a variant of the single-digit-error scenario and, as my analysis points out, bears no relation to the realities of the flight."

The trail obviously leads to the imperial presidency. In the Reagan years, Vice President George Bush was definitely "in the loop" on the most sensitive CIA operations, such as the murderous contra war in Nicaragua. It would come as no surprise if he had directed this one, too. But the *Times* still repeats assertions by "leading aviation officials" that the plane's "incursion" was "accidental," even though they lack any plausible theory.

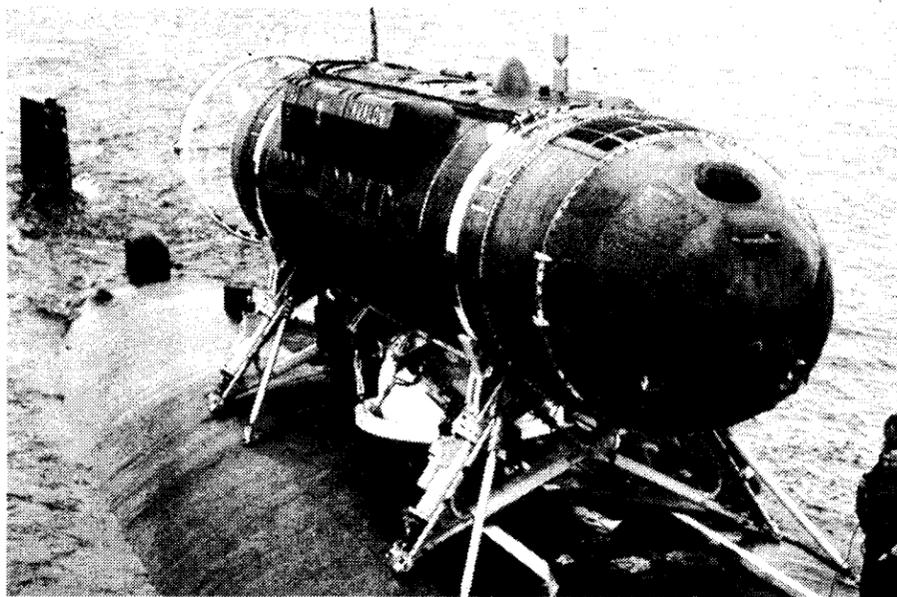
### In Search of the Black Box

Gollin and Allardyce have circulated their study to Congress, but to no avail. For the better part of a decade, respected liberal researchers like David Pearson, author of *KAL 007: The Cover-Up* (1987), and others have pressed for a Congressional investigation of the affair, banking on the liberal Democrats to expose the dirty hands of the Republican White House. But as the Iran/contra "investigation" made clear, in such weighty matters the Democratic Congress does not want to seriously confront the Republican commander in chief, because they are united by common anti-Sovietism and a "bipartisan" spirit of "responsibility" to the higher interests of U.S. imperialism. Thus when leading Democratic Senators Edward Kennedy and Sam Nunn belatedly raised their

voices on KAL 007 in January 1990, it was to call for an "investigation"...in Moscow, in order to heap more blame on the Soviet military.

And they got a response. Hungry for American dollars, ex-KGB agents have been peddling all kinds of stories, such as having seen American MIA's in Vietnam years after the war ended. In this spirit, the now pro-Yeltsin newspaper *Izvestia* ran a 17-part series in early 1991, claiming that the Soviets had found the plane's wreckage, and even recovered the "black box" flight recorders from the sea bottom, but kept it secret. Offering no photographs or other hard evidence, *Izvestia* had only vague and often mutually contradictory statements of various self-proclaimed "witnesses." Even their own reporter admitted that witness descriptions of the black box "do not match" reality. But what *Izvestia* witnesses said about the Russian search operation inadvertently undermined another U.S. cover-up.

The Soviet Navy search was primitive. Lacking sophisticated electronic deep-sea search gear, they used trawlers to sweep the bottom with nets, and a civilian diving team which used a diving bell. As a result they had to look over a large expanse of ocean, which took time. The



Yogi Kaufman

**U.S. Navy surveillance ships converged on KAL 007 crash site within hours. Did high-tech U.S. mini-sub (above) retrieve airliner "black box" which White House says disappeared?**

chief of the Soviet dive team told *Izvestia* "we discovered the plane 17 or 18 October"—more than six weeks after it was downed. More than likely, by this time the U.S. Navy had long since come and gone—underwater. For the Americans employed a pinpoint search with far fewer ships, not only because they had sophisticated electronic gear but because they had been tracking the plane all along. Soviet Air Marshal Kirsanov noted, for instance, that the electronic surveillance frigate USS *Badger* "was on combat duty in the area of Vladivostok" that night, not to mention countless other U.S. satellites and RC-135 spy planes.

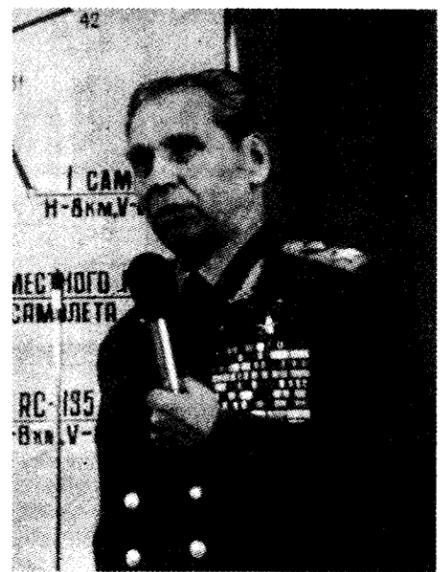
Pearson reports that "a U.S. submarine was said to have been on the scene within an hour of the downing." And R.W. Johnson, in his book *Shootdown* (1986), notes that the Pentagon admits the *Badger* was among the first ships to arrive on the crash scene, along with the *Narragansett* and the *Conserver*, both carrying "sophisticated special detection equipment" and "robot submersible drones." With such technology, searchers were able to recover the black boxes from an Air India plane in 6,700 feet of water in 1985. According to *Izvestia*; KAL 007 lay in a mere 570 feet. Given all this, it seems virtually certain that the U.S. Navy recovered the black box within the first few days or even hours after the shootdown. Gollin agrees this is plausible: "if we [the U.S.] knew it in real time, then we could have gotten aircraft to the spot within 20 minutes" to drop a dive team.

For years, the families of the KAL 007 victims had sought in court to find out what the American government knew

about KAL 007, but they were thwarted by mysterious secrecy orders. Even the details of the U.S. Navy search for the wreckage were classified. Only around the end of 1990, as a result of FOIA requests from the families, did the Navy release its "After Action Report" on the search. But there are suspicious blank spots: the Navy alleges that they didn't even arrive on the scene until five or six days after the shootdown, while the media reported U.S. ships there almost immediately. And the first five hours after the downing remain totally classified. Gollin told *WV*:

"I had the most wonderful set of experiences in trying to get anywhere with the Freedom of Information Act. I FOIAed the NSA [National Security Agency], the CIA. The letters I got said, 'We neither confirm nor deny that the information you have requested exists.' And 'If the information that you requested exists, which we neither confirm nor deny, that information cannot be made available to you' under Presidential Finding such-and-such, because it has direct bearing on the national security."

U.S. Navy submarines have for years practiced covert penetration of Soviet coastal waters, in preparation for a nuclear first strike. Only last month the USS *Baton Rouge*, a nuclear attack



Cullen/Newsweek

**Moscow, 9 September 1983: Former Soviet chief of staff Marshal Ogarkov exposed KAL 007 as Reaganite Cold War provocation.**

In 1983 the imperialists' strategy was to push for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union through military confrontation and conquest, and they acted accordingly. Today the White House is banking on Yeltsin & Co. to push through counterrevolution from within, while holding the Pentagon's Big Stick ready in case they fail. Drunk with the thought of being the only "superpower," they project their plans to run a "unipolar" world. And as demonstrated by the KAL 007 war provocation and the wanton slaughter of the Persian Gulf War, U.S. rulers will stop at nothing to enforce their imperialist hegemony. As we fight for world socialist revolution against imperialism, and for proletarian political revolution to stem the tide of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, we will continue to tell the truth about their monstrous, bloody lies.

In his interview with *WV*, James Gollin commented: "It's enormously refreshing to see headlines like 'Reagan's Story Stinks.' And I think you're to be commended for the absolute courage that you've gone about this story. I will tell you right now, I am not of your political bent. But in terms of what you say, and the forthright, confrontational way you say it, I think it's a great thing for this country that you are there and that you are swinging from the heels. I have to tell you that I think you've done much better analysis of the actualities than anybody else." As we wrote in the introduction to *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*:

"The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting 'the Russian question.'... For the U.S. working class, acting in its own class interests and on behalf of all the oppressed, has the power to wrest from the most dangerous imperialist ruling class in history the means of mass nuclear death. To do so, what's needed is a revolutionary leadership that tells the truth about what's going on and what needs to be done." ■

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# In Honor of Our Slain Comrade Martha Phillips

We continue below to publish comrades' remembrances of Martha Phillips, who was killed on February 9 in Moscow. For those who knew Martha, this material is part of honoring and mourning her. But because her contributions to our party were so rich and her life interpenetrated so many aspects of our party history, other readers may find much of value to them in understanding our views, actions and methods of functioning. It is by using even this tragedy to continue building our party, as Martha would wish, that we keep her influence a living force after her death.

These selections have been edited and heavily excerpted from written tributes and speeches at the memorial events. Even so, it is impossible to reflect all the moving testimony offered by comrades and friends in the U.S. and throughout our International. The Prometheus Research Library, for which Martha served as a representative in the Bay Area, will devote the next number in its Prometheus Research Series to a bulletin commemorating Martha Phillips, which will include some of the classes given by comrade Martha in her role as a party educator.

On March 1, comrades and friends of the Spartacist Group of Poland honored Martha at the Warsaw Ghetto memorial. Our comrades in Tokyo wrote in their obituary:

"As a longtime Spartacist League member, Martha spent many years fighting to build a revolutionary party of the American proletariat and she participated in the 1988 fusion conference between the International Communist League (then international Spartacist tendency) and Japan's Rekken group. At this conference she told us that the Russian question would be central in building a party to fight the widespread Stalinophobic anti-Sovietism that is prevalent among the Japanese left. She insisted that we must be clear on the issues that won our group to the ICL and must aggressively fight our state-capitalist opponents on the burning questions, which in 1988 were Afghanistan and Poland.

"Comrade Martha's sudden and tragic death has left a big hole in our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. Her lifelong commitment to communism and defense of the Soviet Union, and especially her volunteering to go to the Soviet Union to fight to build a new Bolshevik party, is in the tradition of the courageous militant American SWP seamen who volunteered for the Murmansk run, at the risk of their lives, to bring urgently needed supplies to defend the Soviet Union during WW II. Eternal memory to comrade Martha, proletarian communist militant!"

—excerpted from *Spartacist* (Japan) No. 11, February 1992

**George Foster:** We are here to honor our comrade and dear friend Martha Phillips who fell at her post in Moscow on 9 February 1992 fighting for the program of Lenin and Trotsky. This is a very heavy blow for the International Communist League, and her death is a very bitter one for our cadre. Martha was foully murdered under suspicious



circumstances and there is, in addition to our keenly felt grief, a deep anger in the party against whoever did this cowardly and dirty deed.

Martha was a Trotskyist to the marrow of her bones and saw herself, very rightly, as standing in the tradition of pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon. She more than anyone was responsible for the efforts of the ICL to forge an embryonic Soviet section. That was her greatest contribution to the proletarian struggle, and one we are determined to see through to its successful conclusion. The figure of Martha will live in the memory of the workers and youth who will take up the banner of proletarian emancipation, of revolutionary Marxist internationalism, and she will be remembered by future generations as one of those who reformed the party of Lenin and Trotsky in the land of its birth. That is her real legacy, and we will do her honor by carrying this task forward.

I first met Martha in the fall of 1971 when I and two other comrades contacted her and her husband David following an antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. They lived in a very poor area of the city near the Capitol building. Martha in particular cornered me and spent hours asking questions about the Near East, the '67 Arab-Israel war and our attitude toward Israel and the Palestinians. She and David had been to Israel in 1969 and were repelled by the realities of the Zionist state, with its rampant anti-Arab racism and its deep-rooted male chauvinism.

By the time I met her again, in February in Boston, she and David were already firmly committed to the Spartacist League. As most of you know, the left wing of the Leninist Faction resigned from the SWP/YSA (Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance) in August 1972 and fused with the SL shortly afterwards. From that point onward Martha was one of the key cadres of the Spartacist League.

I didn't see much of Martha over the next few years—she was in California and I was in Boston and New York. But somehow we became friends. Martha had a knack for making friends very quickly and rewarded her friends with a deep loyalty and warm and unselfish affection.

Martha did a tour of duty in Los Angeles as a local organizer. As many of you are aware, organization was not her strong point, but she carried off the assignment

with good humor and dedication. She certainly kept the branch active! In the summer of 1974 she took a leave from the L.A. local to attend a European summer camp organized by the international Spartacist tendency and played an important role in the discussions held there. It was at this camp that we presented and endorsed the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency."

I moved to the Bay Area in May 1975 and over the next 16 years Martha became a truly close friend and one of the four comrades that were the core of our district leadership.

How do you encapsulate this experience and convey a sense of this truly exceptional woman? I don't find it easy. I suppose what stands out most in my mind is Martha's passionate commitment to proletarian revolution, which was modulated and informed by a very fine intellect, and an absolutely infectious, acute and broad-gauged sense of humor. Martha cared. She hated all oppression and backwardness, but especially racism in any manifestation.

I think this shines through in her work in the Bay Area, in contacting and training youth, in her tireless work in the PDC and her key role in the Bay Area LBL (Labor Black League for Social Defense). In every area of party work she made her presence felt—and her energy was truly amazing for someone not possessed of a robust constitution. The woman often ran on sheer will power and had to be protected from herself. Through that sheer power of her will and her wholehearted commitment, Martha was, by no intent of her own, a role model for the younger comrades and especially women in the party.

Other traits stand out. She was an avid student and teacher of Marxism. When she would get a day off, which wasn't often, she would frequently go to one of the local libraries or the Hoover Institution at Stanford, to prowl through the stacks looking for archival material on the history of the communist movement. She pushed very hard for educational work, internally as well as externally. Some of the classes she gave were very powerful and I hope that these can find their way into print. Martha was one of the most compulsively political people I've known—but she had not a shred of pedanticism or snobbery about her. She hated the cant and hypocrisy of academia with a passion.

Certainly her early factional experience fighting for Trotskyism in the reformist SWP gave her an unerring ability to spot and skewer all the myriad varieties of reformist and centrist phonies pretending to be Trotskyists. Martha excelled at "opponents work" and just got better as time went by.

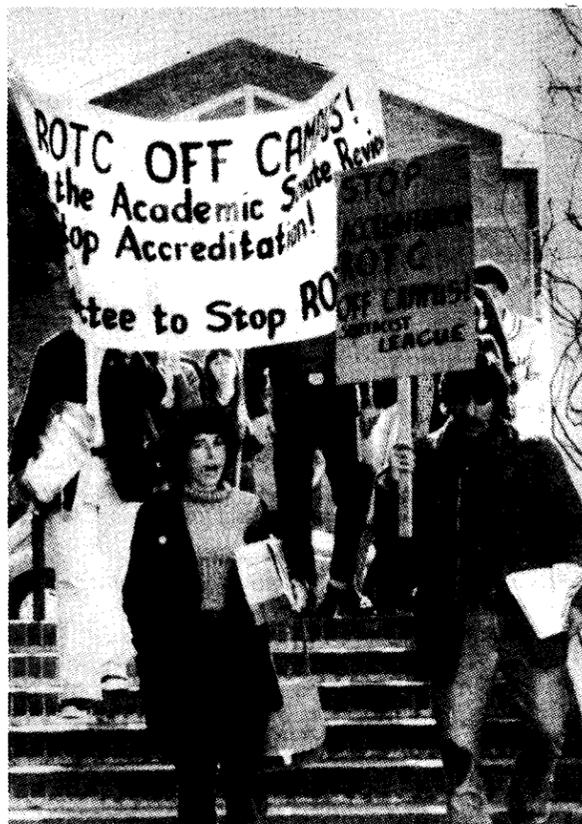
Martha was also a very powerful public speaker and agitator, one of the few comrades who had the flair to be a real mass leader. And she put this talent to use whenever she could.

In fact, especially in the early days, her appetite to launch a campaign at the drop of a hat over some incident that outraged her keen sense of justice led her to a lot of sharp conflicts with the rest of us. I can still see her coming into the office fuming over some new reactionary atrocity, and launching into a breathless 20-minute exposition laying out how we had to go on a full mobilization to combat this outrage. Trembling with anger, her fists clenched, she would brook no opposition. Usually it took a while to sort out, but she was right often enough that comrades listened carefully.

Along with this fierce determination went an equally remarkable sense of humor. Martha had a knack for getting into and surviving more unlikely and madcap misadventures and escapades in a year than most people would in a decade. Martha was a very adventurous person. I remember strongly advising her not to go camping on Mount St. Helens just a few days before it erupted.

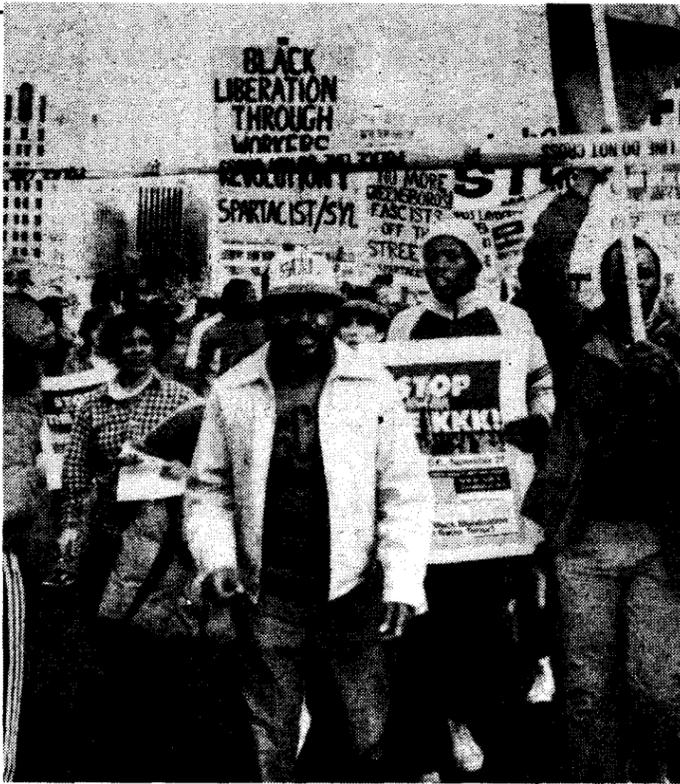
But episodes of humor aside, she did not have an easy life. From an early age she was a real rebel who scoffed at the reactionary conventions of bourgeois society, rejecting a comfortable middle-class existence to throw her lot in with the working class. She turned her back on acting though she was extremely talented and had every chance of pursuing a serious career in the theater. She was the mother of a handicapped child, often having to cope alone with the enormous difficulties of seeing that he had the best care she could obtain. She loved her son Lael very deeply, and shared in his triumphs and also suffered his pains.

In her thirties she entered a difficult apprenticeship in the printing trades. She became a journeyman, but only by fighting tooth and nail against squeezing bosses and



Young Spartacus Spartacist-initiated anti-ROTC campaign at UC Berkeley, May 1975.

Martha speaking at Spartacist benefit after her 1983 election campaign (below). Martha in front lines of Washington Labor/Black Mobilization, 27 November 1982.



WV Photos

also a goodly number of backward male-chauvinist co-workers who resented a woman working in a "man's trade." In the end Martha not only persevered, but came to be a respected worker, indispensable because she alone was able to master some of the very complex computer codes used by the newest machines in her shop.

In September of 1987 she began studying Russian. Some of us were not sanguine about her chances to make significant progress. But she surprised everyone. Through sheer will she mastered enough Russian to study in the USSR. There, despite very difficult conditions and a heavy schedule of political activity, she passed her courses brilliantly and was able to obtain a job as a teacher.

Martha certainly had her foibles as we all do, but they were the matrix called personality that highlighted her very real and rare talents as a professional revolutionary. I really hope we made her life a little easier with our company and friendship. She certainly brought a lot of light and laughter into ours.

She went into her assignment in the USSR with her eyes wide open and at great personal sacrifice, because she knew it was important to the workers of the world. It was very clear to her and to all of us that the homeland of the October Revolution is in mortal danger. I remember the two of us bitterly joking that maybe she could sell her story to the bourgeois press—the only Jew on the entire planet emigrating to the USSR in 1991.

But I also remember an account of how her intervention wrecked a Granite meeting in Moscow. Here was Moscow, in the grip of a galloping attempt to consolidate a counter-revolutionary capitalist regime. And here were these trade-union cretins blathering along in a sub-economist vein, when Martha gets up and directly counterposes the need to smash the Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution, pointing out that these selfsame economists stood with Yeltsin on the August barricades. It brought the house down. Things look different from Moscow than from a Labour Party constituency club in London.



WV Photo

Presentation of chervonets (Soviet gold coin) to Martha at Bay Area District Committee meeting, 14 September 1980.

Martha was well aware of the dangers she faced. But I think she would feel a bit like Martin Luther, who said: "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise." More dialectically, Engels remarked, "Freedom is the recognition of necessity."

As L.D. Trotsky noted in "At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze," 7 January 1931:

"It took altogether extraordinary conditions like czarism, illegality, prison, and deportation, many years of struggle against the Mensheviks, and especially the experience of three revolutions to produce fighters like Kote Tsintsadze...."

"The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it."

Over two decades of experience has indeed revealed no lack of weak or accidental elements drawn temporarily to our tendency. But Martha Phillips was not one of these. I believe she was made of the same red cloth as Kote Tsintsadze.

**Sam H.:** Once again we are faced with the heart-wrenching experience of losing a comrade, in this case Martha, my oldest political and personal friend and someone who was irreplaceably near and dear to me. As painful as this must be we need to remember our comrades' lives and work; both personally and politically. Martha was one of a kind, and I still find it hard to believe that she is gone. Life has its cruel moments, and this is one of them, excruciatingly so.

I first met Martha in the spring of 1970 when we both joined the YSA in Madison, Wisconsin. I was an antiwar soldier. I hated the military, the government; this was the time of the Vietnam War. Martha was a student at the University of Wisconsin, 21 or 22 years old. I believe we joined the YSA at the same meeting, and we became friends, with my wife and David, the four of us. Unlike a lot of youth who pass through revolutionary organizations and dedicate the best semester of their life, Martha was dedicated for her life.

I believe that Martha, and a few others like myself, took the SWP of 1970 as good coin, that this was still the party of Cannon and the Russian Revolution. We were in for a rude awakening, but threw ourselves into the work. Madison was a political hot spot at the time and there were countless rallies, marches, sit-ins, leafletting of induction centers and zillions of organizing meetings to attend. The internal life of the YSA was just as fast-paced and Martha, to no one's surprise, was in the thick of all this activity.

At first we believed our party elders. And the reformist, social-patriotic line of the "peaceful/legal" SWP was given a leftist veneer by the Mandelites types [followers of the inveterate centrist Ernest Mandel, of the United Secretariat] that led the local organization in Madison. Our party headquarters, the Che Guevara Movement Center on Gilman Street, was certainly a radical-looking place. Pictures of Fidel and Che and posters on the Middle East were far more prominent than portraits of Lenin and Trotsky. But there was an excellent selection of basic Marxist works available. Believing this was a proletarian revolutionary party, the more serious younger members set about the task of educating ourselves. Martha was devouring Lenin and Trotsky at the time and I remember the first educational I heard her give was on Lenin's 1916 work *Imperialism*, and she had been a member probably not much more than six months. She was a very smart woman!

The outpouring of opposition to U.S. imperialism's dirty, genocidal war against the Vietnamese was quite massive.

In the student enclave of Madison, the SWP-led demos would draw 20,000 or even 50,000 people on occasion. The leftist youth, like Martha, would argue that these demonstrations must be "peaceful and legal" because we were for proletarian revolution and the job of the antiwar movement was not to trash parking meters, but rather to organize the social power of the proletariat that could shut down the war machine. This was the theme of the public speeches we gave at the time. We were enmeshed in the Popular Front, for sure, but we were trying to give a Mandelite left face to this work.

Another example: the feminist movement was in full swing and a group called "Women's Action Movement" was organized. It was male-exclusionist, as the SWP was capitulating all the way to bourgeois feminism (and so was Mandel), but the leftists in the branch tried once again to push as radical a line as possible. The SWP's line at the time was for the "right to choose" but this WAM group had regular educationals where YSA speakers gave presentations on topics such as Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and we fought for free 24-hour child care and free abortion on demand. The YSA were central leaders in the Madison women's movement, and I believe the two main leaders of this work were Martha Quinn, the wife of the major Madison SWP leader Pat Quinn, and the young firebrand, Martha Phillips.

By this time (and we're talking here about months, not years) Martha was on the local executive committee. The internal political life was tumultuous, numerous fights broke out, but politically, few were clarifying. That's not to say there were not some principled positions taken. I remember one fight in particular that Martha played a strong role in. In one of the feminist demonstrations at that time a number of YSA women were gleefully chanting, along with the pro-NOW types, "Power to the Sisters, Take It from the Mistresses!" and we had a no-holds-barred fight about this inside the Madison YSA. Martha, along with others, fought tooth and nail that this chant was a fundamental departure from the Marxist understanding that the divisions in capitalist society are along class, not sex lines.

We worked our asses off, but it was for the wrong program; the Mandelite left veneer was not the road to rev-



Le Bolchevik

Ligue Trotskyiste comrades lay wreath in honor of Martha at Leon Sedov's grave in Paris, February 22.

olution. At first we were drawn to the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT), which simply said we should take the SWP's reformist program and take it to the workers. And we first thought: "Well that sounds good, if we're a party of the American proletariat how come there's no workers in the party? How come we don't do factory sales?"

But that wasn't the point. The problem with the SWP was its program, not its orientation. The SWP would later bring its reformist program into the unions under the guise of "talking socialism." The POT not only refused to fight the pop-front line on the Vietnam War, but also agreed with the SWP majority on the question of black nationalism and feminism.

I think the Vietnam War was the issue that we had to break through on—fighting for a class line on the Vietnam War—how "our boys" were the Vietnamese. One of the greatest moments of my life, and I'm sure for Martha,

continued on next page

# The Best Memorial to Martha: "Bring the Program of Lenin and Trotsky to Life!"

## Moscow Memorial Meeting

On February 29, some 60 people attended a memorial meeting of the International Communist League in Moscow to honor our slain comrade, Martha Phillips. In addition to ICL comrades who had known and worked with Martha for many years, speakers included a Red Army World War II veteran from the Ukraine, an editor of the Soviet leftist newspaper *Kontrargumenty i Fakty*, a spokesman of the Stalinist Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRП), and others. A defense guard, which included young supporters of the RKRП, was organized to defend the meeting against the possibility of right-wing attack.

What brought together people from such a wide range of personal and political backgrounds—from anarchist youth to old-line Stalinists—was their shared sense of admiration for Martha as an intelligent and articulate individual, as a dedicated communist, as a tenacious and courageous revolutionary fighter. Such characteristics stood out particularly in the Soviet Union, where decades of Stalinism corrupted the conception of the Leninist party as a combat organization of cadres fighting around a common program. One comrade remarked: "After so many years of plodding in a Stalinist swamp of liars and political horse-traders, our contacts came closer to us because they wanted to be a little more like what they saw in Martha."

A sympathizer from Leningrad, formerly a longtime member of the Communist Party, addressed this in his remarks:

"The more time I spent with Martha, the more I understood that here was exactly the type of person who could in every respect be called a professional revolutionary. At present such people are few. And that is unfortunate. In spite of the fact that she was only some forty years old, this person was of that constellation of revolutionaries who made the Revolution of 1917.



Our new Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* No. 3, "Leninist Party—Tribune of the People," is dedicated to Martha Phillips.

"She was highly exacting in the selection of cadres for the new organization being founded in the Soviet Union. On one hand, she was insistent on the need to establish Spartacist groups in Leningrad and other cities as soon as possible. On the other hand, she was extremely particular in her approach to each person who wanted to join the organization. Such a person had to be fully in agreement with the program as laid out, with the program we today call the program of Lenin and Trotsky."

Those with whom the ICL engaged in political combat also attested to Martha's incisive intellect and Marxist clarity. A recent letter which Martha had written to the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee describing the situation in the Soviet Union in the face of Yeltsinite counterrevolution was quoted in the ICL's obituary. Citing it, the *Kontrargumenty i Fakty* editor said:

"I was deeply struck by one phrase in particular from the notes of Martha Phillips, who was, I must say, an intelligent woman. 'All maneuvering here' (meaning in the Soviet Union), she wrote, 'operates under what I'd call, for lack of a better phrase, the "shadow of the working class".' Now what better term could one search for than that? The term has been found, and that is it. Just look at our present political arena and you see the immense shadow of the working class. But the working class itself is absent, for the time being, from our political arena. Certain parties can go around calling themselves 'workers' over and over again, but that's still how it is."

One of the ICL speakers described the difficulties which confronted Martha in becoming a powerful and prominent spokesman for our Trotskyist politics in the Soviet Union: "For one thing, she was a foreigner; second, she was Jewish; thirdly, she was a woman." Martha set out to learn Russian, a "hellishly difficult" language, late in life, yet she struggled with her limited vocabulary to be sharp and politically decisive: "Her Russian was fashioned not with a brush but a hammer." He recounted some of the political interventions Martha had made during her brief period in the Soviet Union, and their impact on her audiences:

"It was Martha who stepped forward to speak to the Moscow Workers Congress on 20 July 1991. Many of you here in this room saw and heard Martha first on that occasion. That meeting for many was an attempt to find a way to counterattack the Yeltsin/Gorbachev/Bush drive for capitalist restoration. In her remarks she sought to lay bare what capitalist restoration would mean for the working people of the Soviet Union and presented a fighting perspective of proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist program which animated the October Revolution of 1917. She warned that, as in Eastern Europe, the counterrevolution would rely on native nationalism as a battering ram against the historic interests of the multinational Soviet proletariat. And she pointed out that Russian nationalism is inseparable from anti-Semitism.

"She had the capacity to be a powerful political speaker and to repeated applause called for: All Power to the Soviets! Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution! Long Live the World Revolution! Long Live the Soviet Union! From among all the other greetings given to the conference, hers received the most applause. She had only begun to show what kind of a role she could have played further down the road. Maybe that was noticed by enemies too.

"The last sale that Martha did was at the officers' gathering on January 17 in front of the Troitsky Gates of the Kremlin. The officers took our literature with considerable interest. But when a march with Victor Anpilov at the head later arrived, this ended in a physical attack by supporters of the Anpilov demonstration against our organization and, first of all, against Martha. One of the assailants wore a sweat shirt with 'Pamyat' written across it. Another assailant was a supporter of the RKRП.

"The very next day was Martha's last major political statement, at an all-union educational seminar held by the ICL. There, she sharply attacked the politics of con-



WV Photo  
Display of ICL's Soviet work at Bay Area memorial, February 22.

ciliation with national chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and the political bloc of the RKRП with fascists and monarchists in particular. She warned that restorationists are relying on nationalism to chain the working class behind the drive for counterrevolution, and that it was particularly shameful to see the flag of the Soviet Union mixed at demonstrations with flags of monarchist and fascist reaction, of the Black Hundreds.

"A party worthy to be called the party of the proletariat can only be forged in the struggle to defend all the oppressed. Martha strove to make sure that our fight here began straight away along those lines. It is fitting that the third issue of our *Bulletin Spartakovtsev*, titled 'Leninist Party: Tribune of the People,' is dedicated to Martha. In many ways she inspired this issue."

Martha's warnings against the danger of nationalism did not fall on deaf ears. One young RKRП member, who participated in the defense squad at the meeting, said afterwards: "We've all got to unite as communists, and it's got to be on the basis of internationalism. When people come up to me and say we have to throw the Trotskyists out, I say: They are communists, and who are you? One thing we cannot tolerate is chauvinists and anti-Semites."

Concluding his remarks, the comrade from Leningrad said:

"The best memorial to Martha would be the continuation of this cause. A cause which, as people used to say, is a rightful one: to truly bring to life the program of Lenin and Trotsky which for 70 years—it can probably be said without exaggerating—has really been trampled in the dirt both by Stalin and by all the subsequent leaders of our state. To bring this program to life, in order to be cleansed of everything and to approach once again that which we began in October 1917."

continued from previous page

was to see the CIA clinging to the choppers being airlifted out of Saigon.

We came to the understanding that it was the program of the SWP that was wrong. We were in the wrong organization. We wanted to fight; these people were in the way.

It was in this emerging fight where Martha really came forward as a political leader. The Madison YSA was never allowed to become an SWP party branch (we were always in hot water with the N.O.), and to continue the internal fight we had to move to cities with a party organization. So we packed up and went; Martha and Dave moved to D.C. and I wound up in Milwaukee. She became a central leader of this faction from its inception, and along with David at that time, became the hard Leninist pole.

The Leninist Faction was a clear line of demarcation between the Mandelites and those elements that were looking for a genuine Leninist/Trotskyist program. The LF was far from being a homogeneous political tendency, but its declaration statement was a fine document. But getting the faction to live up to this document was another fight. Barbara G. was seen as one of the central leaders of the faction within the SWP, but she soon pulled back from

the revolutionary implications of our founding statement. Martha quickly surpassed her as a political leader in the fight to get the LF to fuse with the SL. About one-third of the faction eventually did. Martha understood what the fight of the [1963] Revolutionary Tendency meant. We were not the first oppositionists in the SWP to come down the road. It was really important to understand history. So in the middle of a raging faction fight in the middle of a war, Martha was hitting the books. Because she understood, I think David did too, that the real fight was that the Leninist Faction had to fuse with the Spartacist League, because the Spartacist League was the fight of '63, and we basically stood on the documents of the RT.

The faction wavered—but Martha never did, and she provided a lot of leadership to a lot of comrades from the Leninist Faction. This shaped Martha and steered her. So when Martha came into this party, she was not a new member. She was a cadre.

I want to stress the political impact the Vietnam War had on Martha, and why it was no accident she went to Moscow. She was a central component of a faction fight where one of the most important issues was defense of the Vietnamese deformed workers state in the North and

the fight for a social revolution in the South. The Popular Front at that time was trying to prevent a defeat of U.S. imperialism—they were trying to bail out U.S. imperialism. The SWP at that time was tailing the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie. It was the Russian question posed in a very different way, in a different historical period. That's what we were won to.

The Vietnamese were the underdogs, and their heroism and tenacity gained a lot of respect among the newly radicalized leftists the 1960s produced internationally. But for the bourgeoisie it was a war against Communism, and our state-capitalist and social-democratic opponents hated the Vietnamese as much as the Russians. The problem was the Viet Cong were popular (like Che and Fidel were), as opposed to the staid Stalinists in the Kremlin. So the state capitalists/social democrats, not wanting to be left out in the cold and leave the field open to the reds, declared the Vietnam War to be one of national liberation. Stalinists echoed this same line in their own "peaceful coexistence" style, or gave uncritical political support to the Hanoi Stalinists. Your 57-variety liberals were into pacifism (to be turned against the Vietnamese later, à la Jane Fonda). A liberal section of the bourgeoisie, breathing a sigh of relief



WV Photo

**Martha with her son Lael after returning from visit to Soviet Union in 1991.**

after the crushing of the Indonesian CP on the one hand, but cowering after the Viet Cong's impressive Tet Offensive on the other, took a defeatist position on the war, worried about the social explosions at home. This all spelled Pop Front and a big one—the social pressure against taking a *class* line on the Vietnam War was quite strong. The fake-left were wrapping themselves in all kinds of radical phraseology, but “Military Victory to the NLF” and “All Indochina Must Go Communist”—never! And in the fight against this crap Martha never flinched. Martha died in Moscow fighting for the same program she was won to, the program she defended against the renegades and fake-leftists in the 1960s who refused to stand with the Vietnamese workers and peasants against their own bourgeoisie.

So many comrades are familiar with Martha's work in the SL/U.S. The tremendous will, indefatigable spirit, personal dedication and unbelievable enthusiasm for the work that I saw from the time I first met her only deepened as the years went by. I don't know how many locals she was in, but I think Martha was virtually everywhere and knew everybody. Martha was the kind of comrade who, despite personal hardships, would pull up stakes and go anywhere the party needed her. For the comrades who knew and loved her, her loss is a devastating blow that words cannot convey. For the younger or newer comrades who didn't know her, they've been brutally cheated.

After fighting many years to build the party in the belly of the imperialist monster, when duty called to go to the Soviet Union, she volunteered after seriously preparing herself for this work. But “volunteer” is to put it mildly. She was bound and determined to go and help rebuild Lenin's party, and we would have had to chain her down to stop her. So Martha's political career began in Madison and ended much too soon and tragically in Moscow. But this is where Martha wanted to be. We were very close friends for 22 years but lived in the same city (Madison and the Bay Area) for only about six or seven of them. But that never bothered us. We were very happy to be in the same party fighting for the same program.

This world is a much darker, crueler and certainly more lonely place without her. She was an immensely warm-hearted and generous woman with a hilarious sense of humor. She deeply loved her son, Lael and she was powerfully loyal to this party and her comrades. Martha was high on life and lived it fully—it should have gone on a lot longer. The proletariat has a long memory and Martha, along with our other fallen comrades, will not be forgotten. I believe her heart and spirit will remain in Moscow, somewhere near the Kremlin Wall with Big Bill Haywood and John Reed.

Martha was very generous, warm-hearted. She knew how to be a friend. And through all her personal problems, she always struggled and fought back and always came forward when it was needed. See, I think with Martha there was really no separation, personal from political life; it was intermeshed. And she represented a lot about what it means to be a communist.

**Irene R.:** When I first met Martha in 1981, I had spent the previous six years in some of our more inexperienced locals with a lot of problems at that time: Ann Arbor, Chicago, Detroit. Martha patiently sorted through with me all the misconceptions and bad training I'd had. Finally she said, “You know, Irene, why don't we just wipe the slate clean and start all over with you. Let me teach you about Leninist norms of functioning and trade-union work.”

Martha never shied from telling you the truth about yourself and I think that's why people became better than they thought they could be. One day I arrived back to Alameda where I was living with Martha, and I'd had a week in L.A. of sun and fun, and she came flying out of

the house and met me on the stairs. “Irene, I have bad news for you.” That glimmer in her eye, you know. She said, “While you were gone, you were overthrown as youth organizer. But you know it's for the best.” And then I felt really bad, and she threw her arm around me and said, “We can't all be organizers. Look at me.”

Martha enjoyed showing Lael and me all the sights of San Francisco. I can't really go around the city without thinking of Martha. She showed me all these places first. She loved the beauty and she loved the history. She said she couldn't walk around downtown near the waterfront without thinking of the 1934 General Strike.

She taught me how to slow down and enjoy life more. One day when we were having *latkes*, which this Midwest girl had never had before, and I was really enjoying myself with Martha and Lael, I started feeling very guilty. I said, “Martha, shouldn't we be doing a sale or something?” She replied, “How do you ever have time to read or think, if you're always running around so goddamned earnestly?” She got really mad and fought with me to change, and that's something I will miss about her tremendously.

Over these last eleven years Martha and Lael have been more family to me than my own ever was. I felt very loved by Martha. I loved watching Martha with Lael. She had such unconditional love for her son. She taught me a lot about dignity and respect and love in the way she raised Lael. And Lael has become such a fine young man. Martha was tremendously proud of you.

In 1982 I visited Lael and Martha who were living in Detroit, and I'll never forget Martha's joy and excitement that Lael was first learning to read. She just couldn't stand still, she was jumping around, she was so happy and proud. She gave him stage fright: “Lael, read for Irene! Read for Irene!” She fought like hell to give Lael all the advantages possible in a country where social services for handicapped children have become fewer and fewer every year. When they were living in L.A. Martha was so happy to have gotten Lael the best care available in the country at that time, with an excellent doctor and a school in North Hollywood. She and Lael spent an hour and a half a day commuting to the school. And L.A. was at that time a local where no one else had children, and there was very little understanding for the difficulties of being a single mother on welfare. And at the same time, Martha ran the branch and ran it well.

In 1984, Martha found that there were no openings in any decent schools for Lael in the Bay Area. She had at once four social workers looking into it, trying to find a place, and even made a desperate phone call to Assemblyman Willie Brown, to no avail. I remember what a painful decision it was for Martha to allow Lael to go live in Denver with his grandparents, who had a lot to offer Lael and have given Lael so much. But Martha really missed him.

Martha was incredibly proud of his accomplishments in this world. I remember it, the way her eyes shone when Lael treated Martha and me, took us out for lunch with earnings from one of his first paychecks. Lael is of course a unique individual and it's also lovely for me to see some of the wonderful qualities in him that Martha had.

Martha lit up many foggy San Francisco days with her laughter, her smile, her brilliant mind and her enthusiastic love of politics and of life. Some of the times I've seen Martha the happiest were when Lael came to town to stay with her for the holidays. Martha left us a treasury of memories that can never be taken away. We can all carry with us our vivid images of Martha, this exceptional woman and comrade who will remain in our hearts forever.

### **At Friedrichsfelde Monument for Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Berlin, February 16**

**Max Schütz, Spartakist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands**

Here before the monuments to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, it is indeed fitting that we honor our comrade Martha Phillips. When we honor them and Lenin, the Three L's, we honor all comrades who died at their posts fighting for a communist future. Here I must add that had she known last week that these monuments had been desecrated she would have shared our outrage. She would have wanted to be in the forefront to clean away not only that Nazi filth but its perpetrators.

I was fortunate to know Martha as she fought her way to Spartacism in the SWP. In so many ways her own political struggle replicated the origins of our own tendency. Like the Revolutionary Tendency of the previous decade, Martha fought for a proletarian, revolutionary perspective, but in a party which as it entered the 1970s had degenerated much further. Nevertheless there still existed in the SWP a generation of Cannon's collaborators who had not forgotten everything. She returned to the James P. Cannon who was Trotsky's closest collaborator, the author of *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

With her intellectual tenacity and honesty all along the line, she soon went beyond the partial approximation to that school of Cannon represented by the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, and rejected the impressionistic and fleeting left posturing of the Mandelites. Further, she had another quality which was foreign to these currents: a profound class hatred of all forms of social oppression and sense of the party as a Leninist tribune of the people.

Through her study of the Marxist classics, careful study and documentation of the disputes within the Marxist movement, Martha enriched not only the archival work but many areas of our work. This helped deepen her firm theoretical and programmatic anchoring. Her whole political life could be said to be preparation for her last assignment and a repudiation of impressionism and defeatism in the face of recent developments in East Europe and the Soviet Union. She saw not only the dangers but a powerful confirmation of the Trotskyist program. She saw challenge and opportunity to rebuild the party of the Russian Revolution in the land of October. She became part of that unbroken chain, the continuity with the Three L's.

One cannot help but remember with bitterness, especially here, that like Liebknecht and like Luxemburg, a Jewish woman communist, Martha was murdered at the height of her political effectiveness. We have been robbed of a valued comrade and warm friend. That deepens our determination to honor her by carrying forward the work to which she dedicated her life. ■



Spartakist

**Spartakist comrades lay wreath in honor of Martha at Friedrichsfelde monument for Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Berlin, February 16.**

# East Europe...

(continued from page 1)

Soviet bloc and the ascendancy of counterrevolutionary nationalist forces in the USSR—personified by Boris Yeltsin in Russia and his counterparts in the other republics—have contributed in no small measure to the economic catastrophe confronting East Europe. The economic stability of the region was based on favorable trade relations with the USSR. The Soviet Union supplied the Warsaw Pact countries with oil and natural gas at far below the extortionate world market price. In return, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the others shipped to the USSR industrial products that were below world market standards.

The Kremlin was willing to pay this price to maintain Soviet political and military dominance in the region. But once Gorbachev turned over East Europe to NATO imperialism, Moscow directed its oil exports to Western markets for dollars and deutschmarks. Since 1989 Soviet oil shipments to East Europe have been cut in half! Anti-Communist East European nationalists, who for years railed against supposed Soviet "imperialism," are now complaining bitterly that Moscow no longer has any economic interest in their countries.

At the same time, those East European



Mendel/Magnum

**Romanian Gypsies seeking refuge in Berlin. Driven from their homes by nationalist terror, they now face fascist attacks in Germany.**

Yeltsin would like to be a capitalist class, but they are not yet one. Even in Poland, where the state is capitalist from top to bottom, a capitalist class has not yet congealed because they lack...capital" (WV No. 533, 30 August 1991). Unlike capitalism growing organically out of the womb of feudal society, the restoration of capitalism requires the prior destruction of the workers state and

Dusan Triska exclaimed, "They're going to hang us all."

## Poland: Solidarność Regime at Bay

After Poland experienced the repeated failure of Stalinist "reform" regimes from Gomulka after 1956 through Gierek during the 1970s, for the past decade Solidarność has been in the forefront of the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. U.S. president Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla of Krakow secretly conspired to keep the clerical-nationalist "free trade union" afloat through tens of millions of dollars funneled through the American labor bureaucracy. The recent *Time* magazine "revelation" of this "Holy Alliance" only confirms what we wrote over a decade ago, while it covers up the fact that U.S. support to Walesa & Co. began well before General Jaruzelski spiked Solidarność bid for power in 1981 (see "Solidarność Godfathers: Reagan and the Pope," WV No. 546, 6 March).

In 1989 the beleaguered Jaruzelski regime, pressed by Western bankers and abandoned by the Gorbachev Kremlin, entered a "power-sharing" deal with Walesa which produced the pro-capitalist Mazowiecki government. However, in the course of 1990 Solidarność took total political power as the Stalinist ministers were purged from the government. Moreover, the "special bodies of armed men" (the core of state power, in Engels' words) were reconstructed on the basis of loyalty to the nascent bourgeois order: most top army commanders were replaced, and the security police forces were dissolved. Topped off by the replacement of Jaruzelski by Walesa as president that December, this marked the transformation of Poland into a capitalist state.

However, it is an extremely weak and fragile capitalist state, and in a political sense is becoming more so. The economic "shock treatment" was from the outset met with widespread strikes and worker protests. This pressure from below split the Solidarność tops into bit-

terly contending factions, with Walesa bandying about anti-Semitic demagoguery and his former colleagues accusing him of harboring dictatorial ambitions (!). The first dramatic sign of Solidarność' loss of popular authority came in the presidential election in the winter of 1990. While Walesa won 75 percent of the vote on the second round (as half the electorate stayed home), an unknown émigré businessman, Stanislaw Tyminski, outpolled the prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

No sooner had President Walesa taken office than he was confronted with a wave of strikes—Silesian coal miners, transport workers, air traffic controllers. Warsaw garbage men walked off their jobs for a week, and the army was called in to pick up the trash. Walesa dropped his "democratic" façade, accusing strike organizers of "breaking the law" and threatening to "use all means and force to defend our ideals" (London *Independent*, 14 June 1991). But under present conditions in Poland, this tough talk is just so much bluster. If the police or army were used to break up picket lines and arrest striking workers, this could ignite a social explosion that would blow Walesa right out of the Belvedere Palace.

Solidarność' loss of popular authority has been paralleled by that of its historic protector (and in a sense creator), the Polish Catholic hierarchy. With the Communists out and Walesa in, Pope Wojtyla and Cardinal Glemp believed that Poland was now theirs for the taking. Last spring the hierarchy launched an aggressive campaign to outlaw abortion and to abolish the existing constitutional separation of church and state. However, the prelates' power play provoked an anti-clerical backlash. Opinion polls show that 60 percent of the population favors legalized abortion and believes the church has too much influence in public life, although 90 percent still identify themselves as practicing Catholics. One poll showed respect for the church as an institution has fallen below that for the army.

The elections to the Sejm (parliament) last fall were another blow to the Solidarność regime. The government parties got just 16 percent of the vote, while the parties deriving from the old Stalinist bureaucracy got 20 percent. True, the erstwhile Stalinists made no pretense of standing for socialism but rather called for a social-democratic "mixed" (capitalist) economy. Nonetheless, the soon-to-be-axed second Solidarność prime minister, Jan Bielecki, was right when he called the result "a vote against the market economy." At the same time, the Solidarność parties lost ground to their right, to the fascist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and the clericalist Catholic Action.

The election debacle produced a two-month-long governmental crisis until the contentious Solidarność parties and their more right-wing allies patched together a new government, which was immediately greeted by nationwide protest strikes against the climbing unemployment and inflation. The *Chicago Tribune*

## ICL statement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" published in Russian and Polish. This was first call to action against Yeltsin regime distributed in the Soviet Union after August coup.



products which could be competitive in world markets—agriculture and some light manufactures like textiles—are subject to trade protectionism in the West. While French and German bourgeois parties stridently call for a "free market" in East Europe, they are committed to preserving agricultural protectionism in their own national markets. Former Polish finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz complains that half of Poland's exports to the West European Common Market (EC) face high tariffs, quotas and other trade barriers: "And this at a time when we are urged to go in the direction of the market. We need the EC to lower barriers now, not in four or five years' time" (*Economist*, 21 September 1991). Balcerowicz is well aware that the consolidation of capitalism in the region is far from assured.

In most of East Europe, the Stalinist regimes collapsed during 1989 and were replaced by parties committed to bourgeois "democratic" counterrevolution. In East Germany, an incipient political revolution was overwhelmed by the capitalist reunification drive as the deformed workers state was rapidly annexed into a powerful Fourth Reich of German imperialism. In Yugoslavia a nationalist civil war broke out last year between rival governments of former Stalinist bureaucrats. Elsewhere in the Balkans (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania) "reformed" Stalinist regimes have unsuccessfully sought to preside over a "transition" to a capitalist market. In contrast, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Stalinists were ousted and in their wake fledgling capitalist states are now being erected.

However, as we noted following the failed August coup in Moscow and the successful pro-imperialist countercoup headed by Yeltsin: "The forces backing

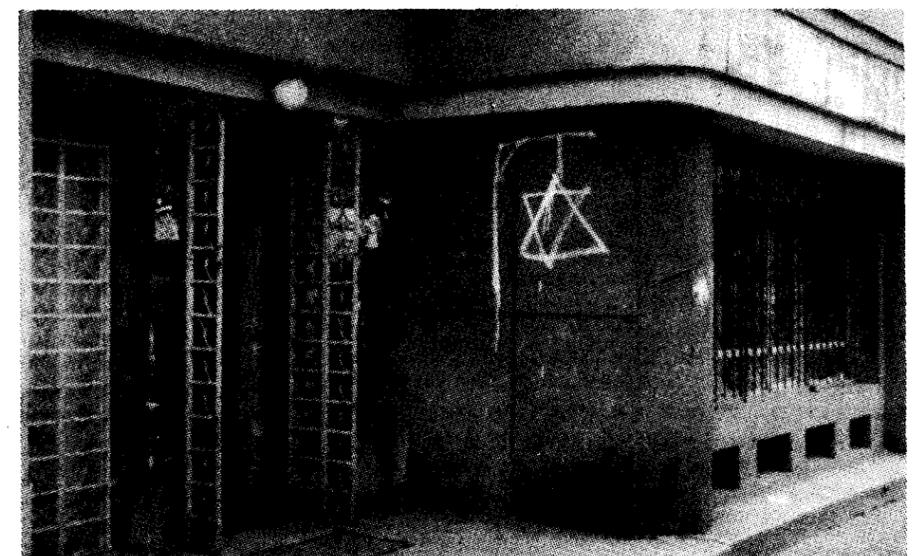
establishment of a counterrevolutionary state apparatus. As Trotsky wrote in the 1930s:

"Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a *revolution* or a *counterrevolution*. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."

—"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

Trotsky also insisted that counterrevolution could not succeed in a "bourgeois-democratic" (parliamentary) framework but would require harsh bonapartist regimes to break the resistance of the working class. On such a basis a new class of capitalist "robber barons" could take over the nationalized industry, which is already being run according to the dictates of the world market.

However, the proto-capitalist states in East Europe are extremely weak and fragile. Poland is witnessing almost constant working-class protest and resistance while the popular authority of the Solidarność regime falls to ever-deeper lows. One recent poll showed Walesa's standing was below that of General Jaruzelski, the last Stalinist ruler, and a majority retrospectively supported the December 1981 crackdown against Solidarność. Meanwhile, in Czechoslovakia, with the fracturing of the "Civic Forum" into a number of rival parties, the Communist Party now has the largest parliamentary fraction. The Havel/Kraus regime lives in fear of a social explosion as it immiserates the traditionally socialist Czech proletariat. Prague's deputy finance minister



Spartakist

**Warsaw: clerical-nationalist Solidarność in power fuels climate for anti-Semitic terror.**

## Capitalist Counterrevolution Produces New Great Depression in Eastern Europe

Sokolowski/AP

(12 January) reported one young woman in Warsaw saying, "You often hear this sentence: 'It was better under the Communists.'" In order to recapture its crumbling authority, the Walesa regime could well step up its nationalist demagoguery and fish in the troubled waters of the fractured Soviet Union.

### Poland and Irredentism, East and West

Last year Walesa exhorted a group of visiting Western businessmen: "Invest your money in Poland. We don't fight about dividing the country like they do in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia" (London *Guardian*, 19 April 1991). Poland owes its present vaunted "ethnic purity" to the actions of Adolf Hitler and then Joseph Stalin. The interwar Poland of fascist dictator Marshal Pilsudski contained three million Jews—10 percent of the population—by far the largest proportion of any country in the world. At the same time, Warsaw ruled over large sections of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania.

The Nazi occupiers "purified" Poland of its Jewish population by genocide. And when the Soviet Red Army drove out the Wehrmacht, Stalin had the Polish state moved bodily westward. The western Ukraine, western Byelorussia and all of Lithuania were incorporated into the USSR. In return, Poland was given western Silesia, a region which had been under German rule since the days of Frederick the Great. In 1945-46, three million ethnic Germans were driven out of Poland, and those who remained were subjected to forced Polonization. Now the collapse of the postwar Stalinist order in East Europe has reopened all national and border questions amid a general climate of chauvinism and reaction.

There exists a sizable Polish minority in Lithuania concentrated in the region around the capital, Vilnius. Overwhelmingly workers and peasants, the Polish community has been viewed and treated with contempt by the dominant Lithuanians. A major aim of the nationalist Sajudis—the now ruling party of Lithuania—has been to eliminate the national rights of the Polish community. When Lithuania was still part of the USSR, the Sajudis government voted to make Lithuanian the sole official language. Poles, whose second language is Russian—the *lingua franca* of the Soviet Union—were thus effectively barred from government posts and higher education. One of the first acts of the Sajudis after Lithuania was recognized as independent last fall was to abolish the local Polish councils, claiming they had supported the botched Kremlin coup.

As long as the Lithuanian nationalists were pitted against Gorbachev's Kremlin, the Solidarność regime in Warsaw fulsomely supported them in the name of anti-Communist solidarity. But since Lithuania became independent with Yeltsin's blessing, there has been growing friction between Warsaw and Vilnius. Last fall the Polish foreign minister postponed a scheduled visit to Lithuania to protest the treatment of the Polish community there.

While the situation of the oppressed Polish minority in Lithuania can become a rallying point for right-wing Polish nationalists, the Silesian question can be used by the far more powerful, resurgent German imperialist state. For decades German émigrés from Silesia and East Prussia were a strong force on the West German right. Now with the breakdown of the Stalinist order, the German minority in Silesia is making its voice heard. And they naturally look to the powerful German state across the Oder-Neisse as their protector. When Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Polish Silesia in late 1989, he was greeted with banners saying, "Helmut, you are our Chancellor too."

For the present, Kohl has reluctantly affirmed the Oder-Neisse line as the German-Polish border. However, reunification has produced an orgy of Ger-

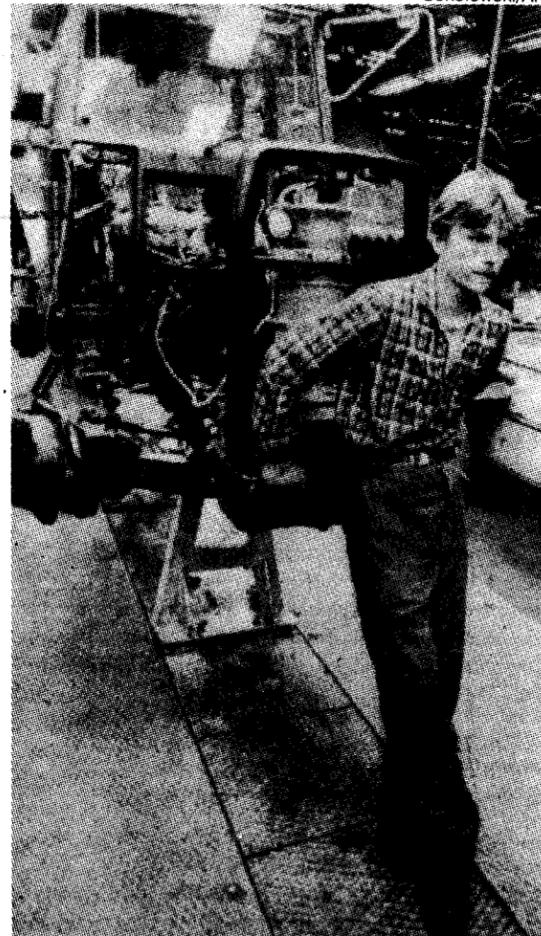
Percent Change in Output				Estimated
	1988	1989	1990	1991
Bulgaria	2.4	-0.4	-13.6	-20.0
Czechoslovakia	2.3	1.0	-1.1	-12.0
Hungary	0.0	-0.2	-5.0	-7.0
Poland	4.7	0.5	-12.0	-8.0
Romania	-2.0	-7.9	-10.5	-9.0

OECD Economic Outlook, December 1991

Financial Times



Counter-revolutionary regimes dismantle East Europe's industry. Hungary's Icarus bus factory (left), Poland's Ursus tractor works have been decimated by huge layoffs.



man chauvinism, marked by murderous attacks on Poles and dark-skinned immigrant workers. Flexing its political muscles, the Kohl regime successfully defied its Common Market partners and Washington in the Yugoslav war by reasserting Germany's traditional protectorship of Croatia against Serbia. And Poland is a lot closer and more historically and strategically important for German imperialism than the Balkans.

### Czech "Democracy" Fuels Fascistic Nationalism

Western liberals and social democrats can scarcely find the current crop of East European rulers appealing—clerical-nationalists like Walesa and Hungary's Josef Antall, ex-Stalinist apparatchiks turned nationalist demagogues like Romania's Iliescu and Serbia's Milošević. A signal exception is Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel—the witty, urbane, Bohemian (in both senses) writer and self-styled humanist.

Yet this model of a modern hip liberal is the front man for finance minister Vaclav Kraus, a fanatical devotee of Margaret Thatcher and Milton Friedman, the one-time economic adviser to the Chilean butcher Pinochet. The "free market" shock treatment, meted out by the Havel/Kraus regime has fueled the growth of Slovak nationalism, with strong fascistic elements, just as in the 1930s the world-famous Czech "democrats" Masaryk and Benes, who were lionized by the Western left, fueled the growth of pro-Nazi nationalism among the oppressed German (Sudeten) minority and clerical-fascism among the downtrodden Slovaks.

From the formation of Czechoslovakia by the Western imperialist victors after World War I, the country's political life has been shaped and at times dominated by the tensions between Czechs and Slovaks. While both are Western Slavic peoples speaking a similar language, they have a different history and political culture. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia were drawn into the economic and cultural orbit of late medieval Germany. In the 15th century the radical religious movement led by Jan Huss in Bohemia became the forerunner of the Protestant Reformation in Central Europe.

While the Hussite movement was bloodily suppressed, the authority of the

Roman Catholic church has always remained weak in the Czech lands. In the late 19th century Bohemia and Moravia underwent substantial industrial development, generating a proletariat with a high level of class consciousness and an intelligentsia proud of its secular humanist culture. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the Czech Social Democracy in its majority voted to join the Communist International.

During this period Slovakia remained a rural, traditionally Catholic region ruled by the decadent Hungarian nobility. Following the formation of a unitary state in 1919, the Czechs looked down on their poor Slovak cousins as priest-ridden country bumpkins. In turn, the Slovaks resented the dominance of smug, arrogant, wealthier Czechs. In the late 1930s Hitler exploited the national resentment of the Slovaks, as well as the German minority, to dismember the Czechoslovak state and establish the clerical-fascist "Republic of Slovakia" under Monsignor Josef Tiso. The Tiso regime killed 75,000

out of Slovakia's 90,000 Jews.

The horrors of the Nazi occupation produced a strengthening of the left, especially the Communists, among both Czechs and Slovaks. In 1944, a Communist-led Slovak uprising was defeated by the Nazis (with Stalin's connivance). In 1945 the Czechoslovak Communist Party won an absolute majority in an uncontested free parliamentary election. When the Stalinists took power in the 1948 "Prague coup," they did so on the basis of a solid general strike and the use of armed workers militias (which, needless to say, were kept under tight bureaucratic control).

Tensions between relatively backward Slovakia (with about a third of the country's population) and Bohemia/Moravia continued in the post-1948 Czechoslovak deformed workers state. Indeed, these tensions were a major factor in the fracturing of the Stalinist bureaucracy which led to the 1968 "Prague Spring." The leader of the "reform" faction, Alexander Dubček—who promised

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# East Europe...

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"socialism with a human face"—was the First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party. After Stalinist order was re-established with the military intervention of the Soviet-bloc forces, which sought to head off a slide into political revolution, a major effort was made to overcome the economic backwardness of Slovakia.

The pro-Moscow regime of Gustav Husak, himself a Slovak, undertook massive industrial investment in Slovakia, integrating this region with the Soviet economy. Huge petrochemical plants were built utilizing cheap Siberian oil. Armaments factories supplying the Soviet military were constructed in small Slovak villages. By 1988 per capita income in Slovakia had risen to almost 90 percent of that in the Czech lands, compared to 60 percent four decades earlier when the old bourgeois order was overthrown. Today, on the other hand, the reintroduction of capitalism is bringing catastrophic consequences especially for Slovakia.

## "Velvet Revolution" Spawns Unemployment, Slovak Separatism

Despite Czechoslovakia's relative economic prosperity, the heavily repressive Stalinist regime was universally despised. When in the fall of 1989 the East German Honecker government was toppled and Gorbachev conspicuously withdrew support from its counterpart in Prague, mass protests and a threatened general strike swept away the Stalinist regime within a few weeks. The hastily formed Civic Forum, with Havel as its most prominent leader, served as an umbrella organization for the "democratic" opposition, and not only the opposition. The entire right wing of the bureaucracy, led by the Gorbachevite prime minister Marian Calfa, defected to the Forum.

The ultimate popular front, the Civic Forum ran the gamut from former liberal Stalinists like Dubcek and pseudo-Trotskyists like Peter Uhl to anti-Communist clericalists and "free market" fanatics like Kraus. The mood of national unity and euphoria lasted through the parliamentary elections in June 1990, which were easily won by the Civic Forum. (Significantly, the rump Communist Party did surprisingly well, emerging as the second largest party in both Czech lands and Slovakia.) The Slovak branch of the Civic Forum, called People Against Violence (VPN), strongly outpolled both the separatist Slovak National Party and the nationalistic Christian Democrats. This would change rapidly and dramatically as the economic effects of the "bourgeois democratic" counterrevolution soon made themselves felt.

Following the 1990 elections, the extreme right wing of the Civic Forum around the finance minister Kraus gained the upper hand in the new ruling group. A key element in establishing a bour-



Reuters

geois state has been a purge of all former officials of the Communist Party, the militia or the security police from public office. Under the watchword of "lustration" (from the Latin, meaning "purifying sacrifice"), a witchhunt has been gathering steam against hundreds of thousands of ex-CPers. The first "sacrifice," in January 1991, was the Czech environment minister Bodrich Moldan, a longtime dissident. Next there was a show trial of some liberal Civic Forum members of parliament who had signed the Charter 77 dissident manifesto. Now they're even going after Dubcek.

Along with the purge of reds, on New Year's 1991 the Prague government launched an economic "shock treatment" on the Polish model. The trauma was especially severe in Slovakia, whose economy was already reeling from the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union. Arms factories which dominated the economic life of small towns were closed down as "unprofitable." Unemployment, which had been effectively zero in 1989, skyrocketed to 10 percent by late last year in Slovakia and 4 percent in Bohemia/Moravia.

The rise of Slovak separatism ran apace with an immiseration of the masses. Last March, when Havel spoke in the Slovak capital of Bratislava, he was mobbed by psychotic right-wing nationalists who shouted, "Go home to Prague, you Jew!" (Havel, of course, is not Jewish.) Around the same time, the popular and "populist" VPN prime minister of Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar, split from Havel/Kraus and formed a new party to "build Slovak statehood" in order to defend its economy from the "free market" hatchetmen in Prague. In the wake of the VPN split, the Christian Democratic leader Jan Carnogursky became the new Slovak prime minister; one of his first acts was to send telegrams of congratulations to the secessionist regimes in Slovenia and Croatia on their declaration of independence from Yugoslavia.

A VPN spokesman explained the sit-



AP

As capitalist market spawns immiseration, nationalist Slovak demonstrators sport uniforms and symbols of the fascistic Tiso regime (left). Polish pope of counterrevolution being greeted in Prague by "liberal" Czech president Vaclav Havel.

uation: "When countries experience an economic crisis, people become nationalistic" (*Washington Post*, 28 October 1991). However, Slovakia didn't "experience" an economic crisis as if it were a natural disaster. This is a manmade calamity, accompanying the restoration of capitalism. Yet the anger of Slovak working people over "free market" immiseration is being channeled into right-wing nationalism, symbolized by the public rehabilitation of Father Tiso, who was hanged as a war criminal in 1947. When a memorial plaque was placed at Tiso's birthplace in December, Slovak prime minister Carnogursky defended the clerical-fascist war criminal, arguing: "Tiso is broadly considered as having served as a brake against even greater Germanization."

Unlike in 1939, the Slovak separatists do not now have the German imperialist army at hand to install them in power. The present mood among the Czech masses appears to be, if the Slovaks want to go, good riddance. Nonetheless, it is by no means given that the national division of the Czechoslovak state would take place peacefully. Moreover, the Slovak nationalists might find that their most dangerous enemies are not the Czechs but their old masters, the Hungarians.

## Hungary at the Center of Central European Irredentism

There are presently 700,000 Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, two million in Romania and 500,000 in Yugoslavia. One out of every four ethnic Magyars lives outside the borders of Hungary. The root cause of this state of affairs is that Hungary had the misfortune to be on the losing side of both world wars. After World War I, when the Habsburg Empire was broken up, Hungary lost more territory to Romania than remained in the rump Magyar state. Until 1918 the present Slovak capital of Bratislava was known by its Hungarian name of Pozsony and a majority of its inhabitants were Hungarian.

The traumatic effect of defeat in war, reinforced by national outrage over the country's treatment at the hands of the victorious Western "democratic" imperialists, gave rise to the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Its principal leader, Bela Kun, had been a prisoner of war in Russia when he was won to the Bolshevik cause. A bloody counterrevolution, spearheaded by the Romanian army, overthrew the Soviet Republic and installed in power the fascistic dictatorship of Admiral Horthy. The Horthyite white terror ignited anti-Semitic pogroms in which thousands of Jews were killed. From the counterrevolution of 1919-20 to the counterrevolution of 1989, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism have been closely linked in Hungary, as in the rest of East Europe.

In the 1930s the Horthy regime aligned itself with Nazi Germany, and

the Hungarian Arrow Cross fought alongside the Waffen SS when Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union in 1941. Four years later the Red Army smashed the Nazi Wehrmacht and liberated Hungary from the nightmare of fascism. In 1947-48 the Stalinists, reacting to the pressures of U.S. imperialism, carried out in East Europe a *social revolution bureaucratically controlled from above*.

The deformations were especially severe in Hungary. The regime of arch-Stalinist Matyas Rakosi was exceptionally bloody, including toward fellow Communists, even by the standards of what was later euphemistically called "the era of the cult of the personality." The post-Stalin "thaw" in the Soviet Union cracked the totalitarian police-state apparatus which protected Rakosi and his cohorts. In October 1956 a popular uprising broke out against the hated regime, and workers councils took de facto power in Budapest and other major cities. But this proletarian political revolution, which lacked a Bolshevik internationalist leadership, was crushed through the direct intervention of the Soviet Army, which was met by a months-long general strike.

Following the suppression of the revolution, the Kremlin installed in power the liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar, who had been imprisoned and tortured under Rakosi. In the early 1960s Kadar sought popular support, or at least acceptance, by improving consumption levels ("goulash Communism") and relaxing controls over intellectual and cultural life. In order to increase trade with West Europe, in 1968 the Budapest Stalinists introduced widespread decentralization and market mechanisms into the economy. Over the next two decades, this "market socialism" led to the fragmentation of the bureaucracy and the emergence of a relatively large class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs.

In 1989 the faction-ridden Hungarian bureaucracy totally disintegrated as a political force. Since there was no longer a Stalinist party to speak of and the working class remained politically passive, the forces of the counterrevolution in Hungary split into bitterly hostile factions—the Free Democrats and the Democratic Union—even before they came to power.

The Free Democrats were centrally based on the Western-oriented Budapest intelligentsia, a number of whom were of Jewish background. They stand for the rapid restoration of capitalist property and total political and economic integration of Hungary into West Europe. In short, the Free Democratic leaders are aspiring Eurocrats who long to play big-time politics in the Common Market. In contrast, the Democratic Forum is strongly clerical-nationalist. Its leader Josef Antall calls for a return to "Christian" values and a "united Hungarian nation." The April 1990 elec-



Newsweek

Polish miners in Warsaw protest Walesa's "shock treatment" dictated by Western bankers.

tions were dominated by the Forum's anti-Semitic attacks against the Free Democrats.

The program of the Democratic Forum, which won the election, states: "Hungary must accept responsibility for the situation of Hungarian minorities living beyond its borders and consistent concern for these minorities must be part of the overall national strategy" (*East European Reporter*, Spring/Summer 1990). A cabinet-level government office has now been set up in Budapest to pursue this "national strategy."

Spokesmen for the Hungarian community in Slovakia—about 12 percent of the population—are demanding autonomy if the region secedes from Czechoslovakia. Since the Slovak nationalists are scarcely likely to permit such autonomy, a Slovak nationalist state would come into immediate conflict with Hungary.

Such a conflict already exists between Budapest and Bucharest over the Hungarians of Transylvania. The popular uprising in 1989 against the bloody and megalomaniacal despot Ceausescu witnessed the unity of Magyars and Romanians. Since then, however, the rising tide of Romanian nationalism has led to violent attacks on Hungarians and especially Gypsies. In March 1990 a Romanian mob, armed with axes and pitchforks, fell upon Hungarians demonstrating for language rights in the Transylvanian town of Tirgu Mures; six people were killed.

Some of the demands on Romania by the Budapest regime—such as the reopening of Hungarian schools closed by Ceausescu and bilingualism in official documents—are in themselves legitimate democratic and national rights. But Antall & Co. are also raising anti-democratic demands, such as barring Romanians from moving into predominantly Hungarian villages. The creation of Magyar ghettos in Transylvania could only perpetuate and inflame communalist enmity. Meanwhile, the situation along the Carpathian border is explosive.

The Hungary-Romania conflict has to date been conducted on a diplomatic plane. In Yugoslavia, where there is a large Hungarian minority in the northern region of Vojvodina, the Antall regime has gone a step further. Here the Hungarians (as in 1914 and 1939) have the big guns of German imperialism behind them. Thus Budapest supplied arms to the Croatian secessionist regime fighting the Serbs and the Yugoslav army, while Antall speculated that Vojvodina "could one day" return to Hungary. One day, that is, after a war with Serbia, if Hungary is victorious.

That Hungary could in the near future be involved in wars with three of its neighbors underscores the bloody-minded nationalism unleashed by and driving forward capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. Such tendencies will inevitably be inflamed by the maneuvers and interventions of the Western imperialist powers, who will increasingly be hostile rivals squabbling over the spoils of fragmenting "post-Communist" East Europe. But even if such wars could somehow be avoided, the triumph of the "national principle" in the new "democratic" order would mean the dispossession and worse of millions of members of the minority communities which exist in every East European country (and virtually everywhere else in the modern world).

Revolutionary struggle against "free market" immiseration must be integrally linked to the struggle against all forms of nationalism, anti-Semitism, attacks on Gypsies and immigrant workers, and religious bigotry. Reforge genuinely communist parties in East Europe committed to the internationalist principles of Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Christian Rakovsky!

Part II of this article will deal with Stalinism, nationalism and counterrevolution in the Balkans. ■

## Pentagon...

(continued from page 1)

and rearmament of its vanquished foes, Japan and (West) Germany. Today, without the Cold War justification for a common imperialist front, the capitalist world is rapidly polarizing into competing imperialist rivalries.

The Pentagon planners have not laid aside their visceral hatred of the remaining gains of the October Revolution. Nor do they engage in facile triumphalism, speaking cautiously of the "ascendancy of democratic reformers" (read: capitalist restorationists) in the Soviet Union and the prospects "should this process continue." The document pointedly notes that U.S. strategic nuclear weapons continue to target the Soviet Union, warning that "Russia will remain the only power in the world with the capability of destroying the United States." U.S. imperialism has been seeking to use its links with Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary gang to neutralize this potential threat to U.S. nuclear hegemony, tying economic aid to drastic reduction of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

The publication of excerpts from the Pentagon document in the *New York Times* (8 March) provoked a chorus of reproach from Democratic Party candidates (as well as from right-wing "isolationists" like Pat Buchanan). Democratic front-runner Bill Clinton's office declared that the document was simply "an excuse for big budgets." The Democrats have no fundamental differences with the aims of the Pentagon document. They would simply prefer some more talk of "collective security." But beyond rhetorical references to the UN, they wouldn't disagree with neoconservative columnist Charles Krauthammer, who says: "The alternative is Japanese carriers patrolling the Strait of Malacca and a nuclear Germany dominating Europe" (*Washington Post*, 13 March).

The Pentagon document's main concern is "to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power." In Europe, it states, the U.S. "must seek to prevent the emergence of European-only security arrangements." Yet as *Der Spiegel* (16 March) reports, "Bonn is banking on a European security system which as much as possible is removed from U.S. control." Moreover, in preparing to amend the German "basic law" to permit military actions outside of NATO, the ruling Christian Democrats are now being backed by leading Social Democrats, including Willy Brandt. A commentary by the editor of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (10 March) notes that "there is no example in history of states that in the long run have

renounced turning their economic power into military muscle." German intervention in Yugoslavia could be the springboard.

Particular attention is given in the Pentagon document to East Asia, where "we must maintain our status as a military power of the first magnitude" to prevent the emergence of "a regional hegemon." To drive home the point, it warns against the "potentially destabilizing effects that enhanced roles on the part of our allies, particularly Japan...might produce." Japan has, throughout the '80s, more persistently than any other imperialist power concentrated on building up its military strength. In the last several years, there have been increasing signs of heightening rivalry between Japanese

after cremating the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, U.S. military chiefs authored their first nuclear strategy document, calling for the U.S. to "strike the first blow." The present document talks of taking "military steps to prevent the development or use of weapons of mass destruction."

What stayed the hand of the bloodthirsty imperialists was the Soviet Union's development of atomic weapons and delivery systems on a parity with the U.S. With this deterrent no longer in effect, the Pentagon planners are preparing for military action in case of "political instability and internal conflict in Cuba" or to go after North Korea. "I'm running out of demons," complained General Colin Powell after the Gulf War.



Bush gloats over "New World Order" at Patriot missile plant after Gulf War slaughter.

economic might, the second in the world, and the U.S. This is becoming particularly true in East Asia, where Japan and the U.S. fought for control in World War II. And U.S. departure from the Subic Bay naval base in the Philippines could strengthen the "enhanced role" for Japan that the document fears.

With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the nuclear stand-off between U.S. imperialism and the USSR has been superseded. However, the eclipse of Soviet military power and the dominance of U.S. imperialism do not diminish the danger of nuclear war, as the liberals imagine, but rather *increase* it. During the immediate postwar period, when U.S. imperialism really *had* hegemony in nuclear weapons, it was chafing at the bit to incinerate the Soviet Union. From the start, the nuclear strategy of U.S. imperialism has been based on achieving *first strike* capacity. Barely one month

"I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 14 October 1991). But in order to get re-elected, Bush may yet try a second strike at Iraq's Saddam Hussein. And there's always Libya's Qaddafi.

For over two decades, since U.S. imperialism was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese people, the deteriorating economic base of American power has been declining relative to its imperialist rivals. Hitler's "Thousand-Year Reich" didn't last too long, and Bush's "New World Order" is built on sand. Under capitalism, rivalries among imperialist powers are ultimately settled by war, for the international development of production is in contradiction with the outmoded nation-state. As the decay of the imperialist order points toward war, it is desperately necessary for the world proletariat—above all in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—to overthrow the capitalist system. ■

## PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

a dishonorable discharge for missing a troop movement and going AWOL for 32 days.

On February 24, after being held for eight months at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, black Marine reservist Tahan Jones finally went on trial. One day later, charges were dismissed "without prejudice," on grounds the government failed to bring Jones to trial within 120 days of charging him with desertion and missing troop movements. This legal maneuver permits the government to file "new" charges, which Jones and his supporters expect any day. If convicted, Jones, also an outspoken antiwar activist, faces up to seven years in a military jail.

Bush & Co. remember very well that over 2,000 GIs who opposed the Gulf

War slaughter applied for conscientious objector status, and hundreds of them deserted as the Pentagon sat on their CO applications. The trial of Tahan Jones marks the government's determination to squelch future military protest as they prepare their next military adventure. With Bush's popularity plummeting, and the Pentagon already rattling its nuclear-tipped saber at Iraq, Libya, Cuba and North Korea, that may not be far off. *Drop the charges against Jones, Larsen and all the antiwar GIs!*

For more information and to send a contribution write: Tahan Jones/Erik Larsen Defense Committee, 1678 Shattuck Ave., Box 225, Berkeley, CA 94709.

\* \* \*

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee,

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## St. Patrick's Day Bigotry...

(continued from page 2)

not the state, women will decide their fate!" This state is not neutral—it's an enemy of the oppressed.

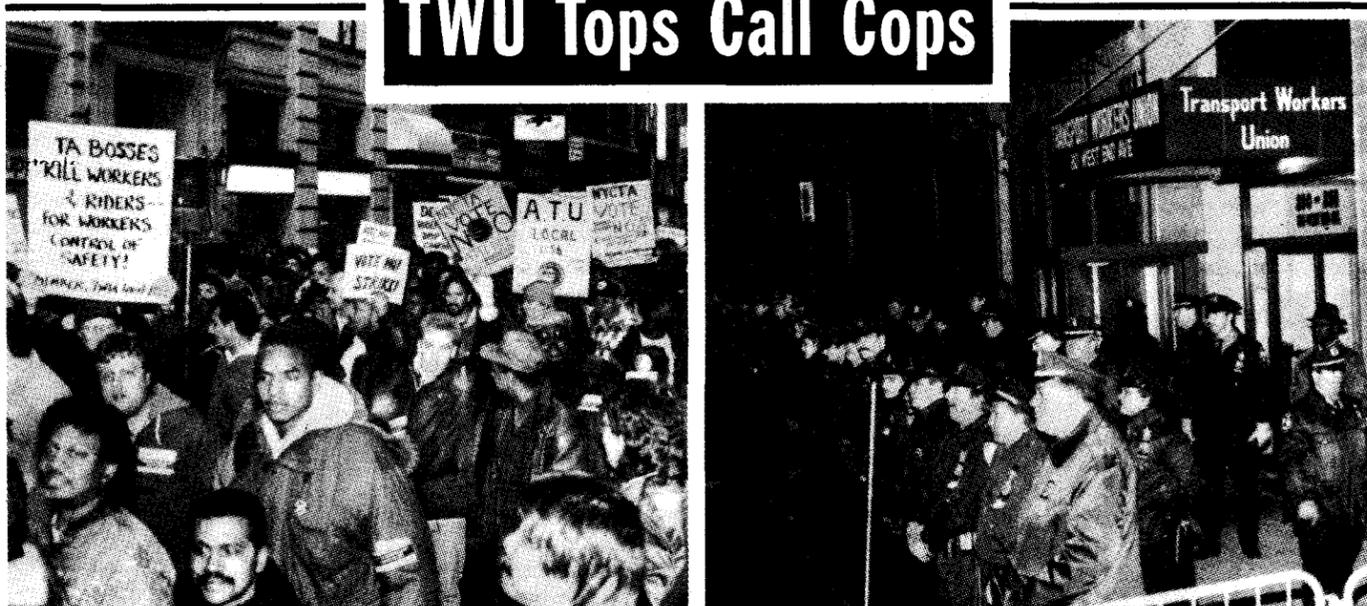
Up in Boston last year, at a united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against fascist David Duke, we threw out some JDLers who had tried to crash the demo. Their racist attacks against Palestinians and blacks and their fascist enthusiasm for Zionist terror had no place there. The answer to acts of bigotry is not bringing in the state's mass murderers to pick and choose among different groups, but a fight for a workers party that will champion the rights of all the oppressed. No bigotry on parade! ■

# NY Transit Workers March on Union HQ

MARCH 16—Chanting “Sellout Sonny’ Hall Has Got to Go!” over 1,000 members of Transport Workers Union Local 100 marched from the Metropolitan Transit Authority building in midtown Manhattan to confront union president Hall at the TWU hall on West End Avenue March 3. Workers are furious over a new takeback contract—to which the TWU tops’ response is the TA management line that if the ranks don’t vote for these givebacks, they’ll take it out of health care. This march came only two weeks after 1,500 TWUers shut down the Brooklyn Bridge, and marched to the union hall for a stormy protest meeting, where Hall called the cops. This time when they arrived at the hall it was surrounded by barricades manned by the NYPD, called out by Hall to prevent workers from entering their own building!

The situation in New York transit is explosive. After being told for the last decade that you can’t strike against City Hall and Albany, the ranks of the most powerful (35,000-strong) municipal union in the country are fed up. *Thousands* of TWUers want to fight—the urgent question everyone is asking is *how?* Everyone knows that Hall is on the other side, heading a narrow white job-trusting bureaucracy in this heavily integrated union. They act as enforcers for the TA—imposing drug testing, forcing workers to endure deadly working conditions and selling their miserable contract. Hall & Co. played a major role in electing Democratic mayor Dinkins, who was put in office by Wall Street to enforce anti-labor austerity.

But the New Directions/Committee for a Just Contract which has led the protests also serves the same forces, acting as a pressure group on the Democrats and bureaucrats. New Directions members of the Executive Board voted with Hall last spring to extend the contract, and they have consistently refused to call for a strike. While transit workers streaming over the Brooklyn Bridge chanted “No contract, no work,” this housebroken “opposition” only says “Vote no.” At most they toy around with the “threat” of a “job action” during the Democratic convention this summer, in order to send Hall “back to the bargaining table to negotiate a better deal.” And at the March 3 rally, Naomi Allen, a



New York City, March 3: Angry TWU demonstrators prevented from entering their union hall by NYPD thugs called out by Sonny Hall.

leader of ND and avowed “socialist,” gave their real program: “preparing for confrontation is the best way to avoid confrontation.”

On everybody’s lips is the bitter experience of the 1980 strike and sellout, when then-president John Lawe, aided and abetted by the “oppositionists” in the “Good Contract Committee,” knuckled under to Mayor Koch and ordered Local 100 strikers back to work. The givebacks and Taylor Law fines that followed were the result of the union tops’ *capitulation*. Hall would have transit workers believe that the lesson of 1980 is “You strike, you lose.” Bull! The real lesson of that defeat is that a transit strike in NYC is a hardball *political* fight from Day One. *And for that you need a leadership that has the class-struggle program and backbone to fight the capitalist politicians and courts by shutting this city down tight.* That’s the call of the Committee for a Fighting TWU.

Committee supporters carried signs on March 3 including: “Strike to Defend Our Jobs! Save Lives! Smash the Taylor Law!” and “We Need a Mass Meeting at the Garden! Vote It Down! Elect a Strike Committee!” The bosses’ no-strike laws and injunctions can be turned into worthless scraps of paper by a solid strike and appealing to PATH,

LIRR and Metro North transit workers for joint strike action to paralyze NYC. The TWU can build popular support by demanding *free mass transit—rip out the turnstiles!* Marches last spring by tens of thousands of city workers, Teamsters, *Daily News* strikers, 1199 hospital workers and City University students—all of whom have been on the receiving end of the bosses’ war on labor and minorities—show the support is there for a militant counteroffensive.

With voting on the new transit contract concluding today, the TWU bureaucrats are plenty worried, even with the mail ballot designed to slip this one through. Hall told *New York Newsday* that “the vote is definitely in jeopardy, we have been having a great deal of difficulty convincing the members they should support it.” But if he can’t convince the members, “Sellout Sonny” brings in the cops—the armed fist of the state. As for New Directions, they tell transit workers to look to the cops! Their leaflet says: “The Taylor Law can be beaten, as other unions (such as the Corrections Officers) have shown.” Cops and prison guards are the sworn enemies of labor and minorities!

Moreover, the “job action” New Directions is referring to was a *bloody, racist rampage* by guards on Rikers

Island in the summer of 1990, who savagely beat defenseless inmates and then threatened to “strike” unless Dinkins accepted an official cover-up. Trying to imitate the Attica butchers, sadistic guards forced inmates to run a gauntlet along a 45-foot-long corridor and beat them until the hallway ran with blood—142 were injured, one died. The cops even beat EMS technicians attempting to get on the island to treat the wounded. *Is this what New Directions/Hell on Wheels holds up as the way to beat the Taylor Law?* We say: Cops out of the labor movement!

The battle over the NYC transit contract must come smack up against the bipartisan war on the oppressed as decaying capitalism seeks to break the unions and “writes off” the inner city poor. The Democrats in City Hall carry out the cuts dictated by the White House and Congress, while the bureaucrats in the union hall shove it down the workers’ throats. The Committee for a Fighting TWU calls to “Dump the Democrats Cuomo/Dinkins—For a Workers Party!” Forge a leadership on a program to sweep out the misleaders of labor, break with the capitalist parties and put the workers movement at the head of all the oppressed in a class struggle for power! ■

## CAT Workers...

(continued from page 16)

declared an impasse in negotiations, a legal maneuver paving the way for hiring scabs. Meanwhile the company brought in Vance International, a sinister strike-breaking outfit that herded scabs across picket lines at Greyhound and the New York *Daily News*, to post guards at plant gates. The UAW tops have caved in to court injunctions limiting pickets to a handful at the key plants in East Peoria and Decatur. The armed fist of the capitalist government is ready to back CAT to the hilt: riot cops have already been sent against the UAW pickets, and during the first week of March Peoria and state cops received “crowd dispersal” training at the National Guard armory.

This strike is shaping up as a key test of labor power in the industrial Midwest. The *Financial Times* (26 February) headlined “Caterpillar Digs In for Bruising Fight,” noting that with CAT planning to bring in scabs the union “cannot afford to flinch.” A UAW defeat here would come on the heels of the massive layoffs and plant closings at General Motors, which has already whipsawed the workers at its Moraine, Ohio truck and bus factory into accepting a two-tier pact in which new hires will get half pay—\$8 an hour! One Wall Street analyst openly

worries that if Caterpillar hires scabs, “you’ll have a war in Peoria.” Damn right—but CAT workers need a general staff to lead the war! Instead the UAW tops forlornly appeal to the Democrats in Congress to pass a law against “replacement workers.” Even after their favorite Japan-basher Harkin canceled out of the primary race, Bieber & Co. will undoubtedly use the March 22 rally in Peoria to showcase Democratic anti-labor candidates.

CAT strikers have shown they are ready to fight to win, and many voiced their anger at the International at a January 26 rally in Peoria. Workers repeatedly chanted “Shut the whole damn place down,” angry at the UAW tops sending thousands of CAT workers across their own brothers’ picket lines for weeks. On February 17 and 18, hundreds of UAW members massed at the entrance to the company’s Decatur plant to prevent construction workers from entering. But when UAW secretary-treasurer Bill Castevens showed up at the struck Mossville plant on February 25, he was only there to check the management scabs for “passes,” and to heckle them for buying foreign cars! This protectionism is not only criminal, pitting U.S. workers against their brothers and sisters abroad, but downright stupid: more than half of Caterpillar’s \$11 billion sales are overseas. *Caterpillar strikers should*

*demand that the UAW make common cause with Komatsu workers in Japan, organize “runaway” plants in the U.S. and aid unionization efforts in Mexico and Southeast Asia.*

If “patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel,” then chauvinist protectionism is the last refuge of a no-fight union bureaucrat. The poison pushed by “Sacrifice House” is a program to save American *profits* while guaranteeing that the UAW won’t lift a finger to stop the auto and agricultural implement bosses from slashing jobs. It’s a racist program that targets the foreign worker as the enemy and embraces the U.S. capitalist as a

buddy. Caterpillar’s war on the UAW is protectionism come home: why bolster profits only through “buy American” consumerism when you can do the same thing by reducing the payroll? (They’ve already slashed their U.S. workforce by 40 percent.) The war on labor in the U.S. can only be defeated by an internationalist program of working-class struggle. And to lead it we must forge a workers party that fights for a workers government, to take industry out of the hands of the parasitic bosses and rebuild America with a planned economy controlled by those whose labor makes the wheels of industry turn. ■

Spartacist  Forum

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**LOS ANGELES**

# Democrats Shield Police Sadists

## Torture Town Chicago

CHICAGO—It sounds like something out of San Salvador, home of the death squads, but the gruesome story of cop torture and terror took place right here in the Windy City. Ten years after a cop rampage following the killing of two policemen, details of sadistic mayhem against black "suspects" are emerging in public police department hearings. Beating, suffocation, shock treatment and mock execution were the means by which Commander Jon Burge and detectives Andrew Yucaitis and Patrick O'Hara extracted "confessions" from their victims, some of whom have courageously testified at the hearings. Yet the three racist monsters have never faced criminal charges, and even now they are threatened merely with dismissal from the police force. The stage-managed hearings have little to do with real justice and everything to do with covering up a police reign of cop brutality that's been going on for decades.

Testifying on February 10, Andrew Wilson told how Commander Burge and others forced him to sign the "confession" that was later used to convict him as a "cop killer." In February 1982, Chicago police took Wilson to the Brighton

Park police station on the South Side, where they beat him bloody. Then they tied a plastic bag over his head, smashing him into a window when he fought for air. Later Burge and Yucaitis entered the room carrying a "black box" with a hand crank and two dangling wires. "Fun time!" announced Burge, as he attached the wires to Wilson's nostril and ear with alligator clips. When they turned the crank, an electrical current surged through Wilson's skull. To stop Wilson's struggling, they shackled him tightly across a hot radiator—the burn scars are still visible a decade later. Wilson was transferred to another station, where Burge—who learned his grisly trade as an MP in Vietnam—again appeared, this time shoving his revolver into Wilson's mouth.

Wilson's account is supported by other prisoners whose stories are remarkably similar. In other instances Burge and his underlings used a cattle prod on their victims' testicles, or took arrestees to isolated areas where they put a gun to their heads and pulled the trigger—who knows how many silenced victims lost this "game" of Russian roulette. Forty-three people say that Burge and

his cronies tortured them with electrical devices, including stun guns, cattle prods, an adapted hair dryer and the "black box." Forty of the victims were black.

Police Superintendent LeRoy Martin and Democratic mayor Richard Daley suspended Burge, Yucaitis and O'Hara last fall only after their efforts to cover up for these criminal terrorists broke down. "Police brutality is not a serious problem and is not epidemic," lied Martin in 1989 (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 September 1989). As Cook County State's Attorney in 1982, Daley received a complaint from the physician who examined Wilson after Burge was through with him, but pointedly refused to investigate. Together, Daley and Martin suppressed an internal police report on the torture for 15 months. Pried open last month by court order, the report documents the "systematic" use of "planned torture" on the South Side stretching back at least to 1973. It turns out that Martin, a black cop who was appointed superintendent by liberal black Democratic mayor Harold Washington in 1987, did a stint as commander of the Brighton Park station where the torture regularly occurred.

So it's time for "damage control." By punishing Burge, says Harold Saffold of the African American Police League, "the city will prove to the public that there is credibility in the system" (*Chicago Defender*, 1 February). In other words, strengthen the police, armed enforcers of the racist status quo, by cleansing the tarnished badge. But even a little wrist-slapping is too much for the racist terrorists in blue: on February 25 more than 3,000 cops packed a Teamster hall to wildly cheer and stamp their support for Burge, Yucaitis and O'Hara. The very day after this ominous mobilization for torture, Martin (who would like to abolish the constitutional right to bear arms) rewarded these trigger-happy killers by announcing they would henceforth be permitted to carry semiautomatic weapons on the beat!

Burge and his minions deserve to be locked in hell. But don't hold your breath waiting for justice from the racist Democrats who run Chicago, or from the capitalist courts which have already shot down a civil suit brought by Andrew Wilson. Nor can the cops be tamed by police review boards or other bandaid reforms. The ruling class will allow no real restraints on the armed thugs who defend their profit system. Cops are no part of the labor movement—the Teamster misleaders who turned the union hall over to these official scabherders and racist thugs should be booted out of the workers movement. Mass labor/black/Latino mobilization is needed to fight police terror. It will take workers revolution to end the barbaric methods of capitalist rule. ■

## Los Angeles Killer Cops...

(continued from page 16)

where active cops and their families outnumber the black population. This county is only 2 percent black and has been a mecca for white flight from L.A. with its increasing influx of nonwhite immigrants. Needless to say, no blacks ended up on the jury, which consists of ten whites, one Latina and one Asian American.

The first month of the proceedings dealt primarily with jury selection. Potential jurors were given an elaborate 41-page questionnaire to screen out those who had already formed an opinion, or even had strong feelings about the beating. By this time virtually everyone, including the potential jurors, had all seen the video at least once, and anyone whose sense of human decency isn't either numbed or perverted would have been at the very least swept with a feeling of revulsion. So they ended up with jurors who were willing to disbelieve their own eyes (or liked what they saw), and dubbed it "impartiality."

Even though the prosecution has so far relied primarily on cops as witnesses, some grisly facts are coming to light. For instance, two of the cops, Laurence Powell and Timothy Wind, had been given an official LAPD "baton lesson" less than an hour before the King beating. Sergeant Richard Di Stefano, testifying on March 12, claimed Wind had "excellent form," but that Powell appeared to be weak on the "power chop" and had to be given additional coaching. Powell is seen on the videotape delivering most of the blows to King.

One of the first witnesses on the stand was California Highway Patrol cop Melanie Singer, who testified on March 6 about the moments before the videotape began to roll. She described how King was on his knees, dazed by the stun gun, when Powell leapt in with vicious baton strokes to his head and face. The defense is trying to argue that the blows which appear to be going to King's head in the videotape are actually going to his shoulders. An attorney for cop Theodore

**Rodney King's lawyer displays photo taken after vicious beating by more than 15 L.A. cops.**



Geison/Gamma-Liaison

Briseno outlandishly claimed that his client, who can be clearly seen stomping on King's neck, was merely using his boot to get King to lie flat so that the other cops would lay off him!

The Rodney King beating touched off a groundswell of popular anger in Los Angeles that has been diverted into reformist channels. The NAACP, ACLU and their "left" tails campaigned for a series of demands such as the replacement of notorious Chief Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates and implementation of the recommendations of the blue-ribbon Christopher Commission for police "accountability." This dovetails with the changing needs of the bourgeoisie. In this majority nonwhite, increasingly Hispanic, Asian and black city, which already has a black Democratic mayor (ex-cop Thomas Bradley), a minority police chief is being sought. On June 2, L.A. will vote on whether to reform the city charter to limit the LAPD chief to two terms and allow for limited "recall." Gates' personification of arrogant, racist cop bonapartism for the last 14 years is now considered a liability by the businessmen who run this city.

Meanwhile, the rampaging cops of both the LAPD and L.A. county sheriff's deputies, who have claimed countless victims, are going full blast terrorizing the populace. On March 1, to the horror of thousands of joggers, cops gunned down a man who "had grabbed for an officer's gun" just yards from the finish line at the Los Angeles Marathon. Gallows humor had it: "What's an L.A. Marathon? Where you get shot by the

LAPD as you cross the finish line." After all, there were 19,000 "perps" running away.

That black life is deemed expendable in this city is also being demonstrated in the case of a young black woman shot by a Korean grocer about a year ago. In March 1991, just weeks after the King beating, a black 15-year-old ninth-grade girl, Latasha Harlins, was killed by Soon Ja Du, a Korean grocer at the family's Empire Liquor Mart in South Central L.A. The dispute was over a \$1.79 bottle of orange juice. The store's security camera videotape shows Latasha approaching the counter with half the bottle showing in her backpack, and two one-dollar bills were found near her body, with which Latasha had probably intended to pay for the juice. After the owner accused her of shoplifting and a struggle ensued, Latasha was shot in the back as she was walking away.

This videotape also has played constantly on television here. And when last fall Superior Court Judge Carlins sentenced the grocer to a suspended sentence, black L.A. erupted again in demonstrations. This ugly situation reflects the black population's increasing sense of vulnerability as the Asian and Hispanic communities are growing and blacks are further isolated to the confines of the ghetto. Demagogues fuel the fire with poisonous protectionism and escalate the atmosphere of racist terror against Asians that is now particularly intense in Los Angeles, stoked by frenzied Japan-bashing. The recent Farrah Khanite movie *Boyz n the Hood* includes

a segment vituperating about gentrifying in front of a billboard for "Seoul-to-Seoul Realty," a blatant attempt to whip up anti-Korean sentiment.

While the ghettos and barrios are ripped by gang violence, the most violent gang of all is the LAPD, with its helicopters, tanks and kill-crazy cops. They have also gone after the burgeoning labor movement with a vengeance, notably the 15 June 1990 police riot against the militant strike by mainly Latino janitors. A few weeks later, there were some exchanges over the police radio including: "We get to stomp the janitors again, should be interesting," and "I sent you a bunch of messages earlier, but I think you were busy beating up janitors" (quoted in *UAW Solidarity*, November-December 1991). But despite the police onslaught, the janitors held firm and won a union contract.

What's critically needed is to forge a revolutionary workers leadership which champions the rights of all the oppressed. Not blacks against Asians, but black/Latino/Asian defense against racist terror. The cops and courts are the instrument of racist class terror. Whatever verdict this machine hands down for the would-be killers of Rodney King, justice will not be served until the American workers revolution dismantles the repressive apparatus of bourgeois class rule. Let the killer cops be tried by popular tribunals of their intended victims! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD



George Holliday Video  
Videotape showed cops beating and kicking Rodney King (left). LAPD racist murder machine continues, as police gun down black man at L.A. Marathon, March 1. AP

## Judicial Cover for Racist Terror

# L.A. Killer Cops "Trial"

LOS ANGELES—One year ago, the amateur videotape of a swarming mob of cops torturing a defenseless black motorist was broadcast 'round the world and became the symbol of racist cop terror, U.S.A. Now, with the trial on criminal charges of four cops involved in the vicious beating of Rodney King, we are witnessing the bourgeois state's grotesque attempt at "damage control." While the case was transferred to a lily-white suburb and there are no blacks on the jury, all of Los Angeles, and black L.A. in particular, is intensely following the proceedings. Black workers take portable TVs to work and groups gather at lunch breaks to watch and discuss the trial.

On 3 March 1991, L.A. police cruisers and the California Highway Patrol chased Rodney King's white Hyundai to Lake View Terrace in the San Fernando Valley, and ordered him out of the car. What was S.O.P. for the LAPD was publicly exposed with the videotape of the sadistic, laughing cops repeatedly stunning King with a Taser gun, then nearly beating him to death. After receiving 56 baton blows that shattered his ankle, fractured his cheekbone and gave him permanent brain damage, King is shown handcuffed and hogtied by the killer cops who dragged him across the road. The gravel embedded in his face had to be surgically removed.

That the cops and courts work hand

in hand is being demonstrated in the ridiculous "prosecution" by the bourgeois state of its own armed thugs. Only four of the more than fifteen taunting, torturing cops involved were even charged, and then only with "assault with a deadly weapon" and "aggravated assault"—carrying maximum penalties of only four to eight years—rather than with attempted murder. Rodney King has stated that would-be killer cop Laurence Powell had "death in his eyes" that night. We believe it. The laughter and racial taunts that signify a lynch mob atmosphere can be clearly heard on the videotape.

King described in an interview how after the first blow, he heard, "We're

going to kill you, nigger! Run!" He added:

"I looked around for a safe place to run, to get out of there, but they were all around me. There was nothing I could do. When I stood up...I got struck—boom!—in the face. Something fast and hard right across the top of the head.... "I watched the rest of them sitting around. It looked like a f-----g block party to me. They were all around me and I'm wondering, 'Damn, I hope somebody stops them. Why doesn't somebody stop them?'"

—Los Angeles Times, 16 January

### No Blacks Allowed on Jury

The trial was moved from Los Angeles to Simi Valley in Ventura County, a town *continued on page 15*

## UAW Tops Enforce Layoffs, Push Protectionist Poison

# CAT Workers: Shut It All Down!



Decatur, Illinois: Strikers block scabs outside Caterpillar plant while union tops fiddle. AP

Backed up by the courts and the cops, Caterpillar is getting ready to smash the United Auto Workers (UAW) strike centered on the company's Illinois production plants. For nearly five months the UAW tops have muddled along with a partial shutdown, enabling the company to maintain inventories and profits while strikers go hungry. Now the bosses are preparing to bring in scabs. What's urgently required is a *solid nationwide strike* against Caterpillar with *sit-down strikes to seize the plants*. This kind of decisive union action was what built the UAW in the '30s, and it'll take the same kind of mobilization to win the strike and save the union today. Already last fall, when the UAW tops began the strike with only 2,400 workers, *Workers Van-*

*guard* wrote: "Shut down Caterpillar—occupy the factories!... Mass pickets must seal off the plants. It's not so easy to sell those big CATs if you can't move them—call on Teamsters, longshoremen and rail workers to refuse to handle them." **It's high time to skin the CAT!**

On February 7 Caterpillar called back 5,600 locked-out workers (who then joined the strikers) and offered to reopen negotiations with the UAW. Any hopes these moves would lead to a settlement were dashed when the company reiterated its demands for massive concessions—two-tier pay scale, speedup, benefit cuts—that would leave industrywide bargaining in tatters. On March 6, CAT bosses *continued on page 14*