

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out Now!

Balkans Tangle

MARCH 26—Less than two years after the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia, the Balkans powder keg threatens to explode in the imperialists' faces. Having used the struggle of the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) as a pretext for their war of domination against the former Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic, the imperialists now find the UCK pushing the region toward renewed intercommunal conflict. "West Is Alarmed as Warfare Grows in Balkans Again," read a headline in the *New York Times* (17 March).

The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, which provided a platform for NATO's war against Serbia, is embroiled in a potential civil war with the National Liberation Army, which claims to be distinct from the Kosovo guerrillas but whose Albanian initials are also UCK. On March 21, a German KFOR (Kosovo occupation force) tank convoy and a thousand troops moved into the town of Tetovo amid heavy fighting between Macedonian troops and UCK irregulars. Earlier this month, a U.S.-led KFOR unit engaged in a firefight with UCK commandos on the Kosovo border. Responding to European calls for more "robust" action against the Albanian separatists, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell now promises to help augment the Macedonian regime's "military capabilities" and support its "efforts to bolster a democratic, multiethnic state." Given substantial Macedonian Slav and Albanian minorities in Greece and Turkey's posture as patron of the Balkan Muslim peoples, the UCK's efforts for a "Greater Albania" could easily pull these historic enemies—and NATO partners—into a full-scale war.

In Bosnia, which remains occupied by upwards of 20,000 troops under United Nations auspices, the nationalist Croat Democratic Union threatens to secede and bring down the "multiethnic, democratic" house of cards set up by the U.S.-imposed Dayton Accord in 1995, reviving the spectre of renewed ethnic slaughter among Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs.

Serbia, anointed a "democracy" by the masters of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London in the wake of Milosevic's ouster last fall, has chafed under repeated raids by a local UCK offshoot into the imperialist-imposed "ground safety" zone along its southern border with Kosovo. NATO has now invited Serbian military forces back into this area.

While opportunist leftists tailed behind their respective capitalist governments in beating the war drums for "poor little Kosovo" two years ago, the International



U.S. occupation forces patrol border between Kosovo and Macedonia. Albanian separatists, pawns of 1999 U.S./NATO war of domination against Serbia, are now deemed "extremists."

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Communist League fought for the defeat of the U.S./NATO imperialists through workers revolution and for military defense of Serbia. That war had nothing to do with defense of the Kosovo Albanians. It was aimed from the start at asserting U.S. dominance in Europe and realizing longstanding plans to insert a substantial NATO military presence in Serbia. We denounced the predatory "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers, who wreaked more destruction on Yugoslavia than had Hitler's Nazis in World War II, declaring in WV No. 715 (11 June 1999):

"This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people

and the oppressed the world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region. It will fuel the rapacity of the American bourgeoisie at home and abroad. It will sharpen the conflicting appetites of the major capitalist powers, accelerating the drive to an even bloodier war in the future."

Kosovo was turned into a NATO protectorate, divided into British, French, German, Italian and American zones of occupation, with the U.S. calling the shots as supreme overlord of NATO. Beneath the seeming amity among the imperialist occupiers lie very different interests. Germany is intent on reasserting its traditional sphere of influence,

especially in the northern Balkans; the D-mark is now the main currency in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans. Britain's ambitions were made clear by the bizarre ceremony staged last week in London's Claridge's Hotel, as Crown Prince Alexander was granted Serbian citizenship in the suite where he was born in 1945, a prelude to re-establishing the monarchy. That suite was designated "Yugoslav territory" the day he was born in order to ensure his claim to the (abolished) Serbian throne! France likewise has historic appetites in Serbia, and Italy in Albania, while Russia has reverted to its prerevolutionary posture as "big brother" of the Slavic peoples.

The renewed flare-up in the Balkans comes as the U.S. flaunts an increasingly bellicose foreign policy. The wholesale expulsion of some 50 Russian diplomats last week is the most provocative action of this sort since the height of the Reagan administration's Cold War offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Simultaneously, the Bush administration provocatively hosted a representative of the Chechen separatists brutally suppressed by Russia as "terrorists."

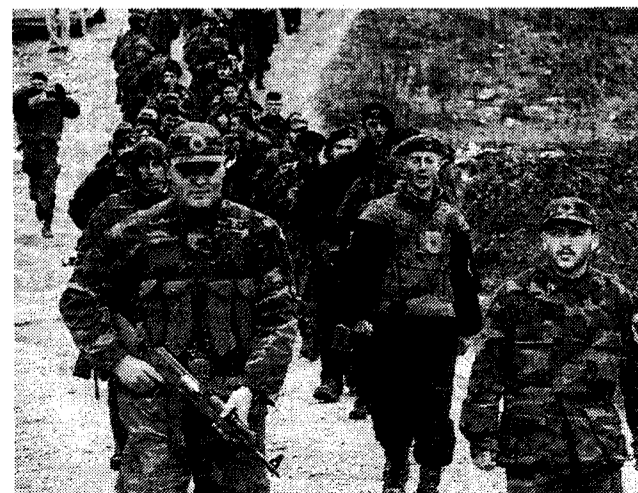
Tensions between Washington and its West European "allies" have also grown more strident. Today's *New York Times* headlines, "Europe and Bush: Early Storm Clouds to Watch." The Europeans oppose American plans for a "star wars" anti-missile system and the U.S. denounces European plans to build a "rapid reaction force" as a counterweight to NATO. Reflecting its own imperialist appetites in the oil-rich Near East, France recently came out openly against the U.S.-dictated UN embargo of Iraq, as has Russia. Within the European Union itself, virtually everything from the influx of asylum-seekers to the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease serves as a pretext for tightening borders and fomenting national chauvinism. And such tensions among the major capitalist powers are bound to deepen as an international recession takes hold.

Washington's main target is the bureaucratically deformed workers state of China. The *London Guardian* (24

continued on page 10



Balkan cauldron boiling: Macedonian police fire on Albanian separatist positions outside Tetovo (above). Albanian commandos on the march along Serbian border.



National Guard Called Out Against Nursing Home Strikers

MARCH 25—When 4,000 members of the New England Health Care Employees Union (NEHCEU), District 1199, staged a one-day strike against Connecticut nursing homes on March 20, Republican governor John Rowland and the employers acted as if they were facing a

nursing homes unionized, a high ratio compared to most other states, busting the union has been a priority for the profit-gouging bosses, who wring the last pennies out of elderly patients while brutally exploiting the largely black and immigrant workforce. When the governor raised Medicaid reimbursements, from which the nursing homes derive most of their profit, by \$200 million two years ago, the extra funds were largely used to hire non-union workers while staff at unionized homes was laid off.

Rowland's lie that he mobilized the National Guard to protect the safety of the patients didn't go over very well. There is widespread sympathy with overworked, underpaid health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line isn't patient care but profit-boosting. The two central demands of the NEHCEU are greater staffing levels and a modest wage increase of 6 percent over each of the next two years. The link between the union's struggle for better working conditions and better health care was not lost on the patients, some of whom joined the picket lines. One woman told the *Hartford Courant* (22 March), "My mother went to the picket line in her wheelchair."

With upwards of 30 patients per nurse and a lack of necessary supplies, many

Hartford,
March 20:
Nursing home
workers picket
governor's home
during one-day
strike.



AP

patients are deprived of proper medical attention. A union Web site noted, "Staffing levels in Connecticut nursing homes rank next to last among New England states. There has been a 166 percent increase in the number of times Connecticut nursing homes are cited for violations of resident care standards."

This strike graphically illustrates that the capitalist state—consisting at its core of the military, cops, courts and prisons—is not a neutral arbiter but an instrument for the repression of workers and minorities in defense of capitalist profits and class rule. This strikebreaking orchestrated by the governor's office takes place in the context of a vendetta by the Republican Bush administration against organized labor. Rowland's actions against the nursing home strike may seem like overkill, but were intended to intimidate the entire labor movement. For their part, leading Connecticut Democrats have seized on the opportunity to criticize the governor in speeches to union rallies, while the Democratic state comptroller is investigating whether strike-related payments to the nursing homes were

"necessary" to protect the residents. The NEHCEU leadership responded to the union-busting by soliciting Democratic Party support for a toothless federal lawsuit charging that Rowland violated the National Labor Relations Act by taking management's side.

Beware: the Democrats are no friends of labor. It was the Clinton White House which ended "welfare as we know it," creating the climate for Rowland to set up a union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" scheme in the state four years ago. The mobilization of the National Guard against the strikers should have been met by mass mobilizations of labor throughout the state, building picket lines that scabs dare not cross. But the pro-capitalist union tops chain the power of labor to the capitalists and their state through their ties to the Democratic Party and by putting their faith in the courts of the class enemy. To unleash the power of the unions, it is necessary to oust the labor misleaders and replace them with a class-struggle leadership based on a program of the political independence of the working class from the capitalists. ■

Connecticut

workers insurrection. Rowland mobilized National Guard troops to herd scabs through picket lines. The state coughed up \$6 million to the nursing homes to pay for the scabs, and nursing assistants and food and maintenance workers at 16 nursing homes were locked out for five days.

In the face of this concerted strike-breaking campaign, locked-out workers continued to walk picket lines. Two days ago, the union held a large rally and march around the St. Mary Home in West Hartford, where management had tried to get housekeepers, laundry workers and dietitians back to work. But they stayed out in solidarity with locked-out nursing staff. On the day of the strike one dietitian at St. Mary's declared, "We're all part of the union. We stick together."

With nearly 15 percent of the state's

Imperialism and the Balkans

In the early part of the 20th century, intensifying interimperialist rivalries spurred Great Power intrigues in the Balkans that paved the way for World War I. With capitalist counterrevolutions in East Europe and the Soviet Union once again fueling the murderous nationalism which had characterized the Balkans, the region has again become a cockpit for war. NATO's war against Serbia two years ago, carried out under the guise of "humanitarian" concern for the Kosovo



TROTSKY



LENIN

Albanians, was intended to establish U.S. hegemony over the region. In a 1908 article, Leon Trotsky exposed the imperialists' machinations and the attendant fratricidal conflicts as inevitable preludes to war.

The states that today occupy the Balkan Peninsula were manufactured by European diplomacy around the table at the Congress of Berlin in 1879. There it was that all the measures were taken to convert the national diversity of the Balkans into a regular melee of petty states. None of them was to develop beyond a certain limit, each separately was entangled in diplomatic and dynastic bonds and counterposed to all the rest, and, finally, the whole lot were condemned to helplessness in relation to the Great Powers of Europe and their continual intrigues and machinations....

The Treaty of Berlin constitutes the formal foundation of European equilibrium as a whole. Apart from so-called "moral" obligations, it is guarded, apparently, by armies, fortresses, and warships, and is the object of a constant vigil by diplomats. Yet all this in no way prevented one participant in the Congress of Berlin, namely, Austria, from violating the treaty as soon as a favorable moment occurred. The miserable incapacity of the "concert" of Europe to prevent the violation of a treaty placed under its protection provides a merciless disproof of illusions about the possibility of realizing the Peace of God by means of arbitration between capitalist states.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Balkans, Capitalist Europe, and Tsarism,"
The Balkan Wars (1912-13) (1980)

At the Grave of Owen Brown

On February 11, comrades of the Spartacist League's Los Angeles branch and friends gathered in memory of comrade Susan Adams at the grave of abolitionist fighter Owen Brown on a wooded hilltop in nearby Altadena. The roughhewn marker reads, "Owen Brown, son of John Brown, the Liberator, Died Jan. 9, 1889, Aged 64 Yrs." Alongside his father, the great abolitionist, Owen Brown and his brothers battled the pro-slavery militias in "bleeding Kansas" in the 1850s, carrying out raids to free slaves. After a wreath was laid, a comrade noted, "It's appropriate that we honor our comrade, Susan Adams, today. She fought on many battlefronts for our party, to the benefit of every section of the International Communist League."

On 16 October 1859, John Brown and his men, including Owen and two of his brothers, launched the famous raid on the Harpers Ferry federal arsenal, seeking to spark an anti-slavery insurrection. Fighting bravely against overwhelming odds, Brown and his band managed to hold out for

more than 30 hours, but eventually nearly all were killed, wounded or captured by U.S. troops commanded by Robert E. Lee.

John Brown was tried for treason and executed along with four other abolitionist martyrs, while Owen Brown escaped to California with a price on his head. Speaking at the memorial, a comrade noted that "When abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass returned to Harpers Ferry in 1881 to commemorate his friend John Brown, he spoke for all of us for whom the Civil War was a class war against the system of slavery: 'If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery'."

Owen Brown settled on this hilltop in Altadena, called "Little Round Top," near Brown Mountain, named after his father. In later life, he was often honored by black Civil War veterans in the area, and his funeral was attended by thousands, who sang the anti-slavery anthem "John Brown's Body," as did our comrades and friends in tribute to Susan.



WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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30 March 2001

On Soviet Russia and Kemal Ataturk

Bronx, NY
3 December 2000

Dear WV:

I'm confused. I had always thought, and have often read in your press, that the subordination of the interests of the international revolutionary movement to Soviet nation-state Realpolitik was a phenomenon of the post-1924 Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." I was therefore surprised to read about the following episode in 1919-1921, at the height of the influence of Lenin and Trotsky. In 1919, in Berlin, Karl Radek established ties to Turkish nationalists. In the following year, this led to friendly relations between the Soviet government and Mustafa Kemal, which culminated in a treaty with Turkey in March 1921. During this period, however, Mustafa Kemal crushed a peasant movement in Turkey with ties to the Third International, and in January 1921 engineered the murders of the entire leadership of the Turkish Communist Party, who had been trained in Germany by the Spartakusbund. These developments seem not to have ruffled good relations between Turkey and Russia, as evidenced by the commercial treaty between the two countries signed two months later. According to one historian, the execution of the Turkish communist leadership was "noted and put aside by both sides in almost statesman-like fashion" (Bölen Gokay, *A Clash of Empires*, 1997, p. 108). This is the kind of episode we normally associate with e.g. Soviet relations with Nasser's Egypt in the 1950's, but this happened right in what Trotskyists consider the heroic period of revolutionary internationalism. How do you explain this?

Loren G.

WV Replies:

The economic and military support extended to the Turkish nationalist regime of Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) by Soviet Russia in the early 1920s has often been cited by bourgeois historians and Stalinists alike as an alleged precedent for the *political* support extended to bourgeois-nationalist regimes by the Soviet degenerated workers state in later years. This argument is based on a distortion both of Lenin's policy toward Kemal's Turkey and of the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in 1923-24. Repudiating the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution in favor of the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," the Stalinists promoted class collaboration in the capitalist countries, disarming the workers and setting them up for bloody defeat, from the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 and Spain in 1936-37 to Iran and Iraq in the 1950s.

We Trotskyists opposed the Stalinist bureaucracy not, *per se*, because it established friendly diplomatic or military

relations with this or that capitalist state. In order to survive in the face of hostile imperialist encirclement, even a healthy workers state would be obliged under certain conditions to maneuver and seek temporary support among rival capitalist states. The crime of the Kremlin bureaucrats was that they sold out the fundamental interests of the world proletariat for the sake of temporary diplomatic advantages. Under Stalin, the Communist International (CI) was transformed from an instrument of world revolution into an abject tool for furthering the Kremlin's diplomatic aims. Vainly pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, the Stalinists subordinated the proletariat to a supposedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie.

Before discussing Lenin's support to Kemalist Turkey, let's review the facts. Kemal, who was commander of the Turkish army in Anatolia, came to power in the turmoil that followed the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. A 1919 revolt by Turkish peasants, one of several popular uprisings in the Near



Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith

Counterrevolutionary Russian general Kolchak with British patrons during Civil War against Bolshevik rule.

East in the wake of the Russian Revolution, provided mass backing to Kemal's bourgeois nationalists. Kemal sought to modernize the country and to resist the imperialist powers, notably Britain, which, already occupying a broad swath from Egypt through the Fertile Crescent to Iran, was pushing to assert its domination over Turkey. Earlier that year, Greek military forces, encouraged and subsidized by the British imperialists, had occupied the port of Smyrna (today Izmir) and were preparing to drive into the Turkish interior. In March 1920, British forces occupied Constantinople (Istanbul), seeking to crush the nationalists and achieve control over the Straits linking the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Kemal responded by appealing to Soviet Russia for joint "struggle against foreign imperialism which threatens both countries."

The following month, the Red Army advanced to the Turkish border as it defeated the counterrevolutionary White forces and drove out the imperialist troops that had intervened in an attempt to smash the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks soon began supplying military aid to Kemalist Turkey. Relations between the two countries converged further when the Allied powers revealed their peace terms for Turkey. These terms were subsequently codified in the August 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, which sought to reduce Turkey to a virtual British protectorate and effectively place the Straits under British imperialist control, an undisguised threat to Soviet Russia. In



Ataturk Library

Soviet military representatives with Kemal Ataturk (fourth from right), 1922. Bolshevik regime gave military support to Ataturk against British imperialism while helping to build Communist Party in Turkey.

March 1921, a Soviet-Turkish Treaty was signed providing for Soviet financial and military aid to Turkey and affirming that it was up to the countries adjoining the Black Sea to guarantee freedom of commerce through the Straits. Strengthened by the material support provided by Soviet Russia, Kemal succeeded in driving out the last Greek forces in Anatolia in September 1922. With the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the imperialists retreated from their earlier demand that they be

significant defeat for imperialism in the Near East and a consequent gain for the world proletariat.

The Turkish Communist Party was organized in 1918 by Mustafa Subhi, a member of the Bolshevik Party whose history went back to the earliest Marxist propaganda circles that came together in Ottoman Turkey around 1910. The Turkish nationalists in power turned on the fledgling Communist Party, seizing Subhi and 16 other leaders when they tried to return to Turkey from Russia in January 1921 and drowning them off the coast of Trebizond. Following the Soviet-Turkish Treaty, the Kemal regime lifted the ban on the Turkish CP and freed imprisoned Communists. But after his victory over the Greek forces in 1922, Kemal proceeded to crush the Turkish Communists.

According to Gokay in *A Clash of Empires*: "The murder of the Turkish communists in the early days of 1921 represents the first example of the failure of a peculiar Soviet dilemma in the East—to support the anti-communist leadership of national liberation movements and at the same time to sponsor and organise the local communist movements to overthrow them via the Comintern." But the CI did not "put aside" or cover up the murder of the Turkish Communists. Both *Zhizn Natsionalnoei* (Life of the Nationalities, 14 May 1921), the publication of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Nationalities, and the CI's *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional* (7 June 1921) printed a letter by a Central Committee member of the Turkish Communist Party giving a full account of the murders.

As published in the German-language edition of the CI's journal, *Die Kommunistische Internationale* (No. 17, 1921), the letter explained that the fate of Subhi and his comrades had been unknown until March 1921. After arriving in Turkey, they were hounded from one town to another before being abducted in Trebizond, "bound, knifed with bayonets and thrown into the ocean." When a Soviet representative had tried to meet them, he too "was threatened with lynch law." The

continued on page 9

Spartacist/SYC Regional Educational

Saturday, April 7—Chicago

3 p.m.

Taliban: Bitter Fruit of U.S. Imperialism's Anti-Soviet War
Afghanistan: Women Enslaved by Islamic Reaction

6 p.m.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the
Bastion of World Imperialism!

Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Workers Revolution!

University of Chicago, Reynolds Club, South Lounge
57th St. and University

For readings and information: (312) 563-0441

Spartacist Forum

Defend Separation of
Church and State!

Down With
Bush's Holy War!
Free Abortion on Demand!

Saturday, April 7, 3 p.m.

Harvard University
Science Center Lecture Hall E

For more information: (617) 666-9453

BOSTON

An Internationalist Salute to Our Comrade Susan Adams

Comrades, friends and family came together at memorial gatherings of the International Communist League in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York and Paris on the weekend of March 3-4 to honor our comrade Susan Adams. A leader of our international party for nearly 30 years, Susan died at her home in Jersey City on February 6 after a two-year struggle with cancer. Susan's family held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles on February 10. Other ICL tributes took place internationally.

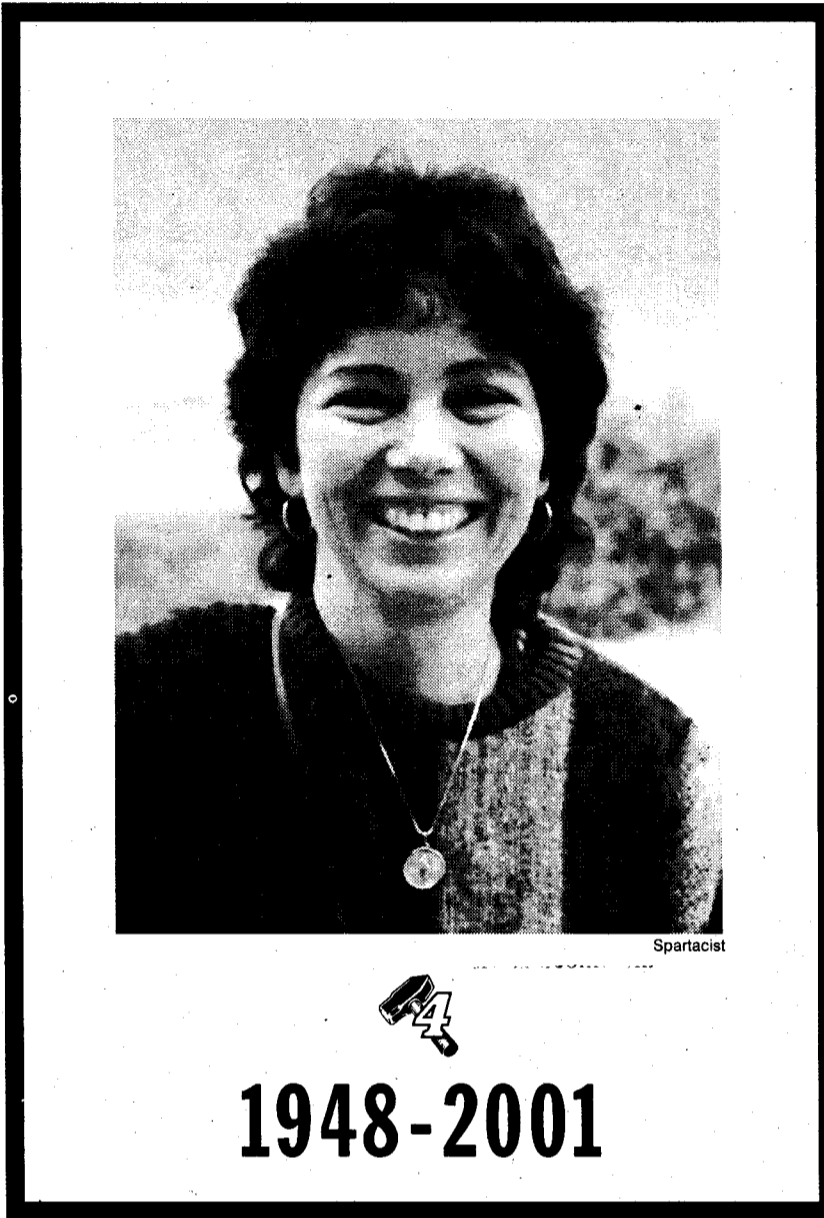
One measure of the impact Susan had on our party and its fight for an international communist society is the outpouring of letters and remembrances by ICL members around the globe, as well as by former members, friends and sympathizers and even political opponents. A speaker at the Bay Area memorial said, "Susan was somebody you could trust. She was upright and forthright. And because she was quite bright, she was very powerful. Everybody who has known her was strongly touched by her."

It was in the Bay Area that Susan spent her first formative years as a communist cadre in 1971-73. Much of the rest of her life was divided between work in our New York center and in Paris as a leader of the Ligue Trotskyiste and our broader work in Europe, for many years in collaboration with her former husband, William, now an ex-member.

Before the memorial meeting in Paris, comrades marched to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where they laid a wreath at the wall which commemorates the thousands of proletarian fighters butchered by the bourgeoisie following the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune. Wreaths were also laid at Leon Trotsky's gravestone in Coyoacán, Mexico, at Karl Marx's grave in London's Highgate Cemetery, at the monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin and in a grove of redwoods in the Bay Area where the ashes of our comrade Toni Randell had been buried after her death in 1982. One Bay Area comrade explained, "It's a tradition in the communist movement to commemorate a special occasion by laying a wreath on the grave of someone who has made a key contribution to the struggle against capitalist reaction."

One comrade at the New York memorial who had been a member of our British section in the 1980s recalled an incident at the annual political fête near Paris organized by the reformist Lutte Ouvrière group: "I remember very clearly one day a cadre of Lutte Ouvrière had died and there was nothing in their paper about her. Susan was disgusted by this and she let them have it: 'You don't even bury your dead, you don't honor your dead.'"

Our comrades are a precious resource, the bearers of the Marxist program for the liberation of humanity. In saluting Susan's lifetime of struggle as a communist leader, we seek also to educate and train a new generation of revolutionary fighters, a task to which she devoted much of her energy.



We publish below excerpts from remarks at the New York memorial by Susan's husband, François, her brother Tom and her longtime friend Helene Brosius. Also speaking in New York were Bruce Anwar, who worked with Susan in Paris; Sam Kaehler, who worked with her in Moscow; and Alan Wilde, a young party cadre. Paul Costan, a former member who had worked with Susan in our Detroit branch in the early '70s, addressed the Bay Area memorial. Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League/Britain spoke in Paris.

* * *

Helene Brosius: A few weeks ago, at the end of a tough day of doctors and decisions, Susan looked up and said to me: "After all, I've done everything I wanted to do in my life." And as much as it made me want to hold her and not let her go, I also knew that what she said had truth to it. Susan was a Marxist revolutionary to her bones, single-mindedly driven to build a revolutionary proletarian party, to reforge the Fourth International.

She wanted simply to be a communist. And that she was—until her last breath.

Susan's father, Angelo Adams—Ange—came from Greece at age four and made a good life here. He wanted to have the best for his family—Betty and the five kids. Sue was the oldest, then Mark, Joni, Tom and Marian, who have all come today. The break with her family was difficult all the way around and it didn't even begin to heal until much later.

Sue's rejection of Catholicism was conscious, vehement and finally political. She wrote an exceptional article for our journal *Women and Revolution* called "The Cult of the Virgin Mary" in 1977, at the time of "born again" president Jimmy Carter's election victory. "Marxists find contemporary religion," she wrote, "an odious thing."

"We understand, however, that what sustains religious affiliation in the scientific age is not so much intellectual conviction as social oppression. Thus, while the anti-clerical spirit which animates Voltaire's earnest wish that 'the last king...be strangled with the entrails of the last priest' may be sincere and even justified, such a 'war against god' does not transcend petty-bourgeois idealism. Religion will disappear only when the society which creates the need for it is destroyed."

To her chagrin, her understanding did not—all at once—release the grip that a Catholic upbringing had on her own psychology. This was a lifelong effort.

Sue well understood that religion also served as an instrument for the oppression of women. She was a thoughtful, fervent partisan of women's liberation, understanding that it will come about only as a result of socialist revolution. It is fitting that a last contribution of hers is the wonderful talk on "Women and the French Revolution." This was a several years' labor of love for Sue. In 1994, she wrote of this work to a fellow member of the *W&R* editorial board: "At a time when the bourgeoisies of the world attack the Enlightenment, it has been quite literally a real pleasure to read of the hope in rationality and human progress of this period."

Susan's liberal arts education actually did include a good dose of science and math, but in these and technical matters in general she always seemed at a bit of a loss. What did stick was an appetite for and range of knowledge of literature—especially European literature—which was wonderfully intertwined with her understanding of European history. This was the foundation upon which she developed as an exceptional Marxist intellectual.

It was the '60s, and like thousands of kids she was turning hard against the manifest injustices of racist American imperialism. At UC San Diego she threw herself into New Left politics and the new SDS chapter. But unlike many New Leftists, she started to study. She devoured Marx and Lenin and was drawn to the pro-working-class wing of SDS led by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party. She actually managed to graduate, despite an arrest that year for sitting in at the chancellor's office—and she went off to Stony Brook on Long Island for graduate school. It seems that no sooner had she arrived there than she broke from PL and started working with Spartacist in the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS.

I wouldn't say she was too smart for PL—because they had some intelligent people. Nor is it exactly true, as her mentor in PL evidently told her when she was leaving, that she "always read too many books." I think it was that she really considered and absorbed what she read. In her application for SL membership she wrote that she was drawn to our "consistency with the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky" as opposed to the "at times reactionary Stalinoid politics of PL."

Her New Left origins poked through from time to time. Her father, Ange, the successful banker, was being prosecuted in the early '70s. Sue was in a real quandary—support her father, the class enemy? As she put it, Jim "kicked my ass, so to speak." Her memory was that he said something like: "What's wrong with you,



Comrades and friends honor Susan at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris after laying wreath at Wall of the Communards, March 3.

girl? That's your father. Can't you see he's being prosecuted for things that everyone does and probably because he's Greek. Get yourself out there to his trial before it's over." She did. She was always grateful for Jim's advice.

Only three months after joining the Spartacist youth group in 1971, Susan had a chance to display the courage which turned out to be so characteristic of her. We had been bloodily ejected from an anti-Vietnam War conference of NPAC, led by the Socialist Workers Party. As comrade Al Nelson described it recently, "It was the most protracted violence I have ever witnessed in the workers movement. Seymour had his nose broken; I had bald spots on my head where tufts of hair had been torn out." The next day, Susan volunteered to be a mole, to elude the massive SWP goon squad stationed there to exclude known or suspected "disrupters" and to report back what was being said in the aftermath of this savage exclusion. Al wrote: "We met a couple of blocks away and discussed her assignment and its dangers. I remember being extremely impressed with how calm and determined and brave she was."

The summer of '71 Susan moved to the Bay Area, which is where I first met her. I was pleased to endorse her application for membership in the SL in December 1971. And when I left for New York the following summer there was no question in my mind that Susan was the comrade to take over as Bay Area organizer, though there were other comrades who had more experience than she did.

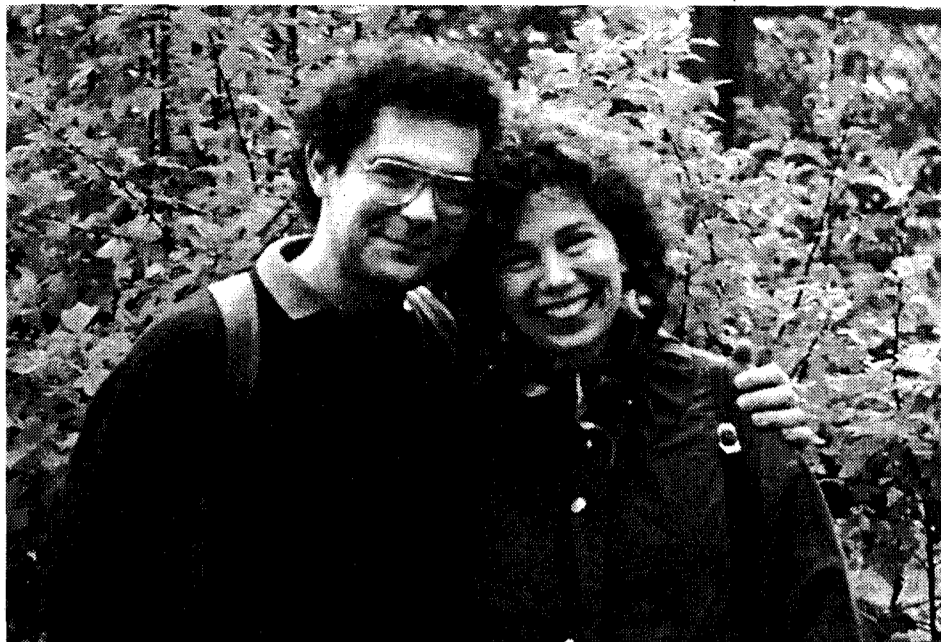
In the next years, as new opportunities arose for the party, Susan was the clear choice for one difficult and critical assignment after another. She taught, expected and inspired the utmost professionalism. She was uncommonly able at locating and resisting the poison of subjectivity in herself and other comrades. But perhaps most valuable was her unbending drive for programmatic clarity. Not that she was immune to the ambient pressures in her political work, but she was fearless in her determination to arrive at and deepen the party's understanding of them. Even when—and maybe especially when—there was a disaster that she'd been party to.

Thus, more often than not, Sue was sent to the front lines of our party work. After just over a year in the party, in February 1973, she was picked to be founding organizer of the Detroit branch. Unfortunately, it was the eve of an economic downturn and the collapse of the auto industry in Detroit. But that local was a major step for our organization. In summer '74, she came to New York to head up the national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League, which was growing rapidly and, with many difficulties, taking on independent organizational reality for the first time.

In 1976, she was off to Europe as an international rep. France, the world center of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, was the jumping-off point for our European work and, other than Australia, our first international foothold. The job required constant travel around Europe, wide knowledge of the left and workers movement throughout the area, vigilance for opportunities, patience and care in cadre development.

After spending a year in New York in '78-79 as our international secretary, it was off to Europe again, this time as a central leader of the French section (to the surprise of our French comrades, a few of whom would have preferred to eat in McDonald's every night rather than have an American woman leading their section). For the next ten years, she was our central cadre in Europe. In 1989-90, she played a leading role when the International poured its energies and resources into the potential political revolution in East Germany.

Susan and François



WV Photo

In 1992, just weeks after a gut-wrenching fight with the French leadership, which of course included her, at an international conference, Susan took on one of the most important and difficult assignments there has ever been in our organization—the work of reimplanting Bolshevism in the land of October, our Moscow Station. Our comrade Martha Phillips had been murdered in Moscow earlier that year. Moscow was a dizzying whirlwind of archival, opponents, campus, labor and educational work. A prime achievement of Moscow Station was the publication of Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian and its distribution. In 1995, she returned to the center in New York after a 20-year absence from the country, and took on a full range of duties in the leading committees of the International and the American section.

Sue's life is a thread running through the history of our party. In the mid-'70s, Sue forged a powerful national youth leadership. But after the heady days of the New Left, the mid-'70s slumped pretty fast into quiescence. Coming out of the '60s, Sue had an appreciation, at times surely tinged with moralism, for the value of that kind of struggle. In a 1975 national report, she deplored the callowness of the recruits, their "lack of depth which comes from the binocular vision of having once been Maoists or Stalinists or even New Leftists. Trotskyism seems self-evident to too many of our young comrades and commitment to being a revolutionary has meant for them commitment to going to meetings, reading books, debating opponents and giving up dope. As wretched as the New Left was, one understood that becoming a radical meant risking jail, fights with the cops, etc. (or at *least* risking suspension from school!). And as rotten and misleading as were the ideologies of Che, Cleaver and Malcolm X, becoming part of a movement of which they were the heroes involved a level of commitment which our young comrades have not had to consider." A good dose of political education was needed, she concluded, and "some good and hard political fights this year."

In this period, Susan worked on the article "Rape and Bourgeois Justice," a polemic against the liberal, New Left and feminist views of capitalist class injustice. "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" still stands as a guiding statement for us on the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society. Collaboration on this article further cemented a lifelong working relationship with Jim Robertson, a personal and political tie as formative and consequential as any in her life.

Sue found her assignment to international work in Europe in 1976 a tremendous challenge—terrifying and exhilarating at the same time. From a '76 letter to me:

"France is very exciting and interesting these days. I can't help it, I *like* it when the whole world seems political and the issues are urgently enough felt by people that they stand around in knots and argue and scream at each other into the night."

It was, as she wrote, "the classical time of swimming against the stream.... The popular front is on the road to power through the elections, drawing everyone else in its wake."

Susan was of course a bit of a workaholic, diligent and sometimes earnest to a fault, though she learned to measure that a bit. Languages really did not come easily to her. She developed a fine command of French. But her ear wasn't very good so her pronunciation was poor, which was an obstacle when dealing with snobs. She started intensive study as soon as she got there, and ten years later she was still working on her French. Later she studied German and, when she went to Moscow, she studied Russian four to five hours a day at the beginning despite the manic pace of the political work there.

Sue had an impressive mastery of the basic Marxist texts—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon—and a prodigious memory for what she read. She also knew our press and internal documents thoroughly. She used the literature like a precision instrument, pulling out exactly the right tool for the job. When she ran into French parochialism, an enduring weakness of the French left, including the so-called Trotskyists, she wielded the weapon of founding American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon.

In 1983, she was delighted to succeed in bringing out a speech by Cannon upon his return from a quite unrewarding assignment in France in 1939. This was a two-edged sword in the struggle *against* our political opponents and *for* our French section. The *fact* alone of publishing Cannon was a polemic against the deeply held belief on the French left that nothing useful could derive from America. Susan wrote in the introduction to the Cannon pamphlet:

"Given the program, the construction of the leading cadres is the key to the construction of revolutionary parties; and the former requires an even higher degree of consciousness and a more deliberate design than the latter."

Cadre development and particular attention to the youth was a hallmark of her work, on which she brought to bear her wide-ranging intellectual storehouse. You'd often find her using lessons she'd learned—or wrestled with—when she gave advice to others.

She went as our rep to a five-day academic conference on Trotsky in Wuppertal, Germany just after the disastrous 1990 East German elections which ushered in counterrevolution there. All the big-shot Trotskyist pretenders were there—from Mandel and Broué to Michel Pablo. To their horror, she always introduced herself as a professional revolutionary. There was a group of Gorbachevite Soviet academics who were poking their heads up out of the *glasnost* opening. Everyone worth anything was talking about the 1923-24 period of the Soviet Union, which we also were critically examining in light of some new documentation that had emerged from the Soviet archives. Broué had just published his Trotsky biography, which we were reviewing.

She wrote a wonderful report, and you could tell how charmingly and fruitfully she worked over the lot of them. Some of those pretentious academics must have walked away from a nice lunch only to look down and see the knife in their stomachs. She drove Mandel into a sputtering frenzy, at a lunch in front of a bevy of fawning young social democrats, over his uncritical printing of an article in praise of the Estonian Forest Brothers, Baltic fascists who fought with the Nazi Wehrmacht against the Red Army.

continued on page 6



WV Photo

Susan giving report at SL/U.S. National Conference, in 1972.



WV Photo

Detroit, November 1973: Spartacist contingent joins demonstration of Arab auto workers who staged one-day strike protesting UAW tops' purchase of Israeli war bonds.

(continued from page 5)

She was also our reporter at the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie in Lyons in 1987. We printed her reporter's notebook in *WV* and *Le Bolchévik*. In one sentence, Sue summed up the politics of the trial:

"Barbie's smiling grimace is a smile of contempt: he can beat the French state court simply by following its own rules, since he is willing to say the equivalent of what French rulers have believed for more than a century: better Hitler than a workers commune (soviet) in Paris."

Susan is rightly widely admired for her persistence in fighting for programmatic precision. The purpose was always to get it right—not to win an argument—because the party's line really *matters*. She sparked a rich internal discussion in late '96 about the slogan "U.S. Bases Out of Japan," which was raised in our Japanese propaganda protesting the U.S. bombing of Iraq. After a couple of months of political exchanges internationally, we arrived at a much more nuanced and precise appreciation of how most effectively to express our opposition to the U.S. imperialist military in various contexts in this post-Soviet world.

After the French section succumbed to multiple pressures in '92, especially the collapse of Stalinism, she never stopped trying to sort out what had gone wrong. When she returned to France in '95 to help get the section straight around the big strikes there, she was able to lead again, having herself worked through a lot of the prior history and gained a measure of understanding.

Susan and François were a remarkable love match. When she got ill, Susan called him her "great hero." He treated her with unfeeling tenderness. In '95 she wrote to her cousin Cathy about her coming marriage: "Who knows what the future holds, or how long we'll be together, but I wouldn't have traded this for anything."

I have to add one story here from a longtime sympathizer in Germany because it so captures a part of Sue. This was in the mid-'70s: "She also had a fine low-key sense of humor: I remember a female comrade asking Susan where she got her clothes (since Susan could be elegant in anything), and Susan answered 'Salvation Army.' When the comrade expressed surprise, Susan shrugged and smiled and said, 'Well, *Parisian* Salvation Army.'"

Susan wished to be cremated. Trotsky wrote in *Problems of Everyday Life*, cremation is "a powerful weapon...for anti-church and anti-religious propaganda." So it was, as François pointed out, her last act of propaganda. Personally, I find a fitting conclusion in Trotsky's description of his friend and comrade-in-arms Adolf Joffe:

"Joffe was a man of great intellectual ardor, very genial in all personal relations, and unswervingly loyal to the

cause.[...] The personal bravery of this very sick man was really magnificent.[...] He was a good speaker, thoughtful and earnest in appeal, and he showed the same qualities as a writer. In everything he did, he paid the most exacting attention to detail—a quality that not many revolutionaries have.[...] For a great many years I was bound to him more closely than any one else. His loyalty to friendship as well as to principle was unequalled."

Paul Costan: I was fortunate to know and work with Susan Adams in that relatively brief but intense period when she was the founding organizer of the Detroit local. We were a couple of dozen, enthusiastic but overwhelmingly new to the party, drawn from many points on the political map, but primarily the New Left. We were from all over the country, and I don't think



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League initiated campaign at University of Chicago to drive Milton Friedman, economic braintruster for murderous Chilean junta, off campus through protest and exposure, October 1975.

there was a single comrade who had even visited Detroit previously.

Within a week or two of arriving in town, half of us were working 50, 60, even more hours a week in the plants—and there are few jobs as successful as auto assembly in isolating some major muscle groups and making them scream. The city was still a seething cauldron in the aftermath of the '67 ghetto rebellion. The current racist outrage was a cop unit that specialized in street executions of dozens of black youth. Their commanding officer was running for mayor against a black ex-Stalinist Democrat while the bourgeoisie nervously debated this emerging strategy for political control of the

mural—but libraries with no books. She made sure to inject readings from *Their Morals and Ours* into our frequent discussions of issues of communist morality in everyday life.

Susan was a fundamentally compassionate person. Living as we did, in closer proximity than you will normally experience short of barracks life, knowing no one in the city other than ourselves, and depending on each other for virtually everything, our personal lives were far more intertwined than the norm. Even though she was barely a few years older than the youngest of us, her maturity and stability were such that she was frequently sought out for personal solace, which she gave freely to all who were at least half-deserving. She sought the best from people politically, encouraged the shy and prodded the tardy—to improve them, and to strengthen the party. And she imbued daily work with a sense of revolutionary optimism that was infectious. She has died far too young.

Bruce Anwar: Susan introduced Cannonism in France. There are so many ways to show what that means, I can only scratch the surface. One thing was her meticulous attention to organizing down to the slightest detail, which was such a break with the organizational sloppiness that's rampant in the French left, going all the way back to Trotsky's time.

Just one example: the contingent we formed in the demonstration that took place when Reagan came to Europe in 1982. Mitterrand had been in power for one year, acting as the spearhead in Europe of the anti-Soviet Cold War hysteria. The French left called a demonstration against Reagan, but they were wallowing in anti-American chauvinism as a way of prettifying French imperialism and the popular front in power.

The LTF put out a supplement: "Reagan and Mitterrand: Anti-Soviet Warmongers." To prepare the contin-



Le Bolchévik

LTF banner at Paris protest against 1991 Persian Gulf War reads, "Defend Iraq Against the Imperialists! Sink Mitterrand/Bush in the Gulf!"

gent, Susan took the entire party out to a field near Rouen where we practiced marching in military formation so that every comrade would know his place in the contingent. That was one very impressive contingent and it greatly increased our impact on the left.

It also illustrated another point: Susan fought constantly to break out of what we called the "historical impasse": the fact that we were never more than a few dozen in a country of three self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups, each with several thousand members. In demonstrations, it was accepted practice—enforced by the Stalinist goons—that their contingent marched in the front—it was supposed to be "their" demonstration—the mass of workers would march behind them, and the smaller left groups would bring up the rear. And the LCR goons copied the Stalinists, trying to make sure that the smaller groups marched behind them, way at the back. But not us, at least not when we could help it. I generally headed up our security team, and Susan would invariably be at my side—you know, roughly half my size—pushing me on to be more aggressive at opening a road to get our contingent into the demonstration.

Susan had a very special tactical sense, an intuitive feel for seizing opportunities to extend the LTF's influence and weight. There are so many examples. One of the best is the December 11, 1980 anti-fascist demonstration in Rouen that really put us on the map in that city.

The fascists had been staging a series of provocations against our comrades, who were doing a weekly sale of *Le Bolchévique* at the train station. Susan proposed that we try to organize a worker-centered demonstration against the fascists. (This was well before the 1982 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Washington, D.C.) That demonstration in Rouen was spectacularly successful, about 400 people, heavily working-class, which in that city was comparable in size to the annual May Day demonstration. But the demonstration only happened because of about three weeks of constant political struggle, that Susan orchestrated, against our political opponents on the left, especially the LCR, who used every maneuver in the book to try to sabotage the demonstration in the name of "free speech for the fascists." In the upshot, two days after the demonstration, Jaruzelski staged a counter-coup in Poland to spike the pro-capitalist power drive by Solidarność, and some of the same groups that had marched with us against the fascists were now marching with the far right in solidarity with Solidarność and capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. But many of those who had worked with us to build that demonstration joined the party, and that surge of recruitment led to the establishment of the Rouen local.

Finally, I want to mention the fight that Susan carried out from the start against this "star conception" of leaders that is so prevalent on the French left. She fought against the prima donnas who thought that they alone embodied the leadership, but also against those who stepped back from taking responsibility and saw her as the "star" who should do it all. Susan didn't pretend that she was developing something new and original, just applying the experience of Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon and the founding cadres of our tendency, "just" doing that.

Eibhlín McDonald: My tribute to Comrade Susan is based on her role as representative of the International Secretariat in Europe, which is how I first knew her. One of her qualities was her training for combat with opponents. She made sure our intervention at the Lutte Ouvrière Fête every year was an international effort and she helped prepare all of us. She was superb at finding contradictions of the opponents and exploiting them and she really hated passivity in the face of an opportunity to build the party. The first example I remember was in 1980. Workers Power had moved to the left on the Russian question as the Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. The SL/B dismissed this development, saying they were "still Third Campists at heart." Susan was furious. She wrote in block capitals, "WHERE IS THE MAJOR ARTICLE IN SPARTACIST BRITAIN COMMENTING ON THIS?"

She also had guts when confronting the chauvinism of the opponents. The most spectacular example was against LO in 1992 at the fête. They excluded ACT UP; we defended them and LO threatened to exclude us. We did a stunning protest outside the big tent where the annual LO-LCR debate takes place. We just quietly appeared out of nowhere and stood there with signs denouncing LO's homophobia and anti-communism. We arrived just as an LO speaker was explaining that voting rights for immigrants are not important—after all, voting rights for women had not changed anything!

Susan made sure the LTF played an active part in the British miners strike of 1984-85. Dominique came to London and gave a great forum (attended by striking miners) on our struggle against the Mitterrand popular front. Miners came to France to raise money. Paul Brewin loves to talk about working with French comrades during the strike. When I told him about Susan's death, he recalled his visit here and said those were "hard times, but good times." He says he learned for the first time



Paris forum in late 1984, part of LTF-sponsored fundraising tour by striking British miner Paul Brewin (center).



Le Bolchévique

what a Stalinist is when CGT goons chased him off "their turf" in Rouen where he was collecting money.

My favorite Susan story is one I discovered in an old bulletin. In 1976, 28-year-old Susan is sent on assignment in Genova, Italy for the International Secretariat. A group of three guys had broken to the left and professed agreement with the Spartacist tendency. But things were not moving forward. Susan wrote a report which said they should get into one city, write some polemics and do political work, otherwise they would just spin wheels and concoct theories about our party's deviations. This plain speaking offended the leader, I suppose because it was not "high Trotskyism." Of course, Susan had to comment on the Catholic church. She wrote: "Italian society is so odd—so many priests walking around as if they belonged in public made me edgy." The leader of this group went ballistic. He described her report as "asinine," "light-minded," "coarse" and "insensitive." He was so retrograde he assumed this young, beautiful woman, an American to boot, must be an airhead. She was a cultured communist. His problem was he wanted to vote for workers parties in the popular front.

Sam Kaehler: There was more than a grain of truth when a comrade now in Poland made the point that many of us were recruited somewhere else but trained in Moscow. When I arrived in the summer of 1993, Susan had already been in place for six months. Events were going pretty hard in the wrong direction. The Soviet workers state had been strangled and civilization as it existed was taking a nose dive. Before 1990, none of us had lived through a counterrevolution, so we were dealing with new theoretical questions. In these conditions, Sue welded together a group of comrades coming from very different perspectives and backgrounds (from former East German tank commanders to sons of the military elite, Americans, Australians, French and of course Russians). She calmed down the hotheads and brought forward the quieter ones. She taught us to think and act

as Spartacists and to generalize and understand the events that we were living through.

Each step of the way we had to grapple with what would happen if the working class intervened in events and why hadn't it? Sue pushed hard for historical, theoretical clarity. I think the most significant thing that we read during this time, and Susan pushed this, was a document by the Left Opposition leader Christian Rakovsky called "Letter to Valentinov," or "The Professional Dangers of Power." It was an early attempt to generalize on the defeat of the Left Opposition and to come to terms with what was Stalinism and what effect was it having on working-class consciousness. It was the basis for what became *The Revolution Betrayed* by Trotsky. It provided a real theoretical link to the original Left Opposition and our fight against the final betrayal of Stalinism in the former Soviet Union.

Sue told us then: "Nobody promised that we would make the revolution. But there's a lot of things for us to do in order to prepare for new revolutions and lay the basis for the next generation of revolutionary leaders so that they can draw the lessons of the class struggle." This inspired the work on *The Third International After Lenin*, which was distributed in thousands of copies for the first time.

On the plane here I read "The Role of the Individual in History" by the founder of Russian Marxism, Plekhanov. It wasn't until I was halfway through the book that I remembered why. It was the work that Susan said convinced her to dedicate her life to revolutionary Marxism way back in San Diego. In short, the point of the essay is that once you understand the conditions and social forces that shape society and you want to change it for the better, you don't have much choice but to be a communist revolutionary, as it is in the recognition of such necessity that one finds the greatest satisfaction and use of one's life. That was Susan to the hilt, and now she's gone.

Alan Wilde: I knew Susan mostly because she was someone who really fought hard for the youth. After the October 23 mobilization we had in New York City to stop the Klan, she was someone who really was in the forefront of fighting against a lot of stodgy youth, myself and others, in opening up the youth for recruitment and building our youth organization.

A couple of years ago there was a play called *Gross Indecency: The Three Trials of Oscar Wilde*, and she wanted to run a review of it. We never did. She kept saying, "Why do we always run reviews of things we hate? Why can't we run a review of something we like?" There was a quote in there that she really liked, and I thought I'd end with reading it. When Wilde was tried for homosexuality and for his writings being immoral, he replied by saying, "I have never come across anyone in whom the moral sense was dominant who was not heartless, cruel, vindictive, log-stupid, and entirely lacking in the smallest sense of humanity. Moral people, as they are termed, are simple beasts. I would sooner have fifty unnatural vices than one unnatural virtue. The real enemy of modern life, of everything that makes life lovely and joyous and colored for us, is Puritanism, and the Puritan spirit. There is the great danger that lies ahead of the age. Puritanism is not a theory of life. It is merely an explanation of the English middle classes."

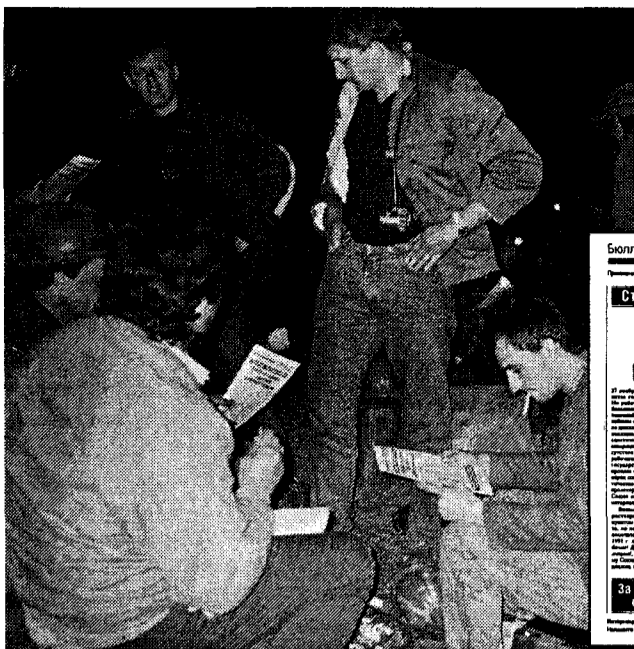
Tom Adams: Calm, determined and brave. I like those words, that's kind of what I wanted to talk about. When Susan called around to the family late, late one night last January to tell us that the cancer was back and she wasn't going to make it after all, she said something to me that I admit at the time I pretty much dismissed as false bravado. But now we've all gone through these last

continued on page 8



Le Bolchévique

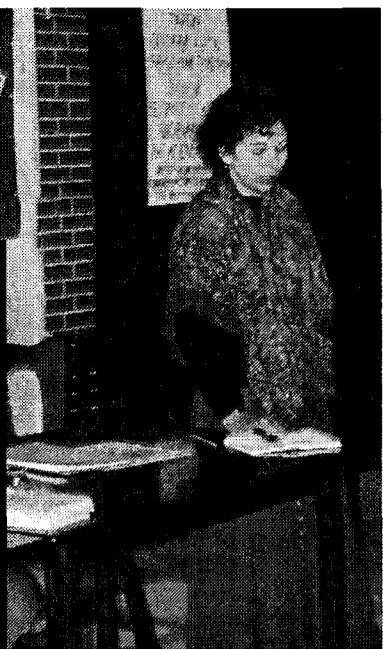
LTF protests anti-gay exclusion of AIDS activist group ACT UP from June 1992 Lutte Ouvrière Fête. LTF was itself excluded for defending ACT UP.



ICL Moscow Station distributed Russian-language supplement titled "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" at June 1993 Ukrainian miners strike, explained roots of capitalist counterrevolution at Moscow public meeting in late 1992.



Spartacist photos



(continued from page 7)

12 months with her and watched her die and now I know it was far from false bravado when she said, "Ah hell, dying young isn't the worst thing in the world." I think that all of us unite today under the, I guess revolutionary, slogan, "We love Susan!"

Ever since I sat there on that snowy February 6th and held her hand and shared some of her brave final breaths, I've been pondering those words, "dying young isn't the worst thing in the world." Over the last four weeks of grieving, I think I've figured out some of what she meant anyway. What would Sue consider the worst thing in the world? Well, it started becoming obvious to her family, I think, late in the '60s when we lived across the street from the University of California in San Diego. Perhaps a location decision that my parents regretted eventually. It made it awfully easy to get to SDS chapter meetings, and I think the cigarette vending machines were how I learned to smoke. She headed off to demonstrations up and down the state and got herself jailed for occupying an administration building to protest the war—a very earth-shaking event in our family, of course, where the Greek immigrant father had to go face his daughter on the other side of the bars and bail her out.

And it got even more intense the week before graduation when George Winne self-immolated in the quad to protest the war. Susan at that point refused to take part in the graduation ceremony, or at least she did until her mother Betty took her aside and gently explained to her, "Your father has been working his fanny off for twenty years in order to see his oldest daughter graduate from college, so I think that you better show up." So she graduated. And I'll never forget the defiant look on her face as she strode across, grabbed her diploma quickly, and sailed across the stage with her head in the air and refused to shake the bloodstained hands of the board of regents representatives there that day. I'm sure some of

you remember the despicable Reaganaut Clark Kerr; he looked shocked.

Around the family dinner table in those days Sue was doing a lot of what I'm sure you were doing in those days, which was serving notice to your families that times were very definitely changing. Her father, as many of you know, was an immigrant from a tiny village in Greece, a World War II vet, product of the GI Bill. Her mother was an immigrant too in a sense, who with her single mother in the 1920s moved north from Arkansas to Missouri to Chicago to follow the American Dream, as many people did. Mom of course was in many ways a role model, especially for the girls in the family. And she went charging over the years through basically every door of opportunity that the sexist society of the time was slowly opening and taught her daughters to enjoy themselves kicking open more doors.

Although Ange would always claim to be descended from Alexander the Great, Socrates was more of his spiritual ancestor. They wanted to raise a bunch of kids, strangely enough, who would think for themselves and challenge assumptions and distrust the common wisdom. They certainly convinced Susan, I think, that one of the worst things in life would be to ever take anything on faith. I think another thing worse than dying young for Susan would have been to ever violate Socrates' famous dictum, "The unexamined life is not worth living." The unexamined life, of course, would be that of the distracted conventional life that most people lead without thinking about it.

So all those things would be bad—the unexamined life, blind faith. But what would Sue consider the worst thing in the world? I think it's pretty obvious to everybody in this room. To know that the world needed to change but not do anything about it.

François: Susan went as peacefully as she could. She was very afraid of the suffering that she might endure, and she did not go through the worst of her fears. She passed her last day listening to some beautiful Mozart arias. And she was also so happy to have so many people, comrades and family, visit her.

I really wanted to mention her sense of beauty. She was always saying that when she became political many things came together—politics, sex, music, painting. She said there was Catholicism and religion one way and sex and many other things including politics the other—and she knew exactly where she was going. Part of her becoming political and becoming a political leader was struggling against all these conservative psychological things. She used to tell me a lot, "There's no way that you can approach political problems and think about them if you let your psyche intervene."

She was always finding projects. She always amazed me with the energy that she had. When I'd come back home at 11 o'clock after a full day at work, she would say, "Well, why don't we do the three following things next?" She wrote in her diary, "I feel like I must finish my projects and then have more."

One that we completed and WV put so much work into was "Women and the French Revolution." I want to try to explain where that came from. That was part of her attachment to fighting for women's liberation. Throughout her years in France, she did a tremendous job at training especially young women cadres in fighting against the political prevalence of society which says that they are maybe good for this and that but not good for thinking because that's a man's thing. She was always hammering Spartacism against parochialism and male piggishness. When we expelled a comrade in the early '80s because he was beating his wife, none of the political opponents in France could believe that. They were saying, "Well,

all right, he was beating his wife. But what was the *real* reason he was expelled, what's the political reason?" That's how piggish they were.

Another project that she had is the indexing of the first volume of French *Spartacist*, which was very important to her. It's part of the training of a new generation of communist cadre and also part of our continuity. One thing that she was very proud of was being part of a generation of cadre that was trained in direct collaboration with comrade Jim, who himself was trained in the SWP and by James Cannon, and this is our continuity with Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. She was very proud and always very conscious of passing this experience to a younger generation.

That also goes with her way of doing politics. Politics is nothing spontaneous. It's hard work, it's conscious, it requires thought and thoroughness in everything. I found a nice quote in her diary where she says, "An insight *must* have words and *that* is where the time comes in. So, it's just not: *voilà!*" It was part of her training and also her inspiration of young communists. A small story that for me illustrates that: When I was a young member in the Paris office and was putting a glass in the sink, she was passing through the kitchen and she said, "I'm glad. I see that you're going to wash this glass." Being a young male, I'm not sure I would have. Anyway, the point is that I don't think I ever left a mess in any office that I worked in after that.

The last thing that I wanted to mention is how much she loved her father. One story that she told me about him which she was very proud of: it was the beginning of the '60s and they were watching TV, watching a civil rights



Spartacist

April 1994 ICL meeting in Moscow announcing publication of first-ever Russian edition of Leon Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin*.

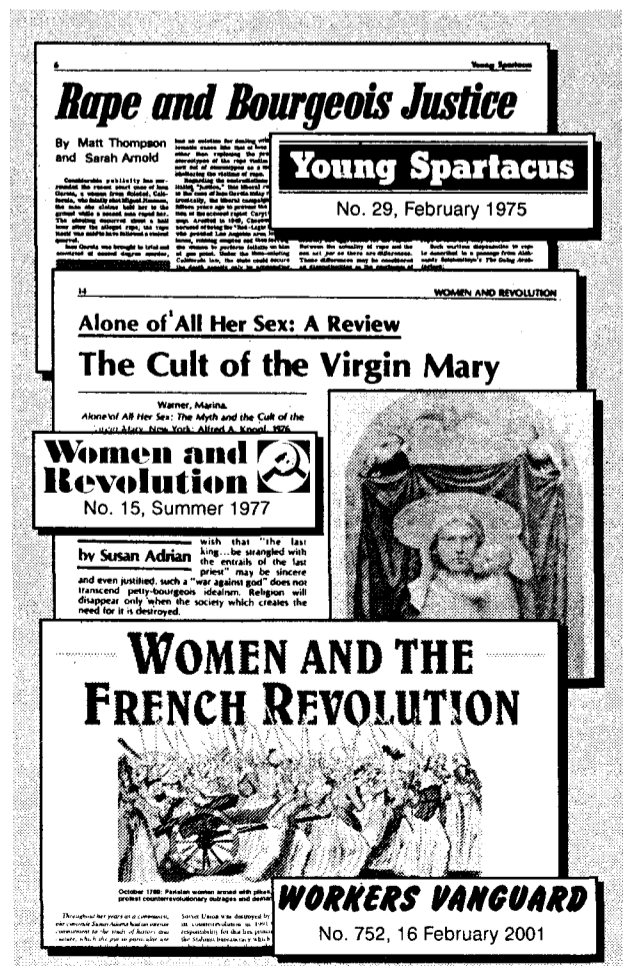
protest. Her dad was a really conservative guy, I think. Nevertheless, he turned to say, "If my kids were prevented from going to school because of their ethnicity or color, I'd be out there with those guys in the streets."

Finally, I just wanted to let everybody know that we had a little ceremony to disperse Susan's ashes. She wanted it to be done facing Ellis Island, which was the symbol for her of coming from a family of Greek immigrants from her dad's side. And it also faces the ocean; she said it's between Europe and America, the two places where she spent the two parts of her life.

She wrote, "If you are a revolutionary you really do spend all your life preparing to make a revolution." That's just what you do, and that's just what she did.

SUSAN ADAMS MEMORIAL COLLECTION

The Prometheus Research Library is honoring our comrade Susan Adams by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. The PRL, central reference archive of the Spartacist League of the U.S., is seeking contributions to expand its holdings of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects. This special memorial collection will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists. Those who wish to contribute may make checks payable to Spartacist, earmarked "Susan Adams Memorial Fund." Mail to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.



Horowitz...

(continued from page 12)

given programs stating that the campus police would remove anyone who disrupted Horowitz. Students were required to provide their names and ID numbers (on a form that also offered membership in the Berkeley College Republicans) and then were videotaped by police as they entered the lecture hall—an editorial in the *Daily Californian* (March 20) described “metal detectors and a SWAT Team-like police presence.” Grim irony reigned as Horowitz, protected by over 30 cops, vituperated against leftist “intellectual terror” suppressing conservative views on campus. Horowitz completed his harangue uninterrupted. But when the third speaker (and first black person) in the discussion period contested Horowitz’s reactionary filth, the moderators shouted, “No debate,” cut off the microphones, and Horowitz’s bodyguards hustled him out of the building! To top off the farce, Horowitz supporters held up prepared signs denouncing the audience! From start to finish, Horowitz’s talk was a *setup* to provoke the audience into shouting him down so that he could claim his “free speech” was violated and then use this travesty to witchhunt the left, liberals and minorities.

This is standard procedure for neo-McCarthyites like Horowitz and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation. In fact, Horowitz’s appearance was only the most recent in a series of provocations and vicious attacks against leftist and black students at Berkeley. Last fall, the BCF invited Accuracy in Academia’s Dan Flynn to speak on his scurrilous tract, *Cop Killer: How Mumia Abu-Jamal Conned Millions into Believing He Was Framed*. When angry anti-racist students walked into the BCF/AIA’s trap and shouted Flynn down, Flynn and his cohorts used this to whip up anti-leftist hysteria and to label Mumia’s defenders as violators of free speech (see “SYC Defends Mumia Against Reactionary Smear Campaign,” *WV* No. 745, 3 November 2000). It is obscene that these hypocrites posture as defenders of “free speech” while calling for the legal lynching of a black journalist framed up for using his voice and his pen! Two months



Young Spartacus
SL/SYC-built Revolutionary Contingent at 13 May 2000 San Francisco rally called for mobilizing labor’s social power to free Mumia. Framed-up death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has been targeted by right-wing reactionaries like Horowitz.

later, when former Israeli prime minister and certifiable war criminal Benjamin Netanyahu skipped out on a speaking engagement in Berkeley in order to return to the Near East, the *Daily Californian* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* (not to mention the BCF’s organ, the *California Patriot*) set out to vilify the 300 peaceful demonstrators exercising their democratic right to protest. Why? Once again, for violating Netanyahu’s “freedom of speech.” “Lock ‘em up and expel ‘em” [sic],” growled the *Patriot* (February 2001). Then came the Horowitz ad. After outraged students stormed the *Daily Cal*’s offices, the paper’s editors published an apology for allowing the *Daily Cal* to become an “inadvertent vehicle of bigotry” (*Daily Californian*, 1 March). Before the ink could dry, Horowitz & Co. launched a national media campaign in defense of—you guessed it—Horowitz’s trampled “freedom of speech” in order to prepare the spotlight for his next campus provocation. Thus, in an interview with the *New York Times* that was excerpted in a front-page article (21 March), Horowitz calls the students who protested nationwide “campus fascists.”

As the SYC leaflet underlines, black oppression constitutes a fundamental feature of American capitalism. That is

why social reaction necessarily dons the hood and cloak of racism, as black students at Berkeley experience daily. Since the publication of Horowitz’s reparations advertisement, black student groups have carried out a series of silent protests, including a one-hour “Black Out” blockade of Sather Gate by a group of 75 students dressed in black with bandannas covering their mouths. The flyer they distributed provides a gut-wrenching list of recent attacks against black students, while the fact that these students chose to silence *themselves* in protest is a telling sign of the despair to which they have been driven by racist reaction. Thus, the organizers of the “Black Out” told students to *stay away* from the Horowitz protest.

As the SYC made clear in building for the anti-Horowitz demonstration, an end to black oppression can only come about through a revolutionary program for black liberation through socialist revolution. The racist Democratic Party, though it may pose as a friend of blacks and workers, binds them to their own oppressors, to the capitalist state, through the instrumentality of the trade-union bureaucracy. The labor movement must actively champion the cause of black liberation—the fight against every

manifestation of black oppression is inseparable from the struggle to free all working people from capitalist exploitation. From this standpoint, we seek to *refute* racist ideologues like Horowitz who justify racial oppression.

Where was the rest of the campus left when Horowitz came to town? Although Solidarity endorsed the protest, they did not bother to show up at the picket line. The International Socialist Organization professes to be socialist, but where were they when the far right attacked the right of socialists to do political work on campus? They not only refused to support the anti-Horowitz protest, but actively worked against the SYC’s attempt to build a united front by using their leadership position in the campus group Students for Justice in Palestine to block that group’s endorsement. The ISO bowed to the pressure of the administration and campus liberals who argued that it was best not to give Horowitz “attention.” Apparently it would be preferable to leave his racist fabrications unchallenged and project the image that there is no opposition to his filth.

To their credit, members of the Progressive Labor Party came to the picket line, put out a leaflet, and also spoke. But while their statement correctly denounces Horowitz’s racism and the class it serves, they nevertheless walk straight into Horowitz’s trap by declaring “No Free Speech for Racists” and “Free Speech Is a Hoax.” Rather than fight racist ideology, PL calls to suppress it in a classic liberal-moralist fashion. At the same time, PL caters to backward consciousness. As a Spartacus Youth Club speaker explained at the protest: “Their opportunism means that PL does not challenge the current consciousness of the working class, leading them to abandon the *actual* defense of black rights—witness their failure to defend affirmative action against the drive to eliminate minority students from the universities.” The only way to fight for a “communist future,” which PL proclaims is their goal, is through a struggle to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class by politically defeating its false leadership: the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO bureaucracy. But PL instead bends to prevailing illusions—the Democratic Party does not even earn a mention in PL’s leaflet! ■

Kemal Ataturk...

(continued from page 3)

letter sharply attacked the representative for not immediately sending a message about this threat to Moscow and for not being “sufficiently energetic” in trying to save their lives.

It is unthinkable that such a criticism would have been published in a Soviet state or Comintern journal under the Stalinist bureaucracy. Furthermore, the letter was introduced with an editorial statement denouncing “these new crimes of the ruling classes in Turkey” and a postscript declared: “The death of Comrade Subhi, who fell on the battlefield, a victim of the hatred and viciousness of the ruling classes, will give birth to thousands of new avengers, thousands of fearless fighters who will walk in the path of the first and foremost Turkish Communist.”

The fact that the Soviet state under Lenin was obliged to conclude accords with various capitalist powers in no way tempered the revolutionary program of the Comintern. In April 1922, Moscow signed the Rapallo Treaty with Germany which provided Soviet Russia with vitally needed trade while allowing Germany to get around the provisions of the Versailles Treaty by establishing arms factories and military training in Russia. At the same time, Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks devoted considerable resources in seeking to prepare the powerful German Communist Party to lead a socialist revolution in Germany.

In the case of Turkey, as well, the early Comintern and the Soviet state sought to advance the cause of socialist revolution. A September 1919 appeal by the Soviet commissar for foreign affairs, Georgii Chicherin, to the workers and peasants of Turkey proclaimed: “You must be the masters of your land, and you, only you, can issue this or that law for the country; not the parasitic exploiters, the pasha landlords, the manufacturers and factory owners, and the unprincipled, irresolute parties, who are not concerned with the happiness of the working class” (reprinted in Jane Degras, ed., *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy 1917-1924* [1951]).

Similar appeals to the Turkish proletariat were issued in the name of the Comintern in that period. There are also quotes that could and have been cited by historians seeking to prove a supposed political continuity between Lenin and Stalin. A resolution presented by a Turkish delegate and unanimously passed at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 protested Kemal’s suppression of the Turkish Communist Party, noting that the latter had “even proved its readiness, faced by the common enemy, to make temporary sacrifices in regard to its programme and ideals.” The Comintern declared its willingness “to support any government or political party... which will continue the fight against imperialism and reaction, and will bring about democratic reforms in favour of the Turkish working masses” (Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. 1 [1971]).

Such declarations reflected a politi-

cal weakness manifested at the Fourth Congress in its “Theses on the Eastern Question,” which addressed the relations which the young Communist organizations in the countries of the East should adopt vis-à-vis bourgeois-nationalist movements. It should be understood that the CI was dealing with countries where there was little or no tradition of Marxist workers parties and where the proletarian movement was new and small. But as we noted in “The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997): “While criticizing the colonial bourgeoisie, the Fourth Congress Theses clearly went beyond recognizing the possibility of common actions with bourgeois nationalists, such as a military bloc against an imperialist power. The Theses were mooted a call for a *political* bloc with bourgeois nationalism around a min-

imum program of democratic demands.”

Nevertheless, it was a sharp descent from the opportunistic impulses expressed at the Fourth Congress to the catastrophic betrayal subsequently carried out by Stalin in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. Under orders from the Stalinized Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party subordinated itself to the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, derailing the revolutionary upsurge and setting up the working class for bloody defeat. By 1936-37, the Stalinists cynically and consciously worked to liquidate the Spanish Revolution in the hope of currying favor with the “democratic” imperialist powers. It was the Trotskyists who continued the fight for the internationalist principles of Leninism, for political independence of the proletariat and the struggle for world socialist revolution carried forward by the International Communist League today. ■

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April 3: **Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
Columbia U., 609 Hamilton Hall
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

March) reports a new policy review by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld portraying China "as the principal threat to American global dominance" and writes of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China." The Bush administration talks of supplying Taiwan with destroyers with advanced Aegis radar systems, while pushing full speed ahead with plans for its "star wars" missile defense, intended chiefly to neutralize China's nuclear arsenal. Imperialist-backed counterrevolution, destroying the remaining social gains of the 1949 Revolution, would spell enormous hardship for China's workers and poor and would fuel potentially cataclysmic rivalry between the U.S. and Japan over the spoils. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat—especially workers and minorities in the U.S.—to fight for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Counterrevolution Fuels Nationalist Wars

In the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, conflicting appetites among the major capitalist powers have increasingly come to the fore. We have frequently observed that the outline of the international political situation following capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution increasingly resembles that before the first interimperialist world war in 1914-18. That the tiny state of Macedonia is today under an international spotlight is a telling indication of this.

Britain's Lord Owen, a onetime Labour Party leader, recently called for a "present-day equivalent of the 1878 Congress of Berlin, with pre-agreed boundary

banking and finance capital over industry and the scramble by a handful of big capitalist countries to grab colonies, markets and spheres of exploitation from each other. The Balkans was a major cockpit for these conflicting imperialist appetites.

The immediate precipitant of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 was a revolt by the Albanians of Kosovo, whose capture of Skopje, now the capital of Macedonia, destabilized the central Balkans. Amid the disintegration of Ottoman Turkey and Austrian encroachment, the Balkan statelets went to war with Turkey—and then with each other—in a mad frenzy to seize territory. Macedonia was carved up among Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. This was a prelude to World War I, which was triggered by the assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serb nationalist.

The only time nationalist hostilities in this region abated was during the existence of the multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, born out of World War II with the victory of Josip Broz Tito's Communist Partisans over the occupying Nazi Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. But the victory of Tito's Stalinists resulted in a workers state bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class denied political power. The 1945 Yugoslav constitution guaranteed formal equality for all the South Slav peoples, and the relative national harmony achieved under proletarian state power and a collectivized economy stands in stark contrast to the communalist bloodletting of the past decade. But bureaucratic misrule and the nationalist deformations inherent in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" were counterposed to a lasting, equitable resolution of the national question.

A socialist federation of the Balkans necessarily had to extend to Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, with its

and Croatia were somewhat ameliorated through the favorable allocation of investment and other resources. Tito's introduction of "market socialism" in the 1960s reinforced regional disparities and fueled a resurgence of nationalism, paving the way for a fracturing of the Stalinist bureaucracy after Tito's death in 1980. In our article "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (WV Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976), we warned: "The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle."

This is precisely what happened as Stalinism collapsed in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Slovenia and Croatia seceded from the Yugoslav federation and restored capitalism in 1991, igniting an ethnic civil war between Serbs and Croats which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. This was instigated by German imperialism, fresh from its counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR (East Germany). Washington then pressed Bosnia to declare its independence, instigating an even bloodier intercommunal slaughter. While the imperialists (and their "left" lapdogs) vilified Milosevic's Serbia for "ethnic cleansing," the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the course of the recent Balkan wars was the expulsion of some 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina region of Croatia in 1995, an atrocity carried out in collusion with the U.S.

Until now, Macedonia had been relatively immune from the nationalist fratricide, lauded by the imperialist media for its pro-Western "multiethnic" regime, which includes the Democratic Party for Albanians. In fact, the present coalition government, which replaced the ex-Stalinist Social-Democratic Alliance in 1998, is headed by extremist Macedonian nationalists whose namesake, the Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organization, was a tool of the Bulgarian far right in the years before World War II. Ethnic Albanians constitute at least a quarter to a third of the population—the exact figure is itself a point of political controversy, with the recent fighting erupting just before a planned census in April—but are largely excluded from government positions, the police and the army. Use of Albanian is heavily circumscribed, and the regime suppressed an Albanian-language university established in Tetovo a few years ago. The influx of some 200,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo, many fleeing NATO bombing, provoked a firestorm of opposition.

The Macedonian UCK claims that it is not fighting for secession. In fact, the UCK has long had the aim of a "Greater Albania," including parts of northwestern Greece. And Greece has long had designs on Macedonia. When Macedonia declared independence in 1992, the Greek bourgeoisie demanded that the country call itself Skopje, the name of the capital city, and screamed, "Macedonia is Greece!" Troops were mobilized for a possible invasion and a three-year economic embargo was imposed. Bourgeois hostility toward the Macedonians in Greece, who are denied language rights and suffer systematic discrimination, is fueled by the disproportionate role they played in the Communist-led forces in the Greek Civil War.

In "The National Question in Yugoslavia," we wrote:

"Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania."

Our defense of the right of self-determination of the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Greece in no way implies political support to the reactionary nationalism of the UCK, which has shown itself no less proficient at bloody "ethnic cleansing" than the Serb chauvinists. Under the protection of its NATO imperialist patrons, the UCK has forced tens of thousands of Serbs and Roma



WV Map

(Gypsies) from their homes through pogromist massacres, most recently bombing a busload of Serbian civilians in February.

Moreover, in the 1999 war the question of Albanian self-determination was subordinated to military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces, which likewise implied not an iota of political support to the Serb-chauvinist Milosevic regime in Belgrade. With Kosovo now a NATO protectorate, there can be no independent struggle for the national rights of ethnic Albanians or any other national minority in the region which does not first and foremost seek to expel the imperialist "peacekeepers." At the same time, we noted in our article at the end of the war: "The question of military defense of the Kosovo separatists against U.S./NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK." We fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans through proletarian revolution against all the capitalist régimes of the region. **Down with the imperialist occupation of Kosovo! All U.S./NATO forces out of the Balkans now!**

Fake Lefts Sell Imperialism's Lies

In his 1910 article "The Balkan Question and Social Democracy," Leon Trotsky, who worked as a journalist in the region during the Balkan Wars, wrote: "The Social Democratic parties of Bulgaria and Serbia, the most mature representatives of the labor movement in the Balkans, are fighting tirelessly on two fronts: against their own dynastic-chauvinist cliques and against the imperialist plans of tsarism and the Europe of the stock exchanges" (*The Balkan Wars 1912-13*). With the outbreak of World War I, the Serbian Social Democrats and the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists (Tesnyaki) joined Lenin's Bolsheviks in hard proletarian-internationalist opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Lenin's principled stand in 1914 was the precondition for the victory of the Bolshevik-led workers revolution in 1917, which pointed the way out of imperialist war to the proletariat internationally.

In May 1919, the Tesnyaki constituted themselves as the Communist Party of Bulgaria. As Joseph Rothschild noted in his *The Communist Party of Bulgaria: Origins and Development 1883-1936* (1959), their adherence to the new Communist International brought into it a party very much in the Bolshevik mold, the "only mass party, other than the Bolshevik one, of a truly 'Russian' complexion." At its founding congress, the Bulgarian party proclaimed that the independence of the Balkan peoples could only be assured by the establishment of a Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The current crop of counterfeit "Marxists" and "Trotskyists" stand in the tradition not of the Bolsheviks and Bulgarian "Narrows" but of the German Social Democracy—denounced by Lenin as "social-imperialist"—which voted for imperialist war credits and mobilized the workers as cannon fodder for the capitalist rulers. The reformist and centrist "socialists"—from the Cliffite Socialist



April 1999 U.S./NATO bombing of refugee convoy in Kosovo killed 82 Albanians.

changes endorsed by the major powers" (*New York Times*, 25 March). That congress created the statelets that made up the Balkan peninsula in the years before World War I, separated by artificial boundaries, cutting through the many peoples of the region, in order to suit the Great Powers—chiefly Britain, tsarist Russia, Bismarck's Germany and Habsburg Austria. This period marked the ascendancy of the modern imperialist epoch, what Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin later called the "highest stage of capitalism," defined by the increasing concentration of monopolies, the dominance of

substantial Macedonian and Albanian minorities. Intent on continuing his wartime alliance with British imperialism after 1945, Stalin allowed the Greek Communists to be crushed by British imperialism and domestic reaction in the Civil War, ensuring the continued rule of the chauvinist Greek bourgeoisie. Finally, Tito's split with Stalin in 1948 put an end to plans for federating Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Romania, which had pro-Moscow regimes.

Under central planning, economic differences between backward regions and more industrialized areas like Slovenia

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Workers Party (SWP) in Britain and International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. to Alain Krivine's United Secretariat (USec) and the British Workers Power (WP)—promoted the war aims and propaganda of the imperialist rulers in 1999 while declaiming against the NATO bombing. Their only difference lay in which of the divergent imperialist forces they tailed—the strongly pro-NATO Clinton and Blair governments or the French Socialists and British Labour “lefts,” etc.

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we were presented with the spectacle of erstwhile “revolutionaries” and “anti-imperialists” joining pro-NATO war rallies. Indeed, it was the liberals and fake socialists who most loudly and assiduously promoted the lie that what was at issue was the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. Their ideological prostration before the capitalist rulers over Kosovo reflected their many years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of “democracy” and “human rights.” Their lodestar is not the interests of the international proletariat but bourgeois “public opinion.” Amid “ethnic cleansing” on all sides, the fake lefts consistently lined up behind whichever nationality Western imperialism momentarily favored—and always against NATO's chief nemesis, Milosevic's Serbia.

As the U.S. and Britain promoted the Bosnian Muslim regime in 1993, WP



WV Photo

followed suit, invigorated by the fact that the social-democratic parties they supported were now in power in much of West Europe. They raised a clamor for “independence for Kosovo” and championed the UCK, which boasted of spotting targets for NATO bombing sorties. In a statement distributed at a 30 March 1999 public meeting in London, WP claimed to “support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack” but “not in Kosovo which they have no right to occupy”—i.e., not on the principal battlefield. Tailing behind Blair's Labour Party, which was the most belligerent government in the war against Serbia, WP was in fact one of the most vociferous promoters of NATO's UCK puppets, marching alongside NATO flags in a “Workers Aid for Kosova” demonstration



Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Leadership of Tito's Communist Partisans was drawn from the many nationalities making up Yugoslavia. Tito (center), who was from Croatia, is pictured with Slovenian, Serbian and Montenegrin Communists.



Workers Hammer

Fake socialists promoted war aims of NATO imperialists, championing “poor little Kosovo.” At May 1999 London demonstration, Workers Power banner read: “Stop NATO's Bombing! Independence for Kosova!”

dutifully chimed in, “Solidarity with Bosnian Muslims!” WP joined with the USec in a campaign for “Workers Aid to Bosnia,” which openly collaborated with imperialist “peacekeeping” forces, and baldly refused to defend the Bosnian Serbs against NATO's bombing campaign with the line that “each side's strategic goals are reactionary” (5 September 1995 statement). For its part, the ISO claimed to oppose imperialist intervention in Serbia but chastised the imperialists for not doing enough to oust Milosevic from power, writing: “Opposition parties have called on the West to take a tough line, but have come away disappointed” (*Socialist Worker*, 6 December 1996).

When the West's attentions shifted to Kosovo in 1999, the NATO “socialists”

in London and co-sponsoring a London public meeting whose main speaker was a rabidly pro-NATO Albanian nationalist.

Across the channel, the French USec group, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, echoed the anti-American nationalism of the French bourgeoisie, promoting the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to NATO. Daniel Bensaïd, a prominent French USec leader, co-signed a statement calling for a “multinational police force” in Kosovo “under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord” (*Rouge*, 1 April 1999). With the British SWP immersed in an “antiwar” coalition with “little England” anti-American Labour “left” Tony Benn, SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos likewise signed the pro-OSCE appeal. And while the SWP capitulated to Bennite Labourism, the American ISO bent to the prevailing pressure of “human rights imperialism.” Idiotically whining that “NATO bombs won't bring peace,” the ISO argued for self-determination for Kosovo and echoed the lie that the issue was the plight of the Albanian refugees, pleading in *Socialist Worker* (7 May 1999): “Money for Refugees, Not for War!”

“Albanian Liberation” Meets “Serbian Revolution”

Having tailed the imperialist-backed Albanian nationalists in Kosovo, the same groups were soon tailing the imperialist-backed Serb chauvinist Vojislav Kostunica in the so-called “Serbian revolution” that ousted Milosevic, which as we noted in a headline at the time was “Made in the U.S.A.” (WV No. 744, 20 October 2000). In a 10 October 2000 posting on its Web site, WP enthused over “a mighty popular revolution,” fatuously claiming that Kostunica

“has not offered himself as an open tool of Nato.” Compelled to acknowledge the well-documented ties of the anti-Milosevic opposition forces to Western imperialism, the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (December 2000-January 2001) nonetheless concluded that “it is neither the cause nor the driving force of the revolt.” And the British *Socialist Worker* (24 March) declares even now: “Hundreds of thousands of people in Serbia took to the streets and brought down Milosevic, no thanks to NATO.”

To be sure, Kostunica did not openly embrace NATO. He is, if anything, even more rabidly chauvinist than Milosevic, staging a photo-op with Serb chauvinist paramilitary killers in Kosovo in 1998 and supporting Radovan Karadzic's extreme nationalist party in last November's Bosnian election. But Kostunica's election victory was bought and paid for by the U.S. and other NATO powers, especially Germany, which openly funded and braintrustered the opposition parties and blackmailed the population with threats of continued economic sanctions if they didn't vote the right way. One of the chief recipients of imperialist largesse was the Otpor student group, a favorite of Western leftists, whose omnipresent clenched-fist signs and “Gotov Je” (He's Finished) stickers were paid for by the U.S.

With Milosevic ousted, as the *New York Times* (19 March) observed, “The Bush administration and NATO have gone out of their way to paint the guerrillas in the hills of Macedonia as ‘Albanian extremists,’ a far different description than the portrayal of Kosovo Albanians in 1999 as a persecuted minority needing help.” Now that the UCK is being discarded by its imperialist patrons, the opportunists find themselves in a quandary. Reflecting the European governments' harder line against the UCK, the British *Socialist Worker* (10 March) writes: “These Albanian guerrilla campaigns have been allowed to flourish in part because they operate in zones for which the US is responsible.” Meanwhile, the American *Socialist Worker* (16 March) has a different tilt: “NATO even plans to allow the Serb-run Yugoslav Army to enter a three-

mile buffer zone on the border of Kosovo in order to attack the same Albanian guerrillas that the U.S. supported during the 1999 war.”

Opportunism is nationally defined. Foreshadowing the recent open split between the two groups, the ISO and SWP traded accusations of capitulation in the aftermath of the war. According to a document by Callinicos justifying the split, the ISO took the SWP to task for not denouncing “illusions in the United Nations as an alternative to NATO” and for ignoring the question of Kosovo self-determination (“The Anti-Capitalist Movement and the Revolutionary Left,” 7 March).

National differences in opportunist appetites can only intensify as rivalries among the major capitalist powers themselves intensify. For the common starting point for reformists and centrists is utter prostration before their “own” rulers, generally refracted through the social-democratic labor bureaucracies. Their role as drummer boys for imperialism in the Balkans portends a larger capitulation with the inevitable outbreak of a new interimperialist war—inevitable if the proletariat does not seize power first.

Writing in 1908, Trotsky scathingly denounced the Russian liberals who called on the tsarist autocracy to intervene in the Balkans:

“Poles and Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews, Armenians and Georgians, Slavs and non-Slavs—we all wade up to our knees in blood that is shed every day by the tsarist gang. And the liberals call upon this government, the most guilty of them all, to free the Serbs from the grip of Austria....

“We shall render our best service to the Serbs of Bosnia, as to all oppressed peoples in general, when we dash the crown from the head of Nicholas II.”

Trotsky's revolutionary internationalist politics led him to join with Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917 and organize the October Revolution. And we communists of the Spartacist League/U.S. will render our best service to all the oppressed peoples of the world through the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party to bring down this blood-drenched ruling class through an American October Revolution. ■

SPARTACIST 4!

NUMBER 54 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 2001

For New October Revolutions!
Third International Conference of the ICL
SEE PAGE 7

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
SEE PAGE 9

On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices
SEE PAGE 24

Organizational Rules and Guidelines
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
SEE PAGE 31

Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa
SEE PAGE 44

AUSTRALIA, BELGIUM, BRITAIN, CANADA, CHINA, DENMARK, GERMANY, GREECE, HOLLAND, ITALY, JAPAN, SOUTH AFRICA, U.S.A., U.S.S.R.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UC Berkeley

SYC Leads Anti-Horowitz Protest



Young Spartacus



Jose Carlos Fajardo/Contra Costa Times

BERKELEY—Orchestrating a national campaign of provocation, racist ideologue David Horowitz recently submitted a full-page ad entitled “Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too” to 51 college and university newspapers. The ad is a sickening medley of lies which claims that slavery has left no lasting impact on American society and that black peo-

Young Spartacus

ple have *actually benefited* from slavery. The majority of the papers refused to print the ad, and protests resulted at many campuses where the ad was printed.

At the University of Wisconsin at Madison, 150 students rallied outside the office of the *Badger Herald*, the right-wing student newspaper, then stormed the editor's office and demanded her resignation. At Brown, an entire press run of the university's paper was confiscated by enraged students. The Brown administration sponsored a faculty panel one week

Down With Witchhunt Against the Left!

later to discuss “freedom of the press”; the event was packed with hundreds of students, but closed to the media and anyone without a valid Brown ID. The threatening atmosphere has escalated as black students and professors at Brown who were involved in the protests have received ominous letters and messages with racist slurs. One student received a handwritten letter accompanied by a photo of a mutilated black youth. There has been a flurry of editorials and letters in campus papers around the country, as well as in national papers such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Now, San Francisco State University's *Xpress* plans to run Horowitz's racist ad in order “to provoke a discussion about free speech and race relations” (*Contra Costa Times*, 25 March).

The Berkeley campus paper, the *Daily Californian*, ran Horowitz's ad on February 28 and then the Berkeley Conservative Foundation (BCF) and College Republicans sponsored him to speak there on March 15—but Horowitz was met with vigorous opposition. More than 50 protesters joined a Spartacus Youth Club-initiated demonstration to protest racist ideologue Horowitz, facing down a small clot of anti-communists who provocatively advanced on them. Significant numbers of students who went inside Horowitz's lecture were also there in opposition to this devout servant of racist U.S. imperialism. Giving organized expression to the deeply felt anger on campus at this racist bigotry, the SYC built a militant united-front protest to refute Horowitz's lies and tell the truth: America is a racist hellhole for

black people! Black liberation must be won through socialist revolution!

Who is this racist pig? David Horowitz's sinister history as a right-wing ideologue spans two decades—from acting as an adviser in the murderous CIA-backed war against the Nicaraguan Sandinistas in the 1980s to spearheading California's Proposition 209, which outlawed affirmative action in public education and government hiring/contracting. His recent book, *Hating Whitey*, rants about the danger black men supposedly pose to white women—the same kind of deadly trash long used to incite lynchings in this country. In Horowitz's twisted vision of capitalist America, affirmative action is a racist crusade against whites; leftists and liberals are totalitarian thought police suppressing freedom of speech; and blacks should show gratitude to “white Christians” for the “gifts” of “the greatest freedoms.”

At Berkeley on March 15 as the audience approached the barricaded entrance to the auditorium to hear Horowitz's lecture, “Celebrate Free Speech,” they were

continued on page 9

Protest Racist Ideologue David Horowitz!

In building for the protest against Horowitz, the Spartacus Youth Club distributed the following statement.

1857: Dred Scott case—The Supreme Court asserts that blacks “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.”

2000: Four cops who killed unarmed West African immigrant Amadou Diallo in New York City are acquitted because they were just doing their job.

This is the true face of racist, bloody American capitalism. But according to the recent *Daily Cal* ad by the right-wing, racist demagogue David Horowitz, blacks should shut up and show gratitude to this country that locks their youth out of its universities, locks them in its hell-hole prison dungeons, and shoots them down unarmed in the streets. From witchhunting liberals and leftists to braintrusting the destruction of affirmative action in California, Horowitz is one of the chief ideologues of the war against workers, youth,

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

blacks and other minorities prosecuted today by both the Democratic and Republican parties. Protest his appearance at Cal Thursday, March 15 and expose who and what he serves: the capitalist ruling class and its mass police terror in the ghettos and barrios, union-busting and poverty, and imperialist slaughter from Vietnam to Iraq, from Central America to Serbia!

Beware: Horowitz's appearance is a trap of provocation and lies. Cloaking himself in the flag of “free speech,” the neo-McCarthyite Horowitz will attempt to convert any challenge into a campaign of anti-leftist hysteria and racist reaction, the program of the post-Soviet New World Order. Shouting Horowitz down will only play into his hands by making it appear that the left has no answer to his demagoguery. Marxists understand that it is necessary to *refute* the lies of right-wing propagandists and combat the corrosive impact of their ret-

rograde ideas. The Spartacus Youth Club calls for a large, disciplined, militant united front: Protest racist ideologue Horowitz!

Horowitz claims that slavery left no legacy, and racism (except against “Whitey”) no longer exists. This is a revolting lie! Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. The forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society is the legacy of chattel slavery and the Northern capitalists' betrayal of Radical Reconstruction. The capitalists and their hired mouthpieces pit different sections of the working class against each other by consciously fomenting racial hatred. Eight years of Clinton/Gore's vicious attacks against welfare, flooding the streets with cops and expanding the racist death penalty should make it clear that the Democrats are no friend of labor and blacks but, like the Republicans, a racist capitalist party of the bosses. **SO WHAT CAN BE**

DONE? Blacks are not just victims. Integrated at the point of production, they are a strategic section of the working class that has the social power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression through joint class struggle of black and white workers. Marxists fight for *revolutionary integration*: Finish the Civil War! The only way blacks can get “reparations” for the hideous brutality of slavery is through the expropriation of the capitalist class, through a socialist revolution in which they will play a vanguard role. Free quality education, full employment at union wages, free quality health care for all can only be accomplished under a revolutionary workers government which places the productive forces of society in the hands of those that labor. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for a multi-racial revolutionary party that takes up the cause of all of the oppressed. For black liberation through socialist revolution!