

Defend North Korea, China Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!

All U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

JUNE 25—Returning from an unprecedented summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang on June 13-15, South Korean president Kim Dae Jung declared: "We are at the juncture of opening a new chapter in our history, putting an end to 55 years of division and hostility." But South Korea's U.S. imperialist overlord made it absolutely clear that it is not about to put an end to 55 years of military occupation and the presence of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in the South.

Immediately after the talks, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon, chief propagandist for the U.S.-led slaughter in the Balkans last year, announced: "We intend to remain a force for stability in that area as long as we are needed" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 June). Washington now promises to ease the economic embargo imposed to starve the North Korean deformed workers state into submission and labels the country a "state of concern" rather than a "rogue state." But U.S. plans for a regional "theater missile defense" system targeting North Korea and China are going full steam ahead. **Down with the imperialist embargo! For the unconditional military defense of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!**



U.S. troop exercises in South Korea. U.S. military presence is dagger aimed at North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states.

The Korean peninsula is divided by the class line, a frozen civil war. For more than 50 years the nation has been split between the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North and the capitalist South, a thinly disguised police state garrisoned by the same U.S. imperialist state which laid waste to the country 50 years ago during the Korean War,

killing up to four million people and razing entire cities, including Pyongyang. A statement publicizing SL-initiated protests around the U.S. two years ago against the American military presence explained:

"This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....

"As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the **immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea.**"

The massive U.S. military presence in South Korea, backed up by the Seventh Fleet, is also a forward base for the maintenance of U.S. imperialist hegemony throughout the Pacific. An article in the *Korea Times* (13 June) observed: "The United States fears the possible rise of nationalist fervor on the Korean peninsula in the wake of inter-Korean rapprochement or unification, which could lead to heightened demands for the retreat of U.S. troops from the peninsula."

Beginning in the weeks before the Pyongyang summit, South Korea has seen a resurgence of nationalist student protests against the U.S. military, which were joined in at least one instance by a large contingent of unionized Kia auto workers.

The summit represents an ominous development, spurred in the South by the ambitions of the *chaebol*, the giant conglomerates which dominate South Korean capitalism, to reunify Korea on the basis of capitalist wage slavery. In a statement by the Korean Central News Agency (17 June), Pyongyang reiterated its call for "a reunified federal state based on the conception of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments." There is no way Korea can be united without either the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the North or the smashing of capitalism in the South.

With its nationalist outlook of building "socialism in one [one-half] country"—in a particularly bizarre and autarkic form embodied in the slogan *Juche* (self-reliance)—the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy undermines the defense of the North and is an obstacle to socialist revolution in the South. The bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste resting on collectivized property forms—the nationalization of land and industry and the monopoly of foreign trade—while, simultaneously, acting as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure on the deformed workers state. To preserve its caste privileges and enhance the personal well-being of its component elements, the Kim Jong Il bureaucracy is prepared to open the door to capitalist enterprises and thus augment the forces of capitalist restoration. **For revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North!**

Today, the fate of North Korea, and the struggle for a socialist Asia, hinges, in the aftermath of the overturn of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, on future developments in China. The working class in China and North Korea have

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South Korean president Kim Dae Jung (left) with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il during June summit in Pyongyang.

Association for Union Democracy

Lawyers for Government Union-Busting

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Young Spartacus

SYC Exposes Fake "Defenders" of Cuba

On June 2, Youth for Socialist Action (YSA), youth group of Socialist Action (SA), sponsored a forum at the UCLA campus entitled "Cuba." It was advertised as "discussing the history of the revolution, it's [sic] amazing accomplishments, and it's battle against the U.S. trade embargo" as well as an opportunity to "see Cuban dancers and learn about the beautiful Cuban culture." But students who were interested in learning about a Marxist analysis of Cuba and how to defend it against U.S. imperialism were disappointed because the YSA's event, a panoply of bourgeois liberals, an expert on Afro-Cuban religion and *folklorico* musicians who turned out to actually be anti-Communist, reflected the bankruptcy of its class-collaborationist politics. The YSA tailors its politics to what is popular rather than fight for the interests of the working class worldwide, leading them to different, contradictory positions; they "defend" Cuba, which is a popular cause among liberal youth, but they don't defend China. This isn't surprising given

Youth for Socialist Action at UCLA

that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is carrying out an anti-China campaign; one of Socialist Action's hallmarks is tailing the pro-capitalist, anti-communist trade-union bureaucracy in the U.S. In the end, it was the SYC which intervened from the floor to present the Trotskyist program for defense of Cuba and proletarian revolution at home, in stark contrast to the reformist fakers of the YSA.

Their key speaker was well-known liberal spokesperson Leone Hankey, whom they billed as "working against the embargo." Her advice to radical youth was to lobby their Congressional representative to lift the embargo. Socialist Action had no argument against this appreciation of political struggle as consisting of pressuring the capitalist Democratic Party. This silence builds illusions that the Democrats' role is some-

thing other than it is, which is to uphold capitalist rule and to further the interests of U.S. imperialism. As revolutionary Trotskyists, the SYC understands that the U.S. bourgeoisie has been determined to return Cuba to the pre-revolutionary period when the island was a brutally exploited, viciously racist neo-colony of U.S. imperialism.

We oppose the embargo, but we understand that whether the U.S. attempts to starve the island through economic embargo or undermine its economy through capitalist infiltration, it will not be satisfied short of its end goal, which is the counterrevolutionary overturn of the collectivized property forms. There are those who support an end to the embargo in favor of direct economic intervention by U.S. imperialism. Raising the call to write to your Senator requesting assistance for the Cuban Revolution is plainly ludicrous and serves to obscure the real defense of Cuba. What is necessary is a proletarian political revolution against the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy to place the working class in political power, which

necessarily means fighting for proletarian revolution throughout the Americas, particularly against the rule of U.S. imperialism. As Marxists, the SYC seeks to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of workers worldwide, not to appeal to the class enemy. We want to win radical youth to a revolutionary perspective away from the reformist politics of the fake-left organizations which seek to funnel them into the hands of the Democratic Party.

We print below an intervention raised by an SYC comrade at the event, explaining why we defend the bureaucratically-deformed workers states, exposing SA's support to the counterrevolutions in the USSR and East Europe and putting forth our program for workers revolution. We encourage readers who want to read further on this topic to order our pamphlet *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory" and to read Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*.

* * *

The Spartacus Youth Club stands for the unconditional military defense of Cuba against imperialism and the threat of internal capitalist counterrevolution. This is also our position on China, Vietnam and North Korea today—countries *continued on page 9*

For a Revolutionary Leadership of Labor

The trade unions are the mass defensive organizations of the working class. Yet the present pro-capitalist union leadership acts as a brake on struggle, undermining the power of the unions and seeking to subordinate them to the employers and their state, particularly through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. Trotskyists fight for the political independence of the proletariat from the capitalist class enemy, seeking to



TROTSKY



LENIN

mobilize the unions as battalions in the fight for a socialist revolution which will place the workers in power and put an end to all exploitation and oppression. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in 1953, the essential condition for this struggle is the forging of a class-struggle leadership of the unions linked to a revolutionary workers party.

The main weight of the struggle for the socialist transformation of society is not in the direct struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie. The workers are such an overwhelming majority, and their strength is multiplied so many times by their strategic position in production, that if they were united to act consciously in their own interests their victory over the bourgeoisie would be a mere pushover. But they are not united, not class conscious. The reason for this is the influence of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the workers. This influence is carried into the ranks of the workers in various ways, but its most direct representatives are the labor bureaucracy. That is why our main struggle against the bourgeoisie takes the form, in the first place, of a struggle against their agents in the labor movement. Nobody ever improved De Leon's classic definition of the conservative labor fakers as "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Lenin was especially pleased with this striking characterization. And nobody ever emphasized the primacy of the struggle against these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class more than Lenin did.

The fight for socialism is unthinkable without a fight for the revolutionization of the trade unions. That is what gives party trade union work such transcendent importance.

—James P. Cannon, "Mass Work and Factional Struggle" (April 1953), published in *Speeches to the Party* (1973)



Stone/SF Examiner

Socialist Action "defense" of workers states in action: SA honcho Nat Weinstein marches with anti-Communists in rally for counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność in 1981.

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30 June 2000

Association for Union Democracy

Lawyers for Government Union-Busting

On June 16, a federal court ruling mandated that the government would continue its decade-long hold over the internal life of the 1.5-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). What led to this court ruling was a complaint filed by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and a little-known outfit called the Association for Union Democracy (AUD) against undemocratic voting procedures imposed by IBT president James Hoffa Jr. But the aim of the capitalist government and its courts is not to introduce "democracy" in the union but rather to gut the power of this powerful union and clamp down on its ability to wage class struggle. The AUD, TDU and similar union "reformers" have long aided and abetted the capitalist ruling class in this effort.

Over the past decade, the Feds have seized sweeping powers over three national unions—the Teamsters, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union and the Laborers' International Union of North America—which together include almost one-quarter of the unionized private-sector workforce in this country. In addition, a number of major local district councils have been "restructured" under the threat or outright imposition of government takeover. In every one of these cases, the government first filed or threatened to file a "racketeering" lawsuit against the union charging "corruption." Government agents were then given vast powers over the internal affairs of the union, from controlling finances to deciding who can run for office—sometimes even who can be in the union—and determining the content of union newspapers.

In almost every case, the Feds and local prosecutors were helped by phony "reform" elements like the TDU which filed their own court suits against the union. And behind virtually every such "reformer" stands the AUD, which provides lawyers and government contacts. The AUD has also arranged funding from the Rockefeller Family Fund and other capitalist foundations—reportedly to the tune of *hundreds of thousands of dollars* in the case of the TDU. The New York branch of the TDU works out of AUD headquarters in Brooklyn. The "Committee for Real Change," which spearheaded the government assault against AFSCME District Council 37 in New York City, was launched at an AUD meeting two years ago (see "Government Hands Off District Council 37!", WV No. 703, 25 December 1998). And in the NYC Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, a leader of the New Directions "opposition," whose stock in trade is suing the union, has called the AUD "indispensable" to its operations.

The Spartacist League opposes on principle any intervention by the bosses' government into the labor movement. The *only* interest the government has in meddling in the unions is to weaken them and reduce their capacity to struggle. Bringing the courts into the unions is counter-



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Labor Action



AUD



WV Photo

Max Shachtman and political protégés Hal Draper and Herman Benson. Democratic Party power-broker Joseph Rauh (far right) was associated with Benson's AUD.

from the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to Socialist Action and the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

Court intervention into the trade-union movement is hardly a new phenomenon. Until the 1970s, such intervention was normally in direct response to demands from the capitalists to quash union militancy. In the past several decades, the call for court intervention has become the hallmark of self-described union militants. In recent years, suits against the unions from such "militants"

have reached epidemic proportions. To understand this pernicious development one must go back to the roots of the U.S. labor movement and, in particular, to the period following World War II, the "Cold War" directed at the Soviet Union. At that time liberals and social democrats, including the founders of the AUD and the progenitors of the TDU, united to oppose the "threat of Communism." This service to U.S. imperialism goes hand in hand with the lawsuits initiated by this lash-up of liberals and social democrats who subordinate the trade unions to the courts of the bosses' "democratic" state.

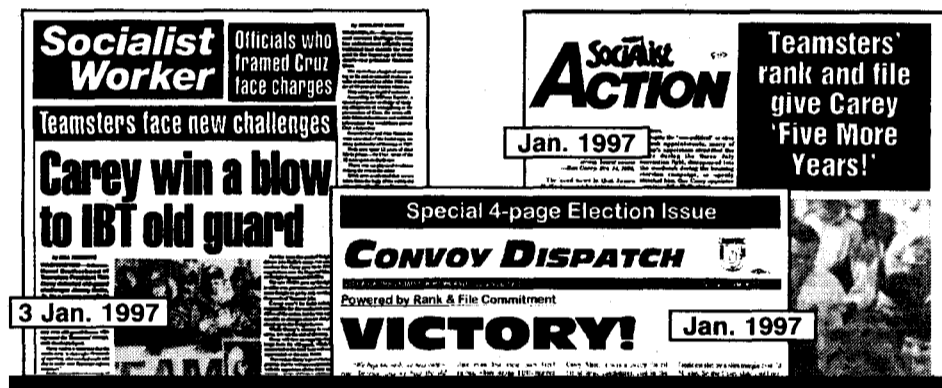
The history of the American labor movement amply demonstrates the understanding advanced by Karl Marx and developed by V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, that the capitalist state is a machinery of repression whose purpose is to protect the profits and power of the bourgeoisie *against* any attempt by the workers to better their conditions. This state must be smashed in the course of a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state in which those who labor rule.

It took bitter, bloody struggles against the capitalists and their cops, courts and troops, as well as against armies of private spies and strikebreakers and the Ku Klux Klan, to build the trade unions. From the Haymarket martyrs of 1887, hanged in Chicago for fighting for the eight-hour day, to the Ludlow, Colorado massacre of striking miners and their families by Rockefeller's hired guns in 1914, to the numerous picketers killed by cops and scabs in recent years; thousands of workers have died at the hands of the capitalists and their state in the battle for labor's right to organize.

While unions are today no longer outlawed as they once were, nonetheless the whole panoply of anti-union legislation and strikebreaking court injunctions continues to treat them as though they were, in effect, "criminal conspiracies." Laws which were ostensibly enacted to curtail capitalist monopolies or gangland crime were turned against labor. Indeed, the RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act passed in 1970 is today the government's weapon of choice for union-busting. When New York's TWU Local 100 threatened to strike last December, Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani

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Reformist left, TDU "reformers" hailed Ron Carey's re-election as Teamsters president in 1996 government-controlled ballot. TDU wrote blueprint for Feds' takeover.



posed to the very purpose of union democracy: open debate over conflicting strategies in order for the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests *against* the employers and their state. Self-proclaimed "oppositionists" who take the unions to court are traitors to the working class who deserve the scorn of every worker. By their appeals to the bosses' state, they prove that they are fundamentally no different from the corrupt bureaucrats they seek to replace. Labor must clean its own house!

For Trade-Union Independence from the Capitalist State!

At bottom, the question of government intervention in the unions poses the fundamental divide in the workers movement. On one side are the revolutionary Marxists who understand that the fundamental division in this society is between the capitalist class which owns the means of production and the working class which is forced to sell its labor to the cap-

italists in order to survive. Marxists fight for the class independence of the proletariat and labor's mobilization in struggle in defense of its interests and for workers revolution to end the whole system of wage slavery.

On the other side are the pro-capitalist misleaders—whether corrupt "old line" bureaucrats or social democrats like those who play a key role in the AUD and TDU—who act to subordinate the labor movement to the employers and their state. This is politically expressed in the allegiance of the AFL-CIO tops, the AUD, TDU et al. to the capitalist parties, chiefly the Democratic Party of which John Sweeney & Co. are an active component. Accepting the capitalist profit system, they promote the lie that this capitalist government acts (or can be made to act) in the interests of the working class; thus they look to the government to bring "democracy" into the unions. In this, they are supported by an entire spectrum of reformist "leftists,"

Courts, Cops Out of the Unions!

Government takeover aimed at shacking Teamster power. Spartacist League opposes state intervention into unions on principle.

Teamsters Boo Bush—G-Men Run Convention, Elections

Feds Hands Off Teamsters!

In one week a quarter of 1,000 union...
...the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters...
...the 1996 election...
...the 1996 election...
...the 1996 election...



WORKERS VANGUARD

5 July 1991

AUD...

(continued from page 3)

joined in invoking the strikebreaking Taylor Law and imposing court injunctions which criminalized not only the right to strike but even use of the very word "strike." Yet these are the very courts which New Directions has repeatedly wielded as a club in its anti-union lawsuits against its rivals in the TWU bureaucracy.

The "reformers" preach "democracy" in order to get themselves into positions of power; they oppose "corruption" because they don't have their own hands on the treasury yet; they occasionally pay lip service to "militancy" because they have not yet had the opportunity to push through a sellout contract themselves. The corruption and heavy-handed bureaucratism which infest the labor movement are by-products of the very role of the pro-capitalist union officialdom. The labor bureaucracy—that layer of high union officials who long ago separated themselves from their working-class base—feeds off the crumbs from the superprofits which the imperialists derive from their exploitation of low-wage labor in impoverished countries. In exchange, the ruling class demands of the trade-union bureaucrats that they "become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class," as revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, put it in his 1940 article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay."

The struggle for union democracy and the mobilization of labor independently

"Red purge" rally led by TWU chief Mike Quill (right), 1948. Witchhunt against leftists and union militants was domestic expression of Cold War against Soviet Union.



continued to deepen from the time industrial unions were formed in the U.S. to the government takeovers of the present day.

As the tumultuous struggles to build the CIO industrial unions were underway in the 1930s—beginning in 1934 with the militant Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, the Communist-led San Francisco general strike and another strike led by left-wing socialists in Toledo, Ohio—the government of Franklin D. Roosevelt enacted legislation aimed at ensuring class peace and shackling labor's new power through an array of government regulatory boards. The new union movement reflected a political radicalization which posed possibilities of forging an independent workers

in U.S. history, social-democratic labor tops like the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther joined with the government in driving out of the unions the Communists and other socialist militants, many of them black, who had built the CIO. The anti-Communist witchhunt was codified in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which also banned secondary strikes and other militant tactics which had been key to the unions' very formation. This was the domestic expression of U.S. imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet Union. In 1946, GE head C.E. Wilson summarized the enemies of the American capitalists: "Russia abroad, labor at home."

Hatred of the Soviet Union is also the common coin of those who were instrumental in forming both the AUD and TDU. The principal leaders of the AUD when it was founded 30 years ago were Herman Benson, *Dissent* editor Irving Howe and Gordon Haskell (then of the American Civil Liberties Union), all of whom had followed Max Shachtman out of the Trotskyist movement on the road to anti-Communist social democracy. Shachtman broke from the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in 1940 over his rejection of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet workers state. Another major AUD supporter was Joseph Rauh, a Democratic Party power-broker and co-founder of the liberal anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action, who had served as the Shachtmanites' lawyer in the 1950s, and like them had served as adviser to the Reuther bureaucracy.

Playing a key role in the TDU since its formation in the late 1970s have been supporters of the ISO, whose precursor, the International Socialists (I.S.), emerged from the Shachtmanite movement in the 1960s. The ISO's own political godfather, Tony Cliff, broke from the Trotskyist movement in Britain in 1950, denouncing "Russian imperialism" and opposing defense of North Korea and China against the counterrevolutionary war by U.S. and British imperialism. Where Shachtman called the Soviet Union a "bureaucratic collectivist" state, Cliff labeled it "state capitalist"; but the aim was the same: to renounce defense of the October Revolution. (For more on

Shachtman and Cliff, see "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999).

Those who, under the pressure of anti-Communist "public opinion," capitulated to "democratic" imperialism on so decisive a question as the Russian Revolution were necessarily led to the embrace of capitalist "democracy" across the board. As SWP leader James P. Cannon said in the factional struggle against the Shachtmanite opposition in late 1939:

"The question of the Russian revolution—and the Soviet state which is its creation—has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world."

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 was the shaping political event of the 20th century. The seizure of state power by the working class led to the political and economic expropriation of the capitalist exploiters, laying the basis for a planned collectivized economy which is the foundation for an international socialist society in which all class, racial, national and sexual oppression is eliminated. In the context of the continued isolation and economic backwardness of the new Soviet society, a conservative bureaucratic caste under Stalin was able to seize political power from the Soviet workers in 1924. But this was a political, not a social, counterrevolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy continued to rest parasitically on the collectivized economy created by the October Revolution. The bureaucracy's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," its conciliation of imperialism and its systematic erosion of the revolutionary and internationalist consciousness of the Soviet working class ultimately paved the way for capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

Through all those years, Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, just as we defend the trade unions against capitalist attack despite their bureaucratic misleaders. Our defense of the USSR was premised on the class nature of the Soviet state, not on conjunctural circumstances—like who fired the first shot in a war—nor on the condition that the bureaucracy first be overthrown. Based on our defense of the gains of October and our program for new October Revolutions around the world, we fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined those gains and prevented the spread of revolution. This is the program we pursue today toward the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and North Korean workers states, which were bureaucratically deformed from the outset.

Origins of the ISO

Following their break with Trotskyism, the Shachtmanites pursued an uneven 18-year-long course to full-blown social democracy, culminating in their liquidation into Norman Thomas' Social-

28 September 1953: As evidence in fight against inclusion on government's "Subversive List," Shachtmanite "third campists" boast of their anti-Communist credentials.



As supporting evidence, we appended a leaflet entitled "Stalinism Is Not Socialism," signed by Max Shachtman of the ISL, Harry Fleischman of the Socialist Party, and August Claessens of the Social Democratic Federation. This leaflet had been dropped over China by U. S. bombers in May 1950 presumably through the sponsorship of the State Department.

of and against the capitalists are directly linked to the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the unions and the fight for a revolutionary workers party. As Trotsky wrote:

"The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

"The second slogan is: *trade union democracy.* This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state....

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat....

"The independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International" [emphasis in original].

Down with government intervention in the unions! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class!

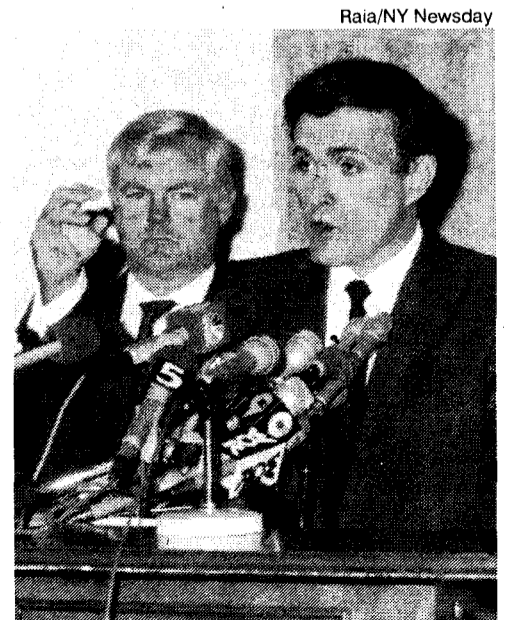
Cold War Anti-Communism and Union-Busting

In his 1940 article, Trotsky warned: "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power." This tendency has

party, a perspective fought for by the Trotskyists. But this possibility was vigorously combatted by the CIO leaders, including the social democrats and Stalinist Communist Party (CP), who either openly enlisted in FDR's "New Deal" Democratic Party or gave it backhanded support, including through formations like New York's American Labor Party, which was set up to channel working-class votes to Roosevelt.

Government control over the unions was deepened when the U.S. entered World War II. Cynically proclaiming American imperialism's war for profits and world domination against its German and Japanese rivals as a "war against fascism," the labor misleaders, with the full support of the CP, enforced a no-strike pledge and directly tied the unions to the capitalist state. After the war, and just after the 1945-46 strike wave, the biggest

Liberal Democrat Robert Kennedy led federal vendetta against James Hoffa aimed at crippling Teamsters union, 1958. Thirty years later, then-U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani announced union-busting RICO suit against Teamsters.



ist Party (SP) in 1958. In 1961, Shachtman supported the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba under Democratic president John F. Kennedy. Over the next few years, he became one of the most hawkish elements in the Democratic Party.

Shachtman's Workers Party had maintained some degree of orthodoxy while the Soviet Union was relatively popular in the period of its wartime alliance with U.S. imperialism against Nazi Germany. But as the Cold War intensified in the late 1940s, Shachtman's group—which became the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in 1949—moved to the right in response to the prevailing pressures.

In April 1947, as America's rulers decried "Communist expansionism" in East Europe, Shachtman's *New Internationalist* proclaimed: "Every advance of Stalinism is not only a defeat for democracy but also a defeat for the proletariat and for socialism." Two years later, *New Internationalist* (September 1949) made an open bid for reconciliation with the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy:

"Where it is not yet possible to win the unions for the leadership of revolutionary militants, we forthrightly prefer the leadership of reformists who aim in their own way to maintain a labor movement, to the leadership of the Stalinist totalitarians who aim to exterminate it."

Immediately following the 1949 Chinese Revolution, Shachtman joined with spokesmen for the SP and the Social Democratic Federation in signing a declaration against the Chinese Communists titled "Stalinism Is Not Socialism." The leaflet was then translated into Chinese for the U.S. State Department. The ISL's *Labor Action* (28 September 1953) proudly reported: "This leaflet had been dropped over China by U.S. bombers in May 1950 presumably through the sponsorship of the State Department." This contribution to U.S. imperialism's coun-

July/August 1950).

The later widespread radicalization stemming from the black struggles in the South and the movement against U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam made Cold War "socialism" less popular. In the early 1960s, a section of Shachtman's supporters centered on Hal Draper—who opposed Shachtman's support for the Bay of Pigs invasion—formed the Independent Socialist Clubs (ISC) as an educational appendage to the Socialist Party. But Draper stayed in the SP through its support for U.S. machinations against Cuba and the American invasions of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. As the student protest movement grew more radical, the ISC gradually grew more "independent," renaming itself the International Socialists.

The ISC/I.S. differed from the SP chiefly in its formal references to revolution. The ISC/I.S. revived Shachtman's theory of bureaucratic collectivism while also maintaining a loose association with Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" group in Britain. When, after a series of debilitating splits in the 1970s the I.S. was reborn in 1977 as the ISO, it was firmly in Cliff's orbit. Those splits also spawned new reformist groupings like Solidarity and the overtly trade-union opportunist *Labor Notes*. As they went from the ISC to the I.S. to the ISO, these social democrats claimed that they had been "born again" and washed their hands of earlier embarrassing betrayals. This is hogwash! Joel Geier, now part of the ISO leadership, was the central leader of the I.S. in the early 1970s and a leading part of the Draperite wing of the SP in the early '60s.

As the bourgeoisie whipped up renewed Cold War fever in the late 1970s, the Cliffites heartily joined in, hailing every reactionary movement directed against the Soviet Union, from the

Trotskyists led militant 1934 Minneapolis strikes which defied cops and thugs and helped forge Teamsters into powerful industrial union.



Minnesota Historical Society

labor movement" (quoted in Peter Drucker, *Max Shachtman and His Left* [1994]). Benson later recalled, "I was delighted at the chance at last...to get these sons of bitches."

Following the Shachtmanites' liquidation into the SP, Benson devoted himself full-time to using the anti-labor 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act as a vehicle for dragging the government and the courts into the unions in the name of fighting "corruption." Passed following the notorious McClellan hearings focused on Jimmy Hoffa Sr. and the Teamsters union, Landrum-Griffin was aimed primarily at shackling that powerful union by rendering illegal those provisions in Teamsters contracts which gave workers the right to refuse to handle struck goods. But this so-called Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act was also a sledgehammer against all unions, authorizing sweeping government and court powers to intervene in internal union affairs and finances. The law's "Bill of Rights" section was presented as an affirmation of union "democracy," but its real purpose was to protect union members who sued the union from being disciplined for their treachery.

With the help of Norman Thomas, Benson was able to get financing from a number of capitalist foundations like the Rockefeller Family Fund, allowing him to launch *Union Democracy in Action*. In the March 1969 issue of this newsletter, Benson admitted that these grants constituted his key financial backing "for six critical years." One needn't ponder long and hard to understand why corporate foundations would fund an operation centered on dragging the unions into the bosses' courts.

The first major use of Landrum-Griffin came when Benson & Co. spon-

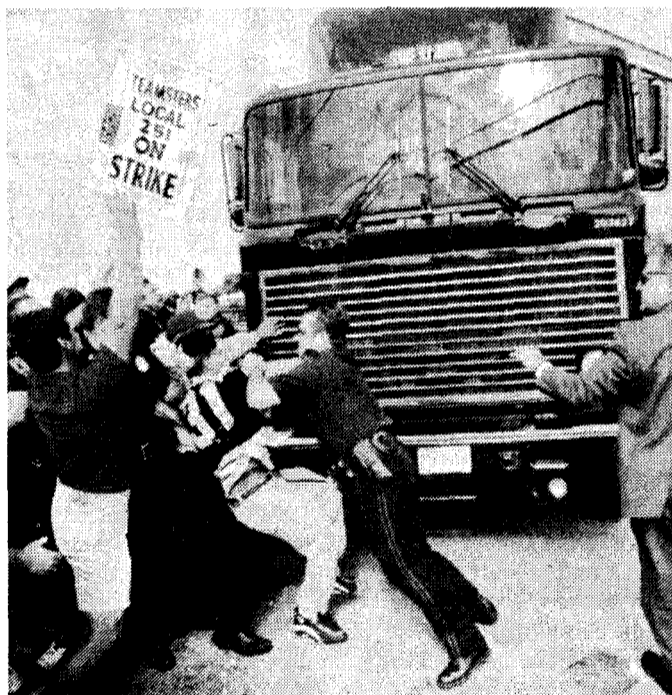
sored a successful federal court suit by Frank Schonfeld, a dissident in NYC Painters District Council 9, ordering new union elections. (Schonfeld's lawyer, Burton Hall, is today the mentor for a generation of lawyers who specialize in suing the unions.) The 1967 election resulted in a victory for Schonfeld—and a job for Benson as editor of the union's paper—until Schonfeld was decisively voted out of office six years later.

The disparate forces that joined Benson in founding the AUD were bound together by their shared past as anti-Communist Cold Warriors. Rauh, associated with the AUD from the start, was a longtime counselor to the Reutherite UAW bureaucracy and had been central at the 1964 Democratic Party convention in ensuring that the segregationist Dixiecrat delegation from Mississippi was seated over objections from the mainly black Mississippi Freedom Democrats. Other AUD leading lights included former UAW vice president Victor Reuther, Walter Reuther's brother, who worked with the CIA in breaking Communist-led unions in postwar Europe. Another was John Cort, former head of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which had been active in getting Communists expelled from the unions, including the UAW, in which it constituted a key prop of the Reuther apparatus. Michael Harrington, who had been recruited to the Shachtmanite youth in the early 1950s and had edited *Labor Action's* youth pages, was national chairman of the SP until 1972 and later founded the Democratic Socialists of America (which includes in its current leadership AFL-CIO head John Sweeney).

The formation of the AUD came amid a series of militant wildcat strikes in

continued on page 13

Cops attack Rhode Island Teamsters picket line during successful 1997 UPS strike.



terrevolutionary crusade against Mao's China was cited by the ISL in its legal efforts to be removed from the Attorney General's "Subversive List" and to fight the State Department's denial of a passport to Shachtman. Shachtman's lawyer in both these cases was Joseph Rauh.

The imperialists' Cold War turned white hot with the onset of the 1950-53 Korean War. Opposing the introduction of U.S. troops into Korea, the "third camp" ISL condemned "the ravishing of Korea by the two imperialist rivals." In "Socialist Policy and the War, Part II," Shachtman argued for "transforming the imperialist war into a democratic war" through the installation in the U.S. of a government like that of the Labour Party then governing Britain. Like Cliff, the ISL issued shrill denunciations of North Korea: "The so-called Northern government is not a government of the Korean people and in no way represents its interests.... The victory of its arms would mean nothing but the extension of the slave power of Stalinism over the whole territory of Korea, and therefore a disastrous blow to the people of Korea and the cause of democracy and socialism everywhere else" (*New Internationalist*,

Afghan *mujahedin* who butchered school teachers for teaching young girls to read to CIA/Vatican-sponsored Polish *Solidarność*. When Yeltsin's August 1991 coup opened the floodgates for counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, the Cliffites exulted: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

AUD: Court Suits and Capitalist Funds

Herman Benson's political career prior to the founding of the AUD exemplified the Shachtmanites' trajectory to "State Department socialism." As a student at the City College of New York, Benson was recruited to the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), the Socialist youth group, and from there was won to Trotskyism in the late 1930s. After Shachtman's petty-bourgeois opposition split from the SWP, Benson became a prominent Shachtmanite spokesman in Detroit and then labor editor of *Labor Action*. As the UAW bureaucracy purged Communists from the union, Benson hailed Walter Reuther for making the UAW the "vanguard of the American

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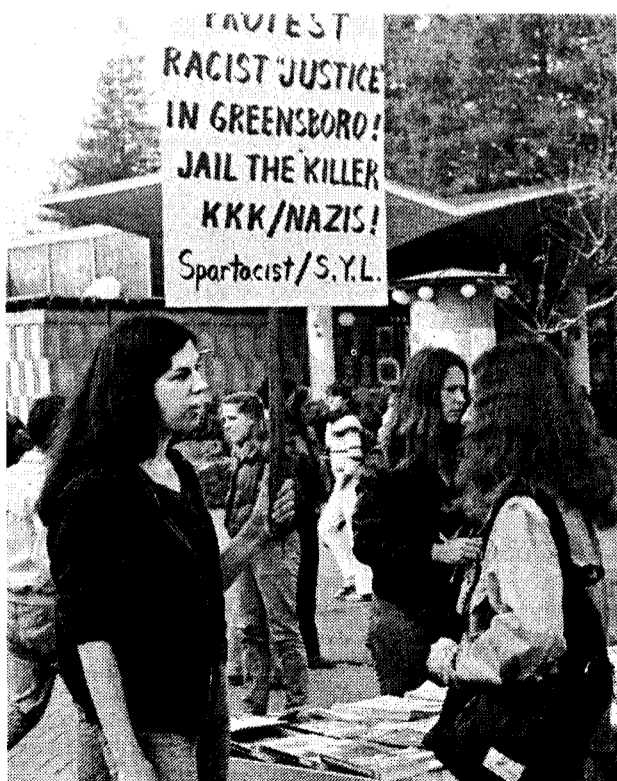
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In Honor of Comrade Mary Van De Water-Quirk

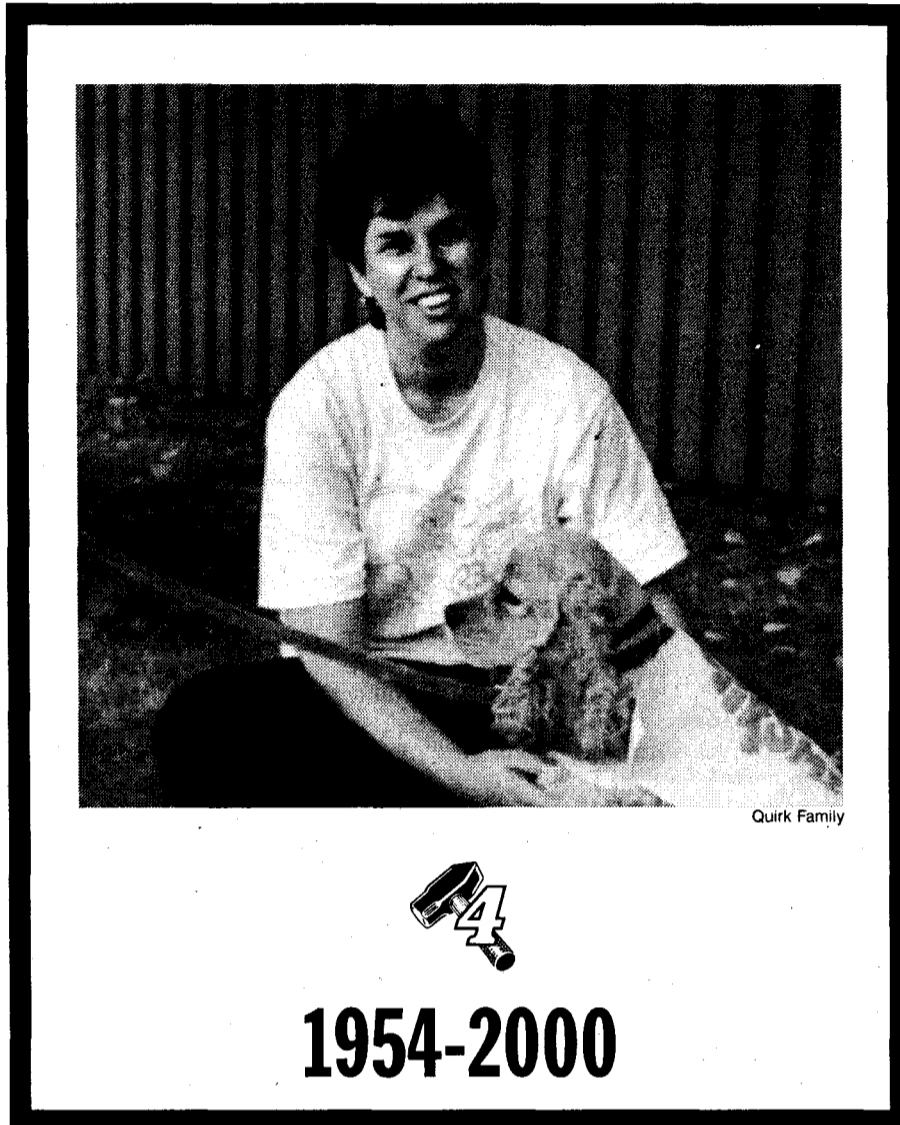
A memorial meeting for our comrade Mary Van De Water-Quirk was held at the International House of the University of Chicago on June 3. A member of the Spartacist League since 1980, Mary was most recently the organizer of our Chicago local. With the same purpose and fierce determination that infused her political work, for four years she had struggled against the bile duct cancer that finally claimed her life. She was one day away from turning 46 years old.

The many who gathered to celebrate her life were a testament to the breadth of her compassion and humanity and the depth of her commitment in the fight for a socialist future. Among those attending the memorial meeting were comrades from every branch of the Spartacist League/U.S. and from other sections of the International Communist League, her sister Karen and other family members, friends and neighbors. A sizable number of those younger comrades whom Mary was largely responsible for forging into cadre were present, as were those with whom she worked closely over the years in building our party. A group of black transit workers who knew Mary and her husband Kevin Quirk, an Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 member, came to pay tribute to her tireless efforts at combatting the racist oppression that is a defining feature of American capitalism. Included in this group was Cassandra Seay, who was successfully defended by Local 241 and the Partisan Defense Committee against frame-up felony charges pressed after she and her family were assaulted by Chicago cops in 1987. Comrades and friends from around the world unable to attend sent statements of commemoration that were read aloud at the meeting.

The meeting was presided over by Mark Kelly, Midwest representative of the Partisan Defense Committee, and was addressed by a cross section of those present. Comrades Cheri Mitchell, Sam Kaehler, Ed Clarkson and Paula Dell were joined by Kevin, Cassandra, ATU Local 308 member Bernard Branche and Mary's nephew, Frank Van De Water, as speakers in the planned part of the program. When the floor was opened, numerous others rose to testify to the impact Mary had on their lives. We print below a selection of these remarks that point to



Mary at 1980 Berkeley Spartacus Youth League protest against verdict acquitting KKK killers of five leftists in 1979 Greensboro Massacre.



the lifelong example Mary set as a caring friend and communist leader and the contributions she made to our cause of world socialist revolution.

* * * * *

Kevin Quirk: Driving up here, I was hit in the face with something that I'd forgotten. Mary organized a protest in front of this building, I don't know how many years ago it was. It was against this professor at the University of Chicago, Harberger, who was speaking probably in this very room. He got dropped off by his son, and then his son went around the block and came barreling down 59th Street the wrong way, drove up on the grass and tried to mow us down in his car. We pressed charges, made this little white punk go through the line-up with all the other guys. Later, the judge turned out to be part of the Grey-lord crew, the judges that were taking bribes to fix cases, and so, I remember, they asked for a directed verdict after they had made their presentation. So the judge said, "Yeah, I believe that Kevin Quirk was a hero, he pushed people out of the way of this guy who was trying to mow them down with the car. Not guilty." So there you have it. So it's appropriate we're honoring Mary in this very room in their building.

I'm going to be brief. I have to be brief. Because you see, Mary and I, we had a deal. She said, seven minutes, max. Along with her distaste for cant and puffed-up, self-important individuals, Mary didn't care too much for windbags and blowhards. That caused not a little tension in our relationship. All too often, she criticized my speeches as long and boring.

Many people, no doubt, know the story of our wedding. I wanted for us to recite pages and pages of poems of love. Mary would have none of that, to hell with that. So she boiled our part of the ceremony down to one line apiece. Guess what? Mr. Big Noise himself blew his only line. Doing my best Elmer Fudd imitation, I said, "With this wing I do thee red!" So I'll be brief and try to get my lines right.

First, on behalf of Karen and myself, I want to express my deepest gratitude for all the tributes that have come pouring in from comrades, friends, family, co-workers. They were our sole source of strength and

consolation. As you can well imagine, we have spent the last few weeks toiling in what Yeats called "the foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart." That is a dark and dingy place. But the arrival of each new message of support and solidarity and love and homage was like a bright ray of sunshine that even as it reminded us of our loss, our unbearable loss, vividly illuminated the portrait of Mary, our true friend and fighter.

I would especially like to thank my co-workers, many of whom knew Mary or knew of her. They did an important thing for me by reminding me how absolutely special it was to have had a soulmate by one's side. One with whom you could share the exhilaration of our victories and the miseries of our defeats and always a warm and loving companion. That's something I may have come to take for granted over the last 19 years. Thanks, guys, for giving that back to me.

Many people have spoken of Mary's courage, her will and determination both in the battle against her disease and in the conduct of her political life. Mary was not possessed of great physical courage. She hated pain and suffering just like all of us, probably even more so. I mean, she cried when she dialed the phone to make an appointment for the dentist.

Friedrich Engels, reflecting on his direct military involvement in the revolutionary uprisings of 1848, witnessing young workers perform heroic tasks in the face of the deadly fire by the bosses' armies, observed that courage is after all a very ordinary human virtue under such circumstances. I think that informs us of what made Mary

so dogged. The wellspring of Mary's courage and will was her total unwavering commitment to the fight to rid this planet of oppression, to end for all time the exploitation of the many by the few. In other words, it was her devotion to the fight for a socialist future. That is why she lived. That is why she fought the way she did right to the end.

Leon Trotsky made this point in his tribute to his son Sedov, who was murdered by Stalinist agents. He said of his son, "As a genuine revolutionist he placed value on life only to the extent that it served the struggle of the proletariat for liberation." Simply put, I believe that sums up the last 21 years of Mary's life.

You will hear today about Mary's love of, and skill with, children and youth. She was personally responsible for the training and forging of a whole corps of fine young communist fighters. Near the end, several of the natural parents of those youth called Mary to thank her for the fine job she had done in the political upbringing of their children.

And it was in those last days that these young charges were once again at the vortex of Mary's fragile life. One special moment came when Mary staged yet another implausible, defiant rally on the news that some of these youth had come to town and were heading our way. Only hours before, this member of a family of inveterate gamblers and horse players could not lift her head from her pillow to watch the Kentucky Derby. But later, there she was once again at the head of our table, Mother Mary, surrounded by her young troops ready to be sent off to do battle with the racist capitalist beast.

I choose not to say good-bye to our Mary today. I believe we all know that's not necessary. It is within our materialist framework to hold on to what will always be living and real. Mary will be in our hearts, she will be in our minds, but more importantly she will as always be at our backs.

* * * * *

Cheri Mitchell: I consider Mary my collaborator. We all loved Mary, but I can tell you right now that if I was too sappy, she'd have a fit and never let me hear the end of it. But then I probably will be too sappy, because I



WV Photos

Left: Mary's husband Kevin speaking at June 3 memorial meeting in Chicago. Photo displays chronicled Mary's life and work.

never did everything Mary told me to do. But she'd be right. What we need to do here is not so much mourn her death, but celebrate her life. And there is a whole lot to celebrate. So I'm going to go into the history a bit.

There are certain adjectives that come to mind when you think of Mary, and I'll give you a few: compassionate, generous, sharp-witted, selfless, ruthless in criticism over important issues, funny as hell, practical, organized, professional, meticulous. I also want to speak about Mary's commitment to a better life for everyone, her commitment to communism, embodied in the program and cadre of the Spartacist League, that is, a future without poverty, racial oppression, injustice, imperialist war—all of the things endemic to this society. That purpose—to eradicate those evils—was hers till the very end.

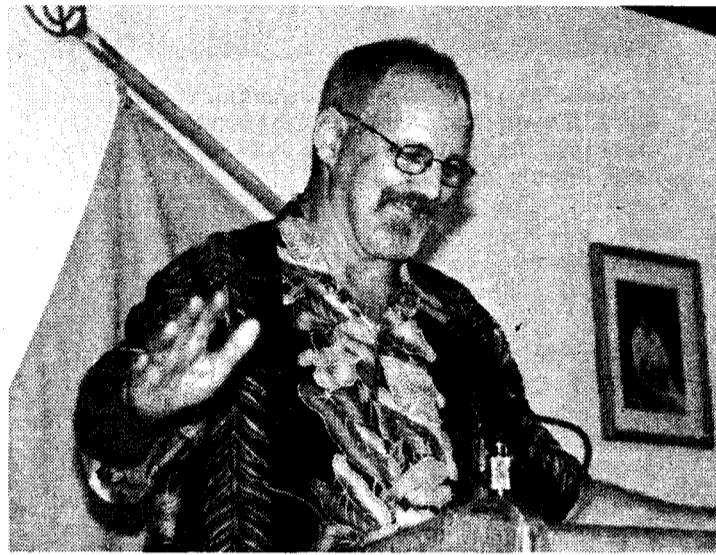
She was born in Queens, New York in 1954. When she was nine and her sister Karen was twelve, they moved to San Jose, California. So I guess you could say that they knew something about the toughness of a New Yorker and the false reality of sunny California, where along with the beautiful scenery is the harsh reality of the oppression of immigrant workers on the farms and the raw racist reality of capitalism. She was a student at the University of California at Berkeley when she ran across the Spartacus Youth League. It wasn't easy for her to get into that school—she had to go to junior college first to acquire some background credits, meanwhile working in order to pay for her education. Her major was Child Development and she worked as a preschool teacher while going to Berkeley. There is a display in the back, the most colorful of the displays, with the photos of her and her kids at the preschool. That display was created by the young children of other comrades that she also trained.

You see, it takes more than a guy who's read Marx and Lenin to become a communist—it takes somebody with a passion and love for humanity, and of that Mary had ample supply. She joined the Spartacus Youth League in November of 1979 and by February of 1980 she became SYL organizer in the Bay Area and became the SYL representative to the Bay Area District Committee. While still at Berkeley, she ran for president of the student government as part of an SYL slate: "Vote Communist! Vote SYL!" She joined the Spartacist League in April 1980, right after she helped organize the Spartacist demonstration that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in downtown San Francisco. The party fit her like a glove and she excelled with great speed. Each time the party's work challenged her to make a leap, she did so, and she continued to do so in Chicago.

In 1981 she was asked if she would transfer to the Chicago local from the Bay Area to become the youth organizer. This was a real tough decision to make for her, as her family and friends and 20-year-old dog were all in the Bay Area. She thought about it awhile, then decided to go. Later, her father told her it was the best decision she ever made, and she agreed. And I think we can all agree.

She came to Chicago and proceeded to look for work in her field of child development. But here, she couldn't find anything for more than minimum wage, so she did what lots of young communists do to eke out a living and give themselves time to do political work—she became a waitress. What she did was put her talents and energies to use for the benefit of the party.

I was in the Chicago Spartacus Youth



League at the time of Mary's arrival. In fact, we were the two leading youth members. We were having a little trouble organizing our work, so we were commanded by the party leadership to meet every day and talk about our work and plan the next day. And that was pretty easy. I had a day job as a waitress two blocks away from where Mary had a night job as a waitress. So between our shifts we'd have a few free glasses of wine on the house from the Sheraton where she worked, and sit down and discuss the ongoing work of our organization, along with a little gossip about what was going on in the rest of the organization. Gossip was really part and parcel of our lives, and Mary somehow always knew everything about everybody else before everybody else. She was renowned for it. If you wanted to know what was happening, the first person you'd call was Mary.

The most practical of people, Mary always had a quick-witted remark for somebody who was completely insane with their personal life. And it was very funny. I know this, because I was the butt of a lot of her jokes. She was known for knowing about everybody's lives, but she wasn't what you might think of as a gossip-hound—you knew who to go to for personal advice, political advice—it was clear that she cared about her comrades and their well-being. She made sure so-and-so got to the doctor when they were sick. She made sure that a party was organized for so-and-so when they got their journeyman's card or on special occasions in their life. She had a genuine respect for and concern about those she worked with, coupled with a fierce defense of our program when it was attacked inside or outside the party.

So I said she became a waitress, but she wasn't a wait-

ress for very long. It was only two years after her move to Chicago that she became the full-time organizer for the Chicago branch. And she remained at that post until 1996, when it was no longer possible for her to carry out her tasks due to the treatment process. She had what it took—tenacity, humor, organizational skill, political savvy—to get through the tough times of the Cold War, the Reagan years, and later the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" triumphalism in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Even though she was in the midst of her battle with cancer, and therefore could not take on a full load of political responsibility, she had everything to do with what we organized and her interventions into our work were invariably cogent, to the point and right.

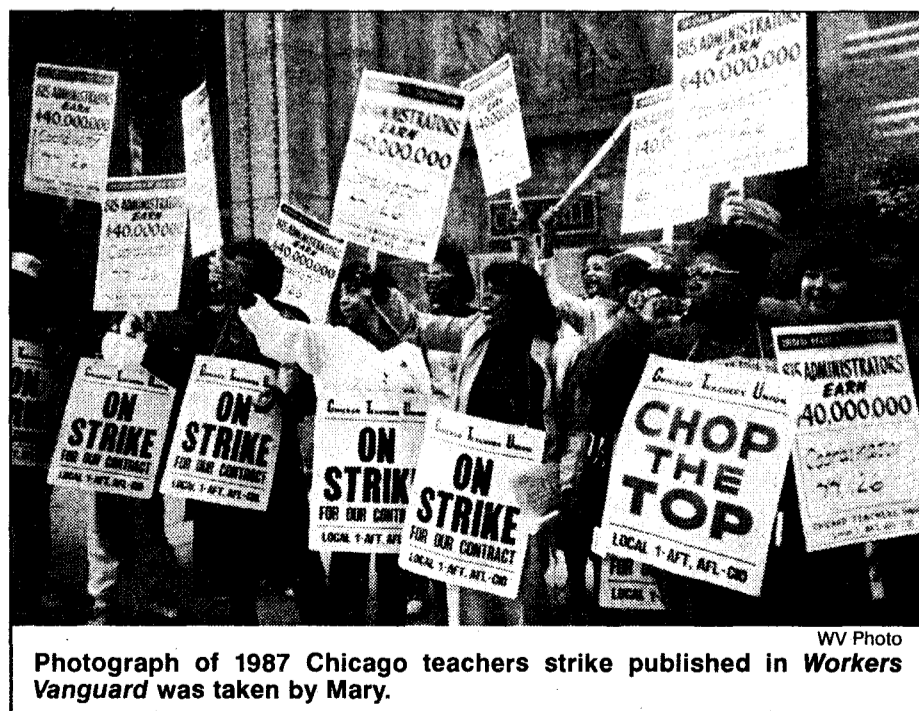
She met Kevin in 1979, while he was wearing a plum-colored dress. Kevin disputes this—he doesn't believe it was plum. Okay, it was chartreuse. Then in 1981, when they both lived in Chicago, they became an item—and you might say a perfect match. And from that day on, their apartment was the place to go for good food, good drink, plenty of political conversation and never a dull moment. They moved to Hyde Park in 1983. The famous barbecues were a common occurrence. Scores of transit workers have been wined and dined at the Quirks'. Their home was a place where everybody could have a good time and get a good dose of revolutionary politics.

Their commitment to the fight for black liberation in racist America was not just evident in their political program but it was a living part of their lives. Both inside and outside the party, people took to Mary. She was the genuine article. Cassandra will tell you. As you can see from the attendance here, Mary made an impression on the transit workers she sold *Workers Vanguard* to, and on the friends and co-workers who had the pleasure of an evening at the Quirks' place. When I sold the newspaper at the locations she used to sell at, I was invariably asked by at least one person if I knew Mary or Kevin and how they were doing.

Mary's political accomplishments are too numerous to list, but I have a selection. Firstly, she was the Chicago organizer in title, but in reality she was the regional organizer for everything west of Philadelphia and everything east of Las Vegas. Our Texas trips were run by Mary and she laid the basis for future trips there. The Chicago local sent teams to Ann Arbor, Cleveland, Madison, Iowa, Detroit, Minneapolis, the "War Zone" strikes in Decatur and numerous others.

She was one of the best organizers the International Communist League ever had. When the party was engaged in a national campaign, she would invariably be called on to be a main organizer. She was an organizer of the Spartacist election campaign for mayor of New York City in 1985. She was a primary organizer for the 1988 Philadelphia rally to stop the KKK, which did stop the KKK. She initially pushed and then organized all aspects of the Chicago protest against the racist Denny's restaurant chain. She organized the January 1994 Springfield labor/black mobilization against the Klan. She made the Partisan Defense Committee's annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners a pride of the Chicago local, because of its success in

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WV Photo

Photograph of 1987 Chicago teachers strike published in *Workers Vanguard* was taken by Mary.

continued from previous page

raising funds for prisoners such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, because its attendance was always not only large but an integrated crowd including black workers and youth—which is a singular experience in America's most segregated city—and because it was a very good party.

She also, as was mentioned, trained a whole layer of youth, who went on to become party leaders in their own right, and hold posts not just in the United States but as far away as Tokyo and Johannesburg. Marijke, who's here from Germany, was trained by Mary. Carla and Richard are here from New York City. There are people here from Boston, Madison, Ann Arbor, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Then there are the written tributes from the many who could not be here today.

I wanted to read one selection from someone who was trained by Mary and is now a leader of our South African section:

"Mary was my first Spartacist organizer in the first local where I was a member of the party. Like many others, the feeling of loss is not only that of a comrade and friend, but also a teacher in the sense of learning the ropes in a communist organization...."

"Chicago has long been known as the training local. It was a place where there was guidance and the room to make mistakes and learn and I think Mary had everything to do with setting the tone for that. We had our youth club and we had important political struggles and we had our tempests in a teapot. You could count on Mary for perspective when it was a real problem. And on the other hand there was the dreaded little shake of the head that meant that you were really barking up the wrong tree. Idealistic young people became communist cadre under her guidance. That is something for all of us to aspire to...."

"Mary's place was *the* place to go to get plugged in, to talk about what was happening in the world, to get your precious ego reset to acceptable levels, often with your head in the crook of Kevin's arm. And it really was the social glue. A lot of arguing and shaping happened there. Mary knew her people and knew how to take care of them."

This is in itself the essence of what people thought of Mary.

She was committed to a socialist future and she poured everything she had into it. What animated her most of all was her understanding of and commitment to the fight for black liberation in this country. Karen, a comrade from the Bay Area, came up with a quote by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism: "For the proletarian revolutionist the party is the concentrated expression of his life purpose, and he is bound to it for life and death. He preaches and practices party patriotism, because he knows that his socialist ideal cannot be realized without the party." And as Karen says in her note, "That was Mary, she personified that Bolshevik spirit."

She was a level-headed organizer, the one who made the trains run on time, but that did not mean that she wouldn't wage a political fight when necessary to keep our party on track. I have to use the quote by Leon Trotsky on the quintessential Bolshevik organizer, Yakov Sverdlov, that we published in the memorial article in *Workers Vanguard* because I think it fits Mary to a tee:

"When new political questions were under discussion, it might have seemed sometimes that Sverdlov—especially if he kept silent, which was not infrequently the case—was wavering or had not yet been able to make up his mind. In reality, in the course of the discussion he was engaged in mentally working out the problem along parallel lines, which might be sketched out as follows: Who is available? Where should he be assigned? How shall we broach the problem and bring it into harmony with our other tasks? And no sooner had the joint political decision been reached, no sooner was it necessary to turn to the organizational side of the problem and the question of personnel than it almost invariably turned out that Sverdlov was already prepared with far-reaching practical proposals, based on his encyclopedic memory and personal knowledge of individuals."

And that was Mary. What she would not tolerate is if we only mourned her death rather than carrying out her



WV Photo

At mimeograph machine producing leaflets, 1988. Mary played key role in organizing anti-Klan mobilizations in Philadelphia in 1988 and Springfield, Illinois in 1994.

work; that is the work of international proletarian revolution. We remember her and we salute her.

* * * * *

Sam Kaehler: Ten years ago, not long after I met Mary for the first time, we used to do a regular *Workers Vanguard* sale at the 69th Street bus barn, before they shut it down. I still remember the first sale: a black mechanic came walking up and took a good look at me, this tall, gangly 19-year-old white kid from Madison, Wisconsin. With a big smile on his face, he walked over to Mary and said, "How's it going, Mary? I see you've got your son out here selling those papers with you." He was more right than he knew. I was one of several such "sons."

She would introduce me to the many drivers and mechanics who had participated with us in our actions against the Klan and Nazis, in defense of Cassandra Seay, and for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal. These weren't just people she had argued strongly with that it was necessary to defend gay rights or abortion rights, or that the Democratic Party is a capitalist party and that we need to build a revolutionary party. These were people who really trusted and respected her. They invited her to family events. She and Kevin were often the only white people they had ever let into their homes or considered friends.

Mary had a keen sense of what it meant to be a communist in "Segregation City." As the cars left the parking lot at the Ford stamping plant factory gate sale, she would point out how blacks and whites worked side by side in the plant, but when they went home, blacks turned one way and whites went the other. These stories had a purpose. Because after several sales with Mary, you were ready to lead them up yourself. That's how you were trained. It went for little things as well as big things.

When we had a smelt party or a Labor Black Struggle League picnic, the only such integrated events in this racist city, she would make sure that the Spartacus Youth Club tried to mobilize its most promising contacts to attend. She made the point that any aspiring young Marxist that was above sitting around and having political discussions with black and Hispanic workers—not to mention taking part in a volleyball game or learning the electric slide—would not make it long in the party that we are building.

Those are some of the memories I have of Mary, the organizer of what we call, in the scientific language of our movement, "a stable propaganda group with a consistent presence in a few key industries and intervening among students." She really made you feel that the work that we do lays the groundwork for the revolution that

will get rid of this stinking racist system, once and for all.

In 1993, I went on assignment to Russia. In my first week there, a team of us traveled to Donetsk, Ukraine and we intersected a massive strike of coal miners. They had shut down the whole region. We were very well received. Three of us sold thousands of papers. We were toured around the region by coal miners and put up in their homes. At the largest demonstration, I worked closely with a young miner named Sergei (actually, everyone we worked with was named Sergei, but that's the Ukraine) and he helped sell our literature. At the end of the rally, he wanted to give me something to remember our day together. The only thing he had of value with him was his keychain. It was a Soviet Veteran of Labor medal, received for working 20 years in the mines, that he had inherited from his favorite aunt who had died.

As soon as I got back to Moscow, I sent the medal to Kevin and Mary, explaining that they were the ones that deserved it most. Because if we had had even just a handful of supporters in those mines who had been there for the last 15 years and had earned the respect of the workers like Mary and Kevin have in Chicago, the history of the miners in the Ukraine in their struggle against the restoration of capitalism would be written differently. The medal is sitting in the display case [at the memorial meeting]. Mary was proud of the work that we did in the former Soviet Union. Her mentor Martha Phillips was murdered there, so she didn't mind too much that it meant that for a while that year the public face of the Spartacus Youth Club on the Chicago campuses was her and a 50-year-old supporter.

During the more than four years of Mary's illness, there were those in our ranks with healthy bodies, more knowledge, better public speaking ability, who suc-



Quirk Family

Mary with her sister and comrade Karen.

cumbed to the "death of communism" ideology and fell by the wayside. Mary proved better than them all. On a typical day, I'd come in and she would be propped up on her bed, in constant pain and discomfort. A pile of reports on the work of the Spartacist League and International Communist League would be stacked up by her right side and the phone on the left. When she felt up to it, she would either read those reports or pick up that phone. Sometimes, she would call her friends or family, but most of the time she was giving whatever input and advice she could that would make our party run better. Up to the very end of her life, she was doing exactly what she wanted to do.

Mary made her biggest impact on the work in Chicago, but she followed the work of our International closely. She was particularly interested in our work on the Pacific Rim. She read books on Indonesia and Hawaii, and she was just starting on reading about the Philippines. Because of her illness, it was hard to do a lot of reading. So we became movie buffs together. She had a lot of favorites. We never missed an episode of



WV Photos

With Cassandra Seay at 1987 Chicago PDC benefit. Mary was crucial in initiating successful union-based defense of Seay, seen at right with family and fellow transit workers outside Cook County courthouse, against trumped-up felony charges.



The Sopranos. She liked those kinds of shows, because they put forward the credo, "You mess with one of us, you mess with all of us." She applied that to her political, as well as her personal life. But I thought it was appropriate that whenever someone would ask her to recommend a movie, the first thing she would ask was if you had seen her favorite movie, *Freeway*. It's a movie about a tough California girl, with a strong will, a big heart and, when needed, a dirty mouth. That's how I remember Mary.

* * * * *

Mark Kelly: Recently I had the occasion to view the Augustus Saint-Gaudens memorial to Robert Gould Shaw and the Massachusetts 54th Regiment. In the Civil War, this was the first military unit raised in the North of "persons of African descent." It was the most famous of such regiments and its brave conduct during its attack on Fort Wagner, South Carolina in 1863 inspired widespread enlistment of blacks into the Union forces. Robert Shaw was its officer. He was white and a staunch abolitionist. While waiting for battle, Shaw wrote to protest the federal government's injustice of paying his troops less than the white infantrymen. In the battle of Fort Wagner, Shaw and some of his compatriots reached the parapet before he was killed. Of the approximately 600 men of the 54th who participated in the battle, almost half were killed, captured or later died of their wounds. The Confederate general ordered Shaw's body stripped of its officer's uniform and thrown into a grave with 20 of his own men.

The memorial is an enormous and inspiring sculpture. Shaw rides his horse with his sword drawn, both stoic and resolute. The troops march alongside, pushing forward, determined to make their mark on history. Each soldier appears as a distinct individual fused into a dynamic mass.

I tell you all of this because gazing at the memorial ignited an intense reverie about Mary. For many years, Mary was the stoic leader organizing and preparing her troops for battle. The 54th marched with their rifles; Mary's comrades and supporters marched with their picket signs—both prepared to sacrifice for the same ideal—to finish the Civil War. Like Shaw, Mary was not an orator or an intellectual. Both were brilliant and courageous organizers and leaders, respecting the individuals they were leading, and in turn, gathering the respect of those they were organizing. Both declined the spotlight, working tirelessly on organizational details so that their troops were prepared for battle. The Shaw memorial reminds us of the courage and bravery of the 54th Regiment and their leader Colonel Shaw. Today's memorial for Mary Van De Water-Quirk will remind us of her courage and dedication fighting the cruel realities of racist America.

* * * * *

Cassandra Seay: I was one of those people who always peep out the window to see who was there. I had turned totally against whites, I hated them because it was five white cops who beat me up, who came into my home

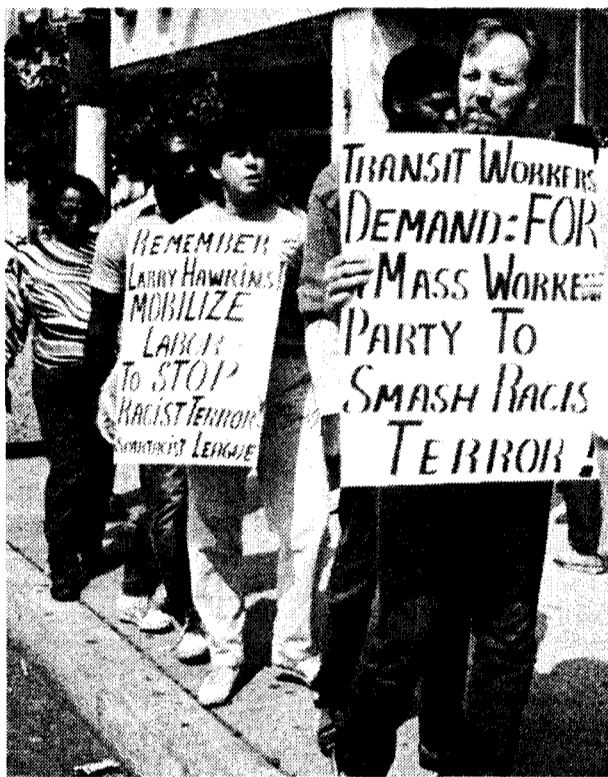
unlawfully. I was told by the Chicago Transit Authority, if I got involved with the communist party, I would be fired. Mary and Kevin, they all came up to my apartment, and I listened—but I didn't listen. And Mary returned twice, by herself. The second time she returned, it was raining, and I peeped out the window like we do when Jehovah's Witnesses come around, you know. What's wrong with her? She stood there, walked backwards and forwards and it was steady raining, so I finally opened the door. I said, "Who the hell are you, Mother Mary or somebody?" "My name is Mary," she said, "You met me." And I just looked.

So we talked, and I told her how I was feeling. And Mary said, "I understand how you feel." I said, "No you don't." And then she continued and continued, and so she convinced me. She started asking me, "What about the future? You have these three children, if they have children, you would never see your grandchildren." She told me, "I don't know you, but just listening to you, you're making all these excuses. There's no reason to make excuses." She said then, "We're going to help."

I got my life back together. With Mary's help and what she was teaching me, telling me and my children—they didn't show up because they didn't want to cry in front of everybody—and I have nine grandchildren, and I made 49 years old May 13th.

* * * * *

Bernard Branche: There are some other little stories I'd like to tell. There was the Wahid family, a black family



Mary and Kevin at 1987 protest outside Chicago police headquarters against cop execution of disabled black auto worker Larry Hawkins.

that was firebombed over in Gage Park back in the late '80s. When they moved in, they were one of the first black families on the block. Mary went to talk to them, and they saw, here was a woman who really cared about them. When they were threatened—and they were firebombed numerous times—they would call Mary. One time Mr. Wahid called Kevin at work, Kevin's at work until midnight, so after midnight shift got off, at I think 69th Street, a bunch of guys got into their cars and drove over there, to show solidarity with the Wahid family, to take care of them in that instance.

Not too long after that, there was something that's known around these parts as "the move." And that was when Malcolm—who I think is still here, yeah, Malcolm is in the back—his motorman conductor, his partner on the train was moving into that very same block in Gage Park, a few doors down. And everyone had heard about what happened to the Wahid family. Well, people talked about it, Malcolm talked about it, other people. And Mary was talking to people about it, and said, "Well, you know, something should be done about this. Something should be done so that what happened to the Wahids does not happen to the Thomas family."

Something was done. There was a moving crew. Twenty-two black and white guys moved the Thomas family into the house. A lot of people who were on that move are in this room, about five or six of us at least. We moved the Thomas family into the house, and then after we moved, we came out on the front stoop and sat around ostentatiously, making the point, "That's right, this is who moved in this family." I remember, I had to work that day. And I drove real fast after work to get there in time for the second half of the move. As I was driving down the street, all along the block there were people poking out their heads and looking down the street at what was happening. What actually happened was a change was made. That family never did get harassed. Because the racists in the neighborhood saw that this was not just some lone family out there on its own, but this was a guy who belonged to a union and he had black and white workers and supporters who were serious about it. And who actually made an ostentatious display about how serious we were that day. We got back and told Mary about what had happened. She was deeply satisfied at that.

And that's why I love Mary so much. She was a revolutionary. She also had a style that is very rare. There was no sense of competitiveness in Mary. There was drive, but it wasn't competitiveness. What it was, was contributiveness. She understood that people on the same page, pushing forward, can get a lot more done than people bickering and going in several different ways. That contributive nature of Mary was what made her great as an organizer.

The things that I've talked about are things that Mary lived for. And all these things that Mary lived for are the things that are necessary to prepare the working class to smash racist American capitalism and to build an egalitarian socialist system. This is a very dear friend of mine who is no longer here. We should resolve to carry forward her work. ■

Cuba...

(continued from page 2)

where the capitalist system of production for private profit was overthrown and replaced with planned, collectivized economies based on nationalized property. These economies laid the material basis for enormous gains for working people such that education, health care, decent jobs and housing were provided for the working masses in a way that will never be possible under capitalism. But these gains are threatened so long as the imperialist rulers are on a drive to restore capitalism in these countries so that they can brutally exploit workers for private profit. For this reason, the best thing that American workers and youth can do to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution is to fight for the overthrow of the bloody U.S. imperialists. We simultaneously fight for workers political revolutions in the deformed workers states to bring the working class to power and sweep away the Stalinist bureaucrats who represent an obstacle to the international extension of these revolutions. These bureaucrats undermine the gains of these revolutions through conciliation of imperialism, justified by the dogma of "building socialism in one country."

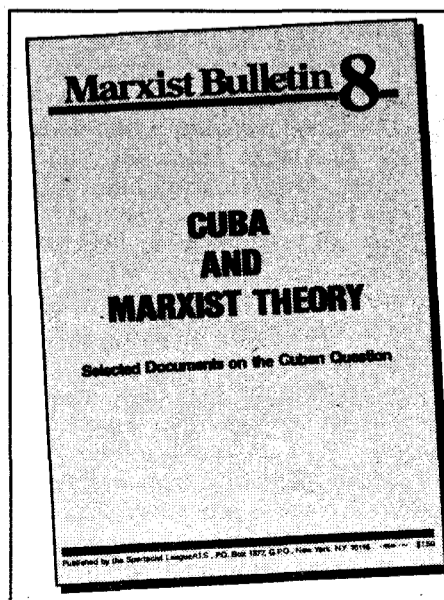
Socialist Action can say all they like

about the evils of U.S. imperialism and the defense of Cuba, but in fact this organization has been at one with the U.S. imperialist rulers and their agents in the trade-union bureaucracy every time that these guys backed forces for the restoration of capitalism in the former USSR and Eastern Europe. For proof of Socialist Action's support to counterrevolutionary forces you need look no further than the front page of every issue of their newspaper which sports the logo of Solidarność. This is the logo of the CIA-backed and Vatican-sponsored movement that restored capitalism in Poland. So don't be fooled when Socialist Action claims to fight for women's rights and they still hold up the logo of clericalist, anti-abortion Solidarność. The Soviet Union was the economic lifeline to Cuba, but that didn't stop Socialist Action from hailing Yeltsin who represented the forces that succeeded in restoring capitalism in the USSR—meaning the end of Soviet support to Cuba. So if the very existence of the Cuban deformed workers state is threatened today you can thank organizations like Socialist Action for helping the forces that destroyed the Soviet Union.

We fight to build a revolutionary workers party that mobilizes the social power of the working class in revolutionary struggle. This requires battling the Amer-

ican trade-union bureaucrats who are agents of the capitalist class in the workers movement and tie American workers to the anti-Communist aims of the capitalist rulers. Socialist Action despairs of the mobilization of the working class and instead looks to other forces that might be popular but are in fact obstacles to revolutionary struggle—from the trade-union bureaucracy here to their adulation of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Cuba. Similarly, Socialist Action so despairs of the mobi-

lization of workers in struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal that they sow treacherous illusions that this racist capitalist state can be relied on to free a man the racist rulers want to put to death. In contrast to these reformist fakers, we fight for new October Revolutions like the one the Bolsheviks led in 1917—so come talk to the Spartacus Youth Club about our program for how to win the fight and sweep away capitalist exploitation and oppression for good. ■



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Korea...

(continued from page 1)

long and close historical ties, cemented by the massive Chinese intervention on the side of North Korea in the Korean War, as the Maoist bureaucracy fought to defend the Chinese Revolution on which its own rule rested. The Beijing regime's introduction of "market reforms" and the accompanying attacks on the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed jobs, housing and education—have spurred huge struggles by the Chinese working class, from the incipient proletarian political revolution centered on the Tiananmen protests in 1989 to the recent revolt by 20,000 miners in northern China. What is necessary is the forging of revolutionary Trotskyist parties in China, Korea and internationally to lead the Chinese workers in a proletarian political revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy, to fight for revolutionary reunification of Korea and for socialist revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Japan and throughout Asia.

U.S. War Machine Targets China, North Korea

Since the Yeltsin-led restoration of capitalism in the USSR in 1991-92, U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary drive against the remaining deformed workers states has combined military threats with a policy of economic penetration, partic-



Reuters

Striking auto workers in South Korea in April, marking resurgence of labor struggle in response to IMF austerity dictates.

ularly in the case of China. The increasingly aggressive military posture of the U.S. in Asia, primarily aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, demonstrates that, if necessary, direct military intervention, perhaps in support of a counterrevolutionary uprising on the Chinese mainland, will be employed. Simultaneously, the American imperialists seek to maintain their dominance in the region against their militarily weaker Japanese imperialist rival.

The consciousness with which this program is being undertaken was revealed in an authoritative organ of the U.S. capitalist class, the *Washington Post* ("For Pentagon, Asia Moving to Forefront," 26 May). Washington has now secured a new "visiting forces" agreement in the Philippines and recently deployed 10,000 U.S. troops to Queensland for joint exercises with the Australian army. Noting that the Pentagon has shifted a significant number of attack submarines from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the article reports that "two thirds of the forward-looking [war] games staged by the Pentagon over the last eight years have taken place partly or wholly in Asia." An Air Force official is quoted as saying the aim is to "come up with games that are kind of China, but not China by name."

Washington's fraudulent depiction of a "nuclear threat" from North Korea is a pretext for putting a new generation of missiles in East Asia targeted primarily at China—the so-called "theater missile defense" system which would encompass



Pantheon Books

North Korean capital of Pyongyang, laid waste by U.S. bombing during Korean War.

South Korea, Japan and possibly Taiwan. Meanwhile, plans for a new version of Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme are seen as a threat by capitalist Russia as well as by many European imperialist powers. Thus, Russian president Vladimir Putin's energetic efforts in opposition included both a trip to Beijing and Berlin to be followed by an upcoming visit to North Korea.

At the same time, the Pentagon aims "to ensure that when Japan reemerges as a great power, it behaves itself in Asia" (*Washington Post*, 26 May). For its part, the Japanese bourgeoisie looks in the first place to Asia for its own imperialist ambitions, and has seized on North Korea's launching of its Taepodong I missile in 1998 as a pretext for accelerating its own remilitarization and expanding its military presence in the region. Last year, Japan's navy tried to sink North Korean ships, its troops are in West Timor, its police are in Indonesia training local police forces and Singapore has opened its port to Japanese naval vessels. This campaign has been accompanied by growing racist attacks on the Korean minority population within Japan. The ethnic Koreans in Japan constitute a lever for socialist revolution in Japan, as a direct link between the proletariat there and workers in Korea. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan seek to forge an internationalist Leninist vanguard to lead workers revolution to smash Japanese imperialism (see "Japanese Trotskyists Fight Resurgent Nationalism, Racism," *WV* No. 736, 19 May).

When the Soviet degenerated workers state existed, the clash of interests between the imperialist powers was somewhat abated by their common interest in crushing the historic conquests of the 1917 October Revolution. Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, these conflicts have been given free rein. Today, the common hostility of Japanese and U.S. imperialism to the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states does not moderate this interimperialist rivalry but on the contrary serves as an arena for its intensification, as they jockey for position over who would get the lion's share of the spoils in the event of counterrevolution in China.

This shift in American military priorities is quite apparent to the leaders of the Chinese deformed workers state, who recently hosted a visit by the North Korean head of state. Nevertheless, the Beijing regime plans to accelerate the pace of "joint ventures" with foreign capital and other forms of capitalist investment. In the main, the efforts of the Chinese bureaucracy—not without internal opposition—have been directed at achieving entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), reflecting its confidence in its capacity to "deal" with the imperialists.

An article in the *New York Times* (23 May) on the question of WTO entry commented: "With droves of laid-off workers already mounting sporadic protests across the country, giving foreign competition a hand in wiping out whole industries could amount to political suicide for China's governing Communist Party."

Anticipating entry into the WTO, the regime is planning to implement a series of regulations safeguarding state-owned industry against increased foreign competition, while in recent years President Jiang Zemin has attempted to purge the People's Liberation Army of its capitalist enterprises and moved to increased development of China's nuclear missile capacity, no doubt in response to American imperialism's military measures.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which today stands with the most bellicose representatives of U.S. imperialism, opposes China's entry into the WTO from the standpoint of anti-Communism and "America first" protectionism. Our starting point is completely opposite. We oppose WTO entry and imperialist economic penetration of China from the standpoint of unconditional military defense of the workers state which is based on collectivized property forms. This defense does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The ICL fully supports the right of the People's Republic of China to possess nuclear weapons and further develop and expand its nuclear capacities as well as the right of North Korea to undertake such development.

Fleeing famine conditions at home, many thousands of North Koreans have crossed the border to northern China, which is already home to a large ethnic Korean population. They are now experiencing first-hand the ravages of "mar-

ing the spread of socialist revolution internationally, particularly throughout Southeast Asia and, crucially, to Japan. No less a danger is the pressure of the capitalist world market on the relatively backward Chinese economy. All of this demands the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party in China, section of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, to educate, organize and direct working-class struggle. Only the victory of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries can provide the basis for the elimination of scarcity worldwide and bring to an end class society, thus setting the stage for the fullest development of all humanity.

North Korea in Danger

When the Soviet Red Army swept down the Korean peninsula in the closing days of World War II, bringing liberation from some 40 years of brutal Japanese colonial oppression, the country was primed for a revolutionary explosion. Japanese imperialist investment had created a superexploited working class alongside a totally dependent lackey native bourgeoisie. Immediately following the Japanese surrender in 1945, Stalin treacherously agreed to withdraw north of the 38th parallel, thus tacitly agreeing to the division of the peninsula. The U.S. imperialists rushed in to take over the South, putting at their service the hated former Japanese colonial regime, thus setting the stage for the first hot battleground in the anti-Soviet Cold War.

As "people's committees" arose throughout the peninsula, in the North the regime of Kim Il Sung, the father of Kim Jong Il and a leader of anti-Japanese guerrilla forces in China, expropriated Japanese "collaborators"—which encompassed the entire weak Korean bourgeoisie—carried out a systematic land reform, breaking the power of the agrarian landlords, and declared the complete equality of women. The result was a transformation of property relations, with the remaining capitalists and landlords fleeing to the South, where the U.S. Army joined the former colonial police in brutally crushing worker and peasant uprisings. Nevertheless, the North Korean workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy which excluded the working class from political power.

Thus the war which broke out on 25 June 1950 was a civil war pitting



Xinhua

Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 ceasefire. Entry of Chinese troops in Korean War was critical in stopping U.S. imperialist onslaught against North.

ket reforms." At the same time, this region has seen some of the most intense working-class struggles in China. The Korean population there constitutes a human bridge between the Chinese and North Korean proletariat. A proletarian political revolution in China would likely spark similar struggles by the beleaguered workers of North Korea and Vietnam, forging the basis for international communist solidarity between those workers states.

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants soviets would immediately face the threat of attack from Japan and the U.S., posing the iron necessity of promot-

the deformed workers state against the imperialist-dominated capitalist-landlord regime in Seoul. As the North Korean army drove south, with thousands of Korean fighters recently returned from aiding the victory of the Chinese Revolution at its core, it was greeted by peasant uprisings against the hated colonial regime, which collapsed in a matter of days. The refusal of the bureaucratic regimes in the USSR and China, each in the service of "socialism in one [their] country," to provide replacements for exhausted military supplies saved the U.S. forces from being swept off the peninsula, giving the American imperial-

ists the precious time necessary to mount a massive military intervention which prevented the gains of the Korean Revolution from being extended to the South.

During the rest of the war, the U.S. carried out a scorched-earth policy, leading Air Force general Curtis LeMay (who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in World War II and in the 1960s vowed to bomb Vietnam "back to the Stone Age") to crow, "We burned down every town in North Korea and South Korea too." As homes and people were incinerated including by napalm, survivors were forced to live in caves which they inhabited for years thereafter. Civilians North and South were, as in the later war in Vietnam, treated as enemy troops in peasant disguise, resulting in the massacres of unarmed civilians, as at No Gun Ri (see "U.S. War in Korea Was Mass Murder," WV No. 721, 15 October 1999). After the war, U.S. troops served as a bulwark against any challenge by Korean workers and peasants, bloodily suppressing one peasant uprising after another. In May 1980, the U.S. forces provided full support to the South Korean military as it crushed an uprising in the city of Kwangju by massacring some 2,000 civilians.

Until the mid-1970s, North Korea's planned economy significantly outperformed the South, creating a modern industrial infrastructure. As well as the bizarre and autarkic form of "socialism in one country" practiced by the Pyongyang bureaucracy, the extreme situation of a nation bifurcated by a "demilitarized zone" packed with more weaponry per square meter than any place on earth has further distorted the economy in the North. Beginning in the 1960s, capitalist South Korea, fueled by Japanese investment and U.S. subsidies which multiplied as a reward for its all-out military support to American imperialism's war in Vietnam, underwent substantial economic development. In the process, a modern and powerful proletariat was created which is deeply feared by the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and its police-state regime.

There is an unintended contradiction in imperialist/South Korean propaganda depicting North Korea as in a state of near total economic collapse on the one hand, and on the other hand carrying out massive programs for the production of technologically sophisticated "weapons of mass destruction" and advanced missile delivery systems. While the planned economy continues to function, although at a much reduced level, the situation in the North is dire. It became especially desperate in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which provided the vast bulk of material and technological aid to the North. In 1992, China cut off shipments of cheap oil to the North as a concession to obtain diplomatic and economic relations with South Korea. Then beginning in 1995, the country was hit by a series of natural disasters producing a famine of historic proportions, resulting in the deaths of at least 200,000, even according to undoubtedly understated North Korean estimates.

Chaebol Head North

Kim Jong Il has already opened up limited areas for capitalist investment from the South and overseas. Now the South Korean bourgeoisie aims to undermine the North through economic penetration, a key goal of Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy." The current "unification" talks were spearheaded by Hyundai patriarch Chung Ju Yung when he arrived in North Korea with 500 head of cattle in 1998. Over the past six years, Hyundai has invested some \$1 billion in various projects in the North, centrally a lavish tour-



Korea Pictorial

ist complex. Other *chaebol* like Samsung have plants there. They hope to pave the way for capitalist restoration, while at the same time turning a good profit by exploiting cheap and literate North Korean labor. Kim Dae Jung was accompanied to Pyongyang by a whole coterie of highly-placed *chaebol* executives.

The South Korean bourgeoisie is salivating over the prospect of cheap labor and a new captive market in the North, in particular because of its own desperation in the wake of the Asian financial crisis. Despite bourgeois press accounts of the "new economic miracle," the *chaebol* have not recovered. Several of Hyundai's subsidiaries are in the midst of declaring

Korean police state, under a thin veneer of parliamentarism, which is codified in the National Security Law. Thousands have been—and still are—jailed for any support of, or unauthorized contact with, the North. This law is put into brutal action against striking workers and political opponents of all stripes. A recent example is the arrest of four members of the Cliffite International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK) reported by their cothinkers in the Australian International Socialist Organization (*Socialist Worker* [Australia], 12 May). We demand all charges be dropped at once!

This is not the first time this group has been persecuted by the South Korean

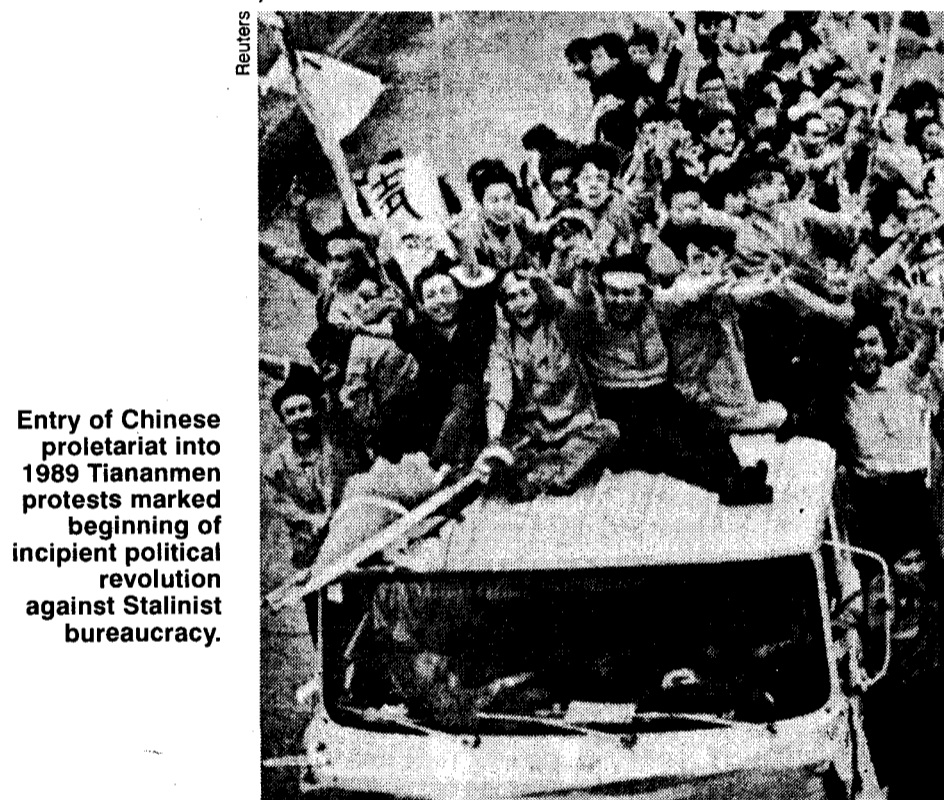
loyal refusal to defend North Korea from attack by the South Korean ruling class and against internal counterrevolution.

Much of the radical student movement in South Korea looks to the North Korean regime, but from the viewpoint that it appears as the most consistent purveyor of Korean nationalism. While this nationalist sentiment is directed in the first instance against American and Japanese imperialism—as well as against the former collaborators of the Japanese colonialists in the South Korean bourgeoisie—this nationalist ideology ultimately buttresses the aspirations of the South Korean ruling class for a united *capitalist* Korea. While echoing the bourgeoisie's anti-Communism, the "socialist" ISSK shares the outlook of nationalism, at the same time appealing to the combative working class on the basis of trade-union militancy.

Such nationalist sentiment is also used to tie the South Korean proletariat to the ox-cart of the national bourgeoisie. The combativity of the working class has been demonstrated repeatedly, not least in the enormous struggles of the 1970s and '80s which broke the stranglehold of the CIA-sponsored, corporatist Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU) on the workers movement and gave rise to independent unions, now joined in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). The IMF-dictated austerity measures enforced by the Kim Dae Jung government, installed with the support of the KCTU leadership, have provoked a renewed upsurge of labor struggle, seen in a one-week strike in April by Daewoo and Hyundai auto workers and other recent labor actions. Days lost to strike activity have increased by 15 percent since 1999 and a week-long general strike was called by the KCTU at the beginning of June with the more conservative KFTU threatening a general strike in July.

But the pro-capitalist KCTU leadership has sought to channel the militancy of the workers in the service of their rapacious *chaebol* bosses, who now promote nationalist opposition to imperialist domination while owing their very existence to the imperialists, without whose support the South Korean bourgeoisie would have long been extinct. The most prominent demand of the current annual "collective bargaining period" by the KCTU has been to prevent the sale of Daewoo

continued on page 12



Reuters

Entry of Chinese proletariat into 1989 Tiananmen protests marked beginning of incipient political revolution against Stalinist bureaucracy.

bankruptcy, and various industries are being eaten up by foreign capital, most prominently Daewoo, whose auto division is on the auction block with GM and Ford the leading bidders.

The *chaebol* aspire to a reunited capitalist Korea that can make them a minor player in the imperialist organization of world plunder. But the IMF dictates, and the fact that South Korea has piled up over \$32 billion in interest payments alone on foreign loans over the past five years, underscore the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea is a prime example of the theory and program of permanent revolution. Some of the most modern industry in the world exists alongside pre-capitalist backwardness. In such nations, where capitalism has arisen after the world has become dominated and divided up by the already developed capitalist powers, the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution—democracy, national unity and independence from the yoke of imperialism—cannot be carried out by the weak national bourgeoisie, which is dominated economically by foreign capital and fears above all the mobilization of the proletariat. These tasks can only be accomplished by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the proletariat in power.

The division of the country along the lines of civil war lends an especially vicious character to the entrenched South

police state, despite the fact that it goes out of its way to make clear that it shares the *chaebol* bourgeoisie's hatred for the North Korean deformed workers state. When ISSK leader Choi Il Bung was arrested in 1993 for publishing socialist books, he replied by pointing out that many of the books opposed the North as well as the South (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class War Prisoners!" WV No. 574, 23 April 1993). And when the secret police rounded up 26 ISSK members in 1998, they again defended themselves by professing their

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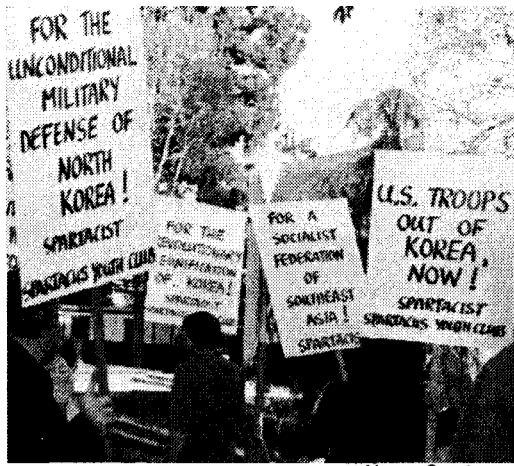
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Korea...

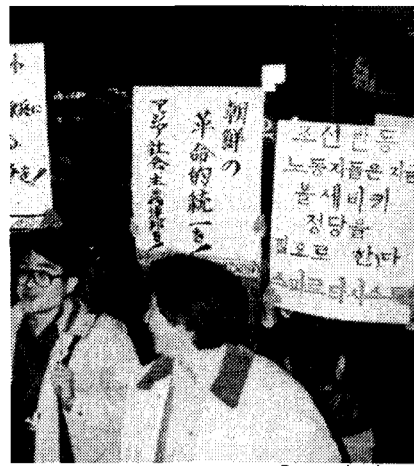
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Motors to "foreign interests." And at a recent meeting in Japan, a KCTU spokesman opposed Japanese investment in South Korea on the basis that it undercut the *chaebol*, and went on to call for an Asian version of the NAFTA "free trade" agreement, with China producing cheap products for South Korea and South Korea producing cheap products for Japan. The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie.

Looking south, the North Korean proletariat can see the grinding exploitation of the South Korean proletariat. A report in the *New York Times* (24 April) detailed how many "defectors" who reached the South only to be subjected to such exploitation are unable to keep jobs because they are "unaccustomed to competition in the workplace." And memories of imperi-



Young Spartacus



Spartacist Japan

Los Angeles, 1998: one of nationwide SL/SYC protests against U.S. imperialist presence in Korea. Spartacist Group Japan protests attacks on Korean minorities. Signs read: "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" and (in Korean) "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!"

alist terror—the brutal Japanese colonization and the complete and total destruction of an industrialized North Korea during the Korean War—must still be very much alive within the North Korean pro-

letariat today. Aside from the fact that the *chaebol* do not possess anywhere near the weight or wealth of the German bourgeoisie, this precludes a repeat of the "German model" of counterrevolutionary

Anschluss, as Bruce Cumings points out in his book *Korea's Place in the Sun*.

The future of the Korean workers North and South is tied up with that of the working class in the imperialist centers, the U.S. and particularly Japan. Socialist revolution in Japan will put the enormous productive resources of this country at the disposal of the working class throughout East Asia, laying the basis for a socialist Asia. For our part, the SL/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party which will lead the multi-racial proletariat in sweeping away the U.S. imperialist rulers, the most dangerous force on the face of the planet. Leon Trotsky's Fourth International was founded in 1938 on the bases of defense of the gains of the October Revolution, the struggle against all variants of reformism and for proletarian internationalism, and for the permanent revolution based on intransigent opposition to bourgeois nationalism. The purpose of the ICL is to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Cliff, Korea and Counterrevolution

The Korean War, which broke out on 25 June 1950, marked the first shooting war in the anti-Soviet Cold War. It also marked the origin of the anti-Communist tendency led by the late Tony Cliff, represented in Britain today by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which are currently pitted against each other in their own cold war.

In 1948, capitulating to the pressures of the Cold War, Cliff latched on to the "theory" of "state capitalism" promoted by earlier social democrats who had opposed the Russian October Revolution of 1917. Two years later, he acted on the real purpose of this bogus anti-Marxist theory by refusing to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against the counterrevolutionary war led by Washington, whose main imperialist ally was the British Labour government. When the question of Korea came up for a vote in the Birmingham Trades Council, one of Cliff's supporters in "The Club" (the Trotskyist grouping inside the Labour Party) publicly repudiated the Trotskyist position of Soviet defensism. The Cliff group acknowledged at the time that its supporter was expelled from the Trotskyist movement for "opposing both the Russian puppet Government of North Korea and the American puppet Government of South Korea" (see "Korea and the Cliff Group," *Spartacist Britain* No. 24, August/September 1980). Likewise, today the International Socialists of South Korea echoes the *chaebol* bourgeoisie's hostility to the North Korean deformed workers state.

The Cliffites proclaimed themselves a "third camp" under the slogan, "Neither Washington nor Moscow." Over the years, they generalized their capitulation to Labourite "democratic" imperialism. In 1969, they supported a Labour government's introduction of British troops into Northern Ireland, arguing: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). Three years later came the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of 14 Catholics by these troops. As Cold War II erupted in imperialist fury over the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979 against CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats, the Cliffites criticized the anti-Communist Thatcher government from the right. Cliffite journalist Paul Foot used his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror* to push for a ban on British exports to the USSR. From Vatican/CIA-sponsored Polish Solidarność in the 1980s to counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin in Moscow in 1991, the "third camp" Cliffites stood in the camp of imperi-

alism, supporting every movement aimed at overturning the October Revolution.

Having abetted the forces of imperialist-backed counterrevolution, the ISO now declares, "The revolutions [!] in Eastern Europe were a *step sideways*—from one form of capitalism to another" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 23 April 1999; emphasis added). This "step sideways" has resulted in all-sided devastation, mass unemployment and impoverishment, plummeting life expectancies. It is no surprise, as a 28 May Internet posting by the "Sverdlov" opposition in the ISO reports, that: "There is not a single comrade inside the ISO—for example—that can defend the state-cap theories since the fall of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

The claim that the Stalinist bureaucracy which had usurped political power from the Soviet working class in 1924 had imperceptibly transformed itself into a new "state capitalist" ruling class—based on the same property relations which issued out of the October Revolution—is a flat repudiation of the ABCs of Marxism. Trotsky stressed that the Stalinist bureaucracy was not a possessing class but a parasitic *caste* resting upon the socialized property forms. In "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (1933), he pointed out that the bureaucracy "has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political *technique* of class rule." The Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy is predicated on defense of the planned collectivized economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade, which form the economic basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As we note in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories—Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999): "The absurdity of 'state capitalist' and 'bureaucratic collectivist' theories is manifest in light of the simple surrender of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the East European deformed workers states by the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy. No propertied ruling class in history has ever voluntarily given up its power." Lacking the solidity of a possessing class, the Stalinist bureaucracy simply collapsed before the capitalist-restorationist forces. It is indicative that the bureaucracy, unlike a ruling class, could not elaborate a new ideology to justify its privileges, lyingly cloaking itself in the mantle of Lenin and the October Revolution.

The contortions the Cliffites go

through to justify their "third camp" line are evident in their treatment of Cuba, which remains relatively popular among the left liberals the ISO caters to. An article in the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (Spring 2000) titled "Cuba: The Crisis of State Capitalism" acknowledges a few of the results of the Cuban Revolution:

"Mass mobilizations of students and intellectuals achieved a literacy rate of 90 percent in a few years. Over the next two decades, the standard of living of Cubans rose to levels that surpassed those of most of the other countries in Latin America."

The article makes no serious attempt to explain how such gains were achieved, ludicrously comparing Cuba to advanced industrial countries: "But these reforms were no different in character, and significantly less extensive due to the severe economic underdevelopment, from those instituted by reformist social democratic governments in Sweden, Britain and other countries of Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s." Among other things, this is a wholesale retailing of the Labourite myth of the British "welfare state," which at its best meant chronic unemployment, woefully underfinanced health care, rampant racism and rotten housing and education for working people.

Why did Cuba surpass other Latin American countries *after* the revolution? Why did Castro's "state capitalists" carry out a "redistribution of land owned by foreign capital to poor peasants," as the article acknowledges? Because capitalist class rule was smashed. In the exceptional circumstances following the overthrow of the despised Batista dictatorship in January 1959—the absence of the working class as a contender for social

power in its own right, the flight of the national bourgeoisie, hostile imperialist encirclement and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—Castro's petty-bourgeois government carried out the expropriation of foreign and domestic capital in 1960, creating a workers state, albeit one bureaucratically deformed from its inception (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8).

The ISO article asserts that the Cuban working class needs to fight both against "its ruling class organized in the CCP [Cuban Communist Party]" and "against U.S. imperialism." In practice, this means support to imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. The Canadian *Socialist Worker* (September 1994) hailed a counterrevolutionary riot in Havana, which was resisted by thousands of Cuban working people, as rekindling "the promise of real socialism, socialism from below."

The International Communist League fights for unconditional military defense of Cuba—as well as China, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, just as we fought to the bitter end, from Berlin to Moscow, in defense of the gains of October. We fight for proletarian political revolutions to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies which appease imperialism and for new October Revolutions to smash capitalism around the world. In this, we are guided by Trotsky's injunction in *In Defense of Marxism* (1940): "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." ■

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1970 by coal miners, postal workers and Teamsters—and over the next few years in the Detroit auto plants. Those wildcats showed how discredited the hidebound, racist Cold War bureaucracy under AFL-CIO president George Meany was in the eyes of the ranks. Seeking to put a lid on this growing labor militancy, sections of the bourgeoisie looked to install various tame “oppositionists” within the unions, so long as their loyalty to the capitalists was unquestioned.

The AUD’s first major campaign was in the United Mine Workers (UMWA) following the murder of Miners For Democracy (MFD) leader Joseph Yablonski and his family by hired thugs of the UMWA bureaucracy under the notoriously corrupt Tony Boyle. The MFD opposition to the Boyle machine was a captive creature of the liberal section of the bourgeoisie from the start. Yablonski’s “reform” campaign was spearheaded by Democratic Party figures like Rauh and West Virginia Congressman Ken Hechler and was centered on a barrage of court suits against the union and appeals to the Labor Department. Following Yablonski’s murder, the AUD got the government to step in and order new elections, sponsoring the candidacy of Arnold Miller, a Democratic Party politician who had twice run for the West Virginia state legislature.

Following Miller’s election in December 1972, we ran the headline: “Labor Department Wins Mine Workers’ Election” (WV No. 17, March 1973). In contrast, most of the left fell in behind the bourgeois liberals in hailing Miller’s MFD. The I.S. admitted that “MFD did initiate massive government intervention in the union” and “continually drew on support from the Democratic Party,” but nonetheless enthused that his election would “go down in history” as a “turning point in the life of the entire American working class” (*Workers Power*, 19 January 1973). Some “turning point”! Having ridden into power by inviting the government into the union, Miller supported countless court injunctions against miners’ wildcats. He aided Democrat Jimmy Carter’s White House in trying to suppress the bitter 1977-78 national coal strike, while the ranks defied strikebreaking injunctions and repeatedly burned Miller’s sellout contract proposals.

The AUD braintruster a slew of other union “reformers” in the 1970s—from James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union to Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers—who were likewise hailed by the reformist left. The AUD provided lawyers for Sadlowski as he ran to the courts to get government control of the union elections, government inspection of his opponents’ finances and government censorship of the union newspaper. The November 1979 and October 1992 issues of the AUD’s *Union Democracy Review* described how it had arranged for the Rockefeller Family Fund and several other capitalist foundations to help finance Sadlowski’s string of court suits and, after the Labor Department ordered new elections in 1977, pay for observers to supervise the vote. The I.S. gave explicit approval to government intervention in the unions, writing in *Workers Power* (16 February 1973):

“The apparatus of many unions, including the IBT and the UMW (under Boyle’s regime), have been transformed into monstrous bureaucratic structures which use both gangster methods and alliances with the state to suppress virtually any possibility of rank and file reform through the processes of the union itself.... Under these conditions, rank and file groups and oppositionists may have no choice but to use the courts as *one arena* in the struggle against the bureaucracy” [emphasis in original].

Capitalist Vendetta Against Teamsters

Indeed, supporters of the I.S./ISO soon went on to use the courts against

the IBT, providing crucial aid to the government’s decades-long vendetta to cripple that powerful union. The Teamsters’ power had been built through three militant strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 led by the Trotskyists, who also organized the over-the-road campaign which brought interstate truckers into the union. The government, with the assistance of union president Daniel Tobin and his hatchet man Jimmy Hoffa, launched a witchhunt against the Trotskyist militants, culminating in the imprisonment of 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters, under the terms of the 1940 Smith Act, for their revolutionary proletarian opposition to U.S. imperialism as it prepared to enter World War II. The government vendetta was resumed in the 1950s, spearheaded by Robert Kennedy and other liberal Democrats, as the Feds went after Hoffa with the aim of shackling this union which had won a

1986, the TDU beat Reagan’s Justice Department to the punch by filing its own RICO and Landrum-Griffin charges against the union (*Convoy Dispatch*, January 1987). TDU spokesmen even served as witnesses for the prosecution in the 1989 “probe” of the Teamsters by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

When the consent decree settling the government’s RICO suit was announced in March 1989, TDU national organizer Ken Paff bragged to the TDU leadership that “the court order was largely shaped by our views.” At the time, the ISO hypocritically intoned, “A precedent has now been set which allows the government to intervene at will in the internal functioning of individual labor unions” (*Socialist Worker*, April 1989). But on the eve of the government-supervised election in 1991, *Socialist Worker* (January 1991) sang a more honest tune: “In

and Legal Defense Foundation “received almost 25 percent of its budget from outside sources” in fiscal year 1988. Miller detailed:

“TDU and its related organizations have received hundreds of thousands of dollars from foundations. The foundations and amounts contributed over the years include the MacArthur Foundation (\$30,000), Field Foundation (\$100,000) and Kaplan Fund (\$15,000).”

Confronted with the accusation of being secretly bankrolled by the bosses’ foundations, the TDU’s *Convoy Dispatch* chose to take the fifth. The following month, *Convoy Dispatch* (April 1989) stated that “the biggest part of our budget” comes from TDU members’ dues payments, adding enigmatically: “We also receive some support from friends in the labor movement who share our vision of a democratic Teamsters union, and from labor’s allies in religious and community organizations.”

Benson was far more blunt: “Our lawyer waxes indignant because TDU has succeeded in getting help from a few foundations. He says it has gotten 25% of its budget from such ‘outside’ sources. Now, what’s wrong with that?” (*Union Democracy Review*, August 1989). Benson continued:

“When critics on the left denounce the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs and charge that its independence is compromised because most of its budget comes from sources outside the labor movement like the National Endowment for Democracy and agencies of the U.S. Government, Tom Kahn, the Department’s head, replies that the money comes out of U.S. tax funds, that the labor movement is entitled to its share like any other sector of society and is justified in using that money to advance its own program. I see nothing wrong with that principle, and it has relevance here.”

The National Endowment for Democracy is a well-known conduit for the CIA. This would hardly bother Benson, since latter-day Shachtmanites like Michael Harrington had themselves been dependent on funds from the CIA for organizing anti-Communist youth festivals (see “DSA, CIA and Meese,” WV No. 406, 20 June 1986). The International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO has a long and bloody track record, from the splitting of Communist-led unions in postwar Europe to the infiltration of trade unions in Latin America in league with military dictatorships. And Kahn was himself a protégé of Shachtman.

In 1975, the CIA used the West European social-democratic parties as a conduit for vast funds to be used against the Communist Party in Portugal as that country was in the midst of a pre-revolutionary situation. A few years later, the AFL-CIO tops channeled millions of dollars of CIA money to Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement disguised as a “trade union” that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. In 1989-92, as the fate of the Soviet Union hung in the balance, the AFL-CIO tops funneled in money and “advisers” to win combative Soviet miners to support U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin (see “NED Dollars

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Pat Olliphant

Coal miners in 1977-78 strike defied Democrat Carter’s Taft-Hartley injunction, burned UMWA president Miller’s sellout contract proposals.

national Master Freight Agreement and had the power to shut down the country.

When the Feds launched a RICO lawsuit against the Teamsters in 1987, the union leadership settled with the Justice Department by agreeing to a consent decree that granted a federal administrator veto power over every union appointment and every dollar spent by the union. TDU-supported candidate Ron Carey won the 1991 election for union president—and re-election in 1996—under the aegis of the federal government. In 1994, Carey knifed a three-week freight strike. But the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS ended in victory because it had such solid support among all UPS workers—and working people around the country. As vindictive payback against the union as a whole for waging this strike, the government lashed out at its own accomplice: The courts voided Carey’s re-election and the Feds threw him out of the union for “corruption.”

The Feds’ RICO suit and direct intervention in the Teamsters union was a model for a wave of government takeovers of unions over the following decade. Carey’s 1991 election was hailed by much of the self-proclaimed “socialist” left, particularly Socialist Action and the ISO. The ISO saluted the election results as “a tremendous victory” and “a source of pride and confidence,” while covering its tracks in the very next paragraph by denouncing Carey’s Justice Department pals as “a threat to union democracy” (*Socialist Worker*, November 1992; emphasis in original).

The ISO went so far as to claim that “the leaders of the reform group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), did not seek federal intervention” (*Socialist Worker*, July 1991). This was a bald-faced lie. Federal intervention has been the TDU’s central strategy from the beginning. Dan La Botz, a founder of the TDU, boasted in his 1990 book *Rank and File Rebellion*: “Over the years, TDU has repeatedly gone to the National Labor Relations Board, to the courts and to the Department of Labor (and to many government agencies) to seek justice for union members.” In December

concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU’s leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices.”

AUD/TDU Finks for the Bosses

The AUD has been heavily involved in the TDU. AUD spokesman Susan Jennick was the TDU’s Northeast organizer, and the AUD ran a program called the Teamster Fair Election Project that provided legal advice to the TDU on how to sue the union. In 1990, the AUD submitted an *amicus* brief to the judge administering the consent decree. As labor reporter Kenneth Crowe put it in *Collision: How the Rank and File Took Back the Teamsters* (1993), the judge decided “to do what Jennick and Benson had asked—to run every facet of the election instead of leaving it to chance and the Teamsters.”

The AUD also provided the TDU with access to its bourgeois financial backers—and the TDU nuzzled up to the trough. In an article in the *Detroit News* (19 March 1989), Michigan labor lawyer Bruce Miller charged that the TDU and its Teamster Rank and File Education

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State Murder...

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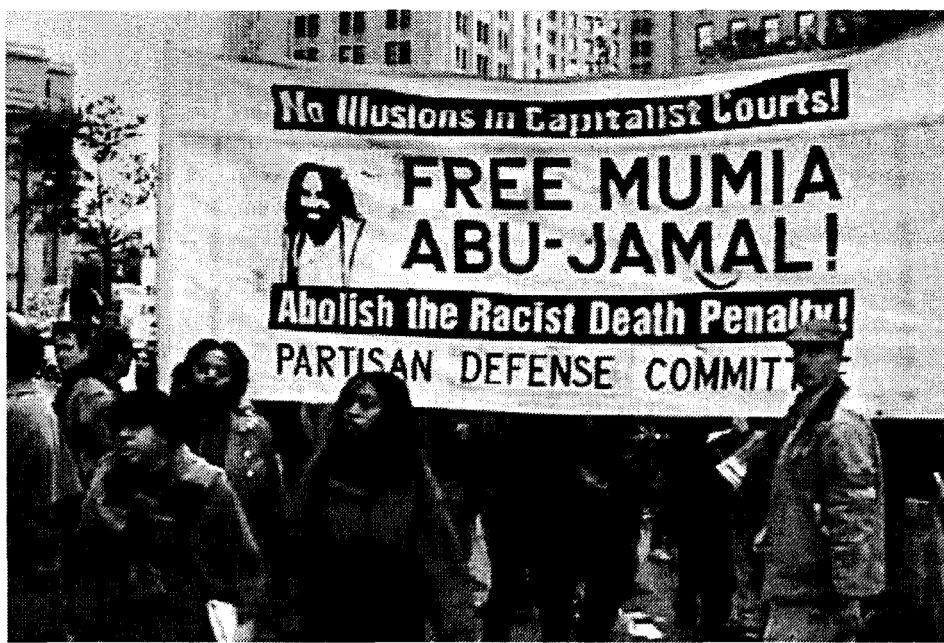
Herrera case declared it not unconstitutional to execute someone who is innocent, turned down Sankofa's last-minute appeal, sealing his doom.

That Sankofa's execution provoked the furor it did is a reflection of growing opposition to the death penalty. A measure of the depravity of this racist injustice system is that in the days before the execution Sankofa's fate was captive to the calculus of American electoral politics, as the Bush camp weighed the political cost or benefit of stopping the execution. This cynicism was captured by a *New York Times* (21 June) article, "2 Men, Fates Linked," which featured a roster of political analysts cautioning that what mattered for Bush's political fortunes was not whether Sankofa was executed, but only that Bush appear "sober" and "demonstrate some reflection" in sending Sankofa to his death. With the corpse barely cold, the *Times* reported that Bush's "demeanor suggested a sensitivity" and projected "an impression of approaching such responsibilities with the utmost thoughtfulness and seriousness."

Legal Lynching: Legacy of Slavery

Capital punishment is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. We oppose the death penalty in principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the capitalist state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. The death penalty stands at the apex of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. In recent years, that repressive apparatus has been heavily bolstered by both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans alike, in order to contain the explosive contradictions between the handful of filthy rich and the many at the bottom. And in racist America the primary victims of this brutality are black people.

In his last statement, Sankofa called for continuing the struggle against legal lynching, noting, "This is part of the genocide that we as black people have endured in America." Capital punishment in the U.S. is rooted in the system of slavery, when black slaves were considered chattel, the private property of the slaveowner. The Slave Codes prescribed tor-



WV Photo

PDC banner at labor/black mobilization that rode KKK out of New York City, 23 October 1999.

ture or death for hitting a white man in self-defense or for any other act deemed "insolent" or a challenge to the slaveholders.

While the slave system was smashed by the Civil War, the struggle for black equality was betrayed by the victorious Northern capitalists. In the Jim Crow system of rigid segregation which issued out of the defeat of Reconstruction in the South, official state murder was supplemented by the extralegal terror of the KKK. Nearly half of the more than 3,600 men and women on death row today are black. The color bar remains a fundamental prop of American capitalist rule, key to obscuring the irreconcilable class conflict between capital and labor. To put an end to black oppression and racist state terror requires sweeping away the capitalist state and the capitalist system of exploitation through socialist revolution. The SL fights to forge the multiracial revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the working class to power. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution!

The Rich Have the Capital, the Poor Get the Punishment

Capitalist justice is rich man's justice. Look at the face of death row—no DuPonts, Rockefellers or Trumps there. If Sankofa had had the funds to pay for an attorney, he might well be alive today. Instead he was saddled with a court-appointed lawyer, Ronald Mock, who has been disciplined for judicial misconduct four times and unashamedly admits that 17 of his clients ended up on death row, five of them executed. Mock did nothing

to challenge the prosecution's case, neither interviewing possible defense witnesses nor even challenging the bogus "identification" which led to Sankofa's death sentence.

Two eyewitnesses to the 1981 murder of Bobby Lambert outside a Houston grocery store failed to identify Sankofa in a lineup, while two others submitted affidavits stating that he was not the gunman. Four other individuals later signed affidavits saying that Sankofa was with them at the time of the shooting. All of them passed lie detector tests. But not one witness was called to the stand by Mock. None of Sankofa's fingerprints, blood, DNA or hair were found on Lambert or at the scene. Ballistics tests revealed that the pistol Sankofa had in his possession when arrested was not the murder weapon. But none of this evidence was ever heard in any court.

Both state and federal courts alike refused to even grant Sankofa a hearing despite 20 appeals—Texas' "30 day rule" bars introduction of evidence obtained more than a month after conviction, and Clinton's 1996 act barred further federal court review. So Sankofa was sent to his death on a flimsy "identification" by a single "witness" who observed the gunman through a car windshield at night for "a split second" from a distance of 40 feet. The unreliability of such evidence was painfully revealed in a *New York Times* (18 June) op-ed piece by Jennifer Thompson, a rape victim who had identified the wrong man as her rapist despite having "studied every single detail on the rapist's face." She insisted in two trials that she could not be mistaken. After

eleven years in prison, the man she had mistakenly identified as her attacker was cleared by DNA evidence.

Having left school in the ninth grade, Sankofa educated himself behind bars and became a powerful fighter for prisoners rights, founder and editor of *Endeavor*, newspaper of Huntsville's death row inmates. The proof of his innocence and his moving pieces about prison life from the bowels of America's execution capital made Sankofa the most prominent death row prisoner outside of Mumia Abu-Jamal. As he vowed he would, Sankofa struggled to the end. As the poison began flowing through his veins, he declared, "This is what happens to black men when they stand up and protest for what is right and just. We refuse to compromise, we refuse to surrender the dignity for what we know is right... You can kill a revolutionary, but you cannot stop the revolution."

We recall the words of James P. Cannon, secretary of the International Labor Defense, following the electrocution of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927:

"In this act of assassination the ruling class of America shows its real face to the world. The mask of 'democracy' is thrown aside.... It is the vengeful, cruel and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended. This is the message from the chair of death. This is the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case."

Let Sankofa's execution be a lesson too. Support for his fight to live came from all over the world. But the many telegrams, op-ed pieces and major bourgeois press editorials didn't stay the hands of the executioners. Any move toward Mumia's execution must be met with mass labor-centered protests and strike action by the multiracial working class.

In seeking to mobilize the unions in Jamal's defense, we aim to infuse the working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist system. As a strategic component of the proletariat, black workers will play a key role in the socialist revolution which is needed to root out racial oppression; and for the proletariat to be won to revolutionary consciousness, it must understand that the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself.

We will not forget Shaka Sankofa! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! Down with the blood-soaked capitalist system! For socialist revolution! ■

AUD...

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and CIA 'Free Trade Unions,' WV No. 546, 6 March 1992). More recently, the AFL-CIO sponsored the "Labor Committee for a Free Cuba," a collection of Cuban *gusano* counterrevolutionaries and CIA Cold Warriors who dream of smashing the Cuban Revolution and retaking the island for their imperialist masters.

Fight for Revolutionary Leadership!

In an address to a March 1990 AUD-sponsored conference, AUD lawyer Clyde Summers argued: "These are the only alternatives—leave the union and its members in the grip of those who subvert and destroy the democratic process, or impose a trusteeship that will restore the union to its members and the democratic process" (*University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, Spring/Summer 1991). Summers here expressed the view of the gamut of fake leftists who believe the capitalist government can be an instrument for "reform" and democracy within the unions. But those are not the only alternatives from where we stand. Our position was summed up by the

SWP which, before it abandoned the Trotskyist heritage and sank into reformism during the 1960s, fought bitterly against finking to the courts against the union bureaucrats. Here is what the SWP wrote of the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act:

"To ask the capitalist government in Washington to defend the rights and interests of union members is like asking a pack of ravens to preside over the reform of a hen house."

"The trade unions are the most elementary form of working class organization with interests diametrically opposed to those of the owning class. The task of defending the rights and safeguarding the interests of union members is the primary responsibility of the unions themselves—both members and leaders."

"This task cannot be farmed out to the representatives of the business interests who rule the roost in Washington. The attempt to do so is a blatant confession of bankruptcy and can only lead to the most dire consequences."

—*Militant* (17 August 1959)

The Spartacist League is the continuator of the revolutionary SWP. We fight to unchain labor's power in its own defense and in active defense of the black and immigrant populations particularly targeted by social reaction. It is the abject indifference—or worse—of the mainstream labor bureaucracy and pro-capitalist "oppositions" like the TDU

and New Directions to racial oppression which has impelled some black workers to seek redress against discrimination by the employers and racist, job-trusting union tops through suits against the unions, often sponsored by liberal groups like the NAACP. Such anti-union court suits pursued in the name of racial equality are no less pernicious and counterposed to the interests of the multiracial working class than those carried out in the guise of opposing "corruption."

We Trotskyists fight to mobilize the ranks of labor in the struggle against racist discrimination. We call for union hiring halls, with special union-run programs aimed at reaching out to and training minorities and linked to the fight for jobs for all, demanding that the available work be divided at no loss in pay among all those capable of working. Against "workfare" schemes, which undermine municipal unions by drafting the ghetto and barrio poor to work as slave labor in formerly unionized jobs, we demand equal pay for equal work—union wages with full union protection. We oppose the organizing of prison guards and cops—the paid agents of racist, anti-labor repression—into the unions. We fight to defend and extend the economic interests, democratic rights

and social conquests of the working class by advancing a system of transitional demands that challenge the very framework of capitalism. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet "Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 14, January 1997):

"The road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution, and the power to do that lies with the multiracial working class. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation and is mobilized in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. The key to unlocking the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders, that shackle labor to its exploiters, is the political struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class."

Against the pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party bureaucracy and its "left" hangers-on, we fight for a workers party, an independent class party of the proletariat, which is the necessary instrument to sweep away the dictatorship of capital and achieve a genuine workers government, nothing less than the dictatorship of the proletariat. Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party! For a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

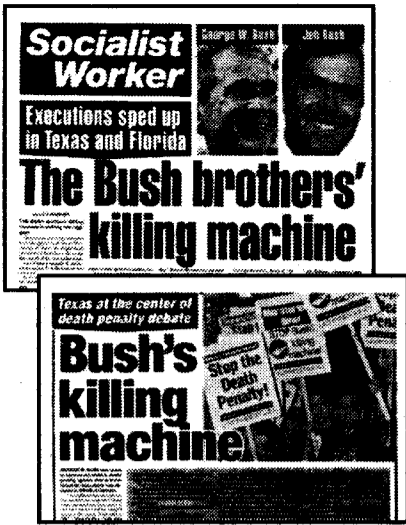
Racist Death Penalty...

(continued from page 16)

Mumia Abu-Jamal—an innocent man, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter framed up for his outspoken opposition to racism—for the past 13 years, including among liberal politicians, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have stressed that the central task is to mobilize the social power of the working class and infuse it with the consciousness that the fight against black oppression is key to the cause of labor's emancipation.

In the last few years, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has also become active around the death penalty, chiefly through its liberal Campaign to End the Death Penalty set up in the wake of the huge protest campaign which won Mumia a stay of execution in 1995. The ISO has reportedly thrown fully two-thirds of its members into this work, but to what end? The ISO's aim is not to raise the consciousness of the working class but rather to pressure Democratic Party politicians to enact reforms.

Polishing its veneer of offering a "socialist alternative" to the partner par-



"Fight the right" reformism: ISO blasts Republicans, touts Democrats Jesse Jackson Sr. and Jr. in lobbying effort for moratorium bill.



ty organizations to plan a national strategy for winning a moratorium, along with a national press conference. His father, Jesse Jackson, has written to the Campaign praising its work and offering to help in any way that he can. Senator Russ Feingold of Wisconsin contacted the Campaign in his effort to prepare legislation for a ban on the death penalty for federal crimes."

Aping the "fight the right" line pursued by the Stalinist Communist Party for decades, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* runs screaming headlines like "The Bush Brothers' Killing Machine" (21 January) and "Bush's Killing Machine" (26 May), while consigning the occasional criticism of the Democrats to small print, as in the article in the former issue, "Democrats

and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

Lenin was polemicizing against a reformist trend in the Russian workers movement called Economism. Like the Economists, the ISO limits the struggle for "socialism" to economist trade-union militancy and support for liberal political reforms. Even in the relatively left-sounding article on "Democrats and the Death Penalty" in its theoretical journal, nowhere does the ISO characterize the Democratic Party as a *capitalist* party, nor explain the class nature of the capitalist state, much less the need to sweep it away through workers revolution. In its regular "Where We Stand" column, *Socialist Worker* proclaims, "Revolution not reform." In practice, the ISO embodies the reformist notion that the state can be pressured to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed, that socialism can be achieved in the sweet by-and-by through a gradual accretion of reforms. Far from advancing the struggle for socialism, the ISO serves only to reinforce the grip of bourgeois consciousness—and, in particular, of the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil"—on those it influences.

The ISO leadership has turned its members into virtual lobbyists for Jackson Jr., even scripting his publicity. *International Socialist Review* (Spring 2000) boasts that the Campaign "has drafted an 'Open Letter to President Clinton and Members of Congress,' which calls on politicians to support Rep. Jackson's moratorium bill." In February, a Campaign leaflet distributed at a Harlem debate between Democratic primary contenders Al Gore and Bill Bradley—both backers of capital punishment—called for a "rally aimed at pressuring Gore and Bradley to heed the growing national tide for a moratorium on executions." Earlier that month, Alice Kim grotesquely pleaded in an Internet posting announcing a February 14 Chicago press conference: "Have a heart this Valentine's Day, President Clinton. Stop all federal executions!"

In seeking to intersect growing popular opposition to the racist death penalty and the state's frame-up machine, the Trotskyist SL follows the teaching laid out in 1902 by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, in which he wrote that the ideal of the revolutionary Marxist "should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all*

"By Bolshevism—and we are stressing here its essential aspect—we understand such training, tempering, and organization of the proletarian vanguard as enables the latter to seize power, arms in hand," wrote Leon Trotsky in his 1924 work *The Lessons of October*. He continued, "By social democracy we are to understand the acceptance of reformist oppositional activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." The latter aptly describes the road of the ISO. Those who want to take the revolutionary road of Bolshevism should investigate the politics of the Spartacist League. ■



ISO spokesman shared platform with cops at Democrats' rally for "tolerance" for Klan in NYC last October.

ties of capitalism, the ISO wrote in an article titled "The Democrats and the Death Penalty" (*International Socialist Review*, Spring 1999): "Clearly, on the issue of the death penalty, the Democratic Party's record is no better—and in many ways is much worse—than the Republican Party's record. This makes it all the more surprising that many opponents of the death penalty look to Democratic politicians as allies in the struggle to abolish capital punishment." But this is precisely who the ISO looks to as "allies," as was made clear by one "Armand" in the recent welter of Internet traffic provoked by the ISO's fracture with its British parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party. In a 25 May Internet posting, Armand writes:

"People are so horrified that innocent people are being killed that they are ready to begin discussing abolition. But the ISO leadership instructed members NOT to argue for the abolitionist position in the interests of standing on 'common ground' with supporters of the death penalty on the question of the 'moratorium.' This took the form of a concrete slogan raised by the ISO: 'Moratorium Now, Abolition Next!...' "It is transforming our meager forces into the ground troops of Democratic Party hacks like Jesse Jackson and others, collecting signatures for their petition on moratorium."

Like the liberal Democrats it tails, the Campaign focuses almost exclusively on the execution of innocent people. At a Chicago "town hall" meeting in May, Campaign spokesman Alice Kim sounded just like Republican governor Ryan, saying: "There shouldn't be a death penalty if there's any chance that innocent people can be executed" (*Socialist Worker*, 26 May). As even the *Washington Post* (18 June) noted: "Using claims of inno-

Back the Execution Frenzy." In fact, *Socialist Worker* has devoted its efforts to enthusiastically touting Democratic Party politicians like Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold and especially Illinois Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. In its "Internal Discussion Bulletin" (20 March), the ISO boasts:

"Jesse Jackson, Jr. is helping the Campaign to organize a summit of death pen-

Protest ISO Gangsterism Against the LRP!

The statement below was issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on June 24.

A report by the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) details an attack on its supporters by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) on June 10 as the LRP was distributing literature outside the ISO's "Socialist Summer School" in Chicago. This attack is an outrage and should be protested by all individuals and organizations in the workers movement. The ISO, in common with its cothinkers in Canada and Britain, has a long and contemptible history of bureaucratic exclusions and violent gangsterism against communists and socialists. Fearing open political debate that would expose them as the anti-communist reformists they are, the ISO seeks to control and seal off its membership by drawing blood lines against leftist critics.

Supporters of the Spartacist League, who are routinely excluded from participation at ISO public events, have been especially targeted for thug attacks by the ISO because we have relentlessly exposed its craven capitulation to American imperialism's drive to overturn proletarian property forms in the deformed/degenerated workers states, which the ISO avidly supplemented with gleeful cheers when capitalism was restored in the USSR and East Europe. With the societal devastation that accompanied capitalist counterrevolution in those societies now apparent to all and with the threat of similar overturns in China (where there is massive working-class resistance to the effects of "market reforms"), Cuba and Vietnam, the ISO faces discontent within its ranks to further capitulations and to the rationalization for its groveling before the imperialists, the "theory" of state capitalism.

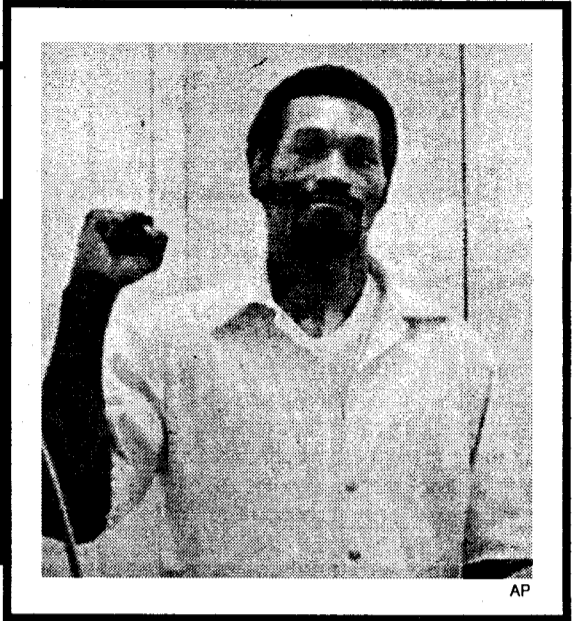
Now undergoing a split with its parent organization, the British Socialist Workers Party, the ISO is especially rancorous to any and all criticism and political debate, even from groups like the LRP which share the ISO's state capitalist outlook and enthusiasm for capitalist restoration. We defend the right of all individuals and parties within the workers movement to participate in, intervene and sell at public events irrespective of their political point of view as an elementary tenet of workers democracy.

The ISO's revulsion toward Stalinism is partial, only coinciding with the antipathy of imperialism to proletarian revolution. It fully embraces the gangsterism which Stalin, more than anyone, introduced into the workers movement. The ISO's thuggery only invites police attack, perhaps understandably, given their propensity to view the cops as part of the workers movement. Such gangsterism is meant to quash the open debate among tendencies required to regroup the forces necessary to build an international proletarian party capable of leading a world socialist revolution which will rid the planet of capitalist exploitation once and for all.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) Executed

Racist State Murder in Texas



Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) is dead, murdered by the assassins of the capitalist state. In an act of premeditated racist barbarity, at 8:20 pm on June 22, 36-year-old Sankofa was beaten and dragged by a five-man "cell extraction team" from his Huntsville, Texas penitentiary cell into the death chamber, strapped down, handcuffed to the gurney and injected with lethal chemicals. Twenty-nine minutes later he died, with one eye still open.

Angry, defiant and declaring his innocence to the end, Sankofa announced in the last minutes of his life, "This is nothing more than pure and simple murder...nothing more than state-sanctioned murder, state-sanctioned lynching, right here in America."

For 19 years, Sankofa fought to prove his innocence of the murder for which he was executed. But minutes after the execution, Texas governor George W. Bush

told reporters that Sankofa got what he deserved because he had carried out some crimes as a teenager in Houston's ghetto 19 years ago. In the eyes of this country's racist rulers, if you're black and poor, you're guilty.

The millions who watched the non-stop news coverage in disgust as this execution went forward may ask themselves, "How can these monsters kill him?" For America's imperialist rulers, whose hands are stained with the blood of over a million Iraqis killed by U.S. bombs or the starvation blockade, of thousands of Serbs and countless others across the globe, the life of a poor black man means nothing. In this decaying capitalist system which offers no future to millions of inner-city youth, the death penalty, the mass incarceration of black men, the elimination of welfare speak to the bourgeoisie's impulse to genocide.

Shaka Sankofa was a victim of bourgeois justice, a legal system premised on protecting capitalist profits and class rule through organized terror against the exploited and oppressed. To the bourgeoisie, the NYPD hit squad that blew away black African Amadou Diallo wasn't guilty of murder—or anything else. They were doing what they're supposed to do. In defending the McNamara brothers, labor organizers, American socialist leader Eugene V. Debs wrote in 1912:

"Murder is not murder when it is for capitalism, and killing is not killing when it is for capitalist profit.

"More than half a million of Ameri-

can wage-slaves, men, women and children, are killed, maimed and lacerated in industry every year, but this is not murder....

"Under the ethical code of capitalism the slaying of workingmen who resist capitalism is not murder, and as a workingman I absolutely refuse to condemn men as murderers under the moral code of the capitalist class for fighting according to their light on the side of the working class.... It is only when a killing interferes with their piracies that it is murder. All their tender sensibilities are then aroused and in frenzied concert they cry about 'the law' and invoke all its terrors to glut their merciless vengeance."

—"The McNamara Case and the Labor Movement," reprinted in *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs* [1948]

Sankofa is the 135th person sent to death by Bush in his five years as governor of Texas. But, as Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote in a column from Pennsylvania's death row, "Let us understand that there would've been no difference if there was a Democrat at the death switch in Huntsville." Clinton's 1996 Effective Death Penalty Act barred further federal court review for Sankofa and hundreds more. Al Gore, who has refused to endorse a Congressional bill that seeks to ensure DNA testing and competent legal counsel in capital cases, chose the week before the execution to reaffirm his support to the death penalty. Acknowledging that "mistakes are inevitable," Gore refused to condemn Sankofa's execution. The Supreme Court, which in the 1993

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Outraged protesters outside Huntsville, Texas prison shortly before Sankofa's execution.

ISO Tinkers with State's Machinery of Death

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The rapid increase in the rate of executions in recent years has been accompanied by a massive growth in the prison population and of deadly cop terror in the ghettos and barrios. Proliferating exposures of systematic frame-up and torture by police departments around the country, death-squad-style executions like the NYPD killing of Amadou Diallo, and ongoing revelations of death row inmates later found to be innocent or convicted without any legal defense to speak of, have fueled angry protests and growing

distrust of the criminal "justice" system. Popular support for the death penalty, down from 80 percent to 66 percent in the last six years, has dropped to its lowest point in two decades.

These developments represent a significant crack in the racist consensus on the "war on crime"—in reality, a war against black and Hispanic people. They have led to growing calls for "reform" of the police and the "justice" system by capitalist politicians, fundamentally aimed at refurbishing the authority of the cops and

courts. One example is the moratorium on executions in Illinois announced in January by Republican governor George Ryan, a supporter of the death penalty, after the well-publicized releases of 13 death row inmates who had proved their innocence. Numerous death penalty reform bills are currently before Congress. "This is not a case of being for or against" the death penalty, said the co-sponsor of the "Innocence Protection" bill, Vermont Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy. "This is a case of maintaining the credibility of

the criminal justice system." Moreover, America's rulers are aware that retention of the death penalty is being seized on by their capitalist rivals abroad to embarrass U.S. imperialism and can be hurled as a weapon against its hypocritical "human rights" posturing.

As we wrote in "Death Penalty: Barbarism U.S.A." (WV No. 737, 2 June):

"We oppose the death penalty for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. We welcome the Illinois moratorium, however brief it may be, and any other measure curtailing state-sanctioned murder, just as we oppose all moves to expand and intensify the repressive powers of the capitalist state. Nothing short of a workers revolution will do away with the capitalist state, which is a machinery of organized violence to defend the rule of the capitalist exploiters against those whom they exploit and oppress."

In fighting to win the broadest possible support for death row political prisoner

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