

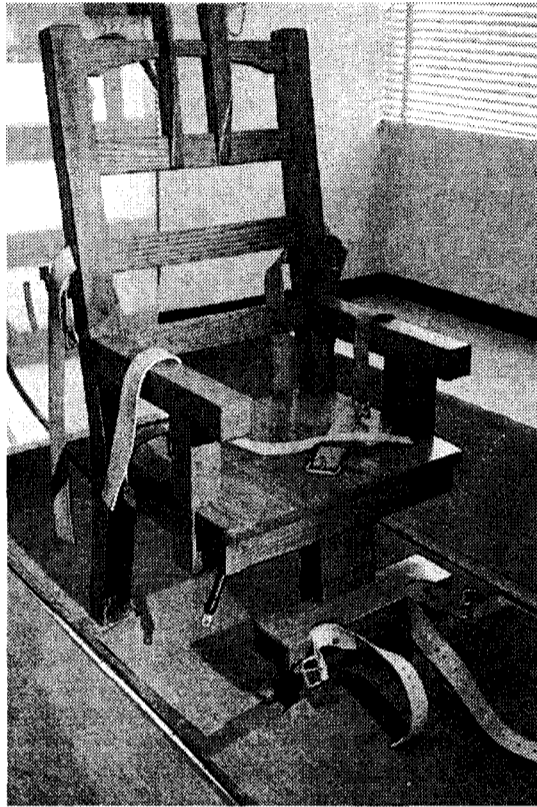
Democrats, Republicans Target Right of *Habeas Corpus*

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Sometime before year's end, a prisoner somewhere in this country will be taken from his cell to become the 500th person to be electrocuted, injected with lethal chemicals or otherwise killed since 1977, when the assembly line of death was started up again after a four-year pause. Five people were executed just in the week ending December 10. A sixth, Canadian national Stanley Faulder, narrowly avoided the Huntsville, Texas death chamber after the U.S. acquiesced to Canadian demands for a temporary stay because his sentence was imposed in violation of international law. No such diplomatic niceties have been accorded Washington's Mexican neocolony, whose nationals have repeatedly been executed in the U.S. despite international outcries.

Of the more than 3,500 people on death row in racist capitalist America, over 40 percent are black, more than three times their proportion of the population as a whole. Among them is Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose death warrant could be signed by Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge at any moment. Framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman 17 years ago, Mumia is threatened with death solely because of his history as a former Black Panther Party activist and MOVE supporter, because of his eloquent, outspoken opposition to the system of racist oppression.

As Marxists, the Spartacist League opposes the death penalty on principle: we do not accord to the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. Mumia's case symbolizes what the death



Starr/Picture Group

penalty is all about. A legacy of medieval torture rooted in the U.S. in the slave system which was smashed by the Civil War, the death penalty—legal lynching—is at the pinnacle of the racist machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. Seeking to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bot-

tom, the parties of capital—Democrats and Republicans—join in intensifying capitalist repression.

As more than two million, largely unionized manufacturing jobs have been slashed over the past couple of decades, the prison population has tripled. Over 1.7 million people, overwhelmingly black or Hispanic, fill the country's jails and prisons. Some 130 years after the passage

of the 14th and 15th Amendments granting citizenship and the right to vote to black people, fully 13 percent of black men are today disenfranchised because of felony convictions. In states of the former slavocracy, which also lead the country in the rate of executions, up to 30 percent of black males have effectively been stripped of citizenship rights.

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Reuters

Florida's electric chair. Democrat Clinton has presided over massive increase in capitalist state repression, including expansion of death penalty.

Union Tops Rigged Contract Vote for Giuliani

Government Hands Off District Council 37!

NEW YORK CITY, December 14—The escalating government vendetta against District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is aimed at placing the largest municipal union in the city directly under the thumb of the capitalist state. Admissions by cohorts of ousted D.C. 37 executive director Stanley Hill that they had rigged the vote on the 1996 contract to secure a victory for NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani only underlines the extent to which

Cops, Prison Guards Out of AFSCME!

the union had already been shackled to the class enemy. But the screams of corruption coming from government snoops and the union-hating press, and from their favored "reformers" within D.C. 37, are cynical in the utmost. There is no greater evidence of corruption within the labor movement than inviting the agencies of the capitalist rulers into the unions. *Government hands off D.C. 37!*

In recent months, the FBI and the Manhattan District Attorney have launched multiple probes into alleged embezzlement of union funds, seizing financial records from every one of the

56 locals in D.C. 37 and sticking their noses into every aspect of the union's internal affairs. Media spokesmen for the Wall Street tycoons dutifully churn out the standard "exposés" about "mob ties," union officials' "lavish" lifestyles and even a kickback scheme for overpriced Thanksgiving turkeys. Scrambling to stay a step ahead of the feds, the AFSCME International has taken direct control of D.C. 37, suspending Hill and booting out a number of other district and local union officials.

Those now being moved up into the D.C. 37 leadership include leaders of a bureaucratic "reform" lash-up, the

Committee for Real Change (CRC), who last month filed a lawsuit against the union under the notorious Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). RICO has long been the feds' weapon of choice in going after the unions. It was a RICO suit—wielded by Giuliani when he was a federal prosecutor—which opened the way for the government takeover of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

Indeed, the state's intervention into D.C. 37 is part of a stepped-up offensive against the entire union movement, particularly the IBT, in response to the solid and widely popular Teamsters strike against UPS in 1997. Immediately after that strike, the courts voided the reelection of Ron Carey, who was himself

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Against Racial Slurs

Newtown, Australia
14 September 1998

Dear Comrades,

The article "Workplace Violence? Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities" (Workers Vanguard No. 695, 28 August) contains a paragraph that illustrates a problem in citing racial pejoratives in quotations.

On page 5 the following appears, "...One of the managers who has it in for Kim displays a bumper sticker on his truck, 'Friends don't let friends buy Jap trucks.'... The union has filed grievances against this same manager for calling black workers 'n-----s'."

In this country, "Jap" is a commonly used racial slur, reflecting deeply held Laborite anti-Asian phobias. Japanese-American internees in West Coast concentration camps and the victims of fire/nuclear terror bombing of Japanese cities are among the more horrific examples of the ultimate effect of the anti-Asian racism/racial oppression that is not unknown in the United States. Given the increasingly anti-Japanese atmosphere in the U.S., I would venture to say that this particular term is again commonplace.

That the struggle against black oppression is central to the American Revolution goes almost without saying, but your glaringly different treatment in the citations of anti-black and anti-Japanese pejoratives is, at best, inconsistent. In any case, I see the device of "lining out" as half-assed—you're not printing it, but you are. I think it would be better to have

a policy of not printing this kind of thing at all.

The real point is that whatever literary device one employs, you do not print these things without pain. To treat them differently as in the example cited above implies that one is perhaps not as painful. I do not believe that to be the case.

Fraternally,
John S.

WV Replies

We agree with the objection John S. raises. We do not print racist epithets on principle, and that should and will in the future include the word "J--." As we wrote in "Huck Finn in Racist America" (Young Spartacus No. 101, Summer 1982, reprinted in our pamphlet "American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership"), use of "n-----r" represents a program, one that "means not only racist terror and lynch mobs but that the victims 'deserve it'."

Likewise, use of "J--" represents a program of racist terror against Japanese. This emerged most clearly during World War II, when this epithet was a chauvinist battle cry not only for the indiscriminate slaughter perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against Japan, capped by the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, but for the brutalization and imprisonment in concentration camps of more than 110,000 Americans of Japanese descent. The genocidal intent behind such acts was explicitly voiced at a 1943 Congressional hearing, when Lieutenant General John L. De Witt, head of the

Western Defense Command, opposed the release of imprisoned Japanese Americans with the argument that the entire Japanese people had to be "wiped off the face of the map" (see John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy* [1986]).

However, the necessary fight to mobilize labor to actively combat racial oppression and all forms of chauvinist bigotry would not be served, as John S.

suggests, by "not printing this kind of thing at all," even "lined out." Pretending that such racist slurs don't exist will not eliminate the acts of violent bigotry they serve to promote. Reporting the fact that Bay Area union militant Randy Kim was the target of such racist abuse by management illustrated the connection between anti-Asian and anti-black bigotry and attacks on the unions.

FSP Sneers and Smears

12 October 1998

Dear Editor,

Reading your attack on Freedom Socialist Party founder Clara Fraser, "Sex Lies and Pre-videtape" [sic] (Aug. 28, 1998), gave me a creepy feeling. Misogyny seeped from every line and it was hard to tell whose lies were greater—yours or those of Frank Krasnowsky who wrote the accompanying diatribe against Fraser.

I have noticed over the years that the only people who call the Freedom Socialist Party a cult, and Fraser a ball cutting, brain frying guru, are sidelined male leftists who suffer from performance envy. While the Spartacists dwindle (woman-hating doesn't have a big draw these days except on the right) and Krasnowsky left the FSP in 1966 to found nothing, we "polyvanguardists" of socialist feminism keep on keeping on. This year we ran candidates for public office in four states. Last year our sister organization Radical Women led the International Feminist Brigade to Cuba.

We are happy to be known by these and other works. Call us cockeyed optimists but we think feminism, interracial solidarity and gay liberation are transforming the U.S. and world working class à la Permanent Revolution.

The last 30 years have given us no reason to change this assessment. Cult, shmolt. Time will tell who is right; history judges us all.

In the meantime we will continue to work with the Spartacists and other left organizations to oppose the rise of fascism, promote civil liberties, and fight for a broad range of issues we already

agree on. While we recognize that there are real differences between your organization and ours, we believe that sectarianism is a deadly left disease and that it is important to emphasize areas of agreement and to seek out united front work wherever possible.

Sincerely,
Guerry Hoddersen
Freedom Socialist Party
National Committee

WV Replies

An organization for whom the mere acknowledgment of veteran American Trotskyist Dick Fraser is considered a misogynist attack on their "founder" Clara Fraser has more than a whiff of cultism to it. As for the FSP's appeal to join forces in united-front actions, to paraphrase Trotsky, we will join with the devil and his grandmother as long as the cause is just. But don't blame us if we have a jaundiced view of the integrity of their call to "oppose the rise of fascism."

In 1993, when our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada joined 500 other anti-fascist protesters in sending a gang of neo-Nazi skinheads packing in Vancouver, British Columbia, the FSP denounced us as "machos" impelled by "testosterone politics." They didn't, however, apply the same hormonal yardstick to the white, male, riot-equipped cops whose side the FSP stood on in trying to stop the anti-fascist protesters (see "FSP Liberals: Still Liars," *Spartacist Canada* No. 95, January/February 1994). And here you have the measure of what the charge of "misogyny" means coming from the mouths of the FSP.

Why We Don't Raise the Slogan "No Platform for Fascists"

Chicago
10 November 1998

To the editor:

I am writing concerning the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club leaflet, reprinted in WV No. 699 (23 October) under the headline "Protest Nazi Holocaust Apologists at UCLA!" In the first sentence it is stated that "The Spartacus Youth Club...protests the *Daily Bruin* (31 August) giving a platform to the fascist 'Committee for Open Debate on the

Holocaust' (CODOH) to spew their genocidal filth." The leaflet then goes on to point out, correctly, that fascist mobilizations are not a question of "free speech" or "debate" but rather recruitment drives for racist murder and genocide.

Comrades will remember we had earlier corrected an episodic but, nevertheless, errant use of the slogan "no platform for fascists." As we pointed out in the June 1987 Spartacist League conference

continued on page 4



TROTSKY

Lenin on Proletarian Class Independence

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 was prepared by the Bolsheviks' intransigent struggle for the class independence of the proletariat. In contrast, the Mensheviks called for a political alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie against the tsarist autocracy. This key difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism was evident early on, when the two tendencies were still formally part of a unitary party. In the 1907 elections, held in the wake of the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin insisted on the need for revolutionary socialists to run candidates in opposition to the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Cadets. This provoked furious denunciations from the Mensheviks and the bourgeois liberals.

If Bolshevism ever needed justification for its revolutionary and class tactics, it has now found it in the fury with which it is being attacked by the entire bourgeois press. If the petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats, sincerely striving to carry out their slogans, needed an object lesson, they are getting it now in the contempt with which they have been treated by the big and middle bourgeoisie, in the policy of compromise (with the government) which the Cadets are pursuing behind the backs of the people.

The revolutionary Social-Democrats say to all democrats among the urban and rural poor, only in alliance with the proletariat, only by throwing off the tutelage of the Cadets, only in a determined and consistent struggle against the autocracy will you find salvation. If you are mature enough for this, you will follow the proletariat. If not, you will remain under the tutelage of the Cadets; and, whatever the upshot of the election campaign, whatever the result of your bargaining among yourselves for seats, the proletariat will continue to pursue its own class revolutionary road.

—V.I. Lenin, "The St. Petersburg Elections and the Crisis of Opportunism" (January 1907)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 15.

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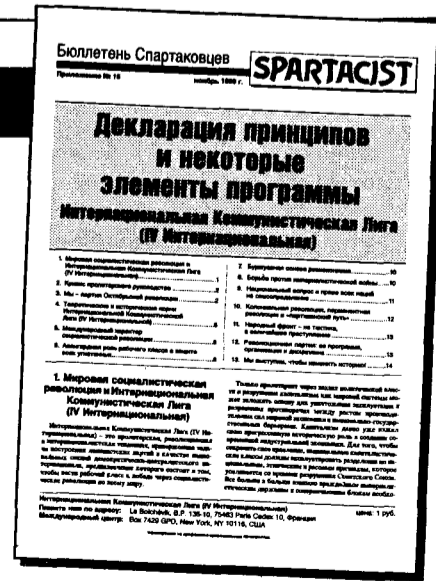
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ABC "20/20" Hatchet Job on Jamal: Set-Up for Legal Lynching

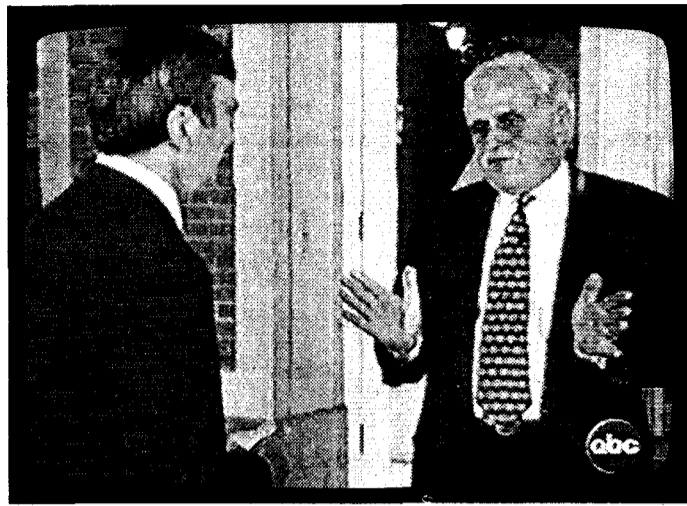
The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on December 15.

ABC-TV's 20/20 broadcast on Mumia Abu-Jamal on December 9 was an unvarnished statement of the intent of the rulers of this country to murder an innocent man, this time brought to you by the bought-and-paid-for capitalist media. In a December 12 message to his supporters from death row in Pennsylvania, Jamal captured the sinister objective of the program: "To make me 'killable'." Jamal was portrayed as a coldblooded, depraved killer by ABC's Sam Donaldson, who retailed "evidence" manufactured by the prosecution and secured through police intimidation and terror. Those who have raised their voices in defense of Jamal were portrayed as "duped" Hollywood celebrities and isolated bands of radical crazies.

There could hardly be a more blatant example of how the media serves as the propaganda machine for the purposes and interests of those who rule this society. 20/20 didn't even offer the pretense of "objective" journalism. The ABC broadcast was produced in *direct collusion* with the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), which has long led the charge for Jamal's execution. The program was a follow-up to the scurrilous full-page "advertisements" screaming for Jamal's death which were sponsored by the F.O.P. and carried in major newspapers around the country last June. In a June 30 letter to the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, ABC likened Jamal to Nazi war criminals (!) and other "convicted killers" and stressed: "We are currently working in conjunction with Maureen Faulkner [the widow of policeman Daniel Faulkner, whom Jamal was falsely convicted of killing] and the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of the Police."

The program was timed to air on the anniversary of the 1981 killing of Faulkner. It was broadcast as the threat of a new death warrant hangs over Jamal's head following the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's rejection of his appeal in late October. Its intent was to create a climate of opinion for the execution of Jamal and more broadly to sanctify the state's machinery of death. As the death chambers of Texas and South Carolina work overtime to slaughter as many people as possible before the year's end, Donaldson inveighed against the "larger purpose" of Jamal's supporters in opposing the racist death penalty.

Before the show aired, Donaldson told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (9 December) that "everything that we looked at compellingly points to the fact that Mumia shot Faulkner in cold blood." He argued,



ABC-TV

20/20's Sam Donaldson with Joseph McGill, former Philadelphia prosecutor who sent Jamal to death row. Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution besiege hospital workers union hall, 1995.



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

"As long as it's on the books, the death sentence has to be carried out." While 20/20 purported to have carried out a "four-month investigation," every shred of the brief for the prosecution presented by Donaldson has repeatedly been demolished—including at Jamal's 1995-96 Post-Conviction Relief court hearings—as documented in the 1995 PDC pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted and updated in the Spartacist League's *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15).

•Donaldson cited the "three eyewitnesses" who supposedly saw Jamal shoot Faulkner, covering up the fact that the only one who claimed to see Mumia with a gun in his hand was a prostitute and police informant who repeatedly changed her story in response to cop coercion, blackmail and bribes. The truth is that *at least five eyewitnesses from five different vantage points* told police that they saw a black man flee the scene, including one who identified him as the shooter. This could not have been Mumia, who was found at the scene bleeding profusely after being shot in the chest by Faulkner.

•Donaldson trumpeted as "a nail in Jamal's coffin" the hospital "confession" he supposedly uttered as he lay near death. *There was no confession!* 20/20 presented as good coin the prosecutors' tale that this "confession" surfaced *more than two months after the event* only because the cop they say had heard it supposedly "forgot."

•Donaldson dismissed out of hand the medical examiner's report that Faulkner was "shot with .44 cal[ibre]," while Jamal's legally registered gun was a .38 calibre. In fact, there is no evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired that night!

The star attractions of the 20/20 program were Faulkner's widow and Joseph McGill, the Philly District Attorney who sent Jamal to death row in 1982 for a murder the cops and prosecutors knew he did not commit. That McGill was the centerpiece of 20/20's presentation is enough to discredit this "investigative report." McGill once secured a murder conviction by waving a shotgun in the courtroom that he claimed was the murder weapon. The man McGill put away was freed 12 years later when it came out that the coroner's report showed the murder victim had been stabbed, not shot!

McGill is entirely representative of a frame-up system in which planting of evidence, coercion of witnesses and racist jury-rigging are routine—a frame-up system so blatant that hundreds of convictions have been thrown out in the city in recent years, and even the Justice Department felt compelled to file suit against Philadelphia police and city officials three years before Mumia's trial. In Jamal's case, McGill secured a death sentence by arguing that Mumia's membership in the Black Panther Party made

him a committed "cop killer." ABC retailed the same deadly amalgam.

About the only truthful statement made by Donaldson was his closing remark that Mumia refused to be interviewed by the network as long as it continued its union-busting lockout of NABET workers. But the trade unions representing *millions of workers internationally* who have spoken out or mobilized on Mumia's behalf were disappeared by Donaldson, whose intent was to demean Jamal's supporters as mindless disciples of a new "prophet." A

shot of Jamal from death row, his voice distorted through a sinister echo chamber as he says "Revolution is my religion," was aimed at portraying him as some new cult leader. Look no further than the bodies of eleven black men, women and children burned alive in the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune by the Philly cops to see the deadly purpose of this message.

In his message to supporters, Jamal spoke to the objective of the 20/20 program "to divide and dilute and destroy

continued on page 4

From Death Row

Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal About "20/20" Program

I watched with growing, mounting outrage as the ABC News program, 20/20 performed a carefully edited piece of deadly propaganda designed to secure my murder at the hands of the state. The name 20/20 presumably comes from the measurement for perfect vision; but, if the 20/20 program on my case is any indication, perhaps it should be called 20/200, for surely, they are virtually blind in one eye.

Using police, FOP and prosecution sources, they were able to paint a picture that screamed for death, while screaming so-called "facts" that were unbelievable! Consider, for instance, that claimed "confession"—Did anyone notice that *two* cops, officers Bell and Wakshul, *both* claimed to have conveniently forgotten it—for months? Isn't *that* unbelievable?

They, 20/20, never truly wanted my interview, for it would have spoiled their carefully crafted package; they went through the motions, wrote a few letters, and hemmed and hawed about getting a camera in. Does that sound like one of the most powerful networks in America? Instead, *our* lawyers—with extremely limited resources, fought in court for the opening of these hellholes to cameras—they *still* are fighting. 20/20 criticized a coroner's report where the .44 caliber is written, by saying the medical examiner wasn't an expert—ignoring the fact that the very same court *did* qualify him as an expert!

20/20, (or better 20/200) had two basic objectives—to present the state's brief, and by so doing, to damp down popular support for a new trial; time will tell if they were successful—but let me say this loud and clear—I am *innocent* of the crime of murder; yesterday, today, and still tomorrow.



WV Photo

ABC has proven itself a worthy subsidiary of the Disney chain—with their Mickey Mouse presentation they have transformed truth into cartoonish fiction;

The NABET strikers, battling for simple, humane health coverage have quite a battle ahead of them against the bosses; but, I'd rather be on their side, than the side of the millionaires, any day of the week—I urge you *all* to support them;

Finally, any suggestion that any of our people have threatened people is a damnable and dangerous lie; *Our* people have been beaten from San Francisco to Minneapolis, from Philadelphia to Chicago—not "threatened"—beaten, locked up, and hurled into jail, for daring to demonstrate, for wearing a T-shirt, for singing a slogan for freedom—but, conveniently, 20/200 didn't see that; obeying the whims of their corporate masters, they are bent on destroying a popular movement for life, for freedom, for justice! Will you let them?

I'll continue to do my part—I hope you'll do yours—Ona Move! LLJA! [Long Live John Africa!]

9 December 1998

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 15

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

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Report from Russia

The destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and the restoration of capitalism there have led to grinding poverty for the mass of the population. The ravages of capitalist counterrevolution are generating widespread desperation and discontent, including recently some strikes, occupations and other labor protests. What is sorely lacking is a proletarian revolutionary leadership committed to the internationalist aims of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The so-called Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) of Gennady Zyuganov is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist formation which spews Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism in league with outright monarchists and fascists and has no organic links to the proletariat. For its part, the corporatist Federation of Independent Unions (FNPR) completely accepts the framework of capitalist rule. We publish below edited extracts from a report by a sympathizer of the International Communist League in St. Petersburg on the October 7 national day of labor protest organized by the FNPR and the Novem-

ber 7 "Revolution Day" events dominated by the KPRF and its "red-brown" coalition.

* * *

A few words on the October 7 "All-Russian Protest Action" organized by the FNPR. Rallies, demonstrations and marches involved millions, even those who rarely take part in such events, including very many students, teachers, medical workers and those who had lost their jobs after the August economic crisis. In many regions, contingents were headed by local government administrators. While there was a sharp line between the unions and "Communists," the most common slogan was "Yeltsin Out."

In these actions, the KPRF took second place, since in the main the masses marched under the blue banners of the unions who had originated the idea of an autumn action. The KPRF took a long time to decide whether to join in with the unions or to organize their own event. Unable to agree on common slogans, there were attempts to hold separate actions. In Moscow, the result was

that thousands of people who came out turned around and went home when they were unable to find "their own" at the various gathering points. The desire of the unions to fully separate themselves from the "Communists" found its expression even in that not one KPRF leader spoke from the podium of the demonstration. KPRF head Gennady Zyuganov, aware of this, spent no more than 15 minutes at the demo and left.

Driven to desperation, the working people are ready to march under any banner in order to get their back pay and receive their salaries on time. At the current stage, people would be happy to lead a normal life without crises and convulsions, subsisting on their miserably low wages and pensions, even though after the August events, living standards have dropped no less than two and a half times.

Many people were driven into a state of shock this November when the Duma [parliament] refused to condemn—and many supported—vile anti-Semitic outbursts by KPRF Duma deputy Albert Makashov. People in major cities of European Russia have become accustomed to stridently racist statements and are not bothered by racist actions against "Caucasians." But Makashov's anti-Semitic statements

have provoked a wide response—"for" and "against." In the entire KPRF Duma fraction, only one person voted to denounce Makashov.

The final dot was put on the "i" at the November 7 demonstration in St. Petersburg's Winter Palace Square, where all the speakers supported or defended Makashov's speeches in one way or another. The KPRF marshals of the demonstration were joined by youth of Russian National Unity—outright, 100 percent fascist anti-Semites.

There were fewer people at the demonstration than ever: about 5-7,000. The "red-brown" coloration was also more distinct than usual. That the KPRF and other "Communist" organizations have even further degraded over the past period is obvious to all, which is precisely why so few toilers rallied under their banner. And those who did were fanatic, orthodox Stalinist types. After the appearance of books by L.D. Trotsky, of which there weren't any before 1991, there has arisen an interest in Trotsky and his ideas. The main task of the ICL today remains that of active propagandists—teaching cadres and attracting advanced workers and youth through an explanation of our views while counterposing them to the views of our enemies and opponents.

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction," this slogan "does not suggest the necessary mechanism of labor/black action but in fact implicitly dovetails with the standard liberal-reformist call upon the capitalist state to 'ban the Klan' by such means as pressuring city councils to deny them parade permits.... [It] is at best abstract and moralistic and cuts against our strategy for militant action of labor and the black masses to defeat the race-terrorists and drive them back into their holes."

The universities and those student papers bound to the administrations, as the think tanks of bourgeois class rule, are no less required than is the capitalist

state to retain "space" for the fascists as counterrevolutionary shock troops should bourgeois "democracy" prove itself insufficient to perpetuate capitalist class rule in the face of significant working-class insurgency. Indeed, in Germany prior to Hitler's rise to power, the universities were hotbeds of National Socialism (Nazism).

We should of course continue to denounce as outrages the publicizing of the fascists' genocidal filth by newspapers, TV stations, university panels, etc., as long as we make it clear that such "outrages" are a necessary feature of rapacious capitalist rule, requiring redress by the mobilization of the working class, with the ultimate destruction of fascism being dependent on triumphant proletarian revolution.

Comradely,
Ed Clarkson

How Philippine Fake Leftists Falsify Lenin

8 December 1998

To the editor:

Your article "Philippines: Estrada Regime Turns Screws on Workers, Poor" (WV No. 701, 20 November) correctly noted how Liga Sosyalista (LS) leader Sonny Melencio misuses Lenin's "Left-Wing" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder* to justify political alliances with "democratic" bourgeois forces. In the speech cited in the article, which Melencio gave to the Democratic Socialist Party of Australia in 1997 (reprinted in *Links*, July-October 1997), he defended the line that revolutionaries during the dying days of the Marcos dictatorship should have "tactically" formed "a coalition encompassing a range of classes and political blocs united by the single objective of dismantling the dictatorship and using all available means of struggle." However, the WV article missed a point in not addressing the specific citation from Lenin which revisionists like Melencio falsely use to defend their class-collaborationist politics.

In polemicizing against ultraleftists who rejected temporary tactical alliances with reformists or bourgeois liberals on principle, Lenin noted, "Prior to the downfall of tsarism, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats made repeated use of the services of the bourgeois liberals." He referred parenthetically to the fact that around 1907, in areas where the

Bolsheviks were a minority to the Mensheviks in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, they had agreed to the Menshevik policy of according votes to the Cadets (bourgeois liberals) "during second rounds of elections." Where the Bolsheviks had a majority, Lenin held that they should either vote for socialist candidates or, if given no other choice, abstain. Lenin spoke at the time of "two definite trends: the Mensheviks and the Bundists are in favour of blocs with the Cadets; the Bolsheviks, Poles and Letts are unreservedly against such blocs, but admit the possibility of agreements with the revolutionary democrats [e.g., the Socialist-Revolutionaries]" ("The Social-Democratic Election Campaign in St. Petersburg," January 1907).

Lenin fought for the *political independence of the proletariat*. At the time, however, Lenin considered the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to be two factions within a common party. Lenin's view on the party question evolved over time. After the Bolsheviks formed a distinct party in 1912, they never supported bourgeois formations politically. A compelling example is the period from February to October 1917, when the Bolsheviks steadfastly refused to give any support to the popular-front Kerensky government. As Lenin wrote in "Left-Wing" *Communism*:

"The parliamentary representatives of this [Bolshevik] party preferred exile in

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

popular support for our cause and within our movement; because our strength and breadth has frightened them." The American rulers want to kill Jamal because in their eyes he represents what they hate and fear—a black revolutionary. They want to vilify those who would support him because the cause of his freedom has the potential to ignite the social power of the multiracial working class against racist capitalist rule. As we wrote in our 30 October statement following the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's unanimous rejection of Jamal's appeal:

"After decades of defeat, the labor movement has demonstrated renewed combativity, from last year's UPS strike to the walkout which shut down the GM empire this summer. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself."

The entire history of the vendetta against Jamal by the cops, courts and media gives the lie to the liberal illusion that the agencies of the capitalist rulers, their state and their Democratic and

Siberia to taking a road leading to ministerial portfolios in a bourgeois government. The revolution that overthrew Tsardom and established a democratic republic put this party to a new and tremendous test—it did not enter into any agreements with its 'own' imperialists, but prepared and brought about their overthrow."

Electoral blocs with bourgeois candidates are unprincipled and in reality mean an "alliance" where the bourgeoisie is the rider and the proletariat is the horse. In some instances, it is appropriate to give critical electoral support to reformist workers parties. The purpose of such tactics is to advance the proletariat's consciousness on the need for an authentic communist party and to expose the reformists—whom Lenin called "agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement"—as an *obstacle*. Lenin's famously scathing application of the tactic of critical support to the British Labour Party is enunciated thus in "Left-Wing" *Communism*: "I want to support Henderson in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man."

When the Russian Menshevik Ple-

Republican politicians can somehow be pressured to provide justice for Mumia. All who are committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom must mobilize in the unions, on the campuses, in communities across the country and around the world. Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370. ■

khanov argued, "We must prize the support of the non-proletarian parties and not drive them away from us by tactless behavior," Lenin countered: "The liberals among the landed gentry will forgive you millions of 'tactless' acts, but they will never forgive incitements to take away their land." Genuine Leninists believe it is possible to engage in common *actions* with non-proletarian forces; however, the proletarian party must march under its own banner and continue to champion its distinct class interests *against* the bourgeoisie during such temporary tactical alliances.

In the Philippines, most of the left supported Cory Aquino and the myth of "people power" in the mid-1980s, liquidating into a *bourgeois* movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Instead of struggling with a program to bring the working class to power, such "leftists" foisted on workers and peasants dangerous illusions that bourgeois liberals were their friends and that capitalism could be reformed.

Bolshevik greetings,
George R.

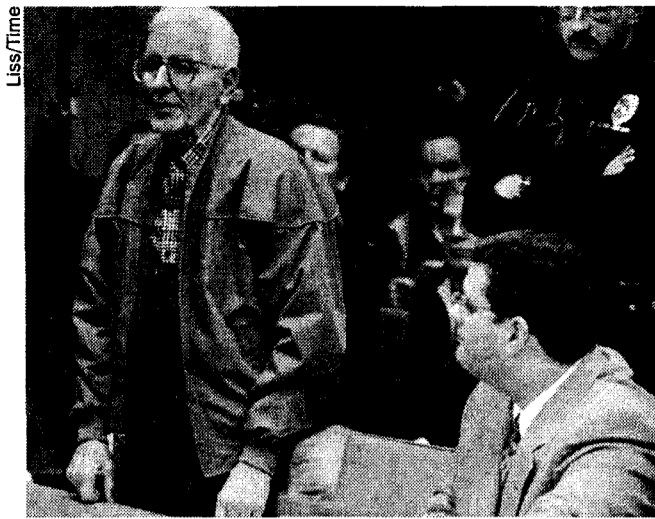
In Defense of the Right to Privacy

What is at issue in the murder charges brought against Dr. Jack Kevorkian on December 9 is the most fundamental right to privacy, the right to be left alone in intimate, personal matters like death and sex. Anyone who has suffered through the slow, painful last months of a relative or companion dying in a noisy hospital ward or in a nursing home surrounded by strangers is intensely aware of what the right to choose the time and manner of one's death would mean. And all too often this option is most needed when the dying person is least able to act alone in the face of a wall of bureaucratic obstacles.

After repeated, unsuccessful attempts to get a jury to convict Kevorkian for assisting the suicide of terminally ill patients, the state has now vindictively charged Kevorkian with first-degree murder because he himself administered the lethal injection which Thomas Youk had requested. Youk was suffering from advanced-stage Lou Gehrig's disease. Kevorkian gave the videotape of the suicide to CBS, which aired it on *60 Minutes*.

The hypocrisy surrounding the issue of assisted suicide is astounding. In a survey of 2,000 doctors for AIDS patients in the San Francisco area, over half said they had at least once agreed to a patient's request to help him die. Yet even though polls show that most of the population—up to 75 percent, according to *Time* magazine (December 7)—supports some form of the "right to die," politicians continue to enact laws against it. Kevorkian's only "crime" is to openly challenge intrusive government bans and the hypocrisy of the medical establishment.

**Dr. Jack Kevorkian
arraigned on
murder charge in
Michigan court for
assisting suicide of
terminally ill patient.**



As we wrote in an earlier article, "In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian" (WV No. 593, 4 February 1994):

"The big problem is the state, priests and preachers, and the upper echelons of the medical establishment who ordain that they, and only they, have the 'god-given right' to determine how you live and how you die...."

"Any veterinarian will put a fatally sick dog or cat out of its misery. The opposition to applying the same elementary humanitarianism to human beings is derived from the Christian concept of the human 'soul,' which only god can take. Unless, of course, the 'soul' is one of a 'criminal'—in which case often the same bible-thumping 'pro-lifers' will campaign for your death."

In Texas, the "Right to Life Committee" got Republican governor George Bush to veto a statute last year allowing for "living wills," which instruct doctors that you do not want to be artificially maintained if you become hopelessly incapacitated. Texas also happens to have the highest

rate of execution—i.e., state-sanctioned murder—in the country. And Democrat Clinton, who opposes assisted suicide on "moral" grounds, has overseen a vast expansion in the racist, barbaric death penalty.

In this society, it seems that everything that ought to be purely private and consensual is either proscribed or prescribed: you are either forbidden to do it or you must. Every aspect of human sexuality—from teen or gay sex to childbearing and abortion—is hedged with a thicket of intimidating legislation or outright bans like "age of consent" and anti-sodomy laws propped up by religious taboos and superstitions. And the same religious fanatics who terrorize abortion clinics in the name of "life" are a moving force to ensure that you die in agony in the name of "god."

Last year, the Supreme Court ruled that individual states were free to permit

or ban physician-assisted suicide. In a brief to the Court railing against the supposedly dangerous precedent that would be set by endorsing the right to assisted suicide, the Catholic Conference wrote: "A decision to use hallucinogenic drugs for recreation, engage in a consensual duel, sell one's body into prostitution, or any number of other equally personal and intimate activities currently subject to state prohibition would be constitutionally protected." In fact, we oppose all laws against so-called "crimes without victims," such as gambling, drug use and prostitution. In "Impeachment Drive Threatens Right to Privacy for All" (WV No. 697, 25 September), we declared: "For Marxists, opposition to government interference in people's personal lives is a matter of principle, regardless of who is on the receiving end."

More liberal opponents of assisted suicide argue that it will encourage uncaring bureaucracies to kill off the "unwanted." The racist rulers of American capitalism are *already* killing off those they deem unwanted—particularly wide swaths of the ghetto masses—through the axing of welfare and other vital social benefits, hunger and homelessness and all-round vicious neglect. As we concluded in our previous article on Kevorkian:

"When the wealth, tremendous resources and medical technology of this society are put to the service of the many, not the profits of the few, we will be able to build a society where human life, human worth and human dignity count. But that will take a socialist revolution to bring down the decaying system of capitalism which sells human life for dollars. In the here and now, we defend Dr. Kevorkian's fight for human beings to die with dignity." ■

New York City Transit

Foremen Out of TWU!

An accident on the New York City subways earlier this month when a train ran into a cluster of electrical cables which had fallen onto the track is the latest example of how massive speedup has resulted in a dangerous deterioration of maintenance and safety conditions. While subway and bus ridership has surged in the last couple of years, giving the NYC Transit Authority (TA) a hefty surplus of nearly \$400 million, the TA workforce has been slashed by 10 percent since 1995. Meanwhile, the TA has targeted Transport Workers Union (TWU) safety officers for victimization.

Instead of organizing the class-struggle fight needed to defend jobs and safety conditions and reverse speedup, the TWU leadership under Local 100 president Willie James has colluded with TA management, even dismissing Earl Kelly as a safety officer in September after a transit supervisor had the cops arrest him for protesting safety violations. And earlier this summer, the TWU leadership invited the foremen into the union itself.

This is a betrayal of the most elementary principles of working-class struggle. Transit supervisors and foremen are part of management. Their job is to drive workers to meet the demands of the money-hungry Transit Authority by enforcing speedup, flaunting safety regulations and gutting the power of the union. Foremen are the ones who initiate disciplinary proceedings, drag workers in for drug tests and serve as a reserve army of strikebreakers. By signing up these agents of the class enemy, the TWU

bureaucracy undercuts the very purpose of the union, which was forged in struggle *against* the bosses' attacks. **Foremen out of the union!**

New York transit workers should be outraged that the TWU leadership has brought foremen into the union. In announcing that the Transit Supervisors Organization had been granted a charter as TWU Local 106, the TWU tops even bragged about their "unique understanding of line supervisors needs and concerns" as a result of having brought transit supervisors in Philadelphia and San Francisco into the union (*TWU Express*,

30 June). The supervisors' "concerns" are those of the bosses! Last August, as the *Chief* (21 August) reported, a TA supervisor in New York even smashed a union safety officer over the head as he attempted to document track violations. And when Philly transit workers shut down public transport last summer, the TWU-organized foremen acted as scabs, doing their best to smash the strike.

The recruitment of foremen into the TWU is part of a whole class-collaborationist perspective through which the pro-capitalist union misleaders undermine workers' class consciousness and tie them



1980 New York City transit strike. Unleashing power of integrated working class requires political struggle against pro-capitalist union bureaucracy.

to the class enemy, its state and political parties. And this is hardly limited to the TWU. In the construction trades, not only are foremen generally members of the union but a number of them actually hold leadership positions. In New York City, the Communications Workers of America (CWA) "organizes" supervisors of city workers.

Following the same treacherous logic, the AFSCME public employees union, Teamsters and CWA include cops and prison guards—the armed enforcers of capitalist rule. Across the board, the union misleaders act to bind workers to the bourgeois state. Thus, the TWU tops bow down before the anti-strike Taylor Law, as they did in strangling the 1980 transit strike. The TWU already includes in its ranks TA security guards. Police and company cops have no place in the labor movement. **Security guards out of the TWU!**

Two years ago, the Willie James bureaucracy shoved through a contract mandating the replacement of hundreds of unionized cleaners by desperately poor welfare recipients forced into slave-labor "workfare" (see "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions," WV No. 652, 27 September 1996). Last year, they endorsed racist Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani for re-election. Now Giuliani is about to implement the use of a thousand "workfare" recipients in the subways. The TWU should organize those used by the city to clean the subways as full union members getting equal pay for equal work. But the TWU leadership is dead set against any such perspective. The union bureaucrats' support to the partner parties of capitalism—especially the Democrats, whom they treacherously present as "friends of labor"—is the chief vehicle through which they tie labor politically to the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to oust the betrayers at the head of the TWU and other unions and to replace them with a class-struggle leadership that fights

continued on page 12

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

In a move undertaken to consolidate the party's political resources, the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee voted last year to suspend publication of *Women and Revolution*, the journal of its Commission for Work Among Women, for the immediate future. As mandated by the delegates at last winter's Third International Conference of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Spartacist*, the theoretical journal of the ICL's International Executive Committee, will now regularly publish articles under the *Women and Revolution* masthead on the woman question and related issues of special oppression. The first such article, "Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa," appeared in *Spartacist* No. 54 (Spring 1998).

Women and Revolution was established in 1971 as a special journal seeking to intervene with a communist program into the women's movement developing out of the breakup of the New Left in the United States. While that movement dissipated years ago, the SL maintained *W&R* as the only Marxist journal in the United States dedicated to the question of the liberation of women, a question which intersects social struggle in every country. Because the woman question is so deeply rooted in culture and society, *W&R* became a natural vehicle for our Marxist party to treat a wide range of subjects such as art, religion and anthropology.

We are proud to offer the first bound volume of this unique journal, containing *W&R* Nos. 1 through 20 (May/June 1971 to Spring 1980), with an index of the articles. Most notably, this volume includes



Spartacist/PDC contingent at 1989 Washington, D.C. abortion rights rally. ICL campaigned for aid to embattled city of Jalalabad following Soviet leader Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan.

our articles on the history of early communist work among women. We look to the tradition of the Russian Bolsheviks, to the authority of their paper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) and to the Leninist principles of the early Communist International (CI), which established a women's section and an international women's journal. The Bolsheviks rejected the demeaning notion that the liberation of women was "women's work" and saw it as a task of the party as a whole. Early issues of *Women and Revolution* printed "Methods of Work Among the Women of the Communist Party" from the CI's Third Congress in 1921, which advocated national and inter-

national women's sections of the party aimed at extending the influence of the party to layers of working-class and peasant women whose participation in the revolutionary movement was vital.

The active championing of the emancipation of women is crucial to the struggle to forge a vanguard party capable of overthrowing the capitalist order, the source of oppression and exploitation today. The oldest social division of labor was along sex lines. Later, when leaps in productivity generated social surplus, society became divided into classes, bringing with it the institution of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Friedrich Engels explained that the monogamous patrilineal family arose "to make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." Under capitalism, the institution of the family remains the central source of the oppression of women and is crucial in ensuring that the bourgeoisie's property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. For the proletariat, the institutionalized family means the burden of raising the next generation of workers, caring for the sick and aged, and instilling bourgeois codes of "morality" and obedience to authority.

While each country has its own particular social reality, the family and the oppression of women are central to class society everywhere. Proletarian women,

subjected to double oppression, play a key economic role as part of the reserve army of the unemployed, drawn into wage labor at boom time and fired at the next downturn. Today in imperialist-dominated countries such as Indonesia and Mexico, women workers are a vital component of a young, vibrant proletariat. As we emphasized in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" adopted at the Third International Conference (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"In countries of belated capitalist development, the acute oppression and degradation of women is deeply rooted in pre-capitalist 'tradition' and religious obscurantism. In these countries the fight against women's oppression is therefore a motor force of revolutionary struggle. The condition of women in the most advanced capitalist countries, while far different, shows the limits of freedom and social progress under capitalism; revolutionists are the most consistent champions of women's elementary democratic rights such as free legal abortion and 'equal pay for equal work'."

In seeking to forge a Leninist party as a tribune of the people, championing the rights of all the oppressed, we fight for the workers movement to take up the struggle for women's rights as an integral part of its battle against the capitalist system. At the same time, we expose bourgeois feminism, whose aim is the promotion of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women into the old boys' club of power and privilege, as an enemy of proletarian women. In this we stand in the tradition of Clara Zetkin and the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy before World War I, whose struggle for women's emancipation and against bourgeois feminism so effectively polarized the women's movement along class lines that with the ascension of the Third Reich the bourgeois feminists flocked to support the Nazis.

Partly as a result of our intervention for a revolutionary program linking the struggle against special oppression to the fight against the entire capitalist order, in 1977 the Spartacist League won over and fused with the Red Flag Union (RFU), a collective which developed out of the gay liberation/Maoist/New Left milieu. The last issue of *Red Flag* appeared as a special fusion supplement to *Workers Vanguard*; *W&R* (No. 16, Winter 1977-78) reprinted the RFU document "Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program."

As our organization extended its inter-



In the tradition of the women's section of the early Communist International, *Women and Revolution* applied Marxist worldview to a range of issues, from sex and culture to class battles internationally.

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We are proud to make available the first bound volume of *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S. Now incorporated into *Spartacist*, the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Women and Revolution* reflects our commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

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Articles under *Women and Revolution* masthead appear in press of ICL sections in Italy, France, Poland, Germany, Japan and Mexico and in ICL theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.

national roots, *Women and Revolution* increasingly reflected this change. While it formally remained the journal of the SL/U.S., *W&R* came to serve as a journal of the ICL as a whole, soliciting contributions from all ICL sections. We expanded *W&R*'s editorial board and initiated the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* pages in the presses of our non-English-language sections. *W&R* earned a modest but enthusiastic readership, particularly among immigrant and minority women, from London to Toronto to Sydney, Australia. Our article "80 Million Women Maimed: The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation" (*W&R* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992) was sold to many African women in Europe and was translated in the press of the ICL's French section. The same issue of *W&R* featured "Korean Women Expose 'Comfort Girl' Atrocities: Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women," which also appeared in *Spartacist* Japan No. 13 (September 1992) and intersected events in Japan organized by Japanese of Korean descent.

Meanwhile, in the United States the tumultuous social struggles of the civil rights and Vietnam antiwar movements in the 1960s and early '70s had ebbed. Concessions wrung from the capitalist rulers when they feared social unrest came under new attack. A vicious anti-sex witchhunt was part of the attempt to regiment the American population behind the global anti-Soviet war drive. As women's right to abortion came under increasing attack by the capitalist state and organized religion, bourgeois feminist groups like NOW attempted to channel protests into electoral support for the capitalist Democratic Party and appeals to the state to "protect" abortion clinics.

As our comrades joined in defense of the abortion clinics, *Women and Revolution* fought against feminist ideology and stressed that the struggle to defend and extend abortion rights necessarily meant a fight against state intervention in all areas of private life. Meanwhile, the feminists and their fake-left supporters entirely bought into the right-wing crusade to stamp out "deviant" sex. This has included hysteria over pornography, deranged fantasies of day-care "sexual abuse" leading to the victimization or imprisonment of hundreds, the "date rape" frenzy (which conflated the real crime of rape with unpleasant sexual experiences) and, most recently, the "sex predator" witchhunt. The "date rape" and anti-pornography furor is a reversion to the old double standard in which women are stereotyped as passive victims. Most ominously, the anti-sex witchhunt has led to an enormous strengthening of the forces of bourgeois repression.

The relative lack of social struggle in the United States and the growing opportunities for our party around the world motivated the ICL's decision to put more of our too-scarce resources into international extension. As a result, the SL/U.S. now finds itself, for the time being, without sufficient resources to continue the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* as a separate journal. This decision was taken reluctantly, especially as the struggle for women's rights has continued

to be a major political issue worldwide, particularly with the rise of Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship in Iran in 1979.

The status of women emerged as a vital issue in the renewed Cold War drive to destroy the Soviet Union launched by the imperialists when Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan in late 1979. This was particularly clear in the case of the



Rabotnitsa (The Working Woman), Bolshevik women's journal. Communist cadres of Zhenotdel, Soviet commission for work among women, teach literacy in Soviet Central Asia, 1924.

Afghan civil war, which pitted a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime against CIA-armed, tribalist *mujahedin* cutthroats. We raised the call: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" However degenerated by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the USSR remained a workers state. The fight to defend women's rights was integrally linked to the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Kremlin's withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989, foreshadowing capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, led ultimately to the victory of the Taliban Islamic reactionaries who have driven women back to social seclusion and murderous subjugation. And in Poland, the rise of imperialist-sponsored Solidarność in 1980 marked the beginning of an ultimately successful crusade—using Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church as a battering ram—for capitalist restoration, which has driven women out of the workplace and eliminated the right to abortion.

Women have been among the biggest losers in the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, as the profit system of capitalist "democracy" dismantled social gains like abortion rights, free education and plentiful day-care centers. While every other left tendency on the planet capitulated to the ideological pressure of imperialist anti-Communism, the ICL mobilized our entire international to intervene in the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 as part of our fight to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class.

In China today, where the very existence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution hang in the balance, the Bei-

jing regime's introduction of capitalist market "reforms" has already brought back not only massive unemployment throughout the country and untrammelled exploitation in the so-called "special economic zones" but rampant prostitution and the buying and selling of women as "brides" (see "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women," *W&R* No. 45,



Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

Winter/Spring 1996). As the only road forward, the ICL calls for proletarian political revolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam—to oust the bureaucracy and establish workers democracy as part of the global struggle for socialist revolution.

The downfall of the Soviet degenerated workers state was a world-historic defeat. As we wrote in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"History speaks its verdicts loudly. The ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR is an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet....
 "Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a

class for itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class. Marxism must once again win the allegiance of the proletariat."

The fight for the emancipation of women is a powerful lever in the struggle for proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus it is particularly appropriate for

Women and Revolution pages to be incorporated into *Spartacist*. Articles on the woman question will still be published under the *W&R* masthead in sectional presses of the ICL, and *Workers Vanguard* will continue to expose every manifestation of the oppression and inequality of women which the entrenched power of organized religion and the whole system of capitalist rule engender in the U.S. and abroad.

Only the overthrow of the capitalist system once and for all will secure our rights and lay the foundations for a new world in which the institution of the family will be replaced with collective child-care and housework. *Women and Revolution*, as part of *Spartacist*, is a valuable tool in the rebirth of an authentically communist Fourth International in the wake of the collapse of Stalinism. It remains one of the most effective vehicles for the International Communist League to champion the liberating goals of communism and the necessarily global struggle for a classless society. ■

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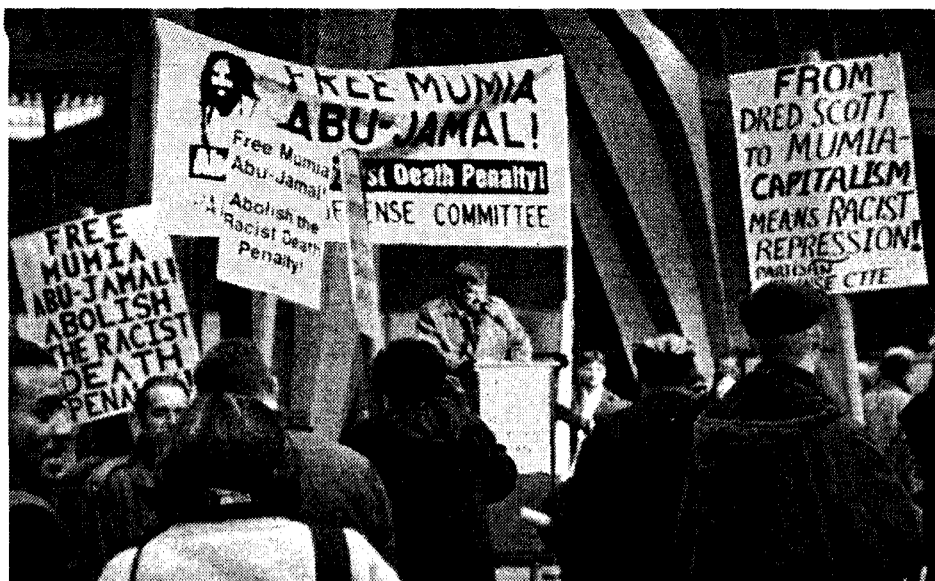
(continued from page 1)

The speedup on death row is part of a broad assault on civil liberties, particularly by the Clinton White House. This is embodied in the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, signed by Clinton in 1996, which not only vastly expands the use of the federal death penalty but mandates the jailing and deportation of permanent residents, no matter how long these immigrants have been residents of the U.S., on the basis of the most minor prior convictions. This law also guts the fundamental right of federal *habeas corpus*, a means for prisoners to seek redress in the federal courts against unconstitutional state court proceedings. With some 40 percent of *habeas corpus* appeals resulting in reversal of death sentences in the federal courts, the right of *habeas corpus* has been a principal target of the forces of repression for decades. And a December 14 U.S. Supreme Court decision sharply curtailed the ability of federal courts to reverse state death sentences even in cases where a constitutional violation is found.

Habeas Corpus and Radical Reconstruction

Just as the death penalty is rooted in slavery, federal *habeas corpus* has its roots in the abolition of slavery. It is one of the gains of the Reconstruction era after the Civil War, the most democratic period in American history. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1867 extended to state prisoners a right previously accorded only to federal prisoners, to sue in federal court for their freedom.

Originating in English feudal law, the writ of *habeas corpus* did not begin as a tool for prisoners to gain their freedom but as a vehicle for the monarch to expand his power. The earliest writ of *habeas corpus* was simply a device—similar to a summons—for the king's courts to call prisoners before them. It served to consolidate the power of the royal courts over the various local courts with the aim of cohering a centralized absolutist state. Over time, this writ evolved into a vehicle for prisoners, particularly from the nobility, to protest their confinement. This right was strengthened under the Habeas Corpus Act passed in 1641 by the Long Parliament. The Long



WV Photo

PDC-initiated labor-centered protest for Jamal, Chicago, November 21. Multiracial proletariat must be mobilized in struggle for black rights.

Parliament also abolished the hated Star Chamber—used by the king to persecute his opponents—and ushered in the Cromwellian revolution that briefly overthrew the monarchy.

In America, the contours of *habeas corpus* were dictated by the co-existence of two social systems, one based on slave labor and the other on so-called "free labor," the right to buy and sell labor power. The federal system of 1789 was a compromise between the Northern bourgeoisie and the Southern slavocracy, which both profited from the resulting creation of a national market and a standing army to put down popular unrest. The right of *habeas corpus* was lauded as the "Great Writ." But the intractable contradictions of a country which was "half slave, half free" made it unthinkable that state prisoners could be allowed to challenge their prosecution in the federal courts.

The single exception to this rule came during the "nullification" crisis of 1832-33. When South Carolina's slaveowners threatened to imprison federal tariff collectors, Congress passed a law allowing federal officials imprisoned by state governments to sue for release in the federal courts. That provision came into its own in the 1850s amid pitched battles over the hated Fugitive Slave Act, which required federal marshals in Northern states to hunt down escaped slaves and return them to their owners. In their heroic efforts to wrest escaped slaves from the hands of their captors, Northern aboli-

tionists often broke them out of jail. In some cases, the abolitionists were aided by local justices of the peace, who would imprison the federal marshals. The marshals would then turn to the federal courts to get them out of county jails.

It took a bloody Civil War, in which 200,000 black troops helped turn the tide,



Missouri Historical Society

to smash the Southern slave power. The system of federal government established in its aftermath was an expression of the unification of the nation on the basis of a capitalist economy. Within weeks of the ratification of the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery in December 1865, the chair of the House Judiciary Committee put forward a bill aimed at empowering the federal courts to enforce the new measure by extending the right of federal *habeas corpus* "to persons held in slavery or involuntary servitude contrary to the Constitution." The committee then approved a much broader bill, which was finally enacted in early 1867, granting the right to any state prisoner "restrained of his or her liberty in violation of the Constitution."

When Southern racists tried to use the new law in their attempts to sabotage the work of Reconstruction state governments, Senator Lyman Trumbull stressed in 1867 that it had been designed specifically "to protect loyal [Union] men in the rebel States from oppression under color of State laws administered by rebel officers; to protect especially those who had formerly been slaves, and who, under color of vagrant and apprentice laws in some of the States, were being reduced to a bondage more intolerable than that from which they had been recently delivered." Three years later, when North Carolina Reconstruction governor William Holden called out the state militia to suppress the counterrevolutionary terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern Democrats again appealed to the federal courts to secure the release of imprisoned Klansmen. It was to stop such attempts to subvert Reconstruction that Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act in 1871, allowing President Grant to suspend *habeas corpus* in the fight against the KKK.

The Compromise of 1877, which pulled the last federal troops out of the South, sealed the defeat of Reconstruction and gave free rein to Klan terror (see "The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism," WV No. 701, 20 November). In the following years, the U.S. Supreme

Court drastically scaled back federal *habeas corpus*. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Court created the "exhaustion of state remedies" doctrine, requiring state prisoners to pursue all state court appeals before going to federal court. In 1915, the Supreme Court endorsed a Georgia high court ruling rejecting Jewish frame-up victim Leo Frank's appeal against his murder conviction, arguing that it had to accept the state court's claim that the lynch-mob trial had been fair. When the Georgia governor nevertheless commuted Frank's sentence, a racist mob broke into the jail and lynched him. The anti-Semitic murder of Leo Frank signaled the rebirth of the race-terrorist KKK.

Legal Rights and Class Struggle

Particularly in the wake of the October Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling upholding every aspect of the racist frame-up which sent Jamal to death row in 1982, liberal supporters of Mumia's cause are placing all their hopes in the *habeas corpus* appeal soon to be filed in federal court. The federal court which will likely hear Mumia's *habeas* petition is the same court which recently sentenced his son, Jamal Hart, to more than 15 years in prison on trumped-up charges for fighting

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KIDNAPPERS

Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in kidnaping, catching, and keeping slaves. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the fugitives among you, please show in every possible manner, in no way DISOBEYING the laws of the most unfortunate of your times.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1861.

In rejecting Dred Scott's suit to win freedom from slavery, Supreme Court ruled in 1857 that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." 1851 Boston placard: abolitionists waged pitched battles to defend and free escaped slaves.

for his father's freedom.

While Jamal's attorneys pull every legal lever to win his freedom, we place no confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts and all confidence in the working masses, who uniquely have the class interest and social power to defeat this system of racist repression. The bourgeois judicial system is by nature premised on racial discrimination and class bias. Along with the cops, military and prison system, the courts are an integral part of the capitalist state, whose purpose is to defend the property and rule of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The only rights to which the bourgeoisie is unalterably committed are those which enforce its property relations—the right to hold private property, to own the basic means of production, to employ wage labor, etc. There can also be under bourgeois democracy specifically proletarian rights—like the right to picket, to strike, to organize unions. Such rights are *wrested* from the bourgeoisie and

CORRECTIONS

In "Government Hands Off New York City D.C. 37" (WV No. 701, 20 November), we wrote that as head of AFSCME District Council 37 Stanley Hill "has run point for City Hall's massive cutbacks which have meant tens of thousands of layoffs and further devastation of the ghettos and barrios." In fact, tens of thousands of jobs were slashed largely through "attrition," with the collusion of Hill and other municipal union bureaucrats.

In a photo caption accompanying the article "Protest Racist Murder of Korean Leftist in Japan!" (WV No. 702, 4 December), we mistakenly described a 1994 protest as "against anti-Korean attacks." In fact, the protest was directed against Japanese imperialist military provocations against North Korea.



Chicago Tribune



UPI

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this...

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. [Name] might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today.

...all aspire to this position. ... a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

1969 assassination of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton by Chicago cops was part of FBI COINTELPRO terror operation to "neutralize" black radicals.

maintained only through the independent action of the proletariat. But even broader democratic rights (free speech and assembly, trial by a jury of one's peers, etc.) are secured under capitalism, especially for working people and the oppressed, through social struggle and are eminently reversible in the absence of such struggle.

It was only as a result of the civil rights movement beginning in the 1950s and the mass protests against the dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam that the right to *habeas corpus* gained a new lease on life and the death penalty was suspended for a brief period. In their struggle against segregationist Dixiecrat state and local governments in the South, civil rights activists looked to the federal courts. Intent on preventing black radicalization, the federal government enacted a number of measures dismantling formal Jim Crow segregation. At the same time, the FBI spied on even liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr., including with KKK "informants."

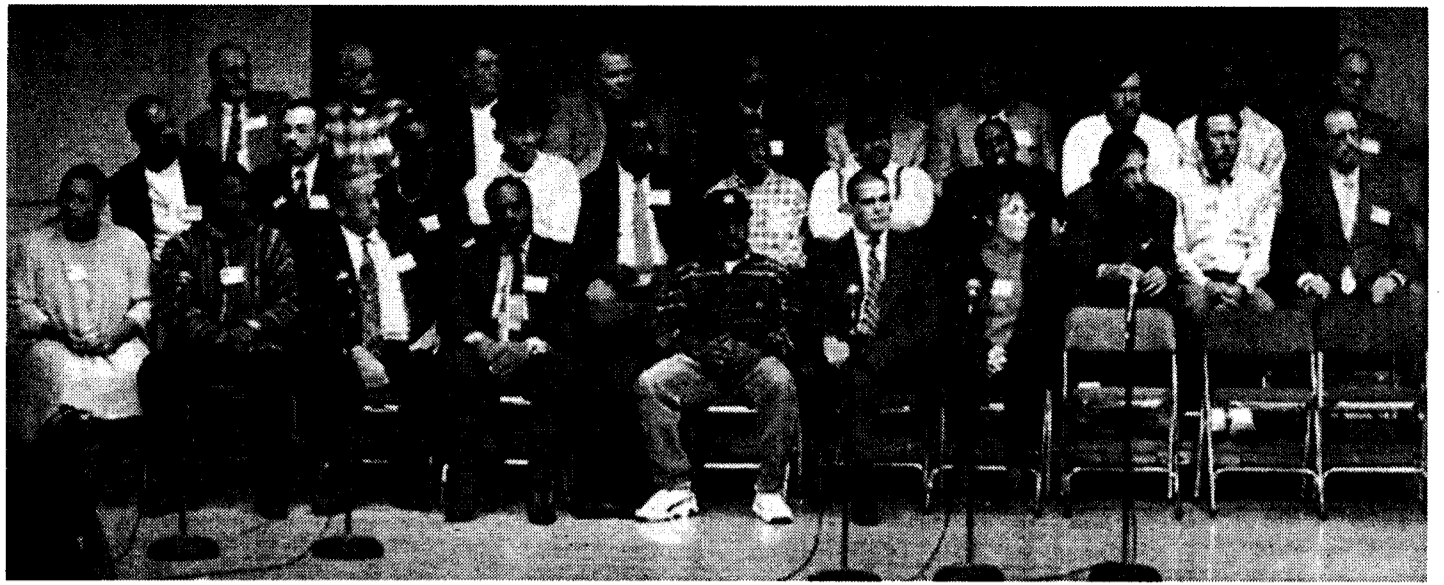
After the social protests and urban upheavals had died out, the bourgeoisie moved rapidly to again regiment the population. In 1976, the same Supreme Court which had four years earlier ruled that the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" in its application gave the executioners a green light to resume their barbaric work. The past two decades of reaction have seen a gutting of *habeas corpus*, going hand in hand with the criminalization of a generation of ghetto youth and the speedup on death row.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

What is clear from the entire history of American capitalism is the fear of black revolt shared by all wings of this deeply racist ruling class and the lengths to which it will go to suppress any radicalization of the black masses. This was evident in the notorious *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision of 1857. Arguing that the black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Dred Scott's suit to win his freedom when his slavemaster took him to a free state. In his ruling, Chief Justice Taney went on to warn against the repercussions of allowing blacks to become citizens:

"It would give to persons of the negro race...the full liberty of speech in public and in private upon all subjects upon which its own citizens might speak; to hold public meetings upon political affairs, and to keep and carry arms wherever they went. And all of this would be done in the face of the subject race of the same color, both free and slaves, inevitably producing discontent and insubordination among them, and endangering the peace and safety of the State."

Eighty years after the *Dred Scott* ruling, during the Great Depression, the fear of black revolt was spelled out in nearly identical terms in the case of Georgia Communist Party organizer Angelo Herndon. In 1932, Herndon was charged with inciting insurrection on the grounds that



November conference on death penalty at Chicago's Northwestern University Law School featured 30 people who had been released from death row after proving their innocence. AP

he had boxes of Communist literature in his apartment. In its 1937 ruling on Herndon's federal *habeas* appeal, the Supreme Court majority of five found the Georgia statute under which he was convicted unconstitutionally vague. The four dissenting justices who argued that Herndon should remain in jail countered:

"It should not be overlooked that Herndon was a negro member and organizer in the Communist Party and was engaged actively in inducing others, chiefly southern negroes, to become members of the party and participate in effecting its purposes and program. The literature placed in his hands by the party for that purpose was particularly adapted to appeal to negroes in that section, for it pictured their condition as an unhappy one resulting from asserted

and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings," ranted Hoover, "they will be dead revolutionaries." One of those targeted by Hoover's hitmen was Mumia Abu-Jamal, then a young spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers. At his 1982 sham of a trial, the prosecution secured Jamal's death sentence by harping on Mumia's Black Panther history and his radical views.

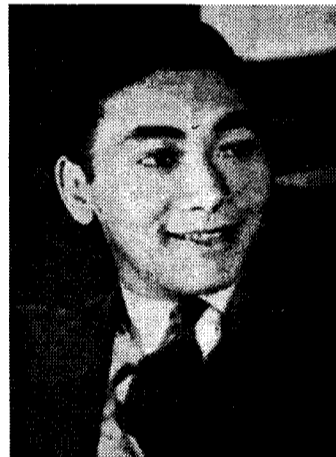
Only last summer, the New Jersey Supreme Court affirmed that revolutionary views can be a basis for imposing a death sentence. When Leslie Nelson was convicted of killing two police officers, the prosecutor argued that she deserved to die because she believed that the right

shevik Revolution and during the Cold War red purge of the late 1940s and '50s. The latter was carried out under the aegis of the 1940 Smith Act—targeting those who supposedly advocated the "violent overthrow" of the U.S. government—which was first used to imprison 18 Trotskyist leaders for their internationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II.

The fight to win Mumia's freedom and abolish the racist death penalty is part of the struggle for black equality in America. The Civil War which smashed chattel slavery was the second American bourgeois revolution. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the Northern capitalists. Today, the oppression of blacks as a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of American society remains a cornerstone of the system of capitalist wage slavery. The struggle for black liberation is a driving force in the fight against racist American capitalism.

To carry that fight forward to victory requires breaking workers and minorities from the partner parties of capitalism, Democrats and Republicans alike. Complete social and political equality can only be realized through a third American revolution—a proletarian revolution which creates an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labor rule. As a strategic component of the multi-racial proletariat, black workers will play a crucial role in that revolution. As we wrote in "Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities" (WV No. 694, 31 July, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

"Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society when he wrote at the time of the Civil War: 'Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.' The color bar remains a fundamental dividing line in American society, key to obscuring the irreconcilable class conflict between capital and labor. The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a Leninist tribune of the people. That is the key to sweeping away this system based on exploitation and oppression and putting a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death." ■



Arno Press

wrongs on the part of white landlords and employers, and sought by alluring statements of resulting advantages to induce them to join in an effort to carry into effect the measures which the literature proposed.... Proposing these measures was nothing short of advising a resort to force and violence, for all know that such measures could not be effected otherwise."

Thirty years later, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover expanded his infamous CO-INTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) conspiracy—originally aimed at the Communist Party—to launch a murderous war to "neutralize" the Black Panther Party, killing 38 activists and imprisoning hundreds more. "The Negro youth

to bear arms was "sacrosanct" and liked to quote Thomas Jefferson about the need for revolution. In overturning Nelson's death sentence, the state Supreme Court explained that her views were only "abstract beliefs" and "the State never established that defendant was actually a revolutionary." But the Court agreed that Nelson would be eligible for the death penalty if the prosecution could show she *were* "actually a revolutionary" who "desired or advocated violent attacks on government."

This ominous ruling harks back to the "sedition" and "advocacy" thought-crime laws which provided the legal basis for the witchhunt against leftist and immigrant workers following the 1917 Bol-

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Freed slaves voting in New Orleans after Civil War. Reconstruction was most democratic period in American history.

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Racist Backlash in British Columbia

Canada: Labor Must Defend Rights of Native Peoples!

The following is reprinted from *Spartacist Canada No. 118 (Fall 1998)*, newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

SPARTACIST CANADA

VANCOUVER—The treaty signed by representatives of the Nisga'a people of northern British Columbia and the federal and provincial governments in early August has been met with an outpouring of anti-Native bigotry, spearheaded by the anti-labor demagogue Gordon Campbell, leader of the provincial Liberals. Campbell rails against supposed "special rights and powers" for aboriginal people, threatening legal action to force a province-wide referendum in order to block the treaty.

Opposition to the Nisga'a treaty is the cutting edge of racist reaction on the West Coast today. Union-busting former Social Credit premier Bill Vander Zalm, now leader of the B.C. Reform Party, howls that the deal, which gives the Nisga'a a measure of control over fishing, will leave white fishermen "standing on the shore, not allowed to fish" and unable to feed their families (*Vancouver Sun*, 12 August). In B.C. today, where capitalist plunder of the sea and rivers has produced a disastrous decline in fish stocks, Vander Zalm's populist ravings are an open incitement to violence. Already in July 1995, in an appalling incident of murderous racism, three Native-owned fishing boats in Port Alberni were contaminated with mercury.

Campbell and Vander Zalm are vying to replace New Democratic Party (NDP) premier Glen Clark as the overseer of capitalist exploitation in B.C. Their ravings against "privileges" for Native people are sure to please forestry giants like Macmillan-Bloedel and fisheries companies like B.C. Packers, whose depredations have decimated the province's core resource industries. But these right-wing capitalist politicians are not alone in pushing anti-Native bigotry. While the ruling NDP social democrats have openly attacked aboriginal struggles, their allies in the trade-union bureaucracy have joined in the racist scapegoating of Native people for the loss of jobs in the fishery and other resource industries. This is *poison* to effective working-class struggle against the all-sided attacks of the capitalist rulers.

We call on B.C.'s organized working class to come to the defense of Native people against the current racist back-

lash. Only by taking up the cause of *all* the oppressed can the multiracial working class forge the fighting unity needed to beat back the capitalist onslaught against jobs and social programs. In B.C. as elsewhere, the aboriginal peoples are by far the most downtrodden section of society. Across the country, the Native poverty rate is 44 percent (60 percent for children). Youth unemployment is 85 percent in some communities. Illiteracy



Lindsay/Vancouver Sun

is twice as high as in the rest of the population, while AIDS, tuberculosis and other diseases of poverty are reaching epidemic proportions among aboriginal people. Labor must defend Native rights!

NDP premier Clark claims the Nisga'a deal is about "righting historic wrongs." But the New Democrats' approval of this treaty, with its limited concessions to aboriginal rights, was hardly based on a sense of historic justice. Last year's federal Supreme Court "Delgamuukw ruling" affirmed the right to aboriginal title to land and natural resources in areas where no treaties were signed, including the vast majority of B.C. The big logging and mining companies have been threatening massive cutbacks unless the land claims issue is resolved. The NDP wants to reassure the profit-bloated mining and forestry magnates that their "right" to exploit the working class will not be hampered by unresolved land claims. Thus Clark boasted that the Nisga'a treaty, which sets the stage for negotiations involving about 50 other Native peoples in the province, would "send a strong signal to the world that our province is open for investment."

Far from defending Native rights, the New Democrats have not hesitated to unleash vicious state repression against aboriginal protest. In 1995, the NDP government ordered an enormous combined Royal Canadian Mounted Police/army military operation against a small group of Native people and their supporters at Gustafsen Lake in the Cariboo. Aboriginal people around the province were harassed, searched and detained without cause. The NDP later railroaded the Gustafsen Lake protesters through a frame-up trial, jailing protest leader William "Wolverine" Ignace. Free William Ignace!

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Native Oppression

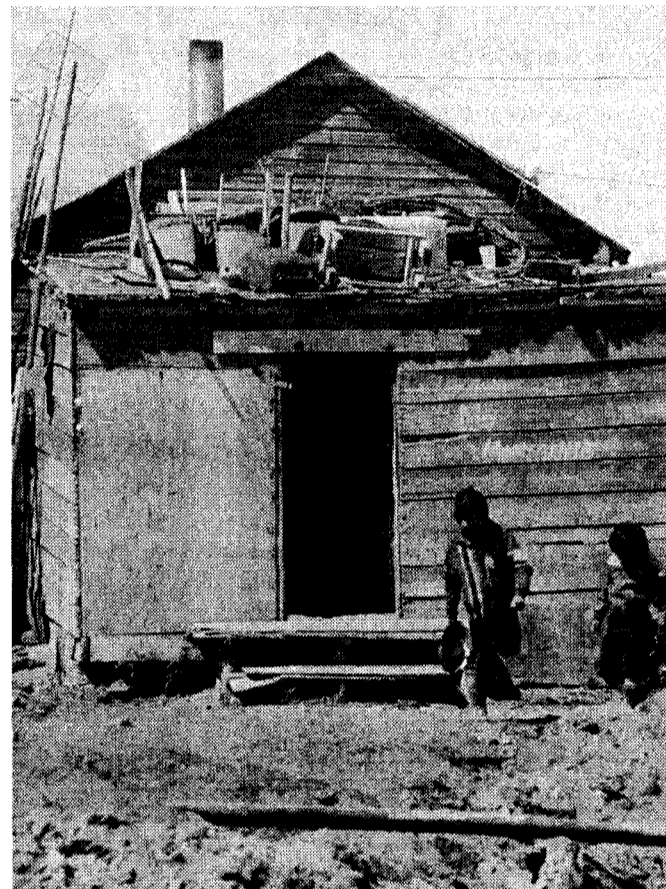
About 2,000 Nisga'a live in four small communities in the Nass Valley, where a large majority are unemployed. Another 3,000 live elsewhere in B.C. or across the border in Alaska. Under the treaty, the Nisga'a will get title to about 2,000 square kilometers of land (approximately

10 percent of their original land claim), governmental powers similar to those of municipalities, \$190 million in treaty-settlement payments spread over a number of years, and additional funding to develop infrastructure and social services.

The Nisga'a will receive a guaranteed share of the fishing catch and, eventually, control over all forestry resources on their lands. The racist Indian Act will no longer apply, the reserves will be abolished and

disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement.

Only a workers government can guarantee these conditions. The destruction of capitalism will provide a real future for the aboriginal peoples, both those living in the cities and those in their traditional territories. A workers state would take special measures to ensure voluntary integration on the basis of full equality for those aboriginal peoples who desire it,



Willer/Maclean's

British Columbia NDP premier Glen Clark (above left) and Nisga'a chief Joseph Gosnell. Native peoples suffer vicious racist repression and nearly half live below poverty line.

Nisga'a will be legally able to own property in their own villages for the first time since 1871. In return, the Nisga'a agree to surrender all future claims for land and resources. Some Nisga'a have denounced the treaty for surrendering too much of their land; meanwhile another Native group, the Gitanyow, has opposed it on the basis that it includes a majority of their own claimed territory.

An editorial in the *New York Times* (15 August) praised the deal as "Canada's Noble Gift" to aboriginal people, comparing it to the treaties signed with conquered American Indian tribes in the late 18th and the 19th centuries. If anything, the degree of self-government now on offer to the Nisga'a is rather less than what many American Native peoples, for example the Navajo, already have. But *any* treaty arrangement between the rich, racist capitalist rulers and the deeply impoverished aboriginal peoples is necessarily based on a wildly unequal balance of forces. There can be no solution to the oppression of Native people short of socialist revolution.

At the same time, we demand that whatever rights Native peoples have been able to maintain or wrest from capitalist governments, whether through treaty agreements or otherwise, be respected. In particular, we defend whatever measure of political autonomy aboriginal peoples with a land base, like the Nisga'a, are able to secure—including the right to govern their land and control its resources. Where land claims run up against socially useful developments like railways, the Native peoples should receive generous compensation for deprivation of land or

and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. The multiracial working class must forthrightly defend Native rights as an integral part of the fight to sweep away the entire brutal and violent capitalist system.

Native Rights and the Quebec National Question

Clark boasted that the Nisga'a treaty "begins the healing that will bring us all into the 21st century a stronger, prouder and more united country." The New Democrats have long been prominent in the chauvinist "national unity" crusade of the Canadian ruling class against Quebec independence. Indeed,

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TORONTO

the current pretense of the B.C. NDP and the Liberal government in Ottawa to uphold Native rights is intimately connected to their opposition to the national rights of Quebec.

In 1990, Ottawa dispatched thousands of combat-ready soldiers against Mohawks seeking to defend their historical burial ground at Oka, Quebec from redevelopment as a private golf course. Meanwhile racist mobs in the Montreal suburbs rioted for Mohawk blood, shouting "Quebec for the Québécois" as they hung Natives in effigy. In forcibly suppressing the Mohawks, Ottawa showed once again that it is a sworn enemy of Native people. But since the Oka crisis, the federal government has increasingly sought to "play the Native card" against Quebec nationalism.

With the vast majority of the Cree and Inuit of Northern Quebec hostile to Quebec independence, Ottawa has tried to portray itself as an "ally" of Native people against Quebec. Its promises of Native self-government, in Quebec and elsewhere, are transparently hypocritical: in most cases they are a cover for "transforming" the reserves into apartheid-style "self-governed" bantustans. However, Ottawa's strategy of "dividing and ruling" over the oppressed has an impact, and several Native leaders in Quebec have called for Canadian army intervention in the event of Quebec secession, something which we would adamantly oppose.

We Trotskyists advocate independence for Quebec, because we recognize that the forcible retention of this oppressed nation in the Anglo-dominated Canadian state has deeply undermined the consciousness and the struggles of the working class in both English Canada and Quebec. At the same time, we assert the right of the Native peoples of Northern Quebec to determine their own fate. But in addressing the concrete "choice" between being part of an independent Quebec or remaining in a rump Canada, our main point of departure is that within the framework of racist capitalism, this simply means the right of the aboriginal populations to determine by whom they will be oppressed and brutalized. Only an egalitarian-socialist society under workers rule will be able to redress three centuries of abuse and degradation of the Native peoples.

Colonialism, Capitalism and the Nisga'a

The spread of European settler-colonial capitalism across the Americas dispossessed the existing inhabitants, destroyed their way of life and segregated most of the remaining aboriginal societies in barren and unproductive reserves. Isolated on the remote northwest coast, where they largely lived off the abundant salmon fishery, the Nisga'a for a time resisted more successfully than most.

In fact, the first Hudson Bay Company traders into the Nass Valley in the 1830s found Nisga'a living in "two-storey wooden houses the equal of any in Europe." The Nisga'a added European goods to the commodities that moved



Sigma

Canadian government sent thousands of troops to Oka, Quebec to suppress Mohawk struggle, 1990.



Montreal Gazette

along their existing trade routes with other coastal aboriginal peoples. Yet when the colony of British Columbia was established in 1858, the Imperial statute referred to the territory as "wild and unoccupied." In 1887, when the Nisga'a first travelled to Victoria to push for land claims, they were dismissed by Premier William Smithe with the insult, "When the whites first came among you, you were little better than the wild beasts of the field."

A perceptive 8 August article by Toronto *Globe and Mail* correspondent Terry Glavin describes how the Nisga'a initially adapted to the encroachments of resource-based industrial capitalism:

"There were once nine cannery towns around the mouth of the Nass River, where several generations of Nisga'a fished and laboured alongside European, Japanese and Chinese workers. The first labour strikes in north coast history, in 1896 and 1897, were led by Nisga'a protesting against poor wages and working conditions....

"When Indian reserve surveyors came into the Nass Valley, the Nisga'a pulled up their stakes and threw them into the trees, and sent letters to Victoria reminding politicians there of the king's promises. When the first white settlers arrived, the Nisga'a charged them rent for the land they used. The settlers paid."

Ultimately, though, the Nisga'a were beaten down by Canadian capitalism's vicious anti-Native racism. Glavin continues:

"Then came the residential schools, and then the logging companies, which took millions of board feet of timber from the mountains surrounding the Nisga'a villages. The mining companies left with 68 million grams of gold, two billion grams of silver, 13.6 million kilograms of zinc and 389 million kilograms of copper.

"Then the salmon canneries closed."

In order to maintain their rule, the capitalists constantly exploit national, ethnic and racial divisions among working people and the oppressed. Thus the early attempts at joint struggle by white, Native and Asian workers in B.C. were undermined and destroyed by the capitalist ruling class, and first aboriginal and then Asian workers were largely driven out of industry. In this the capitalists had inestimable assistance from the racist union misleaders, who refused to organize Native and Asian workers and called for their exclusion from the workforce.

In 1900, for example, the union tops whipped up a mob to attack a 2,000-strong demonstration by Japanese workers in Vancouver in solidarity with a joint strike of Japanese and white fishermen. Under the pretext of preventing a race riot, the government declared martial law and broke the strike.

Today as well, the union bureaucracy, joined at the hip to the ruling New Democrats, has actively fueled racism against Native people and other minorities. A case in point is the longstanding conflict between the fishermen's union (UFAWU-CAW) and aboriginal fishermen over out-of-season fishing rights. Five years ago, UFAWU leaders helped found the "Fisheries Survival Coalition," set up to protest the small commercial Native fishery. This Coalition, in which the federal Reform Party is very active, has since organized a series of racist protests against the "preference" given to Native fishermen. Thus, rather than waging a serious campaign to organize Native fishermen into a joint union of all fisheries workers, the union bureaucrats have helped to foment the worst kind of racist backwardness. This serves to undermine any prospect of successful class struggle against the avaricious bosses and governments whose drive for profits depleted the fish stocks in the first place.

For Socialist Revolution!

Today, the B.C. proletariat has become decisively multiracial, including tens of thousands of Asian workers and also a small Native component. Once again, the same capitalist ruling class which has destroyed the jobs and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands seeks to point the finger of blame at Native people, immigrants and workers abroad. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to build a revolutionary party which will champion the cause of the oppressed, making the workers conscious of their historic task of overthrowing the entire capitalist system. Such a party can only be forged in sharp political combat against all the purveyors of racism and chauvinism and other tools of the ruling class to divide and divert working-class struggle, exposing and breaking the hold of the pro-capitalist New Democrats and union misleaders.

This perspective stands in sharp contrast to that of the misnamed Communist League (CL). The 24 August issue of the CL's *Militant* carries two articles on the Nisga'a treaty which are carefully restricted to calls to fight the racist backlash and completely *silent* on the role of the NDP. For their part, the International Socialists (I.S.) wail in the 22 July *Socialist Worker* that "we should...demand that Clark and the NDP offer real, not just token self-government to natives in the province, and that they repudiate the use of force against natives on the lines of Gustafsen Lake." As if Native people could get "real" self-government under capitalism, or the supremely violent bourgeois state could possibly renounce the "use of force"! The I.S. fosters illusions that the capitalist NDP government can be pressured into becoming an instrument acting on behalf of the oppressed. But so long as the labor movement is shackled to the bosses through the vehicle of the

NDP, it cannot turn back the capitalist assaults on workers' and Native and other minority rights.

Various pseudo-socialists also tail illusions pushed by some Native spokesmen that a return to "traditional culture" can provide an escape from the horrors caused by capitalism. We reject this idealization of "traditional culture," which amounts to a patronizing glorification of backwardness. The chains of "tradition" bind Native women with particular severity. To cite one example, in May 1992 in the Nass Valley town of New Aiyansh, a local doctor colluded with Native elders to prevent a 16-year-old Nisga'a woman from getting an abortion. In the name of *hawaitkw*, an unwritten code which, it is claimed, enshrines traditional cultural relations among the Nisga'a, a Native elder declared, "There was no way she will have this abortion." This interference in a young girl's personal life on the basis of "traditional culture" was vicious and reactionary, and should have been opposed by all who champion the cause of the oppressed.

Labor must come to the defense of Native peoples as an integral part of its own struggle to throw off the chains of capitalist wage slavery. As we wrote six years ago, in an article entitled "Torture of Native Women in NWT" (*Spartacist Canada* No. 89, Fall 1992):

"We fight to build a vanguard party to lead the proletarian revolution that will finally put an end to the system of private property and capitalist exploitation. Such a party will be, in V.I. Lenin's words, a tribune of the people, targeting every injustice and cruelty that capitalism creates. It will fight for women's liberation, possible only with the revolutionary transformation of society and the emancipation of women from slavery in the institution of the family. The inauguration of the era of socialist development can ensure the all-sided voluntary integration of Native people into society on the basis of the fullest equality and will meet the special needs created by well over a century of injustice and oppression." ■



Reuters

Québécois nationalists protest last winter. Against Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government, Trotskyist League demands independence for Quebec, asserts right of Native peoples in Northern Quebec to determine own fate.

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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AFSCME...

(continued from page 1)

installed as president under the aegis of the feds, and even expelled him from the union. Carey's newly elected replacement, "old guard" spokesman James Hoffa Jr., likewise used the capitalist government as a battering ram against his opponents in the union. In New York, the union-busting campaign against D.C. 37 escalated sharply in the wake of a militant demonstration and one-day strike by 40,000 construction workers this summer.

The sordid actions by all wings of the AFSCME bureaucracy underscore the burning need for a political fight within the unions to create a *class-struggle leadership*. With its program of class collaboration, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as the primary agency for subordinating the proletariat to the class enemy. While Hill and his cronies served as flunkies for Republican mayor Giuliani, the AFSCME International bureaucracy is an enthusiastic booster of Clinton's Democrats, which is no less a party of big business than the Republicans, and trumpets its efforts to "organize" strikebreaking cops and racist prison guards. The armed thugs of the capitalist state have no place in the labor movement. *Cops*



Erwitt/Daily News

Former D.C. 37 chief Stanley Hill endorsing Mayor Giuliani's 1997 re-election bid.

and prison guards out of the unions!

Cynical hype about "cleaning up" D.C. 37 notwithstanding, the government's real aim is to destroy the union's ability to defend its members against layoffs, speedup and wage-gouging and to intimidate all of NYC labor. Intervention by the bourgeois state is directly counterposed to the fight for union democracy. *Labor must clean its own house!* The

TWU...

(continued from page 5)

against the whole capitalist system.

The New Directions "opposition," which controls nearly half the seats on the Local 100 executive board, shares the James bureaucracy's pro-capitalist politics. Its stock in trade is to use the capitalist courts against its opponents in the union leadership. In 1990, New Directions hailed a "strike" by Rikers Island prison guards. And a recent article in its *Hell on Wheels* newsletter. (August/September 1998) reporting the attack on a safety officer by a supervisor did not even call for expelling the foremen from the union! Neither the James team nor New Directions has lifted a finger to fight the racism and anti-woman and anti-immigrant bigotry which is used by TA management to divide the workforce.

Repeated betrayals by both wings of the TWU bureaucracy, who push the lie that the workers have common interests with their exploiters, serve to foster cynicism among the workforce. Instead of seeing the union as an instrument for struggle to better their conditions, many workers actually buy into the notion that becoming foremen is the way to get ahead. Over the years, various reformist



WV Photo

AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers in April protest against layoffs.

unions were built in struggle against the bosses. For the unions to be instruments of class struggle and not auxiliary instruments for disciplining the proletariat, the precondition is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties*.

Down With Slave-Labor "Workfare"—Organize the Unorganized!

It didn't take a government investigation to know that Hill has been in Giuliani's hip pocket since the racist Republican was elected mayor. The 1996 contract shoved through in the rigged ratification vote was and remains the cornerstone of Giuliani's union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" program, which has forced welfare recipients to fill in for more than 20,000 unionized workers whose jobs were slashed from the payroll. The two-year wage freeze the contract imposed on D.C. 37's 120,000 members was held up as a model for attacks on other city workers.

In his fealty to City Hall, Hill followed in the tradition of his predecessor, Victor Gotbaum, who worked hand in glove with a whole series of Republican and Democratic Party mayors as they slashed city jobs and social services, particularly during the "Big MAC" austerity attacks in the mid-1970s. Hill got his start as a union bureaucrat under Gotbaum's patronage when he was elected to head a welfare workers local in 1970 amid an earlier wave of cutbacks. Among Hill's boosters at the time were a number of self-styled "socialists," notably including the Workers League (now Socialist

and nationalist opposition groups in the unions have promoted the call for more black foremen. Like the call for more black cops, this fosters the illusion that the paid agents of racist capitalism can be allies of the workers.

With the ability to bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to a screeching halt, transit workers are a potential powerhouse of NYC labor and could play a key role in the working-class struggle necessary to reverse the bourgeoisie's attacks on living standards, health care and social programs. This would be a pole for mobilizing the city's black and Hispanic population, who are ready allies of labor in this city of stark oppression and racist cop terror. To carry out such a fight would require defying the anti-union Taylor Law, strikebreaking court injunctions and the cops deployed to enforce them.

The key question is working-class leadership. There must be a political fight inside the labor movement against its misleaders, whose reliance on capitalist politicians and collusion with management is a recipe for defeat. To mobilize labor's social power, not only in its own interests but on behalf of all the oppressed, requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to ending racist capitalist rule through socialist revolution. ■

Equality Party), which supported Hill for Local 371 president in both the 1970 and 1972 elections (see "'Left-Center' Betrayal in Welfare Union," WV No. 9, June 1972).

More recently, Hill has had the support of another fake-socialist outfit, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). WWP's initial tepid criticism of the 1996 contract sellout rapidly gave way to gushing praise for Hill after it launched its "Workfairness" group. Supposedly aimed at campaigning for labor rights for those press-ganged into "workfare," "Workfairness" was in fact a cover for the bureaucracy's refusal to organize these laborers as full union members. Now a piece in the *Village Voice* (1 December) lauding the CRC "reformers" and red-baiting D.C. 37 members like Mike Gimbel associated with *Workers World* raises the charge that Hill "was funding three positions" in "Workfairness." We don't know the truth of this accusation. But we do know that WWP was politically tied to Hill. *Workers World* (27 February 1997) hailed Hill's cynical talk of organizing "workfare" recipients as a "major turnaround," while a "Workfairness" spokesman enthused that it was an "important step forward."

Hill's cynical scheme amounted to nothing more than "organizing" these desperately downtrodden slave laborers into a sham union auxiliary. What is needed is a class-struggle fight, rallying the ghetto and barrio masses behind the social power of the multiracial labor movement, to *organize the unorganized* as full union members with *equal pay for equal work and full union benefits and protection*. This must be linked to a fight for *jobs for all* through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Reversing the growing immiseration of the proletariat necessarily poses a struggle, based on a program of such transitional demands, against the entire capitalist system. As we wrote in "Labor Must Fight Racist, Union-Busting 'Workfare'!" (WV No. 666, 18 April 1997):

"As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and the poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed poor in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life."

Government Finks and Phony Socialists

Rallying to the defense of its former allies in the D.C. 37 bureaucracy, WWP declaims how dangerous it is "to turn to the government and prosecutors to 'clean up' a union" (*Workers World*, 10 December). But just as they tail the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats, these reformists have long pushed class collaboration themselves, promoting imperialist "antiwar" spokesmen like 1960s Democratic Party attorney general Ramsay Clark and generally fostering illusions that the capitalist Democrats can be pressured to act in the interests of workers

and the oppressed. In 1984, WWP openly supported black Democrat Jesse Jackson's presidential bid, cheering, "Make Way for the 'Jesse Express'!" (*Workers World*, 8 March 1984).

Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has joined the union-hating bourgeois press in lauding the CRC "reform group," headlining one article, "Reform Victories Rattle Corrupt New York AFSCME Leadership" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 September), and more recently crowing "Dissidents Organize" (4 December). *Socialist Worker's* coverage of D.C. 37 says literally not one word about the burgeoning government assault. This gives the lie to the ISO's recent lip service to the evils of state intervention following the feds' attack on Ron Carey. The ISO backed Carey through two government-controlled union elections. Its predecessor, the International Socialists, was instrumental in setting up the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which literally wrote the blueprint for the Justice Department plan to "reorganize" the Teamsters and helped catapult Carey into the union presidency. The ISO continues to serve as press agent for the TDU to this day.

Braintrusting the TDU, CRC and similar pro-government union "oppositions" is the Association for Union Democracy (AUD). The AUD's leading lights have included Democratic Party power-broker Joseph Rauh and Cold War social democrats like Herman Benson and the late Victor Reuther. The CRC was formed following an AUD conference last June on "Strengthening Democracy in DC 37," and the AUD has sponsored such union "reformers" going all the way back to the 1970s, from the Labor Department's Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union to Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers.

Like the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy it tails, the ISO promotes the lie that the capitalist state is "neutral." Not surprisingly, the ISO is completely uncritical of the AFSCME tops' recruitment of cops and prison guards into the union. The ISO and its cothinkers in Britain and Canada have even supported the "struggles" of these armed thugs of the bourgeoisie, claiming that when the cops "rebel collectively" they can be allies of the working class (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," WV No. 664, 21 March 1997). The cops, courts and prison system are the core of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of class repression against the proletariat. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed but must be *smashed* through a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state.

It's been more than 25 years since D.C. 37 last went on strike. But city workers can win strikes, as was dramatically shown by a 1965 welfare workers strike and the 1966 transit strike. The Taylor Law, imposing draconian fines on public employees unions which engage in strike action, was enacted just after those walk-outs. Since then, the D.C. 37 tops have used the lie that you can't strike in defiance of the anti-labor Taylor Law to justify their class-collaborationist betrayals, which have now endangered the very existence of the union. As we wrote in "Government Hands Off New York City D.C. 37" (WV No. 701, 20 November):

"Key to unchaining labor's power is to imbue workers with the understanding that the capitalist state is the deadly enemy of the unions, of blacks and all minorities. The necessary instrument to sow that consciousness is a revolutionary workers party, forged through political struggle against capitalism's 'labor lieutenants' and their 'socialist' mouthpieces." ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.

Our next issue will be dated January 8.

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