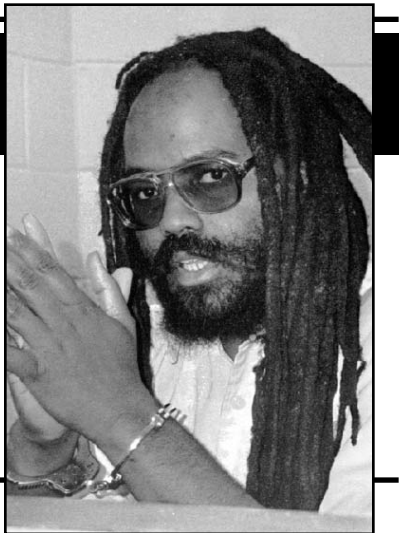


## U.S. Supreme Court Rejects Appeal Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



WV Photo

We publish below a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on October 9.

On October 4, the first day of its new term, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected, unanimously and without comment, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's petition for a review of his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. Even as Mumia's attorneys prepare to file a *habeas corpus* appeal in the federal district court in Philadelphia, spokesmen for Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge rushed to announce that Ridge would sign a death warrant within the month and set an execution date for Jamal before year's end.

When Ridge signed an earlier warrant for Jamal's execution in June 1995, it was an international outcry of protest, including by trade unions representing millions of workers from the U.S. to South Africa, which stayed the executioner's hand. Today, as the fate of this innocent man, an award-winning black journalist and eloquent advocate of the oppressed, again hangs in the balance, the Partisan Defense Committee calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of racist capitalist repression in the U.S. and around the world to raise the cry: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

The Supreme Court decision comes amid an escalating campaign for Jamal's legal lynching spearheaded by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and a broader speedup in the assembly line of death pushed by both the Republican and Democratic parties. In a statement from death row issued the day of the ruling, Mumia declared: "It was not unexpected that the Supreme Court would deny my appeal.... We have to remember that we are working with a conservative court that has worked assiduously in the Bush and Reagan administrations and now in the Clinton administration to narrow the chances of anyone having had their case heard, not just a prisoner on death row."

Only days before the latest threat to Jamal's life, Clinton nominated Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell to be the new head of the Democratic National Committee. As Philly District Attorney in the early 1980s, Rendell led the prosecution

frame-up which railroaded Jamal to death row. Meanwhile, Rendell's cops—in the form of the F.O.P.—have geared up their campaign of lies and threats, particularly since the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turned down Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal last October, with the aim of greasing the skids to the execution chamber. The F.O.P. has published full-page ads in major papers screaming

It is no accident that of some 1,700 rulings announced by the Supreme Court on October 4, the capitalist media focused on the denial of Jamal's appeal. The crusade to kill Jamal—the most prominent death row prisoner in America today—is designed to sanctify the state's machinery of death. The death count of 76 executions in the first nine months of this year alone is already greater than at any time

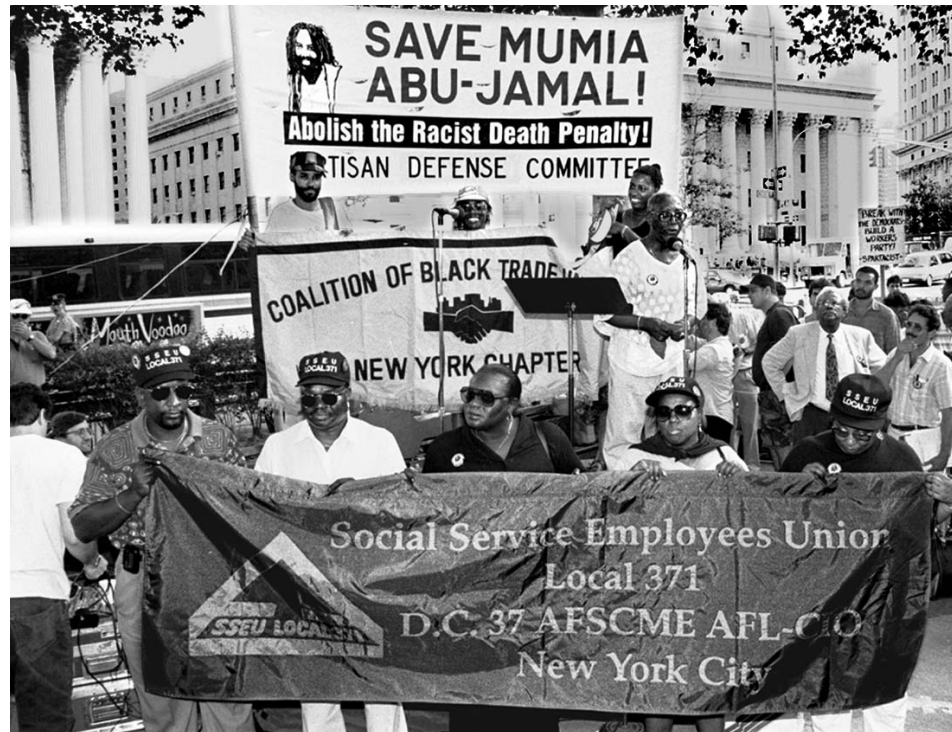
man did not violate constitutional rights!

Overwhelmingly, these legal lynchings are concentrated in the states of the old Confederacy, with Texas—where the 25 executions carried out so far this year are more than twice the number carried out in any other state—leading the way. 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. This August, Georgia hosted a gathering at a luxury golf resort by a cabal of Southern state and federal judges who compared notes on ways to shorten the time from trial to execution for death row inmates. Rehnquist, "Justice Death" himself, is notorious for singing "Dixie" at judicial confabs! Among the sinister array of rightist forces clamoring for Jamal's execution are the fascists of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, launched by David Duke, which offered to donate \$1,000 to the F.O.P. campaign.

The racist rulers have particularly targeted Mumia for death because in their eyes he represents the spectre of black revolution. From the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, Mumia was in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation, which assassinated 38 Panthers and jailed hundreds more. At the same time, millions around the world have rallied to Mumia's cause as a focal point of the fight against racist repression. The case of this MOVE supporter and former Black Panther activist throws a spotlight on what the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about.

The Supreme Court ruling underlines yet again that Mumia cannot and will not find justice in the capitalist courts. From the time the PDC began actively campaigning to save Jamal more than 12 years ago, we have stressed the need for mass protest centered on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial proletariat and warned against any reliance in the racist "justice" system. Over the years, particularly in the summer of 1995 and following last year's Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling against Jamal, the PDC has initiated a series of united-front,

*continued on page 9*



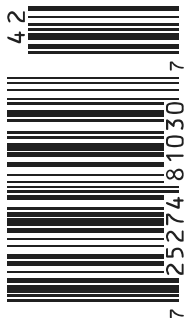
WV Photo

**PDC initiated August 1995 labor-centered protest in New York City as part of international outcry which stayed Jamal's execution.**

for Mumia's blood, while media mouthpieces like the *New York Post*, ABC-TV's Sam Donaldson and *Vanity Fair* magazine have churned out hatchet jobs retailing the prosecution lies which sent Mumia to death row.

Intent on intimidating the growing ranks of Mumia's supporters, the F.O.P. and its allies leveled menacing threats against a rock benefit for Jamal at the New Jersey Meadowlands last winter which drew over 17,000. In June, these same forces orchestrated a hysterical furor unsuccessfully aimed at preventing students at Washington state's Evergreen College from featuring a taped speech by Mumia at their graduation ceremony.

in the past 45 years. In concert with an overall intensification of the repressive powers of the capitalist state—more cops, more prisons and an ever broader assault on civil liberties—the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton in 1996 vastly expanded the use of the federal death penalty and effectively gutted the right of *habeas corpus*. Under Chief Justice William Rehnquist, the Supreme Court has been instrumental in ratcheting up the rate of execution, from the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling which deemed as "irrelevant" overwhelming evidence of racial bias in death sentences to the outrageous 1993 *Herrera* decision that the execution of an innocent



### U.S. War in Korea Was Mass Murder

All U.S. Troops Out Now!

SEE PAGE 3

### Eyewitness Account of Mexico City Student Struggle

Down With Government Repression! Victory to the UNAM Strike!

SEE PAGE 6

# 13 Years in Israeli Hellhole

## Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Marking 13 years since the arrest of Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, on September 30 several dozen people protested outside the Ministry of Justice in Jerusalem to demand his release. Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy in 1986 by the Israeli Mossad secret police, assisted by the British and Australian intelligence services, and whisked off to a desert prison in Ashkelon, where he remains to this day. His crime? Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu had revealed to the London *Times* that the war-crazed Zionist rulers had produced and stockpiled upwards of 200 nuclear warheads, making it the sixth largest nuclear power in the world.

Vanunu's disclosures were a great service to all humanity. When he was sentenced to 18 years in prison more than a year after his abduction on charges of aiding and abetting "the enemy in time of war," we wrote: "Who is the enemy? What war? To the Zionist nuclear mad-

men, it doesn't matter—they are at war with the whole world, everybody is the enemy" (WV No. 450, 8 April 1988). Vanunu's revelations made clear that Israel's capitalist rulers had enough nuclear weapons not only to incinerate every Arab capital, but to bomb major cities in the Soviet Union as well. Israel's nuclear arsenal was built up with the active support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, as part of their war drive against the then-existing Soviet degenerated workers state.

The Zionist garrison state has continued to build up its nuclear arsenal, including the development of missiles and missile-firing submarines capable of striking targets thousands of miles beyond its borders. And Israel's capitalist rulers are fully capable of launching this arsenal of megadeath to exterminate every man, woman and child in the Near East. In the first days of the October War in 1973, when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed its



Landau/Jerusalem Post



**Mordechai Vanunu was kidnapped by Mossad secret police in 1986 for courageously revealing scale of Israel's nuclear arsenal.**

missiles with nuclear warheads and put them on combat readiness.

For nearly a dozen years of his imprisonment Vanunu was held in solitary confinement in a six-by-nine-foot cell, denied any human contact except with the guards who fed him and biweekly visits with his brothers. Since May 1998, Vanunu has been permitted to mingle with other prisoners, but visits are still limited only to family members. While Israeli prisoners are generally released after serving two-thirds of their sentence, the vindictive Zionist rulers continue to hold Vanunu because his release would supposedly threaten "national security."

As barbarous as Vanunu's treatment has been, it pales beside the torture routinely meted out to imprisoned Palestinian fighters, whether under governments headed by the right-wing Likud or the no less capitalist Labor Party (now renamed "One Israel"). While One Israel chief Ehud Barak succeeded the Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu as prime minister with a pledge to revive the U.S.-sponsored "peace process," he has been no less adamant in expanding Zionist "settlements" in the occupied West Bank and has balked even at the release of a token number of Palestinian prisoners. It is a measure of the barbarity of the anti-Palestinian repression that only last month, after a years-long international outcry, did the Israeli Supreme Court finally order a temporary halt to officially sanctioned torture of prisoners, including violent "shaking" that often leads to death.

As a result of the U.S.-brokered "peace" accords, the bitterly oppressed Palestinian masses face brutal repression not only at the hands of the Zionist police and army but also Yasir Arafat's puppet Palestinian Authority, whose writ extends only to tiny slivers of the Occupied Territories. In the first four years of Arafat's bogus "autonomy," 18 Palestinian prisoners were tortured to death by his security forces, who are trained in "information-gathering, interrogation and other techniques of the trade" by the FBI and CIA,

as the *New York Times* (5 March 1998) reported.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops and settlers from the Occupied Territories. Israeli workers, who have demonstrated considerable economic militancy, must be broken from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism and won to active defense of Palestinian national rights. As a Sephardic Jew from Morocco, it was Vanunu's own experience of discrimination at the hands of the Ashkenazi (European)-dominated Zionist ruling establishment that led to his alienation from Zionism and impelled him to take up the cause of the Palestinians. We also fight to win Palestinian militants from the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the vile anti-Semitic and anti-woman bigotry spewed by Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas. The Zionist garrison state must be shattered from within, through workers revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party which unites the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers around their *class* interests.

It is from this internationalist standpoint that the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have actively fought for Vanunu's freedom from the outset. In June 1987, Vanunu's former companion and spokesman Judy Zimmet joined Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife Wadiya in speaking from the platform of an SL forum in New York City devoted to class-struggle defense.

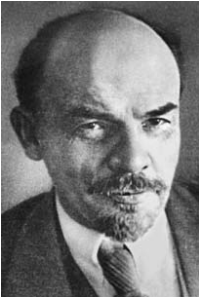
The only road to peace in the Near East—and the only just solution to the conflicting claims of the myriad peoples of the region—lies through socialist revolution. It is necessary to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties to lead the working masses—and behind them the peasants, subjugated nationalities, women and other oppressed—in sweeping away all the theocratic and nationalist butchers of the region as part of the fight for workers revolution internationally. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■



TROTSKY

### Communism and Art

*As fighters for the liberation of all humanity from the stifling exploitation and oppression of capitalist class society, Marxists are opposed to all attempts by the state and religious bigots to censor art and literature. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon pointed out in a 1953 lecture titled "What Socialist America Will Look Like," in an egalitarian socialist society erected following the proletarian overthrow of capitalism, there will be a full flowering of the creative capacities of the population as a whole.*



LENIN

The separation between manual and intellectual labor will be broken down. The division between specialized knowledge of single subjects and ignorance of the rest, which is a characteristic feature of capitalism, will be eliminated. The half-men produced by these artificial divisions, who know only one thing and can do only one thing, will give way to the whole men who can do many things and know something about everything.

There will be a revolution in art. The class society, which splits the population into separate and antagonistic groups of the privileged and the deprived, splits the personality of the artist, too. A few selected people have the opportunity to study and practice art, remote from the life of the people. At the same time, not thousands but millions of children have the spark of talent, or even of genius, snuffed out before it has a chance to become a flame. Children of the poor, who like to draw already in school, soon have to put all those ideas out of their minds. They can't afford to be drawing pictures. They have to learn some trade where they can make a living, and forget about their artistic aspirations.

In the new society, everybody will be an artist of some sort or other, and every artist will be a worker. Education will be for intellectual pursuits and manual occupations simultaneously, from childhood to old age....

All-sided cultural development under socialism will not be some special gift or opportunity for favored individuals, but the heritage of all. The socialist man will have the most priceless of all possessions. He will have time. He will have leisure. He will have time and the means to live, to play, to grow, to travel, to realize to the full the expression of his human personality. And that will not be the exception, but the rule.

—James P. Cannon, *Speeches for Socialism* (1969)

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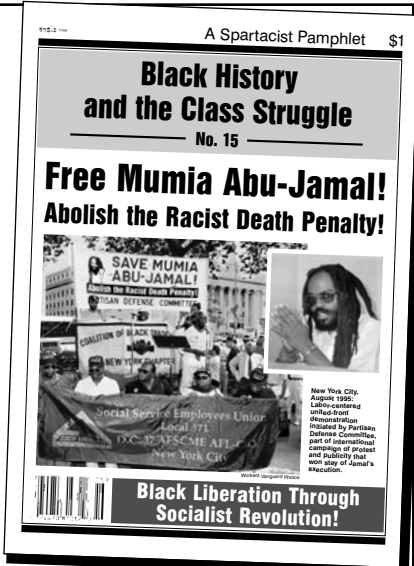
15 October 1999

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# U.S. War in Korea Was Mass Murder



U.S. Marine Corps  
**Korean prisoners being herded through devastated Seoul by U.S. Marines during 1950-53 Korean War. Over three million were slaughtered in war to destroy North Korea, suppress social revolution. Below: Some of the 37,000 U.S. troops who remain in South Korea engage in military exercise in August.**

In July 1950, in the opening days of the Korean War, 400 or so South Korean peasants—women, children and old men—were forced out of their villages by American troops, strafed by planes and herded into the underpasses of an 80-foot bridge at No Gun Ri. Huddling in fear under the bridge, those who survived the strafing were then massacred in the dead of night by the machine guns of the U.S. First Cavalry Division. Army veteran Edward Daily, who later earned a battlefield commission in Korea, remembered No Gun Ri with an unsettling clarity in talking to an Associated Press (AP) reporter: “On summer nights when the breeze is blowing, I can still hear their cries, the little kids screaming” (*New York Times*, 30 September).

A 1997 claim for compensation by the few survivors and relatives of those massacred was rejected out of hand by the South Korean government. Determined efforts to expose the atrocity at No Gun Ri were rebuffed for decades by a succession of U.S. puppet dictatorships in Seoul, while Washington lyingly denied anything happened there. Now the thorough investigative report by AP, which tracked down a dozen former American GIs who were at No Gun Ri and corroborated the account of the villagers on all critical points, has blown this cover-up out of the water. Faced with this exposé, the Pentagon trotted out Kenneth Bacon, its chief spokesman for the imperialist Big Lie campaign which accompanied the bloody terror unleashed by the U.S. and its NATO allies against Serbia in the spring. Bacon reiterated a Pentagon statement last March that Army historians had “found no information to substantiate the claim that U.S. Army soldiers perpetrated a massacre of South Korean civilians.” Only days after this flagrant lie, the U.S. and South Korea announced a joint

## All U.S. Troops Out Now!



## Defend North Korea Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution! For Revolutionary Reunification!

review of the “incident” at No Gun Ri. The bloodbath at No Gun Ri is the true face of imperialism, exposing as a cynical lie the “human rights” pretensions used by the U.S. and its allies to veil their military depredations from Kosovo to East Timor. The AP article ludicrously presents the mass murder at No Gun Ri as an aberration, “one of only two known cases of killings of noncombatants by American ground troops this century,” the other being the notorious 1968 My Lai massacre in which over 500 South Vietnamese villagers were raped, tortured and massacred by American troops led by Lieutenant William Calley. Horrific as these par-

ticular slaughters were, they were only a drop in the ocean of carnage perpetrated by the U.S. imperialist rulers in their counterrevolutionary wars against the Korean and Vietnamese people. The AP report itself makes amply clear that what happened at No Gun Ri was perpetrated as official U.S. policy, which was shot through with racist hatred of all Koreans. U.S. planes regularly attacked “people in white,” those dressed in the traditional garb of Korean peasants. Major General William Kean instructed his 25th Infantry Division that “all civilians seen in this area are to be considered as enemy and action taken

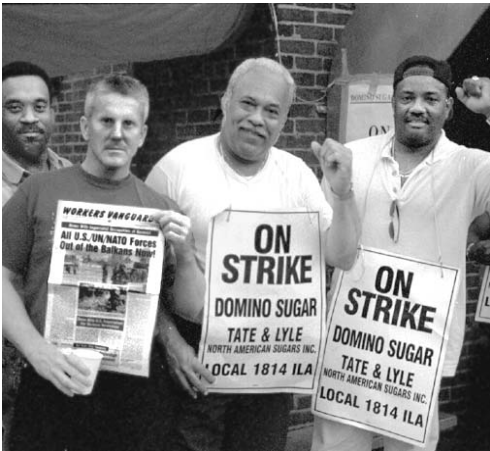
accordingly.” Orders from First Cavalry Division headquarters were even more explicit: “No refugees to cross the front line. Fire everyone trying to cross lines.” The 1950-53 Korean War led by U.S. imperialism in the guise of a United Nations “police action” was an attempt to smash social revolution on the peninsula, and beyond that to “roll back” the Chinese Revolution of 1949 and ultimately to destroy the Soviet Union. No treaty has ever been signed to end the Korean War. The so-called “Demilitarized Zone” along the 38th parallel is a *class* line separating a capitalist police state in the South, created at the behest of U.S. imperialism, and a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North which issued out of a social revolution overthrowing capitalist rule following World War II. Strangled by imperialist embargo and crippled from the outset by the nationalist autarky and bizarre personality cult of the Stalinist bureaucracy of Kim Il-Sung and his son and successor Kim Jong-Il, North Korea today stands at the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. The imperialists have greatly intensified economic and military pressure on North Korea since the counterrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92 of the Soviet Union, which had provided a critical lifeline for the North. In the South, the masses are reeling under the impact of financial crisis and austerity imposed by the regime of Kim Dae Jung under the dictates of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF). We fight to forge a *revolutionary reunification of Korea*: for socialist revolution by the powerful South Korean working class and proletarian political revolution in the North. Last year, as the U.S. refused to even

*continued on page 10*

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WV Photo  
**On the picket line with Brooklyn Domino strikers in June.**

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# Quebec: Nationalism and Class Struggle

We print below the concluding part of a slightly abridged and edited presentation by Comrade Galarneau of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, which first appeared in *Spartacist Canada* No. 120 (Spring 1999). Part One was printed in *WV* No. 720 (1 October).

## SPARTACIST CANADA

Under the pressure of industrialization, the so-called Quiet Revolution in Quebec implemented a few necessary reforms for the advancement of a modern capitalist society. Education reforms were both a longstanding demand of the labor movement and a necessary step to build a base of Quebec-born skilled workers and managers. Breaking the authority of the church was explicitly *not* an objective of

### PART TWO

the [Liberal Party leader Jean] Lesage government—Lesage would rant against secularists like the Mouvement Laïque de Langue Française and called atheism a “spiritual sickness.” But the period beginning in the 1960s nonetheless saw a massive erosion of the power of the church. The Québécois went from one of the most to one of the least religious peoples in the capitalist world, as evidenced by abysmal church attendance, low marriage rates, etc.

But the key to the Lesage government’s “revolution” was the use of state levers to generate and reinforce what had been so far by world standards a pretty anemic national bourgeoisie. The creation of various funds, planning commissions and societies, as well as the 1963 nationalization of hydroelectricity, enabled the local élite to use resources otherwise only available to much bigger fish. At the same time, the administration of a strong state sector served as a training ground for the future CEOs of what was later called Quebec, Inc.

We Marxists understand that nationalizations by a capitalist government are not a step towards socialism, but one of many tools a capitalist ruling class can use to maintain its own power. In its own way, the bourgeoisie understands this too. In the opening speech for the 1962 elections, Lesage was very clear:

“Not only is the nationalization of electricity not the beginning of a general socialization campaign throughout Quebec, but I would even say that

## Independence for Quebec!

nationalization is an essential condition for the growth of private enterprise in the Province.”

—quoted in Roch Denis, *Luttes de Classes et Question Nationale au Québec* (1979)

But the misleaders of the labor movement at the time, and even self-proclaimed leftists, supported the Liberal government as a representative of the “progressive” national bourgeoisie. The journal *Parti-Pris*, which called for independence, secularism and socialism, is

modern form. They were now divided into the FTQ [Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec], the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN, the former CTCC—it dropped the word “Catholic” in 1960, but still included the defense of “Christian values” in its constitution) and the teachers federation, which ended up being called the Federation of Quebec Teachers (CEQ). Talks of fusion of the CTCC/CSN with the FTQ in the late ’50s went nowhere, and the two federa-

man-hours were lost to “labor conflicts” in the year 1966 alone, topping the 1946 record. A large proportion of these were in Quebec.

This whole period was conditioned by international events including the Cuban Revolution, anticolonial struggles in places like Algeria, mass opposition to the United States’ war in Vietnam, and the May ’68 general strike in France. Reaction to these events helped to radicalize whole layers of workers, as well as petty-bourgeois youth. It is also the period when the national question increasingly came to the fore in Quebec society and in its labor movement.

Until the mid to late ’60s, the majority



CSN-CEQ

a significant example. Starting from the facts of foreign (centrally American) economic domination, and of national oppression within Canada, this group called for “tactical support” to the “progressive bourgeoisie” and for electoral support to the Liberals against the right-wing UN [Union Nationale]. The logic of using national oppression as an excuse to give *political* support to the Quebec bourgeoisie would bear its full disastrous fruits over a decade later with the trade-union support to Lévesque’s Parti Québécois (PQ). But even in those early days, cabinet minister Lévesque was touted as the “progressive” petty-bourgeois wing of the Liberals, as opposed to Lesage.

It’s in that period that the Quebec union federations essentially took their

tions often went through some pretty disgusting and violent raiding spree, especially in the construction industry.

In the early ’60s the CSN, more nationalist and more conservative (contrary to its later image), was much closer to the Lesage government, but the FTQ essentially supported it at election time as well. The CSN got a boost in 1965-66 when it incorporated the provincial civil servants. It again had about 30 percent of the union membership, while the international unions, only a part of which were members of the FTQ, were still close to 50 percent.

It was actually around the battle for union rights in the public sector that the public honeymoon with the Liberals collapsed. First the nurses, then the teachers and finally the civil servants fought hard battles from 1963 to ’66 and won the right to organize and strike. They rapidly went from having the worst working conditions to having the best, when compared with the private sector. For the bourgeoisie, the Quiet Revolution had gone too far. For the working class, it hadn’t gone far enough by a long shot. This is when Trudeau announced that we had now entered the “Quiet Reaction.”

### Bourgeois Reaction and Working-Class Radicalization

If the period from 1960-65 had seen more strikes than the late years of the [Maurice] Duplessis regime, those tended to be much less spectacular and were resolved quickly. But starting with the year 1966, no more. For the next decade or so, the number of strikes, their length and militancy, and the unionization rate would reach levels never seen before, or since. In Canada as a whole, five million

of trade unionists associated Quebec nationalism with the religious paternalism of Maurice Duplessis. The small separatist groupings were seen as wacky radicals. The fact that Lesage was known as a hardcore federalist didn’t prevent the unions from giving him electoral support. But parallel to this, a small *indépendantiste* movement had emerged during the Quiet Revolution. I already mentioned *Parti-Pris*. To its right was Pierre Bourgault’s Rassemblement pour l’Indépendance Nationale (RIN), founded in 1960. They could gather about 8-10 percent of the vote in subsequent elections. *Parti-Pris* set up the Mouvement de Libération Populaire (MLP). Also in the MLP were Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, later to lead the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) and give the latter a more leftist coloration. The FLQ itself had first appeared in 1963 by planting some bombs in mailboxes in Westmount, the rich Montreal enclave which was (and is) the center of the anglophone bourgeoisie.

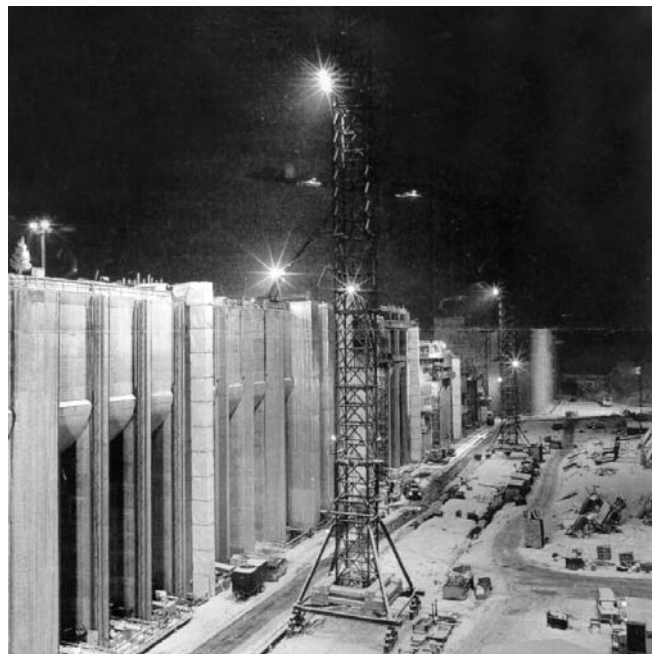
In a more respectable vein, the Quebec wing of the NDP [New Democratic Party] had split right after its foundation in 1963. The more autonomist—although they were not *indépendantistes*—wing went on to form the Parti Socialiste du Québec (PSQ), under the leadership of the redoubtable Michel Chartrand, a leader of the CSN left wing, and later of Jean-Marie Bédard, who had been a Trotskyist in the ’40s. In 1966, the MLP entered the PSQ and tried to push it to the left and towards a pro-independence position; a year later, they entered the RIN to push *it* to the left.

This kind of development became a constant refrain of Quebec politics. Labor



Canapress

Above: Canadian troops occupied Montreal in October 1970, arresting hundreds of unionists and leftists. 1972 general strike, high point of class struggle in Quebec, was knifed by Anglo-chauvinist Canadian labor tops and derailed by nationalist union misleaders in Quebec.



Maisel/NY Times

Huge Hydro-Québec power projects, financed by New York banks, symbolized growing assertiveness of Québécois bourgeoisie.

reformism means acting as a prop for your own national bourgeoisie—but from the Quiet Revolution on, there have been two quite distinct bourgeoisies in this country. As good Canadian nationalists, the NDP was always hostile to Quebec's national rights. So whenever they got something going in Quebec it would soon split away in the direction of Quebec nationalism. And these splits would die pretty quickly as independent organizations, as they ended up directly supporting the bourgeois nationalists in one way or another. So the capitalists basically didn't need a big independent reformist organization to lord it over the working class. From Lesage's Liberals to the present PQ [Parti Québécois] government, Quebec's national oppression within Canada has been the glue that the Quebec bourgeoisie has needed to keep the working class stuck to its coattails.

In 1966, to everyone's surprise, the right-wing UN under Daniel Johnson was returned to office with its slogan "Equality or Independence." While purposely ambiguous, the UN's slogan was clearly designed to win support from among the nationalists. This shook the Liberals, who then went through a faction fight. In 1967, just a couple of months after French president Charles De Gaulle declared "*Vive le Québec libre!*" from the Montreal city hall balcony, former cabinet minister Lévesque and a small group split and founded the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, which became the Parti Québécois a year later. The PQ rapidly absorbed the RIN and the major part of the emerging "left" nationalists.

The unions did not follow suit right away, but they did become increasingly nationalist. For example, they put support to French-only language legislation on their books in the late '60s. They still didn't call for electoral support to the PQ—the FTQ was the first federation to do so, but only in 1976. But it is precisely the weight of the national question which prevented the formation of a party of the working class, even the deformed expression of class consciousness expressed in a labor-reformist party.

But let's come back to the late '60s. In February 1967, the Johnson UN government decreed teachers back to work with Bill 25. This was the most savage piece of legislation since Duplessis. In October of the same year, the Montreal transit workers were similarly forced back to work. The police were sent to smash picket lines, like at the 7 Up strike in Town of Mount Royal.

But overall, the bourgeoisie was unable to bring discipline into its workforce and sounded increasingly desperate. One popular group of young comics at the time suggested that the authorities call on Quebec's "adoptive sons," Batman and Robin, to come and stop the strikes. This is when the federal government took the sort of decisive action it is very good at: they set up...a study group, the Woods Commission. One of its members had previously written: "If the union leaders are to be able to act in a responsible manner in the long term, they may have to make gestures which seem irresponsible



Presses Socialistes Internationales

**Québécois  
nationalist  
leader René  
Lévesque  
addresses 1960  
FTQ union  
federation  
conference.**

in the short term, lest their membership dislodge them" (quoted in Roch Denis). In other words, the ruling class was consciously relying on its first line of defense: the misleaders of the working class, its labor lieutenants. Unfortunately, they were not to be disappointed.

Meanwhile, Trudeau, Marchand and Pelletier had made their way to the federal government, with the stated aim of “saving Canada” from the “separatists.” Trudeau always had displayed a strong streak of anti-Québécois chauvinism. In arguing for support to the Quebec Liberals in the ’50s, he started developing the thesis that the French Canadians were practically genetically incapable of democracy and unable to govern themselves. The rise of pro-independence groups in the ’60s made him berserk. Trudeau became federal party leader and prime minister in 1968, and he soon did take some decisive action.

In April 1970, the Quebec Liberals were returned to office under Robert Bourassa. Six months later, Ottawa proclaimed the War Measures Act and sent the troops to Montreal. The excuse was the kidnapping of Quebec labor minister Pierre Laporte and British diplomat James Cross by the FLQ, but everyone understood this was an attempt at bringing back “social peace” to the province, fueled by Trudeau’s fixation against the separatists. With lists provided to the army by arch-reactionary Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau, 500 trade unionists and leftists were picked up and became the guests of the notoriously uninviting Montreal constabulary. Others were simply victims of the cops’ intellectual deficiencies: I heard that one person was rounded up for possession of an art book on Cubism, which the policeman in charge took for a pro-Castro tract.

But once again, the heavy-handed repression blew back in the rulers' face. Bourassa was now permanently seen as a right-wing economic ideologue, an anti-union freak, and a wet noodle in front of Ottawa. In 1971, *La Presse* locked out its workers. In October, a *La Presse* union support rally was banned by Mayor Drapeau and the police killed a young woman at the demo. It's also in that year that the FTQ and the CSN published their revolutionary-sounding manifestos, respectively "The State Is Our Exploiter" and "It's Up to Us," as well as many other articles and pamphlets along those

themes. The labor bureaucrats were responding to pressure from the base of the unions, where the anger was about to burst out.

## The 1972 General Strike

In 1972, it was time to renew the public-sector collective agreements. The union federations formed the first Common Front since the Quiet Revolution and forced the government to bargain collectively. In April, they went on a 210,000-strong general strike and Bourassa legislated them back to work. The strike leaders called to defy the injunction, called a vote, which they won, and then decided to...go back to work anyway. The rank and file were obviously taking the unions' fiery manifestos far too seriously for the union bureaucracy.

One month later, the three union leaders were nevertheless condemned to one year in jail just for having recommended defiance of the back-to-work legislation. This led to the explosion of May 11-17. About 300,000 private- and public-sector workers went on a spontaneous general strike, took over the cities of Sept-Iles, Sorel, Thetford Mines, Joliette, took control of radio stations, blockaded highways, etc. The police were incapable of quelling the protest, and it was only the three union leaders' call to go back to work which put an end to the movement. For more details, there is a good article on the general strike in *Spartacist Canada* No. 57 (March 1983).

I want to talk for a moment about the despicable role of the English Canadian union tops and NDP during the general strike. At the height of the strike, the Canadian Labour Congress passed a resolution denouncing "those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of confederation." Then-NDP leader David Lewis supported the jailing of Quebec labor leaders. The wall of hostility to Quebec workers' struggle from the misleaders of English Canadian labor was to have a profound impact on the consciousness of the Québécois working class. Seeing nothing but arrogant chauvinism on the other side of the Ottawa River, in the period after 1972 huge chunks of the working class began to be driven straight into the arms of their "own" bourgeois nationalists, the PQ of René Lévesque.

The 1972 general strike marked the high point of class struggle in Quebec. It posed sharply the question: who will rule, the workers or the capitalists? The only possible next logical step was the fight for working-class state power. But the crucial missing ingredient was revolutionary leadership—a Leninist vanguard party. And if 1972 showed the radicalization of a significant section of advanced workers, it had the reverse effect on the Quebec union tops. Their manifestos quickly went from radical-sounding to either non-existent or pro-PQ. Finally, in 1976, the FTQ trade-union federation threw its rather enormous authority behind the election of Lévesque's Parti Québécois, which was later to turn around and wage its own savage attacks on the unions. In particular, the PQ's 1982-83 decrees in the public sector, producing huge wage cuts, was a body blow to the working class from which it has yet to recover.

I am not going to go into details on these events, which are beyond the scope of this presentation. Suffice it to say here

that only the PQ managed to achieve what had been an objective of all Quebec governments since the war: they successfully curbed labor militancy and crippled the unions. They did this with the assistance of the nationalist labor tops themselves, by driving down public-sector labor costs into line with those of the private sector. That they managed this despite massive workers mobilizations is a true testament to the fealty of Quebec's labor tops to the anti-working-class bourgeois nationalists of the PQ.

As I said, the missing ingredient in the class struggles of the 1960s and early '70s was a Leninist vanguard party. While standing squarely against Anglo-chauvinist oppression, such a party would have given no support to bourgeois Quebec nationalism. It would have fought to rally the proletariat in revolutionary *internationalist* struggle against capitalism.

The Quebec left of the time failed this test. The pseudo-Trotskyists, followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, were mired in Quebec nationalism. Two radical-sounding, anti-nationalist Maoist groups were founded in the aftermath of the general strike, one of them led by ex-MLP and ex-FLQ leader Charles Gagnon. By the late '70s, under the PQ regime, they claimed thousands of members in Quebec. But as followers of Mao Zedong's China, which was then in an obscene alliance with U.S. and Canadian imperialism against the Soviet Union, these groups wound up embracing the Canadian bourgeoisie as a supposed "lesser evil." Thus the Maoists ended up explicitly supporting a "united" Canadian capitalist state, a straight Anglo-chauvinist line. Virulently hostile to the Soviet Union and full of unresolvable contradictions, these groups blew apart at the start of the 1980s Cold War.

In the aftermath of the period I have talked about today, the national divide in Canada has sharply grown, reflecting the decline of working-class struggle and consciousness. In the face of this, our organization recognized several years ago (belatedly, it must be said) that it was now essential to advocate independence for Quebec in order to lay a basis for internationalist, revolutionary class consciousness among the workers of both nations.

In intervening with our revolutionary program among leftist-minded youth and workers in Quebec today, we must keep in mind the central lesson of the last 50 years of labor struggle there. Bourgeois nationalism, fueled by the Anglo chauvinism which dominates this country, was key to quelling one of the most militant periods of class struggle in North American history. In winning over Quebec workers and youth to the program of genuine Marxism, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste will build the revolutionary pole that was lacking at that time. ■

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# Young Spartacus

## Eyewitness Account of Mexico City Student Struggle

# Down With Government Repression! Victory to the UNAM Strike!

The following is an edited version of an eyewitness report given by a comrade of the Mexican section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) at Spartacus Youth Club forums this month in Boston, New York City and Chicago.

I am here to talk to you in the name of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and the Juventud Espartaquista (JE) about our intervention in the largest strike ever at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM). The UNAM is the largest university in this hemisphere and the intellectual center of Mexican society. This occupation, carried out by students with significant support from workers—especially from the STUNAM campus workers and SME electrical workers unions—and teachers has lasted more than 170 days now.

Why is this happening? In April, the University Council, consisting of school directors, academics and some students, approved a proposal by the university rector Barnés to raise tuition from 20 cents to around 1,000 pesos (more or less the minimal monthly income). The "Barnés Plan" cohered the majority of the students against it, despite the demagoguery about having tuition "only for those who could pay it." In reality, this would open the door for tuition for all and pave the way for the dismantling and privatization of this important university. All this is part of the implementation by the Mexican bourgeoisie of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) dictates.

The GEM and the JE in Mexico, like the comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S., fight together in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) for new October Revolutions around the world to sweep away this irrational capitalist system. We seek to reforge the Fourth International, the world vanguard party of socialist revolution, to mobilize the working class to smash the bourgeoisie and implement the class dictatorship of the workers as the only way of ending oppression and starvation.

The biggest obstacle we have to combat in Mexico is bourgeois nationalism. What is this? Well, selling our paper at the SME headquarters and talking with workers we find some who are curious or even interested but without seeing the necessity for proletarian struggle, nor even a class line in society. They think in terms of "the Mexican people" or "the bad government of Zedillo." Nationalism leads you to supporting your own capitalist rulers because they are Mexican, rather than looking to solidarity with your *class* brothers, for example, across the border in the United States. That's what everybody learns in school, that's what you see every day on TV, that's what the workers' union misleaders say to them all the time, and that's what most of the left tails.



CGH general assembly at UNAM's Che Guevara auditorium is scene of fiery debates among striking students.

Let me give you an example of one of the ways we have brought our revolutionary program to workers and students in the UNAM strike. On August 13, a comrade from the GEM addressed a march in the main plaza of the city called by student strikers in defense of education, which brought out about 30,000 people—mainly students, campus workers, some electrical workers, poor neighborhood organizations. It was very exciting when our comrade was greeted with cries of "Go, Espartaco, go!" as he rose to speak. In the speech he stressed:

"The strike is now at a crucial moment. The fight in defense of public education, which is part of a broader struggle against the privatizing schemes directed against the working class, can only go forward if the unions also go on strike. By themselves, students lack any social power. What is needed is that labor flex its muscles through strike actions to stop production and services."

He also made other important political points: the necessary struggle for working-class independence, the call for cops out of the campus union, and the need to combat illusions in the bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), which was formed by a split from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and to build a revolutionary internationalist party.

### The UNAM Student Strike and the Working Class

As long as the Soviet Union existed as a counterbalance to their rapacious appetites, the ruling classes in the imperialist centers sometimes felt obligated to give concessions to the working class and poor to thwart any threat of social revolution. But after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the bourgeoisie in the West has taken the offensive, waging savage attacks against the gains won by working

people through hard class battles. In Mexico, this has taken the form of intensified IMF measures and brutal NAFTA decrees, the privatization of banks and the telephone system, attacks on education, increased taxes, reinforcement of state repression, increased attacks on unions and a severe fall in the living standards of the working class and poor middle classes. Such privatization schemes have meant higher costs for services. For instance, since the privatization of the telephone industry, the monthly fee has increased more than 200 percent. And they are still saying that electricity is "too cheap!"

Right now, the bourgeoisie is confronting a deep crisis in its regime, with the possibility posed of the ruling PRI losing the presidential elections next year for the first time in more than 70 years. There is a total lack of credibility in the regime. The corporatist union system tied directly to the state—which chains the working class to "its own" national bourgeoisie—is fracturing, and there is guerrilla fighting in the countryside. And recently they have had to confront exceptional mobilizations by electrical workers from all around the country, a strike call by the oil

workers union, teachers' struggles, a strike by some 50,000 sugar industry workers, the students' strike in the main university and a strike by UNAM campus workers called for October 31.

The UNAM strike is an occupation. Students, with the help of workers, took over the facilities and built barricades at all the entrances, guarding the buildings with the help of workers and strikers' parents. Campus workers have continued working, not trying to break the strike but helping to keep the facilities working for the strikers. And they are being paid—the rector doesn't want them to go on strike also. In the Faculty of Engineering, the students have waged a constant fight with the technicians to keep open the radio station Ke Huelga! (What a strike!)—where, for instance, we have been able to announce our public classes and forums.

This student strike has found plenty of support from the labor movement and the powerful sector of electrical workers. When this struggle began five months ago, Mexico City electrical workers, the SME union, began to mobilize for better wages and against privatization of the electrical industry. Some student demonstrations before the strike were joined by large contingents of electricians, and the slogan "SME, UNAM unidos vencerán!" (SME, UNAM united will win!) became very popular. The intervention of rank-and-file campus workers at the beginning of the strike was also very important. A number of faculties with just a few militant students trying to close the buildings were closed when these workers appealed to a vague article in their contract which states that if "conditions are not correct" for doing their job, they don't have to do it.

Many of these campus workers have since participated in picket lines, defense guards, demonstrations, and have pressured their leadership to donate a large amount of money to the strikers. Strike marches have usually had significant participation by workers—sometimes many thousands—either in contingents or as individuals. At one point, the electricians' leadership was pressured enough by its base that it sent delegates, low-level bureaucrats, to guard the

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## For Workers Strike Action to Defend Public Education, Defeat Privatization!



## International Emergency Protests

# Down With Mexican State Terror!

With chants of “The whole world is watching—Hands off the left!” protesters demonstrated outside Mexican consulates in four U.S. cities and at Tufts University near Boston on October 7 and the next day outside consulates in two Canadian cities as well as at the Mexican embassy in London in response to an urgent call by the Partisan Defense Committee to demand: “Defend the Mexican UNAM strike! Down with state terror against the left!” Photos show (clockwise from top right): San Francisco, Toronto, New York, Los Angeles, London, Chicago, Boston. A protest was also held in Paris on October 11 and further demonstrations have been called in Sydney, Australia and other cities. On October 7, WBAI radio in New York interviewed a PDC spokesman who called on trade unionists, students and opponents of

capitalist state repression to defend Mexican student strikers and leftists.

Among the protesters in L.A. was a representative of Service Employees Local 1877 Justice for Janitors. Vancouver and Toronto demonstrators heard a statement from the Toronto Region of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers which read in part: “As Postal Workers we are all too familiar with the brutality that the police and state use to protect the interest of the capitalist corporate right wing, all the while workers who are on legitimate strike are being tortured.” Protesters in the U.S. and Canada called for class-struggle opposition to the imperialist “free trade” rape of Mexico, chanting, “Smash racist NAFTA through international class struggle!” and “IMF dictates mean destitution—Mexican masses need workers revolution!”



campuses for a few weeks. The militant teachers union has also been in struggle during the strike. A few thousand even camped in the Zócalo, the main plaza in the capital, for many weeks, marching daily and being beaten by police a few times. And in general, there is strong support from many people who also feel the attacks by the bourgeoisie in their own houses and stomachs.

The strike, of course, has been steadily attacked by the bourgeois press. The strikers have been called kidnappers, thugs, guerrillas—anything you can imagine—with the obvious purpose of setting the stage for large-scale repression. In fact, despite the deadly illusions of many students in the “progressive” PRD, Cárdenas, who is its main leader and was Mexico City mayor until recently, sent his cops to attack a strikers’ picket on August 4. The cops beat and dragged students, putting guns to their heads and arresting more than a hundred. And on October 5 we had the kidnapping of the main leader of the strike and one of our supporters, as well as the rightist attack and occupation of the Acatlán building, which had been controlled by one of the more left-sounding groups in the strike.

### The Dead End of Student Vanguardism

But now let’s talk about the university itself. Walking from the closest Metro station to the Che Guevara auditorium in the Philosophy Faculty, where most of the general assemblies are held, one has to cross a picket guard, like those at all of the entrances, built with benches, tables, chairs, trees and some fences. You’ll find a student guard, probably accompanied by one or two campus workers, and then you’ll walk by the schools of medicine, economics, law and philosophy, where you’ll see paintings and placards, ranging from liberal stuff like “All Poetry Is Revolutionary and All Revolution Is Poetic” or anti-communist slogans to hammers and sickles and things like “Only Socialist Revolution Is a Change!” This diversity of paintings reflects how diverse the

politics of the strikers is, some of them wanting to be part of the “bourgeois democratic transition” led by the PRD, many of them with Che Guevara and [Zapatista leader] Subcomandante Marcos T-shirts shouting, “Patria o Muerte” (Fatherland or Death), others even believing they are Marxists or Trotskyists.

And then we have the CGH (Strike General Council), where strikers’ representatives from all faculties come to discuss how to proceed with the strike. There we have contrasted our Marxist understanding of the world and our program for a workers party and socialist revolution to the usual petty-bourgeois illusions in the bourgeois PRD and peasant guerrillas, and have politically fought the fake-Marxist organizations which support, in their speeches or in fact, all this. Although these types have a lot of cheap talk against “Yankee imperialism” and IMF dictates, all this is purely from a nationalist perspective, according to which all Americans are guilty, and all Mexicans the victims.

The CGH is basically divided between the so-called “ultras” and the “moderates.” The moderates are either led by the PRD, some pro-Zapatista elements or right-wing fake Trotskyists like the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista, who basically want to sell out the strike as soon as possible. Most recently, they supported

the proposal of eight “emeritus” UNAM professors designed explicitly as a soft way to sell out the strike, promising a mythical “congress” which would grant “everything.” The ultras, for their part, are more radical students, among them anarchists and Stalinists, and are more or less intransigent on the six points of the “List of Demands” of the strike.

This List of Demands is: (1) repeal of the “general rule of fees” and the elimination of all charges; (2) abolition of entrance requirements and other “reforms” imposed in 1997, which were part and parcel of the “elitization” of higher education “recommended” by imperialist agencies such as the World Bank; (3) dismantling of all police structures established by the rector and nullification of all acts and sanctions against participants in the strike movement; (4) creation of a “space”—that is, a democratic “congress”—for discussing other points of the “platform of struggle and the global transformation of the university”; (5) for strikers to be able to continue their studies without being penalized for time lost during the strike; and (6) defense of UNAM’s “autonomy.”

Now, despite differences in language and the ultras’ greater willingness to fight, as this list partially shows, these two wings have some very important things in common: student vanguardism

and a reformist touching faith in the bourgeois state (despite repression).

Student vanguardism is what we call the arrogant petty-bourgeois attitude of believing that students by themselves can stop this bourgeois attack and win the strike, closing their eyes with disdain to the workers in struggle, even to those on their own campus, and sometimes pretending to be the vanguard of social change. This is because at bottom they believe that capitalism can be reformed and that you can pressure the bourgeoisie to do good. But the reality is far from this. Students don’t have any social power, and this strike is another example of that fact. After 170 days, the bourgeoisie is not materially affected, and the head of the employers’ federation, COPARMEX, has even proposed closing down UNAM. They actually would let this strike go on for years if they did not fear it could detonate worker unrest.

How different would be an electrical or subway workers strike! When the oil workers threatened a strike, something that has not happened for a while, the bourgeoisie was so scared that it immediately granted the workers’ demands. That is what we mean by social power. The working class is the motor force of social change under capitalism, provided it is led by a revolutionary party, a Leninist

*continued on page 8*



Military police waded into pro-Zapatista protest in Chiapas, riot cops unleashed by then Mexico City mayor Cárdenas attack August 4 UNAM picket (right).

## UNAM...

(continued from page 7)

organization that can direct this social power against the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the attack at UNAM is ultimately an attack against the working class. I mean, who is being denied what little chance still exists of entering the university? Of course, working-class students.

### Capitalism Cannot Be “Reformed”—It Must Be Overthrown

Reformism—confidence in the state—has different forms. But in general, since they do not trust the working class, these students either put their trust in the bourgeois PRD as “more progressive,” or in the petty-bourgeois Zapatistas, or they believe (including the “mega ultras”) that you can win cops to support the strike. Confidence in the PRD is based upon its populist, nationalist, supposedly “anti-imperialist” and “anti-privatization” speeches. Most of the people who vote for the PRD see it as the “lesser evil.” But it is a bourgeois party after all, and its main mission is to maintain the bourgeoisie’s class dictatorship. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) is an indigenous, peasant-guerrilla movement based in the southern state of Chiapas and is seen as the most radical alternative. This guerrilla movement and others are certainly heroic and are based on real starvation conditions of peasants and indigenous people, and since the beginning of its uprising we have defended them against state repression. However, they have been tied since the beginning to the PRD, hoping to satisfy their demands under capitalism, and they are a petty-bourgeois formation socially based in the poor peasantry, not the working class.

In general, there is an illusion that under capitalism you can turn the UNAM into some kind of “progressive” oasis through the “far left” call for a “university congress” where the rectory will voluntarily leave control of the university to the students, teachers and workers. Sure! To begin with, the university is but the training center for administrative, technical and cultural personnel for the capitalist system. The rector is the representative of the capitalist state, and any confrontation with him is a confrontation with the state and its armed bodies, which the bourgeoisie uses to insure its control. Moreover, this particular attack goes far beyond the Mexican bourgeoisie. The current attack on education was a requirement for IMF loans. So the Mexican bourgeoisie has to implement IMF demands and show it deserves its position as puppets of imperialism or risk the sort of treatment meted out to Panama or Yugoslavia.

Anti-woman and homophobic male chauvinism is another face of bourgeois consciousness which we strongly combat and which is constantly present in assemblies, placards and chants. Women’s oppression in Catholic Mexico is a really big deal, and to struggle for women’s rights like abortion is basic to waging any real fight against capitalism. And that’s the case with this attack on education.

What has been urgently needed in the whole strike is a broader perspective, an understanding of the real origin of problems and what we should fight for and how. That has been our role as communists, as Spartacists in Mexico. We helped build and extend the strike in the first days, and ever since we have been in more or less weekly demos, in the first line of defense of the strike, in critical defense guards when thugs have tried to physically attack the strike, and in the pickets against off-campus registration.

But, most importantly, we have been bringing our program, a Marxist working-class perspective, to the campus with speeches at assemblies every week, in the Zócalo with our Marxist paper and

thousands of leaflets, with direct and personal debates, insisting on the necessity to link the strike to the broader struggle against privatizations. All this is in direct counterposition to other organizations which claim to be Trotskyist but whose opportunism ties them to nationalism and reformism. An example of this is the Internationalist Group (IG), which was created by a bunch of defectors from our organization, who went from Trotskyism to opportunism. Although the IG is the most left-sounding of our opponents, with a lot of talk about a party and socialist revolutions, it tails the PRD as enthusiastically as the others.

Since the beginning of the strike, we have noted in our leaflets how the IG is totally inclined to pressure the current student and union leaders instead of combatting them politically from a Marxist standpoint. They scold the top union bureaucrats for not being more militant and for not calling a strike, but without combatting the nationalist ideology



Duilio Rodríguez

**STUNAM campus workers contingent at August 24 student rally which was attacked by rightist thugs.**

which ties the workers to the capitalists. The most grotesque example was when they were in a meeting to organize a defense guard against a threat of attack by the rector, and the IG refused to raise their paper call for cops out of the campus union, even after one comrade of the Juventud Espartaquista raised the point in an intervention. They even said in writing that we sabotaged their meeting when we raised this principled question! The conclusion here is clear: even for this left-sounding organization, to “fight” to “defend” the strike is counterposed to presenting a Marxist program. They just want to be “accepted.”

### No Illusions in Bourgeois-Nationalist PRD! For Workers Revolution!

Mexico is a poor country whose industrial development occurred very late. It is a country where, despite a huge peasant uprising early in this century, it was not possible to resolve the land question. And it is a country, like many others, subjugated to U.S. imperialism. The very weak Mexican bourgeoisie, tied by hundreds of threads to its imperialist masters, is incapable of achieving the fundamental democratic gains historically obtained in bourgeois revolutions (national emancipation, agrarian revolution, legal equality for women, political democracy). Instead, the bourgeoisie, following the dictates of the imperialists and also its own drive for profits, continually seeks to smash even the smallest democratic gains won by the masses through militant and bloody struggles. Consequently, the resolution of even bourgeois-democratic tasks can only be achieved through the proletarian conquest of power—which will necessarily place the socialist tasks on the immediate agenda—and the fight to extend workers rule to the advanced capitalist countries. This is the theory of permanent revolution first developed by Leon Trotsky for Russia in 1904-06, which he later generalized for all underdeveloped countries.

This is the program which we are bringing to workers and students in the UNAM strike in Mexico, the necessity to build a Leninist party and to struggle directly against the capitalist system itself. We have to smash bourgeois control of society if we want to end oppression or even have a future perspective for mankind. We need to fight for socialist revolution, and the only class with the social power to do that is the working class, which has in its hands the levers which move this society.

However, bourgeois nationalism has hegemony in the workers organizations, both in the corporatist unions directly linked to the regime and in the so-called “independent” unions, and this is mainly what has prevented a real proletarian struggle against the capitalist order in Mexico. So, while most of the unions are still under the firm control of the PRI bureaucracy and its thugs, “independent” and dissident union leaders (including electrical and UNAM campus workers)

feed illusions in PRD bourgeois politicians or even in “democratic” sectors of the PRI. It is also very common that union assemblies and marches (as well as student marches) finish with the national anthem, the hymn of the bourgeoisie. Nationalism has also been the political core of the electricians’ struggle against privatizations. The aim of this is to tie working-class aspirations to the bourgeoisie, allowing the capitalists to maintain their domination.

The IG, for their part, has used as their axis of intervention in Mexico the argument that there is a “popular front” around the bourgeois PRD. But a popular front is a coalition between reformist workers parties and bourgeois formations. Now the IG has conjured up a “popular front” with no workers party! This has the clear objective of turning towards Cárdenism in search of a supposed working-class sector of the PRD.

We badly need a revolutionary leadership in the unions. And this can be built solely through hard political combat against each and every manifestation of bourgeois ideology among the workers: racism, nationalism, male chauvinism, homophobia, syndicalism, etc. It requires fighting for a working-class perspective and total independence from the bourgeoisie, both political and when it is posed directly as in the presence of cops in the campus union, which we have fought against for many years. It also requires bringing to the workers the broad perspective of their historic role, of the necessity for them to be the vanguard of all of the oppressed against capitalism. And finally, history has shown us that the struggle against capitalism cannot be spontaneous. There has to exist a conscious factor, an organization which consistently fights to win over workers and intellectuals to the Marxist perspective and is capable of leading the workers to power in the decisive moments—that is, a Leninist revolutionary party. And in the strike, we are fighting to get

the most advanced workers as well as students who want to betray their petty-bourgeois background to work with us to realize this perspective.

This is the perspective of our intervention. As we said in a July 5 leaflet [reprinted in WV No. 717, 6 August]:

“The democratic demands we advance for education are inextricably linked with the understanding that only when the system of capitalism is destroyed through the seizure of state power by the working class led by a revolutionary party will the basis be laid for genuine equality in all spheres of society. We call for full open admissions made economically meaningful by providing all students with a living stipend! While defending against further attacks on access to higher education, we are not for upholding the status quo of automatic entry to UNAM only by a select number of relatively privileged high schools. For every 10,000 students entering UNAM each year, more than 90,000 are rejected, while the courses, the workrooms, the books and other materials are so expensive that it is practically impossible for working-class youth to enter. We are opposed as well to groveling appeals for ‘dialogue’ with the rectory [administration]. Abolish the rectory! Nationalize all the private universities under teacher-student-campus worker control!”

This perspective needs to go hand in hand with an internationalist point of view. Especially in underdeveloped countries like Mexico, but also even here in the U.S., a socialist revolution cannot survive on a national terrain, as the Stalinists would pretend. Struggle by workers and the oppressed has to be united all around the world or will continue to be defeated separately. That is the reason we want to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the party of socialist revolution. During the U.S./NATO war in the Balkans, we called for military defense of Serbia, for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and for a socialist federation of the Balkans. We gave the workers and students at UNAM a concrete way to solidarize with Yugoslav workers under imperialist attack, collecting money from the STUNAM workers and students for workers of the bombed Zastava auto plant in Serbia as part of the ICL’s participation internationally in a fund drive initiated by the Italian COBAS trade union. On May 18, comrades of the Juventud Espartaquista addressed—and received support from—the General Council of Delegates of STUNAM in regard to this campaign, stressing that it was not just “anti-Yankee” but a way to solidarize with workers under attack internationally.

Comrades in ICL sections around the world have gotten declarations of solidarity with the UNAM strike from important unions in South Africa, the U.S., Canada and Australia. This is very important in stimulating international solidarity and in letting the Mexican bourgeoisie know that the world’s eyes are on them. And we also have carried all sorts of international topics in our press to broaden the strikers’ perspectives, such as Indonesia, Puerto Rico, the Basque people, the black question in the U.S., Quebec, etc.

October 2 marks the 31st anniversary of the Tlatelolco massacre of hundreds of students in 1968 by the government, which showed how the bourgeoisie will do whatever it needs to maintain its rule. We don’t know what is going to happen with this very militant strike. Hopefully, we’ll be able to stop the Barnes Plan and even spread the struggle to important sectors of the working class. A huge strike of sugar workers has just started, and, as I said, campus workers could go on strike at the end of the month. This and the possibility of another big economic crisis raise the possibility of broader class struggles. But we must insist: All we can get under capitalism is partial, temporary gains. The only way to end this and all other kinds of oppression is socialist revolution led by a Trotskyist international party. For new October Revolutions! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■



# Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

labor/black protests drawing in key trade unions to defend Jamal and demand the abolition of the racist death penalty.

In contrast, a range of liberals and reformists who have taken up Jamal’s cause in recent years have focused on pressuring Clinton’s Democrats to embrace the call for a new trial, as in last month’s “Mumia Awareness Week” and the “Millions for Mumia” marches in Philadelphia and San Francisco on April 24. Such appeals sow illusions in the “neutrality” of the capitalist state which—from the naked street terror of the racist cops to the black-robed hanging judges—is nothing other than the armed fist of the capitalist ruling class, an apparatus for repression of the working class and the oppressed.

That the capitalist courts are an integral part of this racist frame-up system is amply demonstrated by Mumia’s case, beginning with the mockery of justice which marked his 1982 “trial,” with its racist jury rigging, phony “confession,” cop coercion of prosecution “witnesses” and blatant intimidation of defense witnesses. This travesty of justice has continued right through the 1995 PCRA hearings, under the same hanging judge Albert Sabo who presided over the 1982 trial, to the state Supreme Court decision which rubber-stamped the cops’ and prosecutors’ fabrications, to the latest U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

It is the multiracial working class which has the social power to defeat the lynch mob arrayed against Jamal, to win his freedom and abolish the racist death penalty as part of a struggle to sweep away the entire apparatus of capitalist

state repression. A taste of that power came in the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS and the 1998 Flint strike which brought the powerful GM empire to its knees. Mobilizing labor’s power in a successful fight to win Jamal’s freedom would strike a blow against the capitalist rulers who use the same frame-up methods, spying and terror wielded against Jamal and other fighters for the oppressed to smash picket lines and victimize militant unionists. Labor/black protest on Jamal’s behalf must be infused with the understanding that to end racist capitalist injustice once and for all requires a socialist revolution which smashes the capitalist state and places the proletariat in power. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

\* \* \*

**Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense**

**Committee. 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 legal 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. ■**

# Brooklyn Museum...

(continued from page 12)

backed by Al Sharpton and the rest of the city’s black political establishment, piously intoned, “I share the feeling...that there are parts of this exhibition that would be deeply offensive,” while criticizing Giuliani’s threat to stop financing the museum as “a very wrong response.” The Democrats are no less capable of promoting censorship and bigotry than the Republicans: recall the crusade led by Tipper Gore, the vice president’s wife, against “obscene” rock music lyrics a few years ago. And when it comes to racist cop terror, Clinton is on a par with Giuliani—as her husband’s administration has pushed through one measure after another beefing up the state’s repressive powers. Hillary Clinton made clear her own contempt for the city’s Hispanic population with her gratuitous denunciation of the recent clemency granted to imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists.

Only a bullet’s ricochet from the Brooklyn Museum, Giuliani’s blood-soaked cops cruise the streets like sharks, terrorizing the borough’s heavily black population. The sadistic torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in a Brooklyn precinct house is simply one of the more hideous examples of the treatment the cops regularly mete out to the city’s

blacks and Hispanics. To underscore that everyone has reason to fear and despise the kill-crazy cops, last August they killed Gidone Busch in a Hasidic neighborhood in Brooklyn, plugging him with 12 bullets as he stood six feet away.

Only a day before the “Sensation” exhibit opened at the Brooklyn Museum, Giuliani’s culture Gestapo arrested prominent Fifth Avenue art dealer Mary Boone for supposedly violating reactionary gun control laws by displaying a work which included two guns and for “distributing live bullets” (souvenirs from a show by sculptor Tom Sachs). Handcuffed to a chair for hours, forced to spend the night in a urine-soaked jail cell, Boone told reporters, “I was in shock, terrified, terrified. It’s a police state.... It’s a Giuliani witch hunt. They’re trying to protect New York from its art.” Boone is relatively well-known, white and rich, and so managed to get out and get press coverage of her nightmare. The black and Hispanic youth and working people regularly targeted for cop terror are seldom so lucky.

**Down With Giuliani’s Culture Gestapo!**

For all the hoopla, the “Sensation” exhibit is pretty tame stuff. Yet it was almost a week after Giuliani launched his outrageous censorship assault before some timid voices were raised in opposition by the official art establishment. The Brooklyn Museum’s fellow cultural institutions finally issued a letter to the mayor

which, while supporting the museum, assured Giuliani that they were “mindful of, and sympathetic to, the sensitivities of the many diverse communities throughout New York City.”

We recall the rather more saucy response toward the efforts of thought police, Congressional yahoos and religious bigots to ban art they didn’t like as “obscene” when they went after the works of the late gay photographer Robert Mapplethorpe in the early 1990s. Protesters outside the Metropolitan Museum chanted: “Jesse Helms, you old fart! Keep your hands off our art!” When sheriff’s deputies in Cincinnati tried to shut down a Mapplethorpe exhibit in 1990, one protester’s sign proclaimed, “If you give artists freedom of expression, soon every American will want it.”

No one is being forced to see this show. Our position on this art exhibit

is the same as for any other sort of visual material, be it pornography or “high art”: If you don’t like it, you don’t have to look at it. As Marxists, we oppose all attempts at state censorship, whether aimed at “high art” or pornography, and stand for the strict separation of church and state. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a 1987 *amicus* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in defense of Indiana booksellers charged with distributing pornography:

“The Spartacist League has a longstanding position against government regulation of private life.... Religious beliefs and determinations of morality cannot dictate what is permissible for man to read, think, fantasize—be it the classics or ‘smut’; erotica or pornography. Absent physical harm to another, it is no concern of the state.”

**Down with Giuliani’s racist censorship! Hands off the Brooklyn Museum! ■**

# Mexico...

(continued from page 12)

UNAM strikers with the support of students from other universities. That same day, students from two other major universities went on a one-day strike in support of the UNAM strike. The bourgeois authorities and the media have been trying to smash the strike, manufacturing provocations against the strikers and raising the spectre of the bloody 1968 massacre of student protesters. Earlier, on August 4, the hated riot police were unleashed by then Mexico City mayor and Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) leader Cárdenas: more than 100 strikers were brutally beaten and arrested. Now the government of President Ernesto Zedillo is spreading lies about supposed arms depots on campus and “foreign forces” acting in the student movement,

laying a pretext for bloody state intervention which has been formally requested by UNAM administrators.

A colleague of El Mosh, Alejo Plata, asserted, “This won’t defeat us. We will continue our struggle because of our commitment to the people of Mexico.” The attack on UNAM, threatening devastation of higher public education, is part of the IMF/NAFTA austerity program of privatizations, layoffs and union-busting imposed on the working masses. The Grupo Espartaquista has stressed the need to go beyond the walls of the campus and politically mobilize the powerful Mexican working class.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls for international solidarity with the Mexican UNAM strikers. We call on the trade unions, leftists, those who support the right to education and all opponents of bourgeois state terror to come out and protest. ■

## Spartacist Forums

### The Fraud of “Human Rights” Imperialism

**U.S./Canada/NATO/UN:  
Out of the Balkans Now!**  
**Saturday, October 16, 7:30 p.m.**  
Trinity-St. Paul’s Centre  
427 Bloor Street West  
(One block west of Spadina Subway)  
For more information: (416) 593-4138

**TORONTO**

### Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

**Saturday, October 23, 3 p.m.**  
International Affairs Building  
Rm. 403, Columbia University  
420 W. 118th St. (corner Amsterdam Ave.)  
For more information: (212) 267-1025

**NEW YORK**

### No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Labor Must Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism

**Friday, October 29, 7:30 p.m.**  
Centro del Pueblo, 474 Valencia St., San Francisco

**BAY AREA**

For more information: (415) 395-9520 or (510) 839-0851 slbayarea@compuserve.com

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! There Is No Justice in Capitalist America

**Saturday, October 16, 4 p.m.**  
Echo Park United Methodist Church  
1226 N. Alvarado St. (Two blocks north of Sunset Blvd. at Reservoir St.)

**LOS ANGELES**

For more information: (213) 380-8239

## Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

### CHICAGO

**Revolutionary Marxism:  
The Fight for a Socialist Future**  
Saturdays, 3 p.m.  
October 16: *Imperialism and War*  
October 23: *The Russian Revolution*  
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904  
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)  
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930 or spartacist@iname.com

### NEW YORK CITY

**Revolutionary Marxism:  
The Fight for a Socialist Future**  
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. at NYU  
October 19: *Revolution vs. Reform:  
The Russian Revolution—How the  
Working Class Took Power*  
November 2: *Trotskyism vs. Stalinism:  
The Revolution Betrayed*  
Student Events Center, Rm. 305 or 309  
5 Washington Pl. (at Mercer St.)  
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or nysl@compuserve.com

### BAY AREA

Thursday, October 21, 7 p.m.  
*Imperialism, War and Revolution*  
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler  
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

### TORONTO

**Smash the Capitalist System  
of Racism and War!**  
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.  
October 20: *The Revolution Betrayed*  
U of T, International Student Centre  
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)  
For room and information: (416) 593-4138

### VANCOUVER

**Marxism and World Revolution**  
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.  
October 26: *Women’s Emancipation  
and the Struggle for Communism in Asia*  
University of British Columbia  
Room 212, Student Union Building  
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

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Korea...

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consider North Korean demands for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South during “peace” talks aimed at bringing the Korean War to a formal close, the Spartacist League organized protests to demand: U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now! For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea! For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea! In our leaflet calling for these protests (see WV No. 687, 27 March 1998), we wrote:

“Forty-five years after the UN-sponsored 1950-53 Korean War, in which some three to four million were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled, nearly 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil. This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea’s working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....

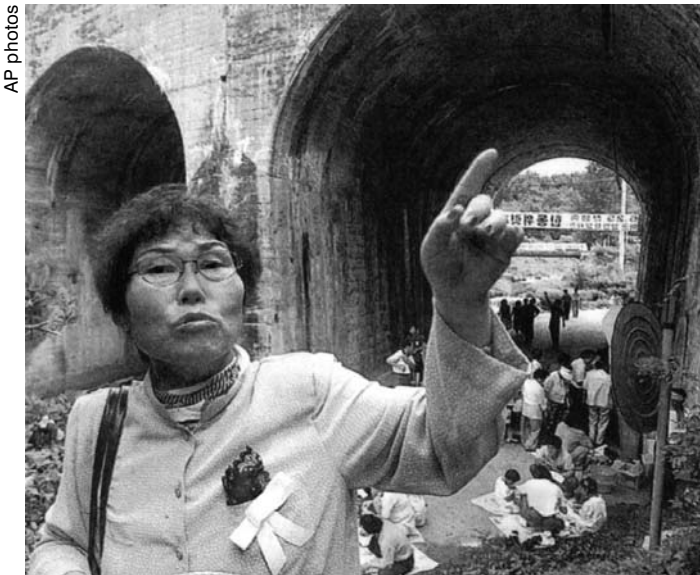
“As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the *immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea!*”

Korea and the Cold War

Korea was the front line of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. As World War II came to an end, U.S. imperialism rapidly moved from its temporary war-time alliance with the USSR against Hitler’s Germany to launch a concerted drive to “roll back Communism.” The domestic expression of the Cold War was a war against labor and the left, as Communists were driven out of the trade unions and a welter of laws enacted to suppress the sort of militant labor struggle which had built the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s and which had been manifested in a massive strike wave at the end of the war. Though most prominently associated with right-wing Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy, the anti-Communist witchhunt was pushed no less fervently by Truman’s Democrats. This came to a fever pitch a year after the outbreak of the Korean War with the arrest of the heroic Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 as supposed “A-bomb spies” for the Soviet Union amid an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic frenzy.

In Korea, the workers and the “people in white” had been the enemy since 1945, when American forces entered the southern part of the country at the end of World War II as Stalin criminally acquiesced to the de facto partition of the peninsula. At U.S. request, Stalin withdrew Soviet Red Army troops which had occupied territory north of the 38th parallel toward the end of the war. After decades of brutal

Survivor stands at site of 1950 No Gun Ri massacre during commemoration last year. Far right: October 1 protest outside U.S. Army base in Seoul against cover-up of U.S. mass murder.



AP photos

Japanese annexation—marked by such horrific practices as the abduction of thousands of Korean women who were enslaved as “comfort women” for Japanese troops—the Red Army had been welcomed by Korean workers and peasants as liberators, and its presence inspired strikes and peasant uprisings throughout the peninsula, accompanied by the formation of people’s committees which soon administered many areas. Following the American occupation, in 1946 mass strikes and peasant uprisings were rekindled in the South under the banner, “Return the Korean Government to the People’s Committees.”

The U.S. imperialists and their local lackeys—Japanese soldiers, colonial police and the capitalists, who had previously loyally served the Japanese occupation—proceeded to suppress the upheavals, killing over a hundred thousand workers and peasants even before the Korean War began. The director of the Department of Transportation of the American military government described the U.S. response to the uprising as follows: “We were out to break that thing up and we didn’t have time to worry too much if a few innocent people got hurt. We set up concentration camps outside of town and held strikers there when the jails got too full. It was war” (Stewart Meacham, “Korean Labor Report,” 1947). In 1948, Washington turned to Syngman Rhee, a rabid anti-Communist who had lived in the U.S. for decades, as its hand-picked puppet to become president of the South in an “election” boycotted by all other parties. Rhee was literally the only Korean politician the U.S. could find who opposed unification of the country.

In 1950, the Korean People’s Army (KPA), fresh from fighting alongside Mao Zedong’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) in China, crossed the 38th parallel in response to a year of military provocations from the South. The peasants again

rose up and people’s committees re-emerged, smashing the landlord class so thoroughly that in the war’s aftermath even Rhee was forced to recognize this “land reform.” The KPA proceeded to drive the U.S. Army to the brink of the peninsula but stalled there when Stalin and Mao, anxious not to provoke the American imperialists, refused to deliver the necessary tanks, planes and artillery to finish the job.

Both Stalin and Mao opposed the spread of socialist revolution in favor of rapprochement with the imperialists in the interests of “socialism in one (their) country.” The USSR was a degenerated workers state, ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste which had usurped political power in 1923-24 and destroyed the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. China was a bureaucratically deformed workers state from the time Mao’s peasant-based forces took power in 1949. To be sure, when General Douglas MacArthur’s forces drove back across the 38th parallel heading toward the Yalu River bordering China, posing a threat to the existence of the Chinese People’s Republic itself, Mao threw a million PLA troops into the Korean War.

A War of Counterrevolutionary Terror

Given time, the U.S. was able to assemble a massive arsenal which, over the next three years, killed more than three million Koreans. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson set the “moral” theme for the slaughter, proclaiming that “Korea will be used as a stage to prove what Western Democracy can do to help the underprivileged countries of the world” (quoted in Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, Vol. 2, Princeton University Press [1990]). Air Force general Curtis Lemay, who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in WWII, laid bare the reality: “We burned down every town in North Korea and in South Korea too.” For the first time, napalm, which not only burns but asphyxiates its victims, was used in massive bombing raids. *New York Times* reporter George Barrett described a scene that evoked the ruins of Pompeii:

“A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago.... The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue crayed on at Mail Order No. 3,811,294 for a \$2.98 ‘bewitching bed jacket—coral.’ There must be almost two hundred dead in this tiny hamlet.” —quoted in I.F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, Little, Brown and Company (1988)

Barely a decade later, U.S. troops were sent into Vietnam in force in another war aimed at smashing a social revolution. The most massive bombing in human history murdered another three million-plus. The horrendous slaughter perpetrated by the U.S. in Korea and Vietnam was integral to the pursuit of these counterrevolutionary wars. Faced with a “people’s war,” the American imperialists saw “the people” as the enemy. As Curtis Lemay vowed to “bomb Vietnam back to the



Stone Age,” the CIA’s Operation Phoenix assassinated at least 100,000 people in its failed attempt to destroy the Stalinist-led National Liberation Front, while masses of peasants were forcibly imprisoned in “strategic hamlets.”

Despite its terror, U.S. imperialism was defeated on the battlefield by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants—a victory for the exploited and oppressed the world over. It was this defeat for U.S. imperialism which created the “Vietnam Syndrome,” the unwillingness of the American populace to engage in another imperialist war entailing significant U.S. casualties. Indeed, long-after-the-fact bourgeois exposés of American wartime atrocities—painting such incidents as “regrettable excesses” of a now-finished Cold War—are aimed not least at refurbishing the “democratic” and “human rights” credentials of the imperialist rulers in order to better mobilize the working people for future military adventures. No Gun Ri and My Lai are the rule, not the exception in the bloody history of U.S. imperialism: not only abroad, as in the 1945 A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, targets of no military value, but at home as well—from the aerial bombardment of black neighborhoods in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921 to the MOVE and Waco massacres in more recent years.

This is to set aside the slaughter and mass population transfers of Native American Indians which accompanied the internal expansion of the domain of the U.S. capitalist ruling class and which continued into this century. William Tecumseh Sherman, whose watchword was “the only good Indian is a dead Indian,” insisted that “during an assault, the soldiers cannot pause to distinguish between male and female, or even discriminate as to age. As long as resistance is made, death must be meted out, but the moment all resistance ceases, the firing will stop and all survivors turned over to the proper Indian agent” (John F. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier’s Passion for Order*, Free Press [1993]). For all that, the U.S. rulers carried out a genocidal policy.

At the turn of the century, the emerging

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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San Francisco, CA Phone: (415) 395-9520

American Empire moved to brutally repress independence struggles in both Cuba and the Philippines in an effort to maintain the fruits of its victory in the Spanish-American War. After guerrillas in the Philippines overran a U.S. Army outpost on the island of Samar, American general Jacob Smith issued this chilling order: “I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn the better you will please me. I want all persons killed who are capable of bearing arms in actual hostilities against the United States.” Smith’s definition of “capable of bearing arms” was any person ten years of age or older. In short order, the U.S. Marines turned Samar into a howling wilderness devoid of population.

Smith was court-martialed for “conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline,” for which, with the intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt, he was simply allowed to retire. Similarly, Lieutenant Calley, court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment for the My Lai massacre, was spared by President Nixon after spending all of three and a half days in jail. It cannot be said that American imperialism forgets its “heroes.”

**Cliffites’ Pro-Imperialist “Third Camp”**

Since their defeat in Vietnam, America’s capitalist rulers prefer the anonymity of massive aerial bombardments of essentially defenseless peoples. Following on the heels of predecessor George Bush, Bill Clinton, current leader of the U.S. death machine, has presided over the killing of some one and a half million Iraqis through a starvation embargo, punctuated by continual bombing of Iraqi towns and villages. The Serbs face death and deprivation this winter with their country’s infrastructure destroyed by U.S./NATO terror bombing. But even this is not “punishment” enough in the eyes of America’s rulers, who resist even the most modest proposals for easing the misery and destruction inflicted upon these small countries.

Now comes the Australian-led, American-backed occupation of East Timor, again carried out under the banner of the UN, which is preparing not independence but a long-term imperialist presence. Australia earlier joined the U.S. in helping orchestrate the 1965 bloodbath of up to a million Communists, militant workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese which installed the Indonesian military dictatorship, and in giving Jakarta a green light for the seizure of East Timor a decade later. The U.S./Australia alliance was evident both in Korea and Vietnam, where Australia contributed sizable troop contingents. Today, the U.S. alliance with its Australian junior partner is increasingly positioned to defend American interests in the Pacific in the face of heightened competition with Japan.

The increasing imperialist rivalries following the final undoing of the October Revolution in the former USSR set the stage for a third world war and the nuclear annihilation of humanity. America’s imperialist masters, who see themselves as all-powerful and invulnerable, are the likely triggermen for the next, final world war. We fight to win workers and leftist youth to the understanding that every military adventure of U.S. imperialism, the citadel of the world capitalist order, must be opposed in word and deed as part of a program to sweep away the American capitalist rulers through proletarian revolution.

But that is not the orientation of many calling themselves socialists, the reformists who call on workers and youth to support the “humanitarian” interventions of U.S. imperialism, yesterday in Kosovo, today in East Timor, tomorrow, perhaps, in Tibet. Falling in line behind “their” capitalist rulers, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO)—affiliated with Tony Cliff’s Socialist Workers Party in Britain—is promoting the most recent effort to stabilize Southeast Asia in the interests of imperialism. The Australian ISO joined war rallies openly calling for imperialist intervention

in East Timor and hailed bans on Indonesian shipping imposed by the chauvinist labor bureaucracy as a threadbare cover for imperialist sanctions.

The Cliffites developed their fondness for “democratic” imperialism in the crucible of the post-WWII crusade led by the U.S. to destroy the USSR, the military powerhouse of those states where capitalism had been overthrown. The Cliff group emerged in 1950 in opposition to the defense of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union against U.S./British imperialism in the Korean War, for which it was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International. In a statement at the time, the Cliffites themselves acknowledged that they were expelled for “opposing both the Russian puppet Government of North Korea and the American puppet Government of South Korea” (see “Korea and the Cliff Group,” *Spartacist Britain* No. 24, August/September 1980).

For Cliff and his followers, who were then nestled inside the ruling Labour

Party of Prime Minister Clement Attlee, this was not only a cowardly submission to British imperialism as it swung in behind the U.S. and sent troops to Korea. It was a direct capitulation to Cold War anti-Sovietism and a vote against the social revolutions in North Korea and China. Under the pretense of “a pox on both your houses,” Cliff moved decisively to the camp of social-democratic opposition to proletarian revolution, although not without the occasional lip service to “revolutionary socialism” as a cover. During Cold War II, the Cliffites were in the forefront of the anti-Communist crusade, from hailing the Vatican/CIA-sponsored clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność and enthusing over the bloodthirsty Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* who murdered Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan in the 1980s to joining with the imperialist rulers in cheering that “Communism has collapsed” in the Soviet Union (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

Today, even as their own comrades in South Korea are caught in the web of anti-Communist terror unleashed by the U.S.-backed police state, the Cliffites embrace anti-Communist hatred for North Korea. In May 1998, the secret police rounded up 26 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea despite the Cliffites’ pleas that they loyally refused to defend North Korea against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution. In the first instance a capitulation to imperialism, Cliff’s “third camp” line represents for his South Korean cothinkers an embrace of the interests of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie.

**No Illusions in “Human Rights” Imperialism!**

It was Democratic president Jimmy Carter who first raised the cry of “human rights”—directed against the Soviet Union—as a means to ideologically and militarily rearm U.S. imperialism following its humiliating defeat in Vietnam. This rhetoric provided a host of self-proclaimed leftists with a convenient

cover for reconciliation with the imperialist butchers of Indochina as they joined in the fight against “Communist totalitarianism” and for “democracy,” thus contributing their bit to the destruction of the East European and Soviet workers states. The price of capitalist “democracy” can currently be measured by the destruction of what those societies once provided—jobs, housing, education and health care for all—and in the rise of nationalist bloodletting and pogromism.

Carter’s “human rights” crusade claimed its first victims in South Korea in 1979, when a wave of strikes and peasant uprisings was answered by a military coup. As student protests and strikes continued to swell, a mass student protest in Kwangju, South Korea’s fourth-largest city and one of the centers of the post-WWII people’s committees, led to an occupation of the city in May 1980 by 30,000 U.S.-trained paratroopers and Korean Special Forces. Following several days of indiscriminate military terror, the

population *en masse* overwhelmed the soldiers and drove them from the city. As the insurgency spread to other urban centers, the government moved to crush the rebellion, arresting almost 60,000 and killing another 2,000, mostly industrial workers and students. The Kwangju massacre had the full backing of the U.S. government, whose emissaries in Korea collaborated with the military regime while the U.S. Army provided full logistic support (see “The Bloody Suppression of the 1980 Kwangju Uprising—South Korea: Regime Puts Coup Generals on Trial,” *WV* No. 646, 24 May 1996).

The police-state regime in Seoul has long served the U.S. imperialists as a linchpin of anti-Communist reaction in Asia. But in the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, the reeling capitalist economy in South Korea is today deprived of the once-generous financial backing of the American imperialists. During the Cold War, Washington was content to allow its local satraps in South Korea a bigger share of the loot in order to prop up the Seoul regime. Now the U.S. and the IMF have taken to cracking the whip against the South Korean capitalists while American corporations gobble up industrial concerns.

Meanwhile, with the North ravaged by famine, U.S. negotiators offer a few bags of rice and assistance with electrical development if Pyongyang forswears the development of atomic weaponry. In a deal worked out by former U.S. war secretary William Perry, the U.S. has offered to lift trade sanctions against North Korea after strong-arming the Stalinist regime to halt tests of long-range missiles. This comes at a time when the U.S., Japan and South Korea propose a joint missile theater “defense” aimed at North Korea and China. As part of our unconditional military defense of the deformed North Korean workers state, we say not one weapon should be sacrificed to the demands of the bloody U.S. imperialists!

For its part, the nationalist Pyongyang bureaucracy has long talked of a “peaceful reunification” with the capitalist South. Trotskyists call for a revolutionary reunification of Korea through proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste in the North and socialist revolution to overthrow the *chaebol* bourgeoisie in the South, laying the basis for an internationalist regime based on the rule of workers councils. There is much tinder for such a perspective today. The South Korean proletariat is chafing under the whip of mass unemployment and IMF-dictated austerity. South Korea’s once touted “economic miracle” was rooted in the superexploitation of the working class. In the process, the South Korean proletariat was forged as a combative and powerful social force, steeled in bitter struggles in defiance of brutal repression.

Socialist revolution in South Korea would electrify the Chinese proletariat, as the Stalinist regime’s “market reforms” threaten the outright restoration of capitalism. It would resonate throughout the East Asian working masses, particularly in Japan—via the human bridge of the oppressed Korean minority—whose industrial and technological capacity is key to the fight for a socialist Asia. To educate and organize the Korean proletariat for its historic task requires a revolutionary vanguard party schooled in the internationalism of Lenin’s Bolshevik Party. Such a party must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and forged in struggle against nationalist illusions promoted by the South Korean labor bureaucracy and fake socialists as well as the Pyongyang Stalinists, which serve only to bind the proletariat to a supposedly “progressive” wing of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle for a socialist Asia is intimately bound up with the fight to sweep away U.S. imperialism, whose profit-mad rulers would immediately move to crush any threat to their “right” to exploit the Asian masses. The power of the multiracial American working class must be mobilized to lead all the victims of this increasingly barbaric society in the overthrow of bloody U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution. To forge the revolutionary workers party needed for this struggle to succeed, it is necessary for militants to assimilate the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and join the Spartacist League, which is committed to this task. ■



1998 strike by South Korean Hyundai workers against threatened layoffs as Kim Dae Jung regime imposed IMF austerity dictates.

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Down With State Terror Against the Left!

# Defend the Mexican UNAM Strike!

*We print below in slightly edited form an October 6 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee calling for emergency protest demonstrations in cities around the U.S. to denounce repression against the Mexico City student strike. Similar protests have also been held in a number of other countries from Canada to Britain.*

A wave of kidnappings, beatings and armed repression has been unleashed against leaders of the militant strike at the Autonomous University of Mexico

(UNAM), now in its sixth month. On October 5, Alejandro Echevarría (El Mosh), a prominent strike leader, was kidnapped by several thugs. He was not released until ten hours later, after being beaten badly on all parts of his body, including his eyes. He was also stripped and threatened with rape. The same day, Humberto Herrera, a 20-year trade-union militant and supporter of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League, was kidnapped for some seven hours by six men who

forced him into a car and took him to a garage. A gun was put to the back of his head, he was wrapped in a blanket, beaten and threatened with being killed. Along with other leftist groups, the GEM was targeted by the right-wing bourgeois newspaper *Excelsior* (27 September) as an “ultra” group leading an area of the strike.

On October 6, a mob of 120 scabs attacked and occupied the Acatlán campus, a stronghold of the strike, which was retaken hours later by

*continued on page 9*



WV Photo

**Chicago, October 7: Protest outside Mexican consulate was part of emergency international campaign.**

# Giuliani's Racist Holy War Against Brooklyn Museum

## For Separation of Church and State!

In the old days of the Roman Empire, the poor were to be pacified with bread and circuses; in today's glittery yet decaying “Empire City,” NYC mayor Giuliani has cut off the bread, while providing only a cruel circus of bizarre assaults on the city's cultural institutions. Consider the mayor's threat to cut millions in city funding and evict the Brooklyn Museum of Art because he doesn't like its new show “Sensation,” an exhibit of “cutting edge” young British artists.

The majority of New Yorkers, according to a *Daily News* poll, support the embattled museum over Giuliani by a ratio of two to one. On October 2, a thousand protested Giuliani's censorship in a rally called by the New York Civil Liberties Union. Thousands of men, women and children from all walks of life stood in line for over two hours the following day to see the opening of the exhibit. An indication of the types the city's would-be police-state *fürher* emulates came in a sign carried by one of the several hundred bigots who staged a counterdemonstration outside the museum in an attempt to shut the exhibit down: “Hitler Was Right When He Got Rid of ‘Degenerate Art’.”

Egged on by New York's Cardinal O'Connor, Giuliani's assault on the museum is partly a cynical ploy aimed at appealing to the 40 percent of the state's electorate which is Catholic as he positions himself for next year's Senate race. “Sick stuff,” the mayor claimed of the art show, targeting as especially “disgusting” a collage by black artist Chris Ofili titled “The Holy Virgin Mary” because it



**As NYC mayor Giuliani launched witchhunt against Brooklyn Museum for exhibit including black “Holy Virgin Mary,” protesters massed outside museum to denounce state censorship.**



Rentas/NY Post, Keating/NY Times, Bengiveno/NY Times

supposedly “desecrates somebody else's religion.” Giuliani professed that he would take similar actions to “defend” any other religion. This comes from the

racist pig who celebrated his election as mayor by having his cops invade a prominent Muslim mosque in Harlem in January 1994!

Actually, Ofili himself is a Catholic whose parents come from Nigeria. Ofili, who won the important Turner Prize in Britain, regularly uses African-based materials. The dried elephant dung Giuliani finds so shocking in the depiction of the Virgin Mary also appears in another Ofili work at the Brooklyn Museum, “Afrodizzia,” where it is used to spell out the names of black cultural figures like jazz great Miles Davis. It is used in some kinds of traditional African art as a symbol of fertility, paper is made from it—indeed, there are many organic substances used in art and ritualistic objects on other continents and in other cultures. Supposedly one of the functions of museums—and of art—is to expose people to things they haven't seen before.

Wilbert Tatum, publisher emeritus of the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, had a perceptive take on the affair. In a September 30 editorial headlined “A Black Madonna: Giuliani's Worst Nightmare,” Tatum wrote: “We believe that his sensibilities were shocked by the belief that someone else would be made to believe that Mother Mary happened to be some color other than the color that he has accepted for everything that is good and pure and right and white.” We have here, Tatum posits, “a demented mayor who could not accept the idea of a Black woman, no matter how stylized or conjured up, as the mother of the baby Jesus, who went off his rocker in an effort to prevent anyone from seeing this ‘abomination before the Lord,’ even if it resulted in the closing of the Brooklyn Museum after more than 100 years of service to all the people of this city.”

Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton, whose bid as the Democratic contender in next year's New York Senate race is heavily

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