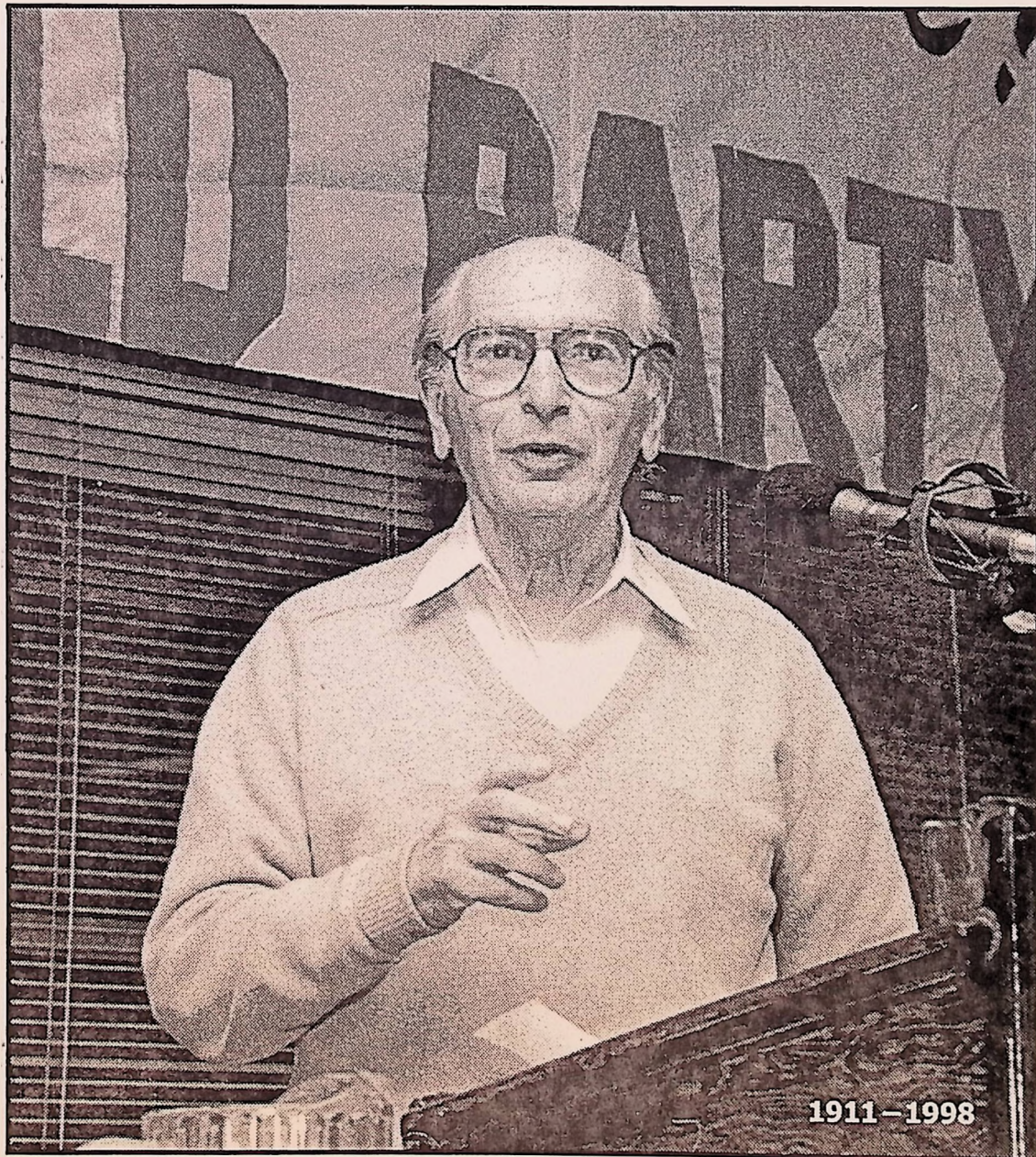
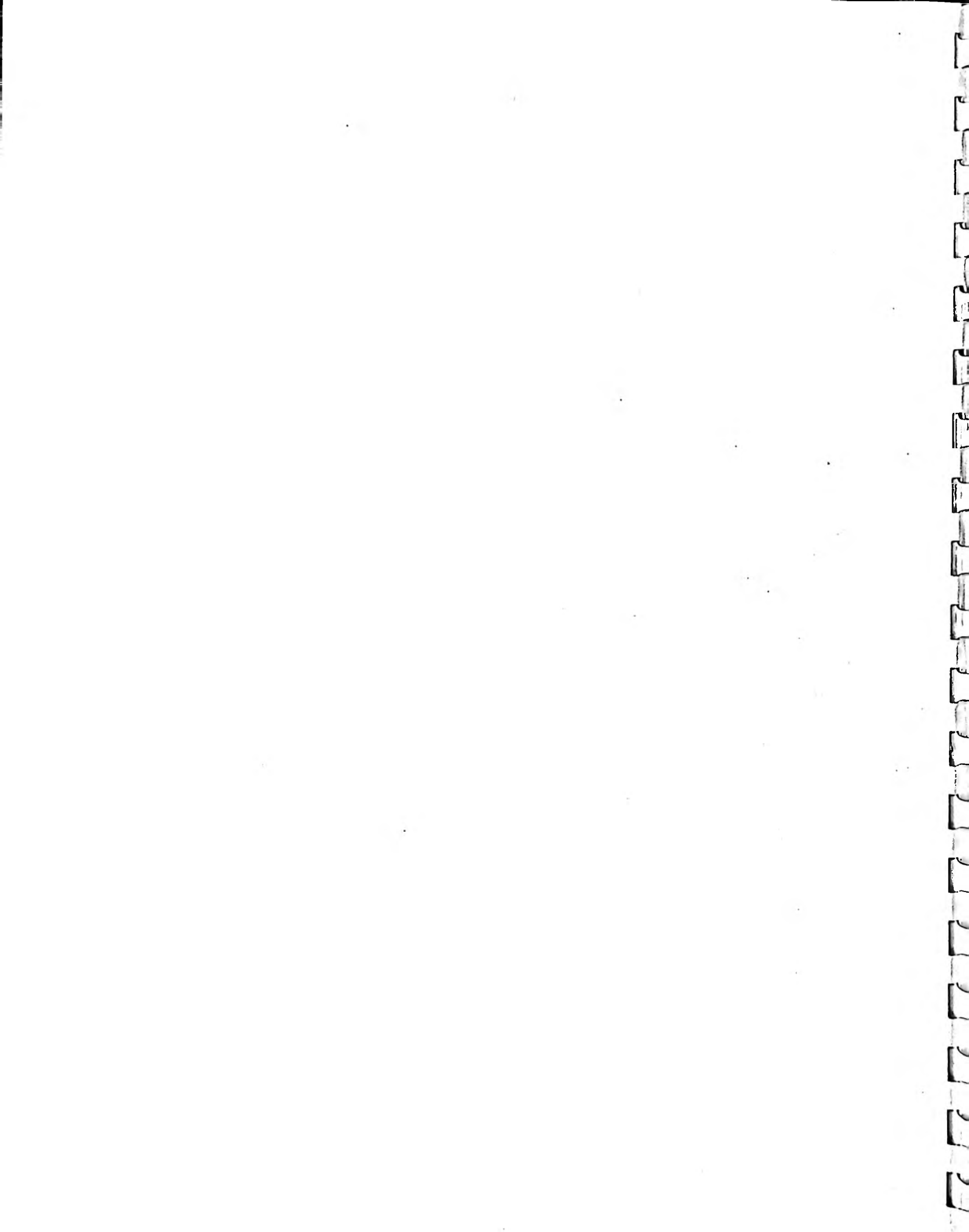


A TRIBUTE TO SAM MARCY



WW PHOTO: PAT CHIN



A TRIBUTE
TO SAM MARCY

1911-1998



Marc Ballroom, New York City

March 14, 1998

Presentations by

Comrades in

Workers World Party

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Recognition of Guests

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Messages of Solidarity
from Around the World

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Poetry

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Music

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Singing of The International

Statement of the National Committee of Workers World Party

Issued on February 2, 1998

It is with great sadness and a deep sense of loss that we announce that Sam Marcy, the founder and chairperson of Workers World Party, has died. The cause of death was a sudden, massive heart attack early on the morning of Feb. 1.

Marcy, 86, had been politically active for over 70 years. His writings and struggle initiatives were known and admired by revolutionary and working-class fighters and activists throughout the world.

Marcy, along with his partner Dorothy Ballan and a handful of other comrades, founded Workers World Party in 1959. During the nearly 40 years that he led the Party, Marcy dealt with and clarified all the most important political issues of the day, writing regularly in the Party newspaper, *Workers World*, until two years before his death. Even before 1959, he had often been the first in the United States left movement to recognize the full significance of revolutionary developments abroad—in China and Korea, for example.

Marcy's major theoretical contribution was to apply revolutionary Marxism and Leninism to an understanding of the class war on a global scale. His analysis of the irreconcilability of the conflict between the imperialist bourgeoisie on the one hand and the progressive camp of the socialist countries and national liberation movements on the other has stood the test of time. He promoted the militant defense of all socialist countries against imperialist intervention and internal counterrevolution while maintaining a

world view that was uniquely independent and consistently revolutionary.

His book "Perestroika: A Marxist Critique" (1990) closely analyzed the bourgeois trends in the USSR under the Gorbachev leadership. Marcy prepared Workers World Party and his readers all over the world for the catastrophic events that eventually became a full-scale counterrevolution there. His ability to look facts in the face and apply the analytical tools of Marxism to understanding setbacks in the class struggle was a powerful antidote to bourgeois pessimism.

Marcy was particularly astute and sensitive in understanding and combating the special oppressions festering in modern-day capitalist society. He broke new ground by applying here inside the United States Lenin's teachings on supporting self-determination of oppressed peoples while building a multinational party. He also pioneered by building a Marxist Party that incorporates the struggle against racism, sexism and lesbian/gay/bi/trans oppression in everything it does.

His book "High Tech, Low Pay" (1986) on the changed character of the working class—women and people of color now predominate in the work force—showed that a Marxist, materialist approach is crucial in developing practical strategies for labor.

"Comrade Sam" led an exemplary revolutionary life. Oppression, exploitation and a society in the throes of revolutionary change were all part of his earliest memories. He first tried his hand at socialist organizing as a teenager in

Coney Island, where he grew up in a community of poor Russian Jewish immigrants. Although he finished law school and passed the bar, he never went into private practice but instead used his legal skills as a union organizer and strategist in the 1930s and 1940s.

In the intense political environment of those days, Marcy absorbed the knowledge and experience that enabled him to develop as a bold and creative Marxist theoretician and an inspiring organizer. While his leadership qualities eventually came to be recognized on all continents, this had no effect on his warm and unassuming personality or his extremely modest lifestyle.

This same warm individual, however, was a relentless fighter against the class of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. His anger against all oppression was matched by his uniquely creative capacity as a strategist and tactician in the class struggle.

Comrade Sam's death is an immeasurable loss to the current and future strug-

gles of the working class and nationally oppressed people inside the United States. But Marcy was closely involved during the last few years of his life in assisting Workers World Party in the transition to the next generation of leadership. With this in mind we can say that Comrade Sam Marcy, while an irreplaceable force in the revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism, has nonetheless created a living human legacy in the formation of a revolutionary vanguard Party. This Party, with its diverse leadership, cadres, members and friends, is single-mindedly devoted to the liberation of the working class and all oppressed people.

Comrade Sam Marcy, we will miss you. But we will miss you in the right way. Will we mourn? Because we are human beings we cannot do otherwise. But because we are also revolutionary fighters we will organize new battles while we mourn. This is in the noblest tradition of the working class. This, in turn, is the very essence of what we have learned from you.

COMRADE SAM MARCY, ¡PRESENTE!

Some aspects of Sam Marcy's life

BY DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Reprinted from Workers World, Feb. 12, 1998

Marxists don't look at history in the same way bourgeois historians do: as an aimless succession of events propelled by "Great Men." Society evolves not because of kings or presidents, but because of broad changes in the way the masses of people interact with each other and with the material world in their daily struggle for existence.

The social forces that shape individual women and men ultimately determine how or whether their greatness ever sees the light of day.

But what about the special qualities of individual leaders? Aren't these important?

The very fact that revolutionary communists call their ideology "Marxism" shows how our movement recognizes the importance of individual consciousness and willpower in either speeding up or retarding social change. Yet Marx himself was the first to admit that he stood on the shoulders of other thinkers before him, that he took from existing ideologies in order to synthesize a new world historical view—dialectical materialism. And that even his philosophical work would not have been possible without the rise of new class forces in Europe: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In writing about the death of Sam Marcy, the founder of Workers World Party, and trying to summarize his contributions to the world communist movement, it is important to view him in the perspectives of space and time. How can one really appreciate his impact otherwise?

He was a thoroughgoing internationalist who spent all but his early childhood years in just two cities in the United States: New York and Buffalo, N.Y. Yet Sam came to be respected by revolutionaries all over the world.

The span of his life—1911 to 1998—encompassed all the great revolutions of this century. He studied these revolutions intently. Yet most of his political



Sam showed that revolutionary Marxism can draw nourishment for the social soil of the most developed capitalist country on earth.

energy was spent upholding revolutionary Marxism in an environment of deep reaction.

A poor kid in a potato sack

Comrade Sam came to this country as a young child from a small village in Russia. He remembered having worn a rough potato sack for clothing. He remembered being dragged to a neighbor's one snowy night to escape the "Whites"—bands of counterrevolutionaries who terrorized Jewish villages. He remembered the Red Army coming later—"our army."

Sam was too young to have been politically involved in the Russian Revolution. But his personality always bore the stamp of those days. He never was confused about which side to be on in the worldwide class struggle. To the marrow of his bones, he was with the oppressed.

He understood the enormous accomplishments of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. Illiterate, starving, war weary, the workers and peasant farmers of Russia and the other lands oppressed by czarism had stormed the heavens, thrown out the ruling class and set up a workers' state. It was the first time in history this had succeeded. With all its later vicissitudes, the Soviet

Union inspired the workers and oppressed all over the world. It helped other revolutions break the imperialist grip. And it survived until the Yeltsin counter-revolution.

To leftists who had earlier given up on the Soviet Union, Comrade Sam would say, "Don't throw out the baby with the bath water."

Every revolutionary wants to organize, write about and lead revolutions. It fell to Sam that his major work had to be about a counterrevolution—"Perestroika: A Marxist Critique," published in 1990. He wrote it during a time when so many experienced Marxists were devastated and paralyzed by the news coming out of the Soviet Union. Others were completely thrown into the bourgeois camp by Gorbachev's capitulation, vainly hoping for something good to come of it.

Sam followed events there with concentrated energy, refusing to allow his feelings to interfere with his analytical judgment. Nor would he trivialize the issues involved by reducing the problem to the treachery of leaders, important as leadership is.

Week after week in articles in *Workers World*, he went over the deep political issues that communists in the Soviet Union have had to address from the very beginning: the national question, the property forms, how to stimulate the economy in a socialist direction, how to deal with the imperialist bourgeoisie that was trying to strangle them.

Sam could look reality in the face without losing his bearings. When the working class suffers great setbacks—as has happened many times—it takes an unusual kind of strength to be able to acknowledge what has happened, not try to "prettify" it, as he was fond of saying, and then to concentrate on what can be done to move forward again.

Sam drew his strength from the party he built. *Workers World Party* became the embodiment of his optimism.

But was it really possible to build a party based on the revolutionary conceptions of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the United States in the middle of the 20th century? In 1959, to be exact, when anti-communist reaction had swept the country? And with only a few fellow thinkers in a couple of cities?

Sam turned that question around. If an independent communist party like *Workers World* could be built here, then wouldn't its very existence show that revolutionary Marxism can draw nourishment from the social soil of the most developed capitalist country on earth?

This went to the very roots of Marxism itself. For didn't the socialists of the 19th century say that capitalism's tempestuous development laid the basis for a reconstruction of human relations? Capitalism had overtaken feudal stagnation and unleashed dynamic growth of the means of production. For the first time, it was possible to foresee a society of abundance. But only a socialist revolution could make this available to the working people. The workers in the industrialized countries flocked to the socialist banner.

The 20th century, however, showed that capitalism's new stage, imperialism, had bought time for the ruling classes in the West by super-exploiting the peoples of the Third World. That blunted the revolutionary spirit of the Western proletariat—while transferring it to those countries where class and national oppression combined to make a living hell.

The revolutionary center of gravity has shifted to the East, Sam wrote in one of his documents analyzing the Chinese and Korean revolutions. He followed them with great excitement, recognizing long before others in the left here that world political conditions had brought the proletariat to the forefront in these overwhelmingly agrarian countries. It was socialist revolution, not the national bourgeoisie, that would carry out the task of national liberation.

An organizer of workers

Sam developed his world outlook not in some ivory tower but while organizing workers here.

"Marxism is as Marxism does," he would say. Get out and find the issues on the minds of the workers and oppressed. Find a way to intervene so as to strengthen their independence from the ruling class and its many instruments.

Sam had early on become a creative workers' organizer. In New York at the end of the Depression, he was attorney and organizational secretary for a union of paper box workers, mostly low-paid women. He and his companion, Dorothy Ballan, built a militant grouping within the union and led a successful strike. Later he and Dotty moved to Buffalo, where his tactical skills soon earned him a reputation among labor militants.

Buffalo was a strategic city full of heavy industry. During World War II, companies like Bethlehem Steel, Chevrolet, Westinghouse and Bell Aircraft became immensely rich on government contracts with a guaranteed profit. But wages were frozen at Depression-era levels.

By 1946, returning soldiers were back in the plants and the pent-up militancy of the workers burst out in a strike wave. Sam was consulted, often surreptitiously, by the strike leaders. He always had good ideas on how to get around court injunctions, how to bring out the solidarity of workers in other industries. One night a strike leader, knowing the authorities were trying to serve him with an injunction, had to jump over back fences and sneak down alleys to get to a meeting with Sam.

After Dotty, Sam's closest collaborator was Vince Copeland, a leader in the steel plant. Just as they saw the vanguard role of Third World revolutionary movements, Sam and Vince recognized that Black workers in the U.S. were the force pushing the unions forward, even though a period of reaction was setting in. More than anything else, class solidarity depended on fighting racism. Their organizing all through the late 1940s and 1950s, in the plants and in the communities, was aimed at strengthening Black-white unity.

Later, after forming Workers World Party, Sam would keep returning to Lenin's views on the national question. His unique contribution was to adapt them to the U.S. Here, he said, oppressed nations did not necessarily live in a distinct territory, or speak a separate language. Racism kept national oppression alive through a complex web of restrictions enforced by legal and extra-legal terror.

Communists must support self-determination for all the nationally oppressed within the borders of the U.S.—African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Native people. Should there be integration? Federation? Separation? It was up to the oppressed themselves to decide what political forms would facilitate their freedom.

This was the theoretical underpinning for WWP's militant support of the liberation movements that began in the 1960s—the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, the Organization of Afro-American Unity under Malcolm X, the Deacons for Defense and Justice.

Catching the new wind of the 1960s

Despite his enormous drive, his single-mindedness and his keen tactical sense, Sam Marcy never had the chance to lead a revolution. But he brought revolutionary consciousness to a new generation of militants who joined WWP during the upsurge of the 1960s. That was a youthful, heady time. Everyone over 30 was suspect. Everything was going to be accomplished



**Dorothy Ballan
& Sam Marcy,
circa 1953**

in a few years.

Yet here was this older guy speaking every week about the problems of the socialist countries, going over the subtleties of what imperialism was up to, talking about the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, about the Palestinian struggle, the Cuban Revolution, and what it all had to do with 1848, the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution.

In between meetings, he was urging the younger comrades to get out and demonstrate, to confront the racists and the warmongers whenever possible. And he'd be the first one on the picket line, beaming at their success.

Sam walked around New York with a pocketful of change, making so many phone calls from the local diners that they thought he must be a bookie. Because he was at all times an organizer. Every recruit had to be talked to. He wanted to know them and their problems. He encouraged them to speak, to write, to take political responsibility. The development of an ordinary worker into a communist was what delighted him the most.

He learned from the newer comrades. He and Dotty listened carefully to what some of the youth had to say about the cruelties inflicted on lesbians and gay men. They looked again into Frederick Engels' "Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State." They encouraged gay comrades to develop an historical, Marxist outlook on why same-sex love came to be oppressed. And then, after raising it to the Party as a whole and stimulating much discussion, they threw the whole weight of the organization behind the gay liberation movement, hailing the Stonewall Rebellion soon after it occurred in 1969. ■

LEGACY OF SAM MARCY

The struggle against imperialist war

BY DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Reprinted from Workers World, Feb. 19, 1998

In the second half of the 20th century, the main source of imperialist war in the world has been the United States.

Other imperialist powers have been roped in behind U.S. military actions—in the Korean and Gulf wars, for example, Washington got political and troop support from Britain, France and other capitalist governments. In a few cases—Britain in the Malvinas, France in Southeast Asia, Central Africa and the South Pacific—these imperialists have launched their own military actions to hang on to former colonies. And once—the invasion of the Suez in 1956 by Britain, France and Israel—they actually took military action independent of the U.S. and against its wishes.

But these are the exceptions that prove the rule. It is the Pentagon that has been the motor force of military aggression in the world ever since World War II. Its budget equals that of all its major rivals combined. U.S. troops are based in 100 other countries. And they have been sent into battle many, many times—increasingly as “special forces” using high-tech equipment and having the foot soldiers of dependent regimes at their beck and call.

Inspirer and leader of youth, soldiers

Since the early 1960s, every new stage of U.S. military aggression has met with a determined anti-imperialist opposition within this country that has directed its mobilizing efforts to the working class. The main inspirer and leader of this struggle was Sam Marcy.

The government surely knows it. It is time the movement does too.

Sam Marcy was not a youth when the U.S. began pouring troops into Vietnam. But he inspired the formation of Youth Against War & Fascism in 1962. It became, in the words of African American journalist William Worthly, “the cutting edge of the New Left.”

YAWF held the first demonstration in the U.S.

against the Vietnam war—in August 1962. At the time, most people here had never heard of Vietnam, let alone Cambodia and Laos. They had no idea that in a few years there would be hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops there.

Sam was enormously excited when an interview with Ho Chi Minh by Australian correspondent Wilfred Burchett appeared in *The National Guardian*. President Ho thanked Youth Against War & Fascism for its demonstrations. They had been small—nothing like the hundreds of thousands who would later take to the streets against the war. But they had broken new ground and thus gained the attention of Vietnam’s legendary Communist leader.

Sam Marcy wasn’t a soldier. But he encouraged soldiers, many of them too young to have ever held a civilian job, to form a union to demand their rights. And that led to the birth of the American Servicemen’s Union at the end of 1967—a militant organization of rank-and-file military personnel, men and women, that eventually had chapters on bases and ships around the world and circulated its newspaper, *The Bond*, to tens of thousands on active duty.

The ASU not only demanded union wages for GIs and an end to racism and sexism in the military, but also asserted the right to disobey illegal orders—like the order to go to Vietnam and fight in a war that Congress had never declared.

Sam’s style was not to take the limelight. At the increasingly large rallies against the war, it was younger people around him who developed their oratorical skills. But at the smaller leadership meetings, when an action was still in the idea stage, it was the boldness of his conceptions that pushed the envelope.

His weekly speeches at the “YAWF loft” in a sagging brick building on Sixth Avenue and 25th Street in Manhattan—now torn down—began attracting overflow crowds, even a few celebrities.

Sam's speeches dealt with all the questions on the minds of the anti-war militants, who were groping for political direction.

Bourgeois pacifism vs. anti-imperialism

Since World War II, pacifism had been the dominant current in what was referred to as the "peace movement." The pacifists had defined the struggle as one of individual conscience. They hoped by personal example and sacrifice to influence the leaders of the capitalist state to abandon militarist policies. This shaped their tactics—silent vigils, hunger strikes, ads in the newspapers. They directed their efforts to the middle class and those in the state apparatus.

Sam Marcy spoke many times about the one great movement in modern times that had actually stopped a war: the revolutionary working-class movement that found its highest expression in Lenin's Bolshevik Party. The Russian Revolution was what forced the imperialist powers in Europe and the U.S. to finally call a halt to World War I. But it came only after tens of millions of workers and peasants had been sent to their deaths in that slaughter for capitalist profits.

When Russian and German soldiers started to fraternize in the trenches, shooting the officers who were threatening to shoot them, this international working-class solidarity terrified the ruling classes.

Sam educated the young anti-war recruits on this tremendous chapter in working class history. Most of them didn't even know that he had been born in czarist Russia and had personally experienced as a young child some of the terrors and privations of wartime.

Looked for mass opposition

Sam always looked for examples of mass opposition to imperialist war. In his book "The Bolsheviks and War," he wrote about the Green Corn Rebellion in Oklahoma during World War I. This little-known uprising of extremely oppressed workers and poor farmers, including Black and Native people, was organized by the left wing of the socialist movement. It coupled resistance to the draft with a militantly anti-capitalist, anti-landlord program.

As the anti-war movement of the 1960s grew to be massive, YAWF came to represent not only the most militant elements but a clear anti-imperialist line.

When Israel launched a massive military attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan in June 1967, it did so as a partner of Western imperialism in the Middle East. Comrade Sam went personally to a meeting of New York's main anti-war coalition to demand that they discuss this huge war crisis and take a stand in support of the oppressed Arab peoples so recently free of the colonial yoke.

He could barely get the floor. When the chair ruled him out of order, he spoke anyway with great passion until the meeting broke up in confusion. It wasn't until 14 years later, at the great 1981 March on the Pentagon organized by Sam's comrades in the People's Anti-War Mobilization, that a Palestinian had a chance to speak to a mass anti-war demonstration in this country.

'Generals over the White House'

As the list of U.S. interventions grew from Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to El Salvador, Grenada, Panama, Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia and elsewhere, Sam wrote more and more about the economic forces driving the Pentagon. His pamphlet "Generals over the White House—the Impact of the Military-Industrial Complex" showed how even before Ronald Reagan and his trillion-dollar Star Wars program, the military was expanding its role under Jimmy Carter and organizing politically to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome."

Military spending has become a drug, he would say, that U.S. capitalism can't live without, but like any dangerous narcotic this stimulant can become a depressant. Eventually it will tear down the same capitalist economy it is building up today.

Sam was on his way to a demonstration against the U.S. invasion of the African country of Somalia in May 1993 when a car backed into him and broke his ankle. He didn't know the extent of the injury, just that it hurt. He walked from 28th Street to Times Square on the broken ankle, then marched on the picket line until he couldn't stand it anymore.

His close collaborator and friend of 50 years, Vince Copeland, died while Sam was in the hospital with his leg in a cast. Sam videotaped a message to the Party's National Committee from his hospital room.

One of his favorite sayings was: "Anyone who wishes the objective must will the means thereto." ■

THE FIRST GULF WAR

U.S. Intervention in the Middle East

BY SAM MARCY

Reprinted from Workers World, Aug 16, 1990

Vilification of Third World leaders opposed to U.S. intervention in their respective countries is not a new phenomenon in U.S. politics. But it reaches absolutely absurd heights when it comes to the Arab people.

The lies and slander against Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1956 reached dizzying heights after he tried to take over the Suez Canal and the British and French organized a naval armada to stop him.

However, when the imperialist powers' intervention subsided, the popularity of Nasser in Egypt was overwhelming. Mass support was so wide and deep, especially among the most exploited and oppressed people, that it became necessary for even the gutter tabloids to pull back purely out of political expediency.

In the contemporary era, Col. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya and Saddam Hussein of Iraq have shared the kind of vilification that Nasser experienced. At present, the imperialist press, especially in the U.S., seems to have pulled out all stops in slander, deceit and vilification in the case of Saddam Hussein—criminal, terrorist, bum, tyrant, madman, etc., etc., ad nauseam.

What is really his crime? The annexation of Kuwait, a fabulously rich source of the oil billions flowing to the West?

There is no end to the Niagara of crocodile tears for tiny Kuwait against the bully Saddam Hussein. The moral effluvia over the illegal annexation flows almost as rapidly as the Niagara of tears for what is assumed will be the terrible fate of the Kuwaiti people.

Illegal annexation—from California to Hawaii

Illegal annexation and occupation—that, we are told, is “the” issue. But who is sending a naval and air armada equipped not just to retake and occupy Kuwait, but with probably enough explosive power to kill millions of people?

It's the same capitalist government that illegally

annexed California, Utah, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Nevada.

Weren't these lands taken by force and violence? Did the Native people agree in any shape, form or manner to these annexations, illegal in every respect? And shall we say immoral? Or does morality enter into the calculations of an expansionist capitalist power?

How long ago is it since Hawaii was annexed to the U.S.? This annexation took place not in the immediate vicinity of the U.S. but thousands of miles away.

And what about Alaska? Did the Inuits formally ask to become a state of the U.S.? Or was it part of a deal between two predatory robbers—the U.S. and czarist Russia—one of whom needed cash more badly than the other? The people had no say in the matter and still do not to this day.

Was Louisiana the result of a mass movement to become part of the United States? Or was it also the result of a deal to purchase the territory and subsequently become a state?

So far we are only dealing with states of the U.S. But what about Puerto Rico? The Virgin Islands? Samoa? Guam? And those are only the ones directly annexed as U.S. territories.

Then there are areas like the independent country of Grenada. Its revolutionary government was the beneficiary of a gratuitous intervention by the U.S., which almost all the world condemned.

European powers built by annexations

All the great states of modern imperialist Europe are the result of amalgamations and annexations. Over the years there have been divisions and redivisions.

Britain still controls a part of Ireland. Scotland and Wales might have been independent countries except for the expansionist ability of the English.

The early annexations and amalgamations were accomplished in Europe as part and parcel of the

bourgeois democratic revolution, spearheaded by the great French Revolution of 1789.

A Napoleon for the Arab people

Anwar Sadat, who succeeded Nasser and subsequently became the subservient tool of U.S. imperialism, was once in a heated debate with Col. Qaddafi. Sadat asked if Qaddafi thought he was Napoleon. It would not have been too far amiss for Col. Qaddafi to have answered that he would like to do for the Arab people what Napoleon's conquering army did for Eastern Europe.

One of the truly progressive achievements of Napoleon was that his army, coming mostly from the peasantry with many peasant generals, abolished serfdom and feudalism and threw out some of the rottenest of monarchies. That was the progressive side of the Napoleonic wars.

Nasser, Qaddafi and now Hussein face a similar problem. The problem is how to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution the Europeans experienced centuries ago. But the Arab people have been obstructed by imperialist colonization. The irrational divisions of the Arabian peninsula were devised to suit foreign capitalist economic interests. Most significant in terms of economics and finance as well as geopolitical considerations is the empire of oil that the U.S., Britain and some of their allies still own and control.

To unite the Arab people in the effort to oust U.S. imperialism is a first condition for the emancipation of the workers and peasants as well as the rest of Arab society from servitude to landlords, compradore elements and the remnants of ancient clan dynasties beholden to the imperialist powers.

In trying to convey the Arab quest for unity, a writer in N.Y. *Newsday* (Aug. 7, 1990) gives this example:

"Sheik Hail Srer, a dignified, elderly man whose family is of Bedouin, or nomadic, origin, retired last year as a member of the Jordanian parliament. Twenty years ago, Srer was a senator in Syria, and his first cousins, the Iraqi Srers, held important positions in Baghdad. Other family members live across the desert sands in Saudi Arabia. 'We are all really just one family and one nation,' says the sheik."

Arab unity in the struggle against imperialism does not necessarily mean wiping out the national independence of legitimate states or unwarranted amalgamations and annexations. Those matters are to be dealt with solely by the Arab people themselves. Of course, amalgamations, separations or divisions, to be regard-

ed as progressive, must be free of any form of national oppression or domination of one nationality over the other.

Under some circumstances, it may become necessary in the struggle against imperialism to oust imperialist puppets or occupy territory in the immediate vicinity where imperialism has strongly embedded itself with native royalist bourgeois compradore elements. If the only way to remove them is through the use of revolutionary force supported by the mass of workers and oppressed peoples, then it will be done.

Peaceable measures are of course preferable. But imperialist colonialism rarely gives way to peaceable methods. Its entire history is of the use of unmitigated force and the cruelest violence.

Completing the bourgeois democratic revolution

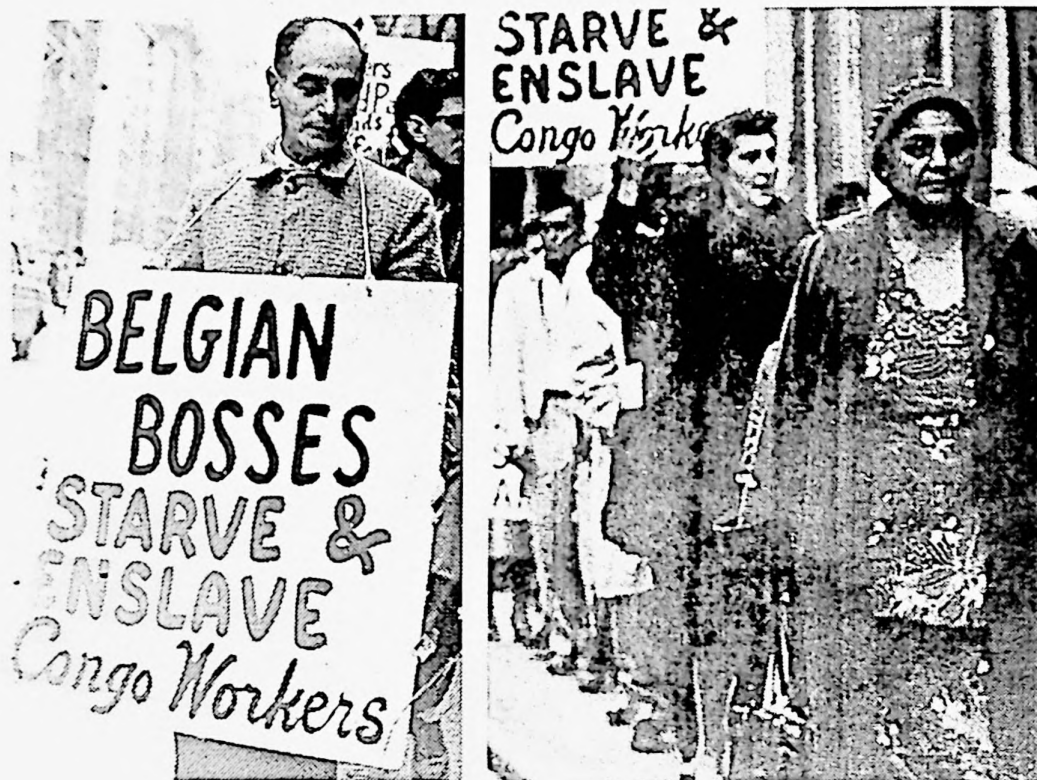
The effort to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution in the conditions of imperialist domination and military intervention lays the basis for the transition from the bourgeois democratic phase directly into the socialist revolution. And this transition facilitates the socialist revolution.

One of the tasks of socialist revolution is to free all nationalities of oppression and exploitation by others. Imperialism sows divisions that help it garner superprofits, as it has in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and as it would certainly like to do in the Soviet Union as well.

The Arab people are not the only ones menaced by imperialism in the Middle East. The effort of the U.S. to make the Mediterranean Sea a U.S. lake has put the Middle East in danger of military intervention for many years now. No country there is safe.

Few are free either from U.S. domination or its terror. The first duty of the progressive and working class movement in the U.S. is to call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. warships, troops and planes from the entire Middle East area. As has been pointed out again and again, the terms of the NATO treaty are supposed to be effective only for the North Atlantic states in the North Atlantic. Europeans and the U.S. have no business under that treaty of even being in the Mediterranean.

If ever there is a legal argument available to bolster a political struggle, this ought to be the easiest of all. The NATO treaty refers only to the North Atlantic, not the Mediterranean. How come so few of the bourgeois journalists ever refer to this?



Not just a question of oil

What accounts for the difference now?

Their vote in the UN Security Council arises from a turn in the world struggle.

More specifically, it

is the first test since the worldwide setbacks for socialism in Eastern Europe. The Gorbachev administration is trying to take the view that the Cold War is over, and accommodate itself to U.S. imperialism's dominance in world affairs. Gorbachev wants to disengage the Soviet Union from confrontation with imperialism with regard to the national liberation movements and the struggles of oppressed peoples.

The Gorbachev administration has capitulated in the worldwide struggle between capitalism and socialism. It has set this adventurous course in order to save itself from the disaster of pursuing bourgeois economic reforms. These reforms have not only slowed down industry but also resulted for the first time in a decline in the gross national product and labor productivity in the USSR.

Let us not discount the inherent contradictions in imperialism, which make it vulnerable to a worldwide anti-imperialist and working class upsurge. At each step in the development of capitalism the working class and the oppressed masses generally have been the single most potent force not only to restrain capitalist imperialism's inherent tendencies to expand, but to overthrow it.

On Aug. 4, 1914, who thought that three years later the absolutist czarist government of Russia—the gendarme of Europe and bulwark of reaction that always had the support of European capitalism—would be overthrown and all of Europe would be aflame with revolutionary working class struggle? ■

USSR and China vote with the imperialists

A new phenomenon has arisen in this crisis. Not only has the U.S. achieved a united front with its imperialist European and Japanese allies. It has also drawn in China and the USSR.

The vote by the USSR and China in favor of the UN Security Council resolution against Iraq, which was initiated by the Bush administration, is not only unfortunate but disappointing to millions of workers and oppressed people in the Arab world and far beyond, who have often looked for help to the Soviet Union.

This distinguishes the current array of forces against Iraq from what happened in earlier economic and military confrontations by the U.S. in the Middle East.

In 1958, the Iraqi Revolution exploded against imperialist domination, prompting the Eisenhower administration to begin naval maneuvers.

The government of China at that time characterized the significance of the Iraqi Revolution as of the magnitude of an atomic bomb, in the sociological sense.

What stayed the hand of the Pentagon then? It was the solidarity of the USSR and China in denouncing the Eisenhower administration for its interventionist plans.

Chinese-Soviet solidarity at that time was also joined by the governments of Nehru in India and Sukarno in Indonesia. There was also worldwide support in many oppressed countries. This solidarity did much to hold back the Pentagon.

ATTACK ON CIVILIAN SHELTERS

The turning point in the Gulf War

BY SAM MARCY

Seven years ago, on Feb. 13, 1991, a U.S. missile attack on a civilian air-raid shelter in the Baghdad suburb of Alimeerah killed more than 500 people. Some estimates put the casualties, mostly women, elderly men and children, at over 1,000.

This horrific massacre marked a new phase in the Gulf War, and demonstrated the lengths to which U.S. imperialism was willing to go to exert its domination in the region. Today, with a new war against Iraq looming—and with the Clinton administration openly talking about probable civilian casualties—it is instructive to reread what Workers World Party Chairperson Sam Marcy wrote at the time.

According to the claims of the allied imperialists, almost all of Iraq's significant military installations, so-called biological and chemical weapons centers, and supposed nuclear capabilities were either effectively crippled or demolished. Yet there was no capitulation by the Iraqi government, nor any significant signs of a break in the morale of the embattled Iraqi people.

So another phase of the imperialist assault upon the Iraqi people was begun. Up until Feb. 13, the unprecedented massive air assaults on Iraq seemed to be directed against military targets. There was, of course, what the imperialist military refers to as "collateral damage," meaning civilian casualties. But the civilian casualties, even according to the Iraqi government, were not so massive as to convey the impression that the U.S. was specifically aiming at civilian targets.

The air assault of Feb. 13 changed everything. It did not of course change its class character, as a war of the leading monopoly capitalist imperialist countries against an oppressed people. But it did change the character of the war's conduct from a military standpoint.

For on Feb. 13 the U.S. unleashed an unprecedented massive assault, a pinpoint attack by two missiles launched from a stealth bomber against not a military

target, but a civilian establishment—an air raid shelter, no less. The U.S. claim that the shelter was a cover for a military outpost was ridiculous on its face.

It would have been entirely in order, even customary, for the U.S. Air Force to give a warning of even a few minutes if not some hours before attacking the facility so its inhabitants could vacate the premises. This they failed to do.

They also failed to answer a reporter's key question at a military briefing: why didn't they show the video that supposedly showed military personnel going in and out of the bomb shelter? The U.S. military refused to produce the pictures or allow an independent investigation of the incident. Within the space of 24 hours it announced that its own internal investigation, conducted in secret of course, was over and the case closed.

British join in with attack on market

Thus, the character of the war had changed from attacking military targets to the fascist-like mass destruction of the civilian population. Soon the British joined in, killing 130 civilians in a market while attacking a bridge supposedly used for military purposes. The mass destruction of the civilian population has gone on steadily in the week since.

What is the significance of the swift change from attacking military targets to wholesale attacks on the civilian population? It foreshadowed the beginning of a genuine genocidal war against Iraq. This was a turning point in the war. It elicited an announcement and an offer from the Iraqi government, which for the first time stated it would withdraw from Kuwait and offered to begin discussions toward that end.

The Feb. 13 attack was a deliberate, premeditated move that couldn't be explained away. So within the space of a few days, this mass murder carried out by the U.S. military against a civilian population all but disappeared from the capitalist media here.

Here it is necessary to recall another so-called mili-

tary incident that will shed considerable light on the meaning of the bloody Feb. 13 attack on the air raid shelter.

It took place toward the close of the Iran-Iraq war when both the belligerents were nearing exhaustion.

Remember the Iranian airliner?

The U.S. had for a considerable period secretly supported the Iraqi side of the war. The U.S. aim during the early period of the Iran-Iraq war was to allow both belligerents to exhaust themselves in a conflict which could only benefit the imperialist ruling classes in the end. But by the summer of 1988, the U.S. had decided that its secret support of the Iraqi regime was inadequate for its sordid purposes. And it had to send an unmistakable message to Iran that the U.S. was shifting its support to Iraq, in order to curb and possibly destroy Iran's economic and political influence in the Persian Gulf.

On July 3, 1988, the USS Vincennes launched a surface-to-air missile at an Iranian civilian airliner. It was on a scheduled commercial flight from Bandar-Abbas to Dubai. The attack resulted in the deaths of 290

passengers and crew members.

The U.S. proclaimed the whole thing was an "error" by the crew of the Vincennes. But further investigation found no fault and resulted in no punishment. The incident was dismissed and forgotten.

However, it was precisely this act of mass murder of civilians that compelled the belligerents in the Iran-Iraq war to call a halt to military hostilities. It effectively ended the war.

The July 3, 1988, mass murder was an attempt by the U.S. to demonstrate that it would go to any lengths to achieve its predatory imperialist objectives. It is a precise parallel to the Feb. 13 mass murder of civilians in Iraq under a similarly veiled cover of a supposed attack on a military target, which showed that the Pentagon and White House were at one in the goal of subjugating the Iraqi people to U.S. imperialism.

Up until Feb. 13, the U.S. was unable to subjugate or vanquish the small country of Iraq, even though the war conducted by the imperialists was of a collective, coordinated character, concentrated on one small country fighting alone. ■

A Tribute to Marcy from a Black communist

BY MONICA MOOREHEAD

Reprinted from Workers World from March 5, 1998

How can anyone begin to sum up the remarkable 70-year legacy of a Marxist leader like Sam Marcy in one article, or even a series of them?

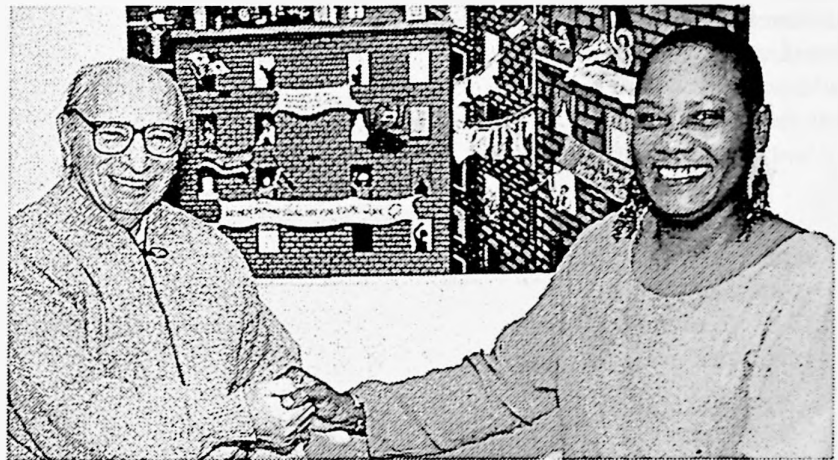
It is a difficult task. For Comrade Sam was not only a brilliant interpreter of Marxist-Leninist thought, but was at his best when applying materialist theory to the most complicated issues, especially during periods of political reaction.

Comrade Sam instilled within each cadre of Workers World Party the basic truth that correct revolutionary theory goes hand in hand with revolutionary practice. Many a demonstration, rally, picket line or news conference, big and small, was initiated by Comrade Sam and other founding members of our Party. These actions were shaped as vehicles to help advance the struggle for socialism and to help ignite class unity within the multinational working class.

Comrade Sam's writings were outstanding on many questions, domestic and international. But his writings on the paramount importance of fighting racism and national oppression distinguished him from many other Marxist leaders of his generation.

Comrade Sam was the first white Marxist leader to defend the Nation of Islam and its right to self-determination, including separation, when that organization came under racist attack from the U.S. government in the late 1950s. Workers World Party was the only multinational left party in the United States to defend the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, Deacons of Defense and other revolutionaries when they were being brutally targeted for extinction by Cointelpro repression by the FBI.

Workers World Party stood virtually alone on this defense as others on the left unfortunately characterized the Panthers' strong stance on their right to self-defense against the armed state apparatus as "adventurism" and "recklessness." Sam's objective but optimistic leadership during tumultuous periods like the



1960s led to Workers World Party today being in the forefront of the most revolutionary current inside the United States.

The accompanying article by Sam Marcy—"National Oppression and the Class Struggle"—appeared in the Dec. 8, 1983, issue of Workers World newspaper. It was inspired by the first presidential candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who ran on the Democratic Party ticket.

The Black masses along with key sectors from the Latino, Asian, labor, women's, gay and student movements were being aroused by the Jackson campaign, which was openly challenging the entrenched racist leadership of the Democratic National Committee.

Once again, Workers World Party stood alone relative to the other U.S. left parties by providing critical support to the Jackson campaign. What was the basis of this support?

The Jackson campaign had become a catalyst, especially for the nationally oppressed peoples, in the ongoing struggle to complete the unfinished bourgeois-democratic revolution by extending and winning political and social rights for Black and other disenfranchised sectors in society. These are rights that white males won when British colonial rule was overthrown.

Despite Jackson's bourgeois program and the parlia-

mentary form of the campaign, WWP viewed his campaign as a progressive vehicle for fighting racism and national oppression.

Comrade Sam's article serves as a clear, uncompromising lesson for all progressives, revolutionaries and communists who continue to strive to be the best fighters against the hated bourgeoisie. This article brings up to date many vital points raised by Lenin in his piece "On the National and Colonial Questions" written during World War I.

Here, Comrade Sam reminds us that the national question is part and parcel of the class struggle. Therefore it would be erroneous to think that you could put such a critical issue on the back burner until after the socialist revolution is achieved.

What is astounding about this article is that its

lessons can be applied to any anti-racist struggle today.

Fighting racism and national oppression has to find its way into the forefront of every struggle under capitalism—from defending the Iraqi people against U.S. imperialism to fighting against police brutality and slave labor in New York and elsewhere. This is the only way real unity between white workers and Black, Latino and other oppressed nations will be forged.

Comrade Sam Marcy died suddenly on Feb. 1—the first day of Black History Month. It seems appropriate to reprint this particular article by this towering revolutionary figure, whose profound words and actions will inspire liberation fighters of all nationalities today and in the future to overthrow this hated system until a better world of socialism is finally in birth.

iSam Marcy Presente! ☐

National oppression and class struggle

BY SAM MARCY

Reprinted from Workers World, Dec. 8, 1983

Of all the great domestic political problems facing the working class and the oppressed people, none surpasses in importance the relationship of national oppression to the class struggle.

Indeed, one may say this it is at the heart of the basic social problem in the United States. It touches every form of social existence, and no sector of society is free from it.

For Marxists in particular it is the acid test of the correctness of their general political program. It is also a test of the revolutionary integrity of the party, in particular as this is manifested in day-to-day practical application. Probably nowhere else is theory so severely tested by practice as in the field of the national question.

Upon the solution of the national question may very well depend the destiny of the working class in the struggle against capitalism as well as the future of socialism.

The national question, or, as it is sometimes called, the race question, has for centuries been covered up by a plethora of lies and deceit. The intent is to convey the impression that it does not exist, or if it does

exist, it is being solved, or at least its significance is diminishing due to the glory and virtues of the democratic processes of monopoly capitalism.

The deepening of the capitalist crisis, notwithstanding the current ephemeral recovery, is bound to intensify national oppression in the U.S. This will be so not only because of the growing unemployment, of which the oppressed people bear the brunt, but also and perhaps of equal importance because of the direction of U.S. foreign policy toward military adventurism on a global scale unprecedented in history.

The burden of all this is bound to become more and more intolerable for the working class and the oppressed peoples.

The ruling class can be relied upon to desperately attempt to divert the course of the struggle of the workers and the oppressed into divisive and frustrating channels, while reaping a huge harvest for itself in the form of superprofits.

The many millions of the oppressed and exploited masses meanwhile find it more difficult to gather their huge and invincible forces into a united front against the ruling class—the most monstrous and dangerous

ever to inhabit this planet, who keep it in constant peril of utter destruction.

To many in the progressive and working-class movement, the relationship between national oppression and class conflict may appear as a choice between two contradictory phenomena.

To many socialists of the pre-World War I generation, giving priority to the national question—some called it “giving priority to the struggle against racism”—meant the abandonment of the class struggle and a surrender to bourgeois nationalism.

Needless to say, such a view, in addition to being an error in principle and a violation of basic Marxist theory on the national question, was mostly propounded by whites, even when they saw themselves as adherents of socialism and even of Marxism.

Early socialist movement

Notwithstanding the avowed anti-capitalist struggle of the socialists of that period—their propaganda for socialism, their espousal of the class struggle, and even their leadership of militant battles between the working class and the capitalist class—they tended to completely ignore the very existence of the semi-slavery, oppression, persecution and disenfranchisement of the Black people.

It goes without saying that they completely disregarded the struggle of the Native people, which seldom if ever occupied any part of their political polemics or discussions.

In Marx's time the struggle against capitalism was seen primarily as one in which the working class as a whole was conducting the socialist class struggle against the bourgeoisie and winning democratic demands not only for itself but for all others deprived of democratic rights.

However, it was understood at that time that, as long as capitalism existed, only minor reforms could be won, not only for the workers as a whole but for those who were disenfranchised and denied democratic rights. Socialist propaganda emphasized the overall objective of the abolition of the capitalist system. It pointed out the acute and insoluble contradictions under capitalism, the slavery of the wage system, the impoverishment of the farmers, the disappearance of small industry in favor of monopoly.

Just as the socialist struggle could not really bring lasting and basic reforms to capitalism, so it could not solve the racial—that is, the national—question under capitalism. The latter would have to wait until the victory of the socialist revolution.

It was then thought that fighting for the enfranchise-

ment of the oppressed nationalities—Black, Latino, Asian and Native—was important, as was women's suffrage. But only successive electoral victories culminating in the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system would attain social and political equality.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that on the eve of 1916, when there were already dozens of socialist mayors throughout the country, scarcely even one Black representative had been nominated for the hundreds of city, county and state offices to which socialists were elected.

Clearly such Marxism could not have much appeal to Black and other oppressed nationalities. It was also inevitable that a large section of the right wing of the Socialist Party, led by Victor Berger of Milwaukee and Morris Hillquit of New York, would be invested with what would today be regarded as outright racism.

The left wing, headed by Eugene Debs and Big Bill Haywood, was eloquent in its defense of Black people. But it was utterly incapable of influencing the course of the Socialist Party's struggle at the time in a progressive direction on the national question, as well as on other political problems.

Impact of Russian Revolution

It was not until the arrival of the October Revolution in Russia and the ensuing years of revolutionary struggle on a world scale that a theoretically correct appreciation of the national question in relation to the class struggle found its way to the U.S.

Lenin's long years of struggle on the question of the right of nations to self-determination and his relentless exposure of chauvinism as arising from the failure to correctly apply this right constituted a virtual treasury of new thinking that was soon introduced here and in other metropolitan imperialist countries.

In addition to writing voluminously on the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin reformulated Marx's world-famous slogan about uniting the working class of the world.

In Marx's time the slogan, as stated in the Communist Manifesto, was, “Workers of the world, unite!”

Lenin updated this to reflect the changed character of capitalism. So-called progressive, peaceful, competitive capitalism had evolved into monopoly, which not only required vast expansion at the expense of oppressed peoples around the world but also exacerbated and intensified every type of national oppression at home.

To the slogan, “Workers of the world, unite!” Lenin added the oppressed peoples. So now it reads, “Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!”

It introduced a substantial difference in the approach to the oppressed peoples abroad and, no less important, the super-exploited and oppressed people at home in the internal colonies.

While many decades have passed since Lenin's formulation of the question, it needs a proper application now more than ever, since the assault of monopoly capitalism becomes ever more onerous and threatening day by day.

No political equality

What was not understood by the early socialists, and remains a mystery to this day to many who proclaim themselves Marxists, is that the bourgeois revolution so far as it pertained to Black people everywhere in this country was never completed politically or even juridically. There is still no real political equality between Black and white in this country.

This is not only attested to by the wide differential between Black and white in income and social status generally, but is especially evident on the parliamentary front and is made very obvious during electoral campaigns.

It may be formally true that Black people generally have the same right to vote as whites do. There are any number of elected Black officials in various cities, counties and state subdivisions. But by and large there is a glaringly wide discrepancy between the political effectiveness of whites during national elections and that of Black people.

One merely has to take a look at the U.S. Senate. It has 100 senators, but not one is Black. And out of 435 representatives in the House, there are scarcely 30 Black and Latino put together. [Now, in 1998, there is one Black senator, Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois.—Ed.]

This glaring inequality as expressed in the bourgeois parliamentary system attests to the fact that the bourgeois democratic revolution begun in the 1860s has not yet been completed. The same bourgeois democratic rights that male white workers have been entitled to for two centuries are still not available to Black workers and Black people generally.

Marxists can ignore this only at the risk of losing their historic revolutionary mission in capitalist society. One cannot reduce the question to one of mere racial discrimination that, as the saying goes, is diminishing with the passage of time.

On the contrary, the mere passage of time does not guarantee a gradual evolution to full political rights, that is, to the democratic rights won by white workers and white people generally.

The centuries-old prevalence of social and political inequality attests to the fact that Black people in the U.S., like Native people, constitute a nation. The struggle against inequality thus has to be viewed politically in the context not merely of waging a fight against racial discrimination but of the right to self-determination. ■

Wounded Knee 1890 to 1973

BY SAM MARCY

Excerpted from a July 17, 1978, article in Workers World

It was mainly in the last quarter of the last century that the Indian peoples were decisively defeated. But that was in consequence of the dawn of a new epoch, a fearful epoch for all the oppressed and exploited, not only on this continent.

It was the epoch of the transformation of competitive capitalism into expansionist monopoly capitalism, with its tremendous exacerbation of the super-exploitation of oppressed peoples.

The Native peoples were driven like cattle onto reservations during this period of imperialist expansion, which was marked by all-too-well-known broken promises by the federal government, unprecedented massacres capped by the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, and broken treaty after broken treaty, not to speak of unrestricted war on the Native peoples.

The defeat of the Indian peoples at the hands of rising imperialism was preceded by the betrayal and defeat of Black Reconstruction by the American bourgeoisie. And the triumph of imperialism was finally symbolized by the subjugation of Latin Americans as a consequence of the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American war of 1898.

These three great events—the betrayal and defeat of Black Reconstruction, the massacre at Wounded Knee and the victory of American imperialism over Spain—marked the consolidation of the American empire of U.S. finance capital.

To this should be added, of course, the execution of the Haymarket martyrs in Chicago, to which the world owes May Day—the international working-class holiday today marked in lands as far away as Ethiopia and East Timor.

The leaders of the Indian movement, like Geronimo, Cochise and others, thus had the tide of history against them.

Now a new epoch is dawning, not only in the annals of the Native people but in world history. The hitherto invincible fortresses of imperialism are crumbling.

Their props of support are corroding everywhere. The tide of history is now against it.

The odious spectacle of the Pentagon's recreating a Wounded Knee massacre on the soil of Vietnam in the form of the My Lai slaughter only brought about the Tet Offensive and the complete defeat of the U.S. military colossus. U.S. imperialism will fare no better elsewhere no matter how hard it tries—abroad or at home.

Force alone, no matter how overpowering, cannot be decisive if the course of historical development, and social evolution in general, is against it. That's the difference between Wounded Knee 1890 and today.

The Indian people are not alone in the struggle. They are a great and glorious detachment of a vast and invincible army of the oppressed and exploited that is rising all over the world in the struggle against the fundamental enemy of humanity, with its citadel in Washington and Wall Street.

It was not for nothing that Lenin expanded Marx's slogan, "Workers of the world, unite," into "Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite." He added what has become the most striking phenomenon of a global character to emerge in ever-rising numbers and with greater persistence and perseverance and creative initiative—the oppressed people of the world.

This union of the working class and the oppressed is the invincible protagonist that will ultimately overthrow the decadent ruling classes and reconstruct society along rational lines without privilege, without oppression, and without exploitation of any kind.

Only this union can spare the world the havoc and destruction the decadent ruling classes will unleash if they have their way and are not stopped on their reckless, mad road of plunging the world into a holocaust. Only this union can lay the basis for a socialist transformation of society by the abolition of the capitalist system and the casting of its ruling class into the dustbin of history. ■

From a tendency to a party

BY SAM MARCY

This is taken from an internal document written for the September 1972 Workers World Party National Conference.

There is a profound and fundamental difference between a mere ideological and political tendency and a party.

A tendency is basically concerned with propagating, promoting and shaping a political and ideological world outlook. It does not necessarily aim at winning large masses of adherents into a formal political organization. In fact, it may not be able to do so. This could be due to an unfavorable political situation. The objective situation may not have ripened sufficiently to attract large masses of people.

Moreover, a tendency in the struggle against other ideological currents requires time to secure and fortify its revolutionary world outlook. In turn, this may only be possible on the basis of testing the program in the crucible of world events. This again may require a more or less extended period.

When Marx and Engels wrote their celebrated manifesto, it was called the Manifesto of the Communist Party. But the actual organization (aside from the embryonic Communist League) took several decades to be firmly established. In Germany it eventually became the party of the working class and in a general way adhered to the principles enunciated by Marx and Engels.

Marx and Engels lived for many years in exile in Britain. They did not attempt to develop a political party of the working class there on the basis of Marxist principles. The objective situation did not lend itself to the organization of the British workers into such a working class party. Marx and Engels at the time were mostly concerned with developing their revolutionary world outlook on the basis of the class struggle and the materialist conception of history.

Of course, whenever Marx got an opportunity to influence the British workers' movement, he quickly seized it. An example is Marx's mobilization of the British working class to support the North during the

U.S. Civil War. At that time British ruling class propaganda was for the slavocracy. The press spread lies that the victory of the North would deprive British workers of jobs because it would close the South's markets to British goods.

But by and large, in Britain Marxism was only a tendency. It took hold of wide masses in Germany and France, where working class parties in a general way adhered to Marxist conceptions.

A political tendency is an embryo party

To become a party it must go through a tortuous, sometimes painful process of development. Under no circumstances can a political tendency seeking to revive revolutionary Marxism-Leninism become a party of the working class unless it acquires, in the course of the transition to a party, a considerable amount of practical political experience in the class struggle. Moreover, it must continually fight a battle to make its class composition correspond to its revolutionary class program.

A political tendency can easily become aborted (as indeed many have) by pretending to be a political party. A political tendency has all the political ingredients necessary for the formation of a political party, but they are undeveloped. It lacks both the internal structure and the exterior armor necessary to engage in revolutionary class warfare.

A party, of course, differs from a political tendency in that the former has developed a formal structure whereas the latter is characterized by loose, more or less tenuous, organizational ties. This is so because a political tendency seeks first and foremost an identity of political position on its world outlook. Organizational form and character of structure become of considerable importance only after a period in which the basic political and theoretical conceptions have had sufficient time and experience to be tested.

A political tendency cannot make a transition to a political party unless it has accumulated within it a sufficient number of mature and tested cadres. Merely sharing a common world outlook, while indispensable

for the formation of a political tendency, is inadequate unless it is accompanied by sharing common experiences in the struggle and sharing a common evaluation of the most critical and important struggles experienced by both the tendency and the movement.

The transition from an ideological tendency to a party also implies that the fundamental political principles of the tendency are firmly established in its literature which, in reality, constitutes the program of the party.

If one carefully reads over our literature, particularly the literature that evaluates the principal events and struggles of the decade, he or she will surely find that therein lies the programmatic basis for the formation of the party.

No matter how well thought out a revolutionary program may be, or how accurately it depicts the nature of the driving forces of capitalist society and vigorously urges the overthrow of the capitalist system, it will become mere empty rhetoric unless it is geared to and engages in the struggle of the working class and the oppressed people. Without struggle, without everyday participation in every possible form of class conflict, no matter how small, dull, routine or grandiose, the party of the working class will not become a reality.

Struggle is the very essence of a revolutionary party

Marx himself, said Engels, was above all a fighter. Without the element of fight, propaganda for a socialist society is an academic exercise.

This is illustrated by our own history. When we commenced our existence as an independent political organization in 1959, we were faced with a multitude of what appeared to be utterly insuperable obstacles.

We attracted any number of people who expressed interest, and some complete solidarity, in ideas, in world outlook. But there was no struggle trend. Most of them were deeply influenced by the witch hunt and had a very dim outlook on the prospect of struggle in the United States.

It was only after the influence of the Cuban Revolution began to be felt and the momentous development of the Black liberation struggle that a tendency toward struggle on the part of the youth became manifest. This enabled our political tendency to grow and develop.

It should be noted that during the entire period of our early existence, we paid the closest attention to and gave our utmost assistance to those in the civil

rights and the Black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles.

The degeneration of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, plus the Sino-Soviet conflict, produced a skepticism toward Marxist tendencies in general. This made it all the more necessary to select our friends and adherents on the basis of their activities in the struggle. This became easier as the objective situation changed and a fighting, activist trend emerged among the youth, Black and white.

We were able to attract some of the best and most serious cadres we now have in the party. The struggles of the sixties served to confirm our tactics and our strategy as well as our political principles as revolutionary Marxists.

All this leads to a consideration of whether our organization is now sufficiently prepared and has the readiness and capability of making the transition from a political tendency to a party.

Face to the workers

Our greatest, most determined and resolute effort must be directed toward reaching the workers—in particular the most oppressed and exploited of them, the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Native. The great upsurge which began toward the close of the fifties and has extended to the present day has, except for the liberation struggles of the oppressed people in this country, been mainly an upsurge of the middle class—confined mostly to the very youthful elements in that class.

The upsurge in the 1930s was in the main a working class upsurge. It drew to its side huge progressive elements of the middle class.

The workers in the contemporary era began a slow awakening in 1968 and 1969, which has gradually accelerated. This took a real leap forward after the Nixon wage freeze. While the upsurge of the sixties was basically fueled by the Black liberation struggle and the Vietnam War, it also awakened advanced elements in the youth and anti-war movement to the role of the working class as the key factor in the transformation from capitalist to socialist society.

But by and large the movement was permeated with anti-Marxist and anti-working class ideology, on the one hand, while on the other it was encumbered with the legacy of the revisionism of the CP as well as of the SWP.

All the more necessary is it that we prepare long in advance, firm and confident in our knowledge that the ruling class has no alternative but to unleash an offen-

sive against the workers in order to get out of its dilemma. We can, we must, and we will be deep inside the ranks of the workers in the critical hours of their need. Our first duty is to prepare ourselves in such a way that we are capable, first of all, of learning to sense the mood of the workers—to develop a dialogue with them, as distinguished from a monologue.

This, however, will not infringe in any way upon our responsibilities in other struggles that daily occupy our attention: the prisoners' struggle, solidarity with national liberation struggles abroad, and the multitude of other activities to which a revolutionary working class party much always give its utmost attention.

Our effort to make a rapid transition from an ideological and political tendency to a party of the working class can be aborted if we do not learn how to find an avenue to the workers, to cut a path to them no matter how tortuous that may be.

Struggles involving workers are on an altogether different level than struggles of a purely political character. Of course, all working class struggles in the final analysis are also political struggles, but we must distinguish between a purely political task such as a Vietnam demonstration and a demonstration to reinstate a group of discharged workers. Both actions are at bottom political, but they are on different levels and require different approaches.

The greatest effort must be made to carefully distinguish the different types of actions and the different approaches that may be required, particularly under swiftly changing circumstances.

When we were in Buffalo and were very successful in attracting workers, we had a slogan that proved to be extremely helpful: "Mild in manner, bold in matter." It meant, do what is required of us but do it in such a way as not to go over the heads of the workers. Don't go beyond their ideological and political level and use a minimum of radical terminology.

It is often thought by those new to the working class struggle that this is a watering down of program. In reality it is merely adopting a different tactic to suit a different situation. Knowing when and how to apply the infinite variety of tactical approaches to different phases and different elements of the class struggle is of profound importance.

There can be no blueprint or stereotype on how to do this. It lends itself to easy understanding only through experience, careful attention, careful listening, and being able to distinguish different stages of development. In one area there could be a tremendous explosion of militancy. The workers could be forced to strike back against the violence of the scabs, police, National Guard and other government forces.

This could require bold political intervention.

In other areas, there may be just the bare beginnings of an awakening. In still others the workers may have just passed through a very difficult struggle. Here patience is necessary before the confidence and fighting ability of the workers is restored.

The slogan of "Mild in manner, bold in matter" has also been applicable where we took significant initiatives in organizing masses outside the work place, as in demanding jobs for veterans, or a rollback in high food prices.

All this can be undertaken only if the party members are infused with a profound revolutionary determination to reach the workers and win over a section of the most advanced and politically awakened. That is a huge and formidable task, indeed, but none is worthier or more important for a revolutionary workers' party.

The opportunities are sure to come. The real question is whether the party is sufficiently tempered and educated in the Leninist approach to the masses, whether it is able to overcome all obstacles in the way to reach the workers—without whom no socialist revolution can take place.

Implementing the party's position on the national question

The acid test for a revolutionary workers' party is its position on the national question. For many years, the existence of a national question in the United States has been denied by the ruling class and its ideologists, educators, priests and politicians. They have also denied the existence of racial and national oppression. Even some of the most progressive political tendencies have confined themselves to the struggle for civil rights and against racial inequality.

The earliest recognition among whites that the oppression and super-exploitation of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Native people was national oppression came as a result of the teachings of Lenin. His views became widely known in the United States only after the Russian Revolution. Even just the recognition of this theoretical and political truth was an advance over those who confined the struggle of national minorities in this country to the civil rights arena.

A consistent pursuit in this country of the Leninist position on Black or Puerto Rican or Chicano oppression, including the right of self-determination, was hindered for a protracted period after Lenin's death and Stalin's subsequent assumption of power by a shift of the CP from its earlier principled position.

In the few years in which the CP was still, in a general way, guided by Leninist principles, it was unable, in

view of the backwardness of the working class generally and the overwhelming prevalence of racism in all layers of the white population, to implement or perfect a principled position on self-determination. Also, the party was new and relatively inexperienced and profoundly removed from the kind of political and theoretical arena in which the Leninist polemics on the national question and the right of self-determination for oppressed nations were fought out in the vast arena of pre-October Russia.

The subsequent decay of the CP, as a result of false policies, caused that party to embark on a zigzag course in relation to the Black struggle in the U.S. from which it has never been able to recover.

Notwithstanding all this, the CP was the only political party that fought on behalf of Black people, however erroneous its line may have been.

Compared to any bourgeois or social-democratic organization, it stood head and shoulders above them all. It is no wonder it was able to attract to its organization some of the best Black cadres in the country.

It can be said without any fear of exaggeration that whenever the CP made a turn to the right, it almost always dropped the slogan of self-determination and ceased to regard the Black people as a nation. However, whenever it made a left turn, it almost invariably again raised the question of self-determination—sometimes including the slogan of a Black republic in the South in the Black Belt. At no time, however, has it been able to consistently promote the Leninist principled position on the right of nations to self-determination while at the same time continuing a consistent struggle to unite Black and white workers in the struggle against capitalism.

Throughout the late 1940s, and especially the 1950s, the CP had a thoroughly anti-Leninist position, denying the existence of the Black people as a nation, along with a class-collaborationist line of support for the Democratic Party. It zigzagged again during the 1960s, but was virulent in its attacks on the development of militant Black organizations such as the Panthers and RAM, and militants like Robert Williams and Mae Mallory.

It was very hostile to the Muslim organization and particularly Malcolm X for basically reactionary reasons. They were attacked simply because they wanted an independent Black organization and had a perspective of an independent Black state. It was not the class line of these organizations that the CP opposed, but the perspective of a separate state—which the oppressed have the right to promote as an exercise of self-determination.



The tremendous upsurge of Black and other nationalities in the 1960s carried with it a wave of nationalism. It can be said with very little qualification that most of the left organizations were very hostile to this great progressive development.

We spent practically the entire period of the sixties defending the right of self-determination for the Black people and other minorities. We were in a constant state of polemical struggle with the other political tendencies, which generally denied that the Black liberation struggle arose from national oppression. Most often they went back to the time-honored practice of reducing the question merely to one of racial discrimination.

In a document to our most recent Party conference we said:

“Is there an inherent contradiction between the right of nations to self-determination and the building of a united working class party to attract to itself workers of all nationalities from the oppressing nation as well as from the oppressed nations? The answer is NO!

“The need of the workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party and to unite them in the struggle against capitalism is an indispensable necessity for a victorious proletarian revolution.

“There are many who deny the need for a Marxist-Leninist party altogether. We have no quarrel with them because we are going right on building one, since we know of no successful socialist revolution that occurred without one, with the possible exception of Cuba, which can be explained.

“There are others, however, who say that each nation within the confines of the U.S. should build its

own party, and that since the workers of the oppressing nation and the workers of the oppressed nation have different problems arising from the nature of the oppression, it is impossible, at least for now, to have a single, united party.

“The logical conclusion of this thinking is that the whites should have one organization, Blacks another, Puerto Ricans another, etc. Assume that political evolution in this country favored such a development. The result would be that we would have several Marxist-Leninist organizations. And if each had a generally Marxist-Leninist program, there could evolve from a loose alliance of these Marxist-Leninist organizations a federation and finally a unified multinational political party.

“In the final analysis, if workers are developing revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology, it implies proletarian internationalism and class solidarity in the struggle against imperialism. Once the basic assumption is made that all workers need a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, the logical outcome is that the vanguard elements of all nationalities must unite in a common organization as an urgent necessity.

“Those who would deny the need of all the workers to unite in a common political organization for the overthrow of the oppressive imperialist system in reality deny the right to revolution.

“To carry out this task effectively, we must strive to make our Party a multinational organization, drawing workers from all nationalities.

“Our Party has consistently advocated self-determination under difficult circumstances and has given the liberation struggle its utmost support.”

In order to make the transition from a mere political tendency to a political party of the working class, we must put at the very top of our priorities a persistent, determined and unrelenting campaign to attract to the Party the largest possible number of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native and Asian workers, women, men and youth.

A look at the past record of the Party will make abundantly clear how numerous and varied our activities have been in support of the struggle of a variety of liberation groups, including the Panthers, the Lords and others.

But we must, in the interests of the liberation struggle and the working class struggle generally, devote more time and more energy to the task of winning workers from oppressed nationalities into the Party.

The greatest amount of energy, thinking and above all sensitivity must be given to how to relate to Black and Third World comrades and prospective Party members. Nothing, absolutely nothing, should stand in

the way of executing this all-important task.

Gay oppression

The oppression of national minorities is not the only oppression meted out by a divisive ruling class. There is also the extra oppression of women, of youth and of gay people.

The degeneration of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism carries to an extreme all the forms of oppression which the capitalist system, in the previous epoch, had engendered and developed.

As the crisis of the social system becomes more and more apparent, the need of the ruling class to unload its burden on the most oppressed sections of the society becomes more evident.

Only by dividing, fragmenting and continually pitting different elements of the oppressed masses against each other can the capitalist establishment maintain its sway over all society and hope to survive.

It is, however, the same sharpening of the persecution and oppression, the same divisiveness and fragmentation of the specially oppressed in society, that have awakened them to struggle and brought about a genuinely progressive militancy and resurgence of Black and Brown people, women, youth and gay people.

There is a striking difference in the character of the support which has been given by the progressive movement generally to the oppressed nationalities, women and youth, as contrasted with the limited support to gay people. A great deal of this can be explained by the fact that the prejudice may be even more deep seated and profound than in the other cases. Much of it emanates from the religious bigotry of the Middle Ages, and little has been done to combat it. On the contrary, it has been reinforced by the entire course of capitalist development.

Some explain the limited measure of support and sympathy to gay people by saying they constitute a numerically small segment of the population. This, however, is highly disputed by such an authoritative figure as Kinsey.

It is particularly significant that the public change in attitude—such as it is—comes on the heels of a very formidable wave of struggle by gay people, a veritable “coming out” in a most demonstrative way. Gay Pride took a cue from Black Pride.

Without the launching of the women’s struggle, Freud’s reactionary theory concerning the inferiority of women might still be the prevailing conception. Without the momentous liberation struggles launched in the 1960s, the racist ideology of Oswald Spengler and his American disciples would still be taught openly, unabashedly and unashamedly. Without the struggle

launched by gay people, the prejudices which have been ground into the consciousness of the masses by indoctrination would not even have been challenged, let alone shaken to their foundations.

An important influence in the progressive movement, insofar as the gay struggle is concerned, dates back to the victory of the October Revolution in Russia. The Soviet government annulled all laws that restricted the rights of homosexuals. It also annulled all the reactionary laws pertaining to divorce as well as the feudal family relations.

For the first time in history, a workers' government established equality in law, and to a measurable degree also in fact, between men and women, for heterosexuals and homosexuals. Unfortunately, this period of very progressive development was short lived, and was succeeded by a period of reaction with the rise of Stalin to power.

Our Party, which bases itself on Marxism-Leninism, looks to the early model of the Soviet Union as the embodiment of what our own political position should be in relation to the struggle of gay people.

Our first, most elementary and fundamental duty on this question is to completely eliminate and abolish all forms of persecution and oppression of gay people. We must also fight against all ideological, political and social manifestations of gay oppression that may be reflected in our own ranks.

Ending oppression is really an elementary democratic demand that a bourgeois democracy should be able to grant, along with all other democratic demands. But imperialist democracy tends to restrict the elementary rights of all people—not only gays, women, youth, Brown and Black. It is only the struggle that can wrest concessions.

In the long run, only the abolition of the capitalist system can produce a lasting free and equal treatment of all peoples.

Bourgeois vs. proletarian form of party organization

Monopoly capitalism has really become converted into state monopoly capitalism, meaning that the basic sections of the capitalist economy are so intimately interwoven with the capitalist state as to be merged with it.

This more than anything else explains the developing trend toward two big bourgeois parties. Each of them represents the interests of monopoly capitalism in general, but each is also a replica of all the factions and subfactions within the ruling class.

The factionalism within the capitalist state is in real-

ity an avaricious struggle for a share of the surplus value extracted from the exploited masses. It is not for nothing that the biggest monopolies subsidize both big parties in the U.S. Their financial contributions to either, or more frequently to both, parties are appropriately called an "investment."

No small faction of the ruling class can hope to hold exclusive power over the state. Only a coalition can generally do this. The capitalist state is much too big an object of plunder and graft for just one grouping to exploit it.

The centralist tendency of the bourgeois economic system is expressed politically in the enormous role and power of the capitalist state. The participation of a variety of bourgeois factions within the state creates the illusion of democracy, when in reality this democracy is merely the forum, the political expression of the plutocratic struggle.

The social democratic form of organization closely approximates, or rather apes, the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois state. Instead of opposing the centralist character of the bourgeois state and its enormous, centralized, repressive apparatus with a centralized working class organization, democratically controlled by its members, it in reality is almost always a reflection of the form of a bourgeois party.

The social democratic form of organization tends to dissolve the revolutionary essence of the working class into component, narrow, diverse, hostile craft groupings. Instead of unifying the proletariat, it makes more pronounced and sharpens the inequalities within the class and between the nations. It tends to favor the more privileged and aristocratic among the workers as against the underprivileged and oppressed.

The Leninist conception of democratic centralism was born to weld together the most advanced, most developed, most class conscious, and most determined elements of the working class. Its aim is to represent, promote and advance the revolutionary, independent class interests of the workers and all the oppressed nationalities in the struggle against the monstrous centralism of the imperialist state—to shatter it and destroy the system of capitalist exploitation and slavery.

The importance of a centralized, democratically organized, revolutionary party is that it can and does weld together the diverse strata of the working class and the oppressed people into a single fighting force capable of successfully overcoming the multitude of varied and complex problems thrust upon the working class in its daily struggle against the ruling class.

This is one of the great achievements of the communist form of organization. ■

BOOKS BY SAM MARCY

PERESTROIKA: A Marxist Critique 1990

HIGH TECH, LOW PAY: A Marxist Analysis
of the Changing Character of the Working Class 1986

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND WAR: Lessons for Today's Anti-War Movement 1985

THE KLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT: Foes or Allies? 1983

POLAND: Behind the Crisis 1982

ANATOMY OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS 1982

GENERALS OVER THE WHITE HOUSE:
The Impact of the Military-Industrial Complex 1980

PAMPHLETS

FREE TRADE, NAFTA & MONOPOLY 1993

A MARXIST DEFENSE OF THE L.A. REBELLION 1992

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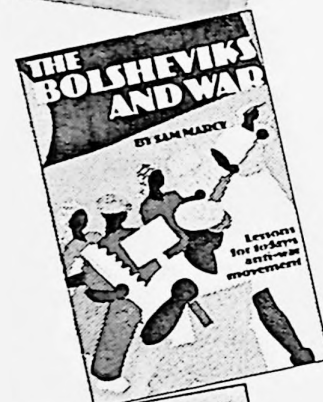
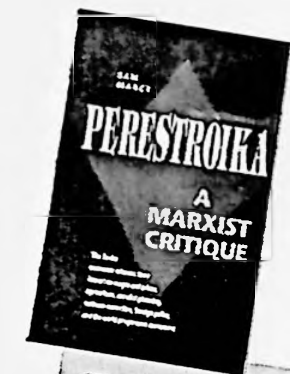
BUSING AND SELF-DETERMINATION 1975

PORTUGAL: Revolutionary Developments April 1974-December 1975 1975

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"Struggle is the very essence of a revolutionary party"

This was the basis of the political theory and practice promoted by Workers World Chairperson Sam Marcy. For over 70 years, Sam Marcy found ways to intervene and organize on every crucial political and social issue at home and abroad.

To continue these many struggles in the years ahead, Workers World Party has established the **SAM MARCY FIGHTING FUND**.

The fund will ensure that Sam Marcy's written works are available to workers and oppressed people everywhere in print and on the Internet.

You can make a difference . . .

Your donation will help continue the struggles in the coming years in the many campaigns and movements that are the legacy of Sam Marcy's lifetime of organizing.

It will help to promote the availability of Sam Marcy's writings worldwide to all those struggling against oppression.

To contribute, checks can be made out to the Sam Marcy Fighting Fund/WW, and returned to Workers World, 55 West 17th Street, 5th floor, New York, NY 10011. To make a tax-deductible donation for workers' rights and education in the name of Sam Marcy, make your check payable to People's Rights Fund/Workers' Education Project.



www.workers.org

Just before Sam's 85th birthday celebration, we decided to put all his writings on the Internet. After some work in the archives, proofreading and formatting, we put all of his articles back to 1989 and two of his books, *Perestroika* and *High Tech, Low Pay*, on <http://www.workers.org>.

This is what was available in a computer-readable form.

After some discussion and a number of false starts, we figured out how to efficiently scan Sam's books and convert these scans into a file that could be formatted for the web.

His two books—*China: the Struggle Within* and *China: the Suppression of the Left* — are ready to go on the Workers World webpage, but we're out of room. We will have to spend more money to get more space.

Now more than ever we want to make Sam's work available to anyone, anyplace, who has access to the web. Send donations to the Sam Marcy Fighting Fund.

Comrades and Friends of the Internet/CDRom Project

Help continue the ideas of Sam Marcy

PUT WORKERS WORLD IN YOUR WILL

Consider making a bequest to further publicize and distribute the written works of Sam Marcy and to publish Workers World newspaper, which carries on his legacy every week.

When drafting your will, you can specify that funds should be allocated to WW Publishers at the address below.

For information on making a tax-deductible contribution write, phone, fax or e-mail:

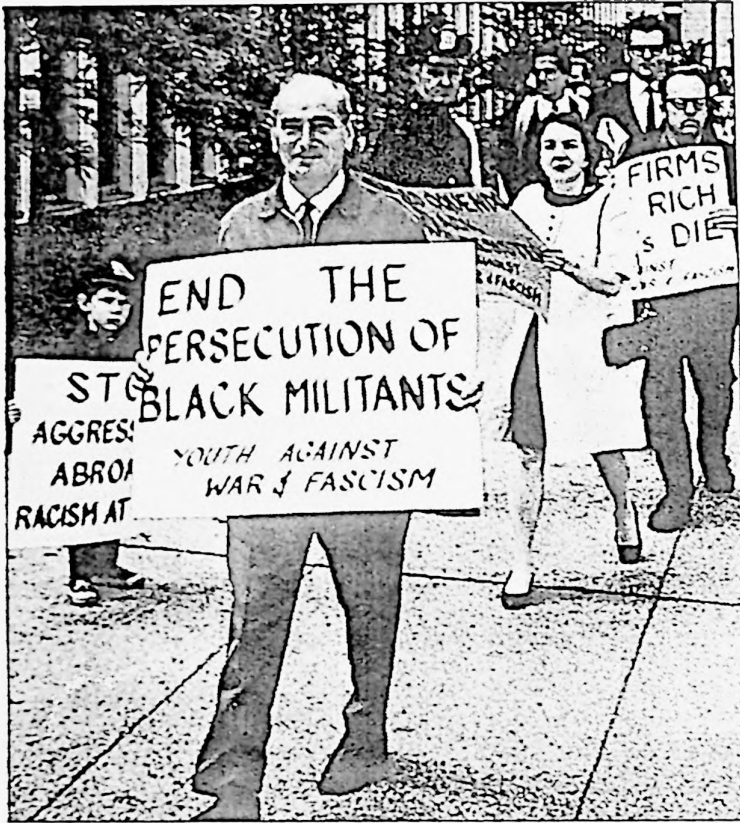
WORKERS WORLD

Attention: Deirdre Griswold
55 West 17th Street, 5th floor
New York, N.Y. 10011

Telephone (212) 627-2994

Fax (212) 675-7869

e-mail ww@workers.org



SAM MARCY ★ DOTTY BALLAN

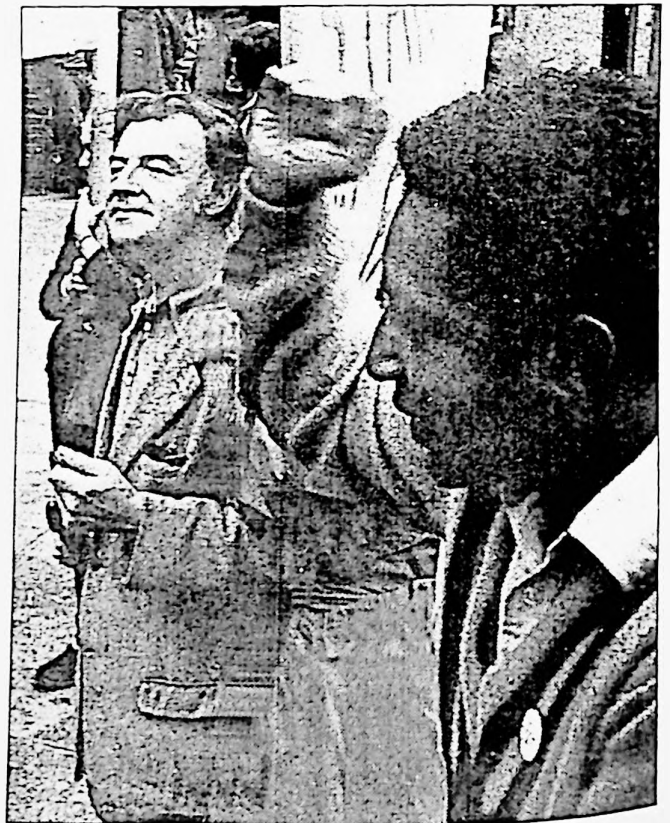
VINCE COPELAND

Sam, Dotty and Vinnie—they made up a formidable trio in Buffalo at the end of World War II. The bosses in steel, auto, electric and other gritty industries who were sucking vast wealth out of the workers' daily grind knew and feared them. Many a strike and grievance was won under their guidance because they found ways to unite the workers—Black and white, women and men—in the struggle against big capital.

These three, with a handful of others, maintained a revolutionary communist view of the world class struggle all through the difficult 1950s. When they founded Workers World Party in 1959, it was with the great hope that the struggle was rising again.

They were not to be disappointed.

What they taught and fought for can never be lost. It is already part of the living flesh of new generations committed to the struggle for a workers' world.



... From the Buffalo Branch

Proud to be the Birthplace of
Workers World Party

**We pay revolutionary tribute
to our dear Comrade Sam
and rededicate ourselves to
the struggle to end
exploitation and oppression
and to . . .**

BUILD A WORKERS WORLD.



SAM MARCY

Comrade, teacher, friend
since 1959 and before

Artie Rosen	Libby Copeland, <i>presente</i>
Bobby Gonzalez, <i>presente</i>	Milt Neidenberg
Deirdre Griswold	Ricardo Bruce Leon
Dorothy Ballan, <i>presente</i>	Rosemary Neidenberg
Ed Merrill	Sharon Eolis
Frances Dostal	Ted Dostal
Jeannette Merrill	Vera Spruill, <i>presente</i>
John Black	Vincent Copeland, <i>presente</i>
Lewin Griswold, <i>presente</i>	

Workers World Party, Cleveland, Ohio

The Cleveland branch of Workers World Party joins all our comrades and friends, at home and around the world, in paying tribute to our founder and chairperson, Comrade Sam Marcy.

Founding members Ted and Frances Dostal remember Sam from way back. Ted and Sam both fought the McCarthyite witch hunt in the 1950s and recognized the workers' revolution in China in 1949. They also both understood the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolution for what it was.

Ted says, "I was all for the founding of our Party in 1959. When we started out, we had only a few in New York, a few in Buffalo, and a few in Youngstown. Now we have branches all over the country."

We will miss Sam's incisive interpretation of current events, backed up by a wealth of knowledge. His analysis always cut to the heart of the matter.

NEW YORK CITY, COMRADES & FRIENDS

Comrade Sam's indomitable will to create a Leninist party in the center of imperialism has inspired us and been the key to forging the next generation of revolutionary cadre.

Ellen Andors
Toni Arenstein
Sharon Ayling
Ali Azad
Faramarz Azin
Sue Bailey
Benjamin Samuel
Becker
Brian Becker
Sara Belcher
Jean Bowdish
Greg Butterfield
Linda C
Sara Cat
Ellen Catalinotto
John Catalinotto
Molly Charboneau
Joyce Chediac
Judi Cheng
Pat Chin
Hillel Cohen
Naomi Cohen
Paddy Colligan
John Crofford
Sue Davis
Rosa Maria de la Torre
Bill Doares
Bukuba Donat
Rachel Duell
Gregory Dunkel
Josina Colligan Dunkel
Kathy Durkin
Sharon Eolis
Shelley Ettinger
Leslie Feinberg
Irving Fierstein
Michele Finkelman
Sherry Finkelman
Sara Flounders

Ken Franson
Gavielle Gemma
Mike Gill
Carl Glenn
Bea Glickman
Marsha Goldberg
Fred Goldstein
Lila Natalie
Goldstein
Veronica Golos
Donna Goodman
Deirdre Griswold
Teresa Gutierrez
Sue Harris
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Pat Hilliard
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Jelayne Miles
Stephen Millies
Monica Moorehead
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Neidenberg
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Elena J. Peckham
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Lal Roohk
Artie Rosen
Katie Rosen
Carlos Rovira
Trudy Rudnick
Bill Sacks
Emma Sacks
Malcolm Sacks
Gary Schaeffer
Dave Schechter
Scott Scheffer
Cleo Silvers
Deirdre Sinnott
Jack A. Smith
Pablo Gerardo Solano
Monica Somocurcio
Shannon Spence
Johnnie Stevens
Max Michael
Swietnicki
Kristianna Jo Tho'Mas
Rebeca Toledo
Charlie Twist
Maggie Vascassenno
Sarah Rose Vascassenno
Angela Vera
Milton Vera
Omar Vera
Paula Vera
Igor Vertiletsky



WWW PHOTO: GREG DUNKEL

Workers World Party, Baltimore, Maryland Pays Tribute to Comrade Sam Marcy

*We Will Continue the Struggle Until Victory Is Won for
All Workers and Oppressed People of the World*

Baltimore has historically been an important city both for the ruling class and for the working class struggle. With its seaport, steel mills and vast industrial production, Baltimore's work places have brought workers of all nationalities together. It has also played a critical role for oppressed African American people as a major area of migration between the rural South and the industrial North. The struggle against racism and national oppression has always loomed large in the city.

Given this history, it has been the special contribution of Comrade Marcy in building understanding on the national question and its relationship to the class struggle that has acted as our guide. It is these lessons that have allowed us to forge a strong multinational chapter of workers, African American and white, young and old, gay and straight.

Baltimore and its workers have become victims to the high tech revolution like so many other industrial areas. We have seen the impoverishment of huge sections of workers and the deepening of suffering for the most oppressed. It has been Comrade Sam Marcy's book *High Tech, Low Pay* that has been our guide for understanding and action.

Comrade Sam has been with us in all of our battles against police killings,

protests against the Klan, for tenant's rights, against budget cuts and against fare hikes. He has been with us in defense of women's rights and gay and lesbian rights.

He has been with us and he will continue to be with us through his lessons and deeds in all our battles, both today and future.

When the war against Iraq was launched over seven years ago, every important idea expressed at each conference call went from the meeting to the picket line. **It was Comrade Marcy's insistence on teaching internationalism that has schooled us as workers and community activists to see the larger international picture.**

Those lessons continue today with our members organizing street protest and meetings to say "No Bombing of Iraq, End the Sanctions; US Out of the Middle East".

It is likely that the bosses and rulers of this city look down their noses at us. They see Baltimore's working class as a huge army of people that they can exploit at whim. They see us in our communities, in our small row houses and apartments, and view us with contempt. **But it is Comrade Sam Marcy who taught us in the words of the "Internationale," "we have been naught, we shall be all."**

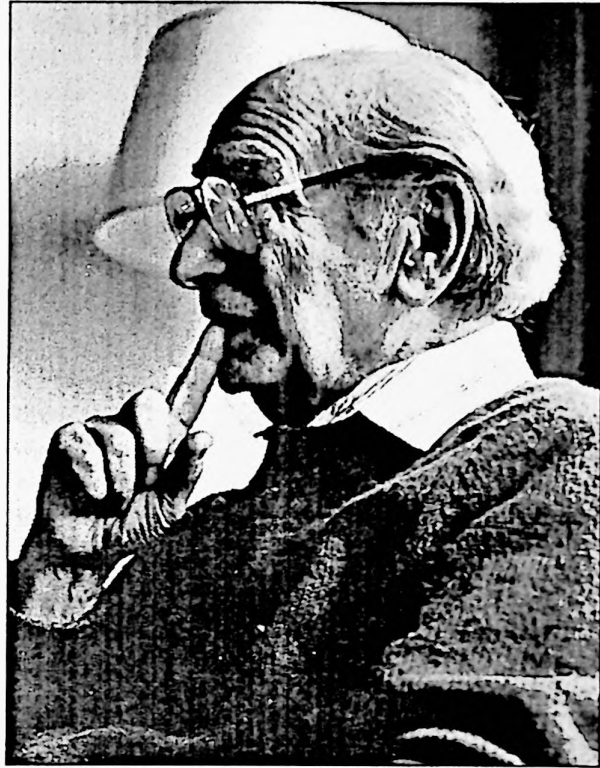
Workers World Party, San Francisco

From members and friends of the San Francisco Bay Area branch:

A vanguard party like ours has to bring the class struggle in the U.S. and the world to the attention of the masses. We have to attack capitalism as a worldwide system of oppression and exploitation. That's what internationalism is all about.

"We don't just pick the countries or struggles with which we have the closest affinity. We extend our solidarity to those who are under the greatest pressure, because we are in the same class camp with all the oppressed, we're part of a worldwide class struggle.

"Unless we take this as our cue, we don't represent a genuine Marxist-Leninist tendency. Our anti-imperialist solidarity with the oppressed must stand out. We must be strong enough to say that the bourgeoisie has assaulted China at Tiananmen Square and that China reacted to that assault. An organization that says, "the government was attacking students," and that's all, is not communist, it's not proletarian interna-



WWW PHOTO BILL HACKWELL

tionalist in character and does not defend its own class camp.

"It's precisely in these very critical, difficult questions that Marxists make their mark."

*Sam Marcy
October 20, 1991
San Francisco*

Toni Arenstein
Bruce Baginski
Richard Becker
Deborah Bernier
Dorsey O. Blake
Julina and Jahaziel
Bonilla and family
Jon Britton
Arthur Covington
Hilda Cowan
Natasha Dedrick
Louise Ellis

Bill Gottlieb
Judy Greenspan
Bill Hackwell
Stephanie Heater
Ron Holladay
Azania Howse
Joan Intrator
Alicia Jrapko
Saul Kanowitz
Jackie Kiernan
Bill Kong

Gloria La Riva
Shirley Lee
Ricardo Leon
Joanie Marquardt
Lucho Mauricio
Judith McCullough
Michael McCullough
Essie Mormen
John Murcko
Susan Muysenberg
Yaeko Naritomi

Amy Ng
Dorsey Nunn
Keith Pavlik
Rosa Peñate
Hilda Roberts
Brenda Sandburg
Forrest Schmidt
Tahnee Stair
Shane Summer
Shishir Thadani
Victor Woo

Workers World Party, Rochester, New York

Sam Marcy provided inspiration and guidance to all those who knew him. His comrades and friends in Rochester, NY, are particularly grateful for having had the privilege of knowing and working with him in the struggle.

Comrade Sam contributed what will remain milestones in the history of the class struggle. Always a revolutionary internationalist, he analyzed the two great class camps of the twentieth century and showed how the world's working class, oppressed nations and socialist countries are bound together in irreconcilable struggle against the world's capitalist and imperialist elites. He showed us how to apply this theory by staunchly defending the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, as well as lending unconditional support to the struggles for national liberation at home and around the world.

Comrade Sam founded and led Workers World Party. He helped mold the Party into a vanguard organization which has always consistently and actively supported the struggles of the downtrodden masses of people. He was a master not only of revolutionary theory, but of revolutionary tactics and organization as well.

Comrade Sam explained and analyzed the technological-scientific revolution and showed the impact it would have on the workers and oppressed people in the United States, how it would

change the character of the working class and how these developments would open new opportunities for struggle.

Comrade Sam was a revolutionary optimist who always looked for opportunities for pressing forward the struggle. Nevertheless, he did not shrink from analyzing setbacks to the world class struggle, such as the Perestroika developments in the Soviet Union which presaged the downfall of the Soviet workers state. In this way he prepared and fortified the party and authentic progressives to withstand periods of decline in the movement.

We were indeed privileged to have known Sam Marcy. He will be sorely missed, but his guidance and inspiration have prepared us to continue the struggle.

Comrades and Friends in Rochester, New York:

Estelle & Ed Badura
 Lydia Bayoneta
 Chris Becker
 Richard & June Becker
 Gene D. Clancy
 Gene W. Clancy
 Bob Conklin
 Debbie LaBelle
 Erskine Nero
 Bob Tishler
 Virginia Tishler
 Yolanda Villa
 Don Ziegler

Workers World Party, Boston

Comrade Sam Marcy's genius at translating Marxist analysis of material conditions and the correlation of class forces into tactical and strategic perspectives for revolutionary initiatives was a material factor in the class struggle in Boston in 1974. At a time when right-wing forces were turning Boston into an international code word for racism by physically attacking African-American school children seeking an equal education, he inspired our young, inexperienced party to undertake an initiative that would answer the racists.

This initiative provided a vehicle of struggle for all progressive forces throughout the country to turn the tide. The result was the historic 25,000 strong December 14, 1974, National March Against Racism in Boston, which upheld the right of the oppressed African-American Nation to self-determination and equal education by whatever means it chose.

Our party's first mass mobilization, the march was the largest civil rights demonstration since the 1963 March on Washington. It turned the situation around, and never afterward have the racist forces been able to mobilize a mass demonstration in Boston.



The Boston march provided the foundation for years of anti-racist struggle that continues to this day. It also won many militant anti-racist activists to revolutionary Marxism and to our Party—WWP. This is how Comrade Sam taught us to use revolutionary theory as the guide to revolutionary practice and action.

With Comrade Sam's guidance, in the bastion of liberalism, land of the Kennedys and their ilk, Workers World Party has been able to put forward a strong, clear answer to those who merely want to "reform" capitalism. The Boston Branch of Workers World Party pledges to carry out, with renewed vigor, the struggle for socialism and the building of a Workers World.

Sam Marcy Presente!

Long Live Workers World Party!

Los Angeles Salutes the Fighting Spirit of Comrade Sam!



members and friends of the Los Angeles Branch of Workers World Party

Al Appel
 Steven Ceci
 John Peter Daly
 Joe Delaplaine
 Julie La Riva
 Ruben La Riva
 Walter Lippmann
 Bill Mansker

Rosalio Mendiola
 Bob McCubbin
 Abraham Melendez
 Rudy Pisani
 Dean Rambeau
 David Reynolds
 Preston Wood

WORKERS WORLD PARTY • TEXAS

Comrade Sam Marcy, we thank you for your revolutionary analysis and spirit that has guided and inspired us for so many years. We will honor your legacy by continuing to build a workers world, a socialist world free from capitalist exploitation, racism, sexism, and lesbian and gay bigotry.

Texas comrades and friends,

John Anderson	Harvey Earvin	Luchita Rodriguez
Beverly Boling	Chris Eaves	Gloria Rubac
Carol Buntion	Joanne Gavin	Wessie Scyrus
Susan Clements	Anton Mazur	Diana Shorthouse
Casey Davis	Joaquina Rodriguez	Barbara Timko
John Dickerson	Lucha Rodriguez	Roxanne West

Workers World Party, Washington, D.C.

Comrade Sam personified the aspirations of working and oppressed peoples worldwide for liberation from capitalist oppression. He was able to express these aspirations through the leadership he gave to the movement to build a socialist future. His fighting spirit will live on through the organization he inspired and the example he set.

The comrades and friends of the
DC Branch of Workers World Party

Workers World Party, Chicago

The forward march in America will be studded with greater disasters than the movement has yet seen, as well as more invincible triumphs than are now imagined. But we are ready; we are armed with Marxism; we will prove our 'validity' in the class war."

Sam Marcy, 1959

From the members and friends of the
Chicago branch of Workers World Party

Workers World Party, Philadelphia

In loving memory of Comrade Sam Marcy—Revolutionary, Theoretician, Leader, Teacher, and Friend.

Comrade Sam Marcy's voluminous body of work written over the span of several decades, provides an invaluable legacy for future generations of communists.

He founded and nurtured a revolutionary, communist party committed to the emancipation of the workers and oppressed, a party dedicated to building a Workers World!

Comrade Sam Marcy - Presente!

B. Braheem	Bill Hill
International Concerned	Rosemarie Hill
Family & Friends of	Betsey Piette
Mumia Abu Jamal	Joe Piette
Pam Africa	Ray Ceci
MOVE	Berta Joubert

Workers World Party, Detroit

Michigan activists salute the remarkable, revolutionary life of Sam Marcy. His contributions in thought and deed have touched our lives and inspire us to continue in the struggle.

Wendell	Dorothy Cleveland	Kris Hamel	Eula Powell
Addington	Sam Colman	Elmer Jackson	Bill Raatz
Martin Andrews	Emma Curry	Debbie Johnson	Bill & Jill
Abayomi Azikiwe	Jane Cutter	Beth Katz	Roundtree
Ethel Bailey	Larry Daley	Richard Kik	Deborah
Barb, Lauren &	Jennifer Davis	Dolores Killewald	Roundtree
Megan	Karene Duddy	Tova Klein	Minister Malik
Durk Barton	Susan Farquahar	Cheryl LaBash	Shabazz
Bev Bloedel	Rebecca Flora	Elvira Maddox	Mike Shane
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Diane Bukowski	Julie Fry	Edward Miller	Sole
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Phil Carroll	Dan Gorentz	Fred Moore	Scott Zochowski

**We feel the loss of Sam Marcy—
a leader who was profoundly an internationalist
and a fighter for all the oppressed worldwide.**

Sam Marcy spent his life organizing opposition to all forms of U.S. militarism, intervention and war. He taught generations of activists to look beyond the media lies and understand the politics of the corporate drive for profits and markets.

In an era wracked continually by the havoc of imperialist war, Sam Marcy showed that the most destructive military machine in history, the Pentagon, could be challenged through the mobilization and unity of oppressed and working people. While his advice in initiatives, tactics and slogans was flexible and creative, his determination was rock solid.

International Action Center

Sam Marcy has been an inspiration to all those who struggle for justice for poor and working people. The ideals he championed and the political view he promoted will continue to live in the day-to-day battle of the working class and oppressed people. We thank him for his deep contribution to the people's movement.

*—Members of A Job is a Right
Campaign, Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

For the latter half of the Twentieth century in the United States, it was Comrade Sam's role to continue the development of Marxist theory and to build the Party that can wield that theory as a weapon in the living struggle. This two-fold contribution made him a figure of unique historical importance. We are proud to have known him and pledge ourselves to carry on that struggle over whatever difficult roads may lie ahead. Thanks to Sam, we are confident that victory lies ahead.

*—The Milwaukee Branch
of Workers World Party*

Workers World Party, Atlanta, Georgia

With confidence in the socialist future.

Members and friends of
Workers World Party, Atlanta, Georgia

For Workers World Party & Comrade Sam Marcy
who devoted his life to the liberation of
the working class and of humankind

MARYLAND TRADE UNIONISTS

Jeff Bigelow
Labor Organizer

Sharon Ceci
*Shopsteward United Food &
Commercial Workers Local 27*

Barbara Davidson
AFGE

Sally Davies, President
AFSCME Local 1072

Craig Newman
Chief Steward, AFSCME Local 1072

Holly Patterson
Member SEIU/1199E Health Care Workers

Andre Powell
*Board of Trustees, AFSCME Local 112,
Collective Bargaining Team*

Leon Swain
Vice President, AFSCME Local 1072

Susan Lesser
Union Organizer

Workers World Party, Richmond

Long live the theory and practice of Comrade Sam!

From his comrades and
friends in Virginia

Workers World Party, Seattle

The influence of his writings and the lessons he taught will only increase
among the coming generations of Marxist Leninist freedom fighters.

Workers World Seattle

'The oppression of national minorities is not the only oppression meted out by a divisive ruling class. There is also the oppression, or rather extra-oppression, of women, of youth, and of gay people. ... It is particularly significant that the public change in attitude, such as it is, comes on the heels of a very formidable wave of struggle by gay people, a veritable 'coming out' in a most demonstrative way. Gay Pride took a cue from Black Pride. ...

'Without the struggle launched by gay people, the prejudices which have been ground into the consciousness of the masses by indoctrination would not even have been challenged, let alone shaken to its foundations.'

—Sam Marcy, August 1972

WE LOVED HIM

Soon after the Stonewall Rebellion, Comrade Sam Marcy saw that a new front in the struggle of the workers and oppressed had opened. Guided by a Marxist understanding of special oppression, Workers World Party threw its support to this movement—and welcomed some of the most militant fighters into its ranks. As we opened closet doors in our lives, in the struggle and in the party,

Comrade Sam was always at our side.

A generation later, Workers World Party counts lesbian, gay, bi and trans comrades among its seasoned leaders and its young new cadre. Now this party is Sam's legacy. This party that fights for sexual liberation as an integral aspect of the struggle for socialism. This party that promotes unity and solidarity. This party, where we will carry on the fight until victory.

"A revolutionary working class party promotes class solidarity irrespective of which option an oppressed nation chooses. The neutrality of the party in this respect is the strongest pillar of working class multinational solidarity in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

The bourgeoisie denies and closes the road to both separation and integration. They neither wish to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution for political equality nor allow social and economic equality. Nor will they permit the development of a movement for an independent separate state.

"...the whole struggle of the working class as well as the oppressed people and their allies everywhere is to recognize that there can be no real independence, freedom, or equality as long as the monstrous system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression remains."

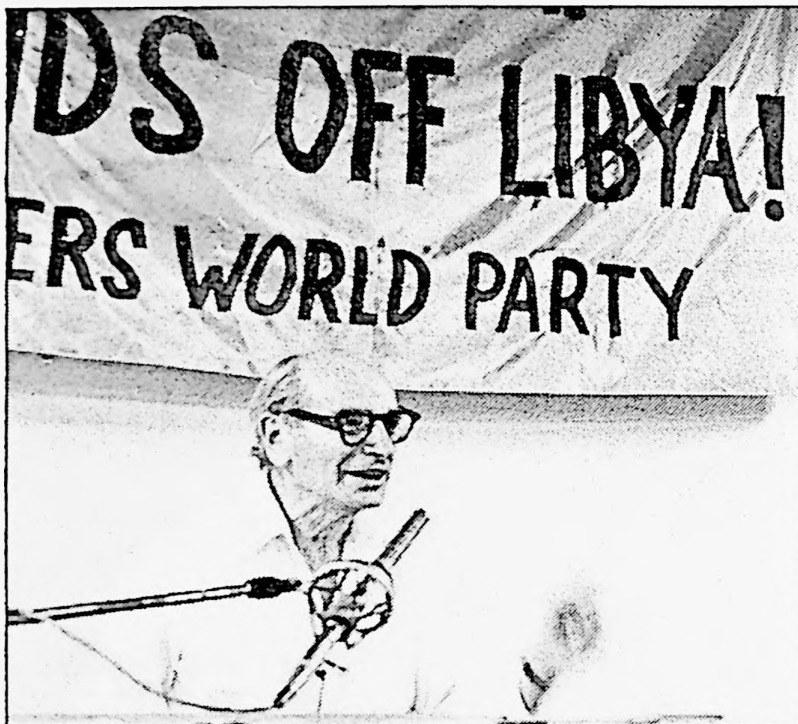
— Sam Marcy, May, 1984

TO OUR DEAR COMRADE SAM,

You will always be our teacher and inspiration. You encouraged us to be the best fighters and leaders of our Party and of our class. There are no words to express how much we will miss your physical presence. We do, however, take comfort in the fact that your principled and consistent Marxist analysis on all the issues especially the fight against racism and national oppression

will continue to stand the test of time. We will be eternally grateful to you for a lifetime of commitment to the struggle to liberate humanity from the heinous grip of capitalism and to reconstruct society on a socialist and communist basis. And we pledge to you to do our part to build the most revolutionary, multinational party that will lead our class to ultimate victory.

WITH MUCH LOVE AND RESPECT, THE NATIONALLY OPPRESSED COMRADES OF WORKERS WORLD PARTY



WW PHOTO: SUSAN ROTGARD

Supporter of Middle East liberation

Sam Marcy was born a Jewish peasant in Russia. Pogroms and famine drove his family to the U.S. As a teen, Sam organized working class youth in Brooklyn. He became a life-long communist.

Comrade Sam was an unwavering supporter of Middle Eastern liberation and self-determination.

In a climate of confusion, distortion and racist hysteria, he alone provided a class analysis that brought clarity to events in the Middle East and Wall Street's strategies there.

Comrade Sam tirelessly and creatively labored to win U.S. workers to the understanding that they were in the same class camp as the peoples of the Middle East, that a blow to imperialist domination there is a blow against capitalist oppression here.



These headlines appeared in Workers World Newspaper on:

✓ August 1, 1959

Independence for Algeria

✓ June 9, 1967

U.S. is the real sponsor of Israel's attack on the Arabs

Syrian revolution against U.S. oil monopolies sparked the first stage of the present war

✓ July 7, 1967

Israel no homeland for Jewish people

✓ February 7, 1969

An appeal for solidarity with the Arab people's struggle

✓ October 3, 1973

U.S. out of the Mideast. No more Vietnams!

✓ November 3, 1978

The Iranian revolution: prospect and problems

✓ October 9, 1981

Sadat assassination major defeat for U.S. imperialism

✓ August 27, 1982

Beirut: The Paris Commune of 1982

✓ February 16, 1984

Lebanese people force Reagan to pull out troops

✓ June 7, 1984

U.S. intervention in Iran-Iraq War: Anti-imperialist strategy and class conflict

✓ April 24, 1986

World condemns attack on Libya; Reagan planned terror raid nine months ago

✓ September 6, 1990

Labor Day Appeal to workers: "Don't fight Big Oil's War!"

✓ February 14, 1991

The war on Iraq: war of all the imperialists

✓ April 18, 1991

Phony concern for the Kurds; U.S. and allies manipulate national struggle

From Panthers United for Revolutionary Education

PURE

ON DEATH ROW IN HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS

To our comrades in Workers World Party:

We in PURE are truly saddened to hear of the death of our comrade, Sam Marcy. We mourn with you and know that Comrade Sam's death will leave a void in the Party, in the world revolutionary movement, and in all of our hearts.

Comrade Sam Marcy understood well the class struggle, the conflict between the masses of poor and oppressed people and the rich, privileged few. But more importantly, he taught us how to analyze, organize, and struggle to change the balance of power so that we, the majority, can be the new ruling class of a socialist society.

We will forever miss Comrade Sam, but because he was such a great revolutionary teacher, we young revolutionaries in PURE are prepared to press on toward the ultimate people's victory to come.

The revolution lives on! And in our hearts Sam Marcy lives on!

Harvey "Tee" Earvin, *Prime Minister*

Emerson Rudd, *Chairperson*

Ponchai "Kamau" Wilkerson, *Minister of Defense*

**In the revolutionary
spirit of Sam Marcy,**

**Tear Down the Walls
for all 1.7 million
prisoners!**

**Free All Political
Prisoners!**

**Abolish the Racist
Death Penalty!**

**Texas prisoners,
Death Row,
Huntsville,
Texas**

Darrell Carr	#999057
Harvey Earvin	#000577
Dominique Green	#999068
Howard Guidry	#999226
Rodger McGowan	#000889
Kenneth Morris	#999117
Joseph Nichols	#000709
Emerson Rudd	#000936
Laroyce Smith	#999007
Ponchai Wilderson	#999011

Message from Mumia Abu-Jamal

I'm writing to extend my/our condolences on the loss of your comrade, Sam Marcy. I can tell from conversations with John Black that you deeply respected and loved the man for many years for his commitment and organizing skills. Not having ever met him I can't begin to suggest I have some idea of his personal qualities.

I do know, however, of his impressive organizational and propagandistic skills, and I can only admit my admiration. That he has left a young, vital, politically-adept cadre behind him is one hell of a tribute to him. The many and various movements that WW is involved in, for workers, for national minorities, for the oppressed, on behalf of a radical, anti-imperialist idea, is a further tribute.

Thus, my/our condolences are mixed with that acknowledgment.

With my/our best wishes,

MUMIA



On behalf of these three members of the former *San Quentin Six* trial defendants, *Luis Talamantez*, *David Giap Johnson* and *Sundiata Tate*, we here now extend our continued solidarity to the late Sam Marcy of Workers World who gave his unrelenting support to the prisoners' cause during the 70s and to this day.

In recognition that Sam Marcy and Workers World have never deviated from the revolutionary path of liberation to which prisoners and other severely oppressed depend on for *Life, Liberty and Justice*,

LA LUTA CONTINUA

Women members of Workers World Party laud comrade Sam Marcy,

a true revolutionary and working-class leader, who together with his partner and collaborator, Dorothy Ballan, helped to formulate Workers World Party's position in support of the struggle for women's liberation and acknowledged that it was an integral part of the class struggle.

These two founding leaders – in building Workers World Party – actively encouraged and applauded the full participation of women in all aspects of Party life. We will remember Comrade Sam Marcy with deep respect and love.

From all of the women members of Workers World Party.



TO SAM MARCY

We honor you, a warrior for all oppressed and working people on this earth.
 An elder, the finest of elders, you taught us by example.
 You inspired us to be better, stronger, than we thought we knew how to be.

You loved the People.

We loved you.

We will miss you.

We will remember you.

We will remember you.

We will remember you.

A new day will dawn. A better world is in birth.

Defend Native Sovereignty! Defend Mother Earth! Free Leonard Peltier!
 We are not vanishing. We are not conquered. We are as strong as ever.



**Mahtowin & Moonanum for
 United American Indians of New England**

¡Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

We express our deepest sorrow for the unexpected death of a great revolutionary. Sam Marcy's lifelong struggle to bring about socialism in this country was motivated by his contempt for a system that causes suffering for billions throughout the world.

Puerto Rican freedom fighters who come from a nation held captive are quite familiar with the fundamental quest Sam Marcy stood for. Throughout his life and with the founding of his living legacy—Workers World Party—he was an exemplary defender of Puerto Rico's right to independence and self determination.

Since the military invasion of Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898, U.S. corporations have gained colossal wealth from the superexploitation of our people. This event in world history marked the dawn of U.S. imperialism.

The genocidal secret sterilization of Puerto Rican women, ghetto slums and racist police terror, destruction of the culture and imprisonment for demanding freedom, are different aspects of our experience.

But national dignity has also been a factor in the last 100 years. Resistance and the solemn words "¡Que viva

Puerto Rico libre!" have never ceased. Even under the most repressive conditions, fighting tyranny has always been a Boricua tradition.

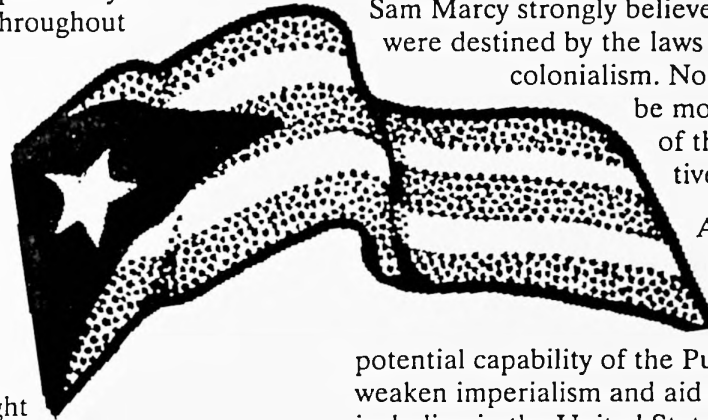
Sam Marcy strongly believed that Puerto Ricans were destined by the laws of history to smash U.S. colonialism. Nothing has ever proven to be more powerful than the will of the oppressed who instinctively fight to be free.

And because Sam Marcy viewed every struggle from a global perspective, he recognized the

potential capability of the Puerto Rican struggle to weaken imperialism and aid in its defeat everywhere, including in the United States itself. For this reason he maintained that solidarity with the oppressed within the imperialist country was of paramount importance.

Whether demanding the freedom of Lolita Lebron and other Nationalist political prisoners, supporting the Puerto Rican Socialist Party or the Young Lords in the U.S., Sam Marcy raised the banner of Puerto Rican national liberation as his very own.

He shall be remembered with love and respect many generations from now as truly a friend and ally of the Puerto Rican people everywhere.



- Antonio Fernandez, Hector Torres, and everyone in the Almighty Latin King & Queen Nation
- Marianela T. Camacaro, Comité Puerto Rico '98
- Saulo Colon, Comité Puerto Rico '98
- Kwame "T.C." Copeland, former Young Lord
- Carlos Feliciano, former P.R. political prisoner
- Ricardo Javier Gomez, Peoples Video Network
- Erica Gonzales, Benjamin Ramos and the Puerto Rico Collective
- Teresa Gutierrez, Workers World Party
- Berta Joubert, Workers World Party
- Yuri Kochiyama, Malcolm X Commemoration Ctte.
- Steven Lebron, Neta (Association Pro-Inmates Rights)
- Gail Mansouri, Workers World Party
- Willie Matos, former Young Lord
- Andy McInerney, Workers World Party
- Rafael Cancel Miranda, former P.R. political prisoner
- Anjelica Nieves, formerly Nationalist Party of P.R.
- Carlos Manuel Morales Ortiz
- David Perez, Workers World Party

- Nilda Pimentel, Comité Puerto Rico '98
- Bayard Faithful, Esperanza Martell, Rosa Garcia and everyone in ProLibertad
- Amnesty Campaign To Free the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners & P.O.W.s
- Desiree Rivera
- Hector Luis Rivera, Welfare Poets
- Carlos Rovira, Sr., formerly Nationalist Party of P.R.
- Carlos Rovira, Jr., former Young Lord, presently Workers World Party
- Cleo Silvers, former Young Lord
- Monica Somocurcio, Workers World Party
- Tom Soto
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- Amy Velez, Center for Immigrant Rights
- Anjelita Vera
- Milton Vera, Workers World Party
- Frank Vergara, Comité Puerto Rico '98
- Daniel Vila, Center for Immigrant Rights
- Susan Weigl

*“A leader is
not just one who has won battles,
not just one who is an organizer and inspirer,
but a leader must also be one who
starts a trend in world history.”*

SAM MARCY, APRIL 1992

PEOPLES VIDEO NETWORK

communicating the new trends in history . . . and the struggle . . .

FROM THE PVN ARCHIVES, A NEW SERIES OF TALKS BY **SAM MARCY** ON POLITICS, LABOR, LIBERATION, AND STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE: “What Is a Revolution? Political and Social Revolutions in Light of Cuba’s Struggle,” “The Legacy of Malcolm X,” “It’s Not Only Greed,” and many more

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"Without struggle there is no progress"

– Frederick Douglass

**Members and Friends of
the Baltimore All-Peoples Congress
Salute Workers World Party Chairperson Sam Marcy**

Your words and deeds are always with us

Your guidance helped found our organization

We pledge to continue our fight and your fight!

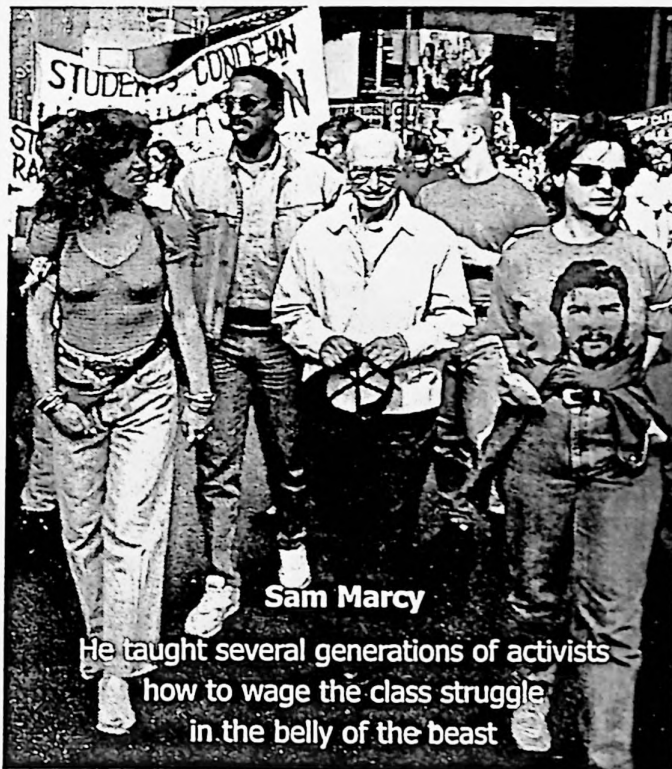
To Comrade Sam Marcy,

Through your teachings and writings,
you armed us with the necessary tools to
analyze the many attacks against us, with a
bold, working class perspective to intervene
and lead mass struggles against racism,
exploitation and oppression—
all products of capitalism.

The struggle continues.

Sam Marcy presente!

– Jersey City
All Peoples Congress



Sam Marcy

**He taught several generations of activists
how to wage the class struggle
in the belly of the beast**

San Diego
PVN

People's Video Network, P.O. Box 33447, San Diego 92163 • 619-692-0355



WW PHOTO: SHELLEY ETTINGER

Workfare Workers Salute Sam Marcy

... because you dedicated your life to the emancipation of all workers. Especially the most oppressed and downtrodden.

Your counsel and enthusiasm for our struggle was a tremendous source of inspiration and light to our fight for a union.

Joe Hill said, "Don't mourn, organize." We will miss you, Brother Sam, and we'll keep organizing!

The organizers of more than 5,000 members of Workfairness

AMERICAN SERVICEMEN'S UNION

In the late summer of 1967, following a discussion with Sam Marcy, a handful of courageous GI war resisters from Fort Sill, Oklahoma, founded the American Servicemen's Union. The union represented rank-and-file workers in uniform in their conflict with their officers. This included combating racism and defending the GIs' right to "refuse to obey illegal orders, like orders to fight the illegal war in Vietnam," the last of the ASU's demands.

The GIs had good reasons for heeding Marcy's advice. Members of the youth group he inspired, Youth Against War & Fascism, had already risked their safety and freedom to show solidarity with the GIs, and two had served jail sentences. But the idea itself also was right on target.

The approach was typical Marcy. It took into consideration the class character of the military. It sided with the working-class GIs against the officers. It gave high priority to the struggle against racism. And while raising the relatively mild-sounding demand for a union, it boldly challenged the chain of command of the central organ of the state—the imperialist army.

In a sea of resistance to the war within the military, the ASU grew from a handful to tens of thousands of GI members from all over the world. Starting with tiny resources, the ASU became the most widespread and effective of the many groups organizing in the military. Its newspaper, *The Bond*, helped inspire entire units in Vietnam to refuse orders to fight. The ASU did not shrink from defending those individual troops who were provoked into "fragging" their abusive or racist officers.

By the early 1970s the Pentagon generals were having a recurrent nightmare that if they didn't bring the troops home from the war, the troops might bring the war home.

We thank Sam Marcy for his conviction that the working-class movement must reach out to those inside the military. When Marcy died Feb. 1, 1998, there were U.S. troops occupying 100 countries, and the Pentagon was on the brink of a new war against the Iraqi people. The new, developing anti-war movement may again need to bond with their sisters and brothers in uniform. If the rank-and-file troops can free themselves from the imperialist chain of command, they can not only stop a war, they can call the very essence of capitalist state power into question.

Comrades and friends of Workers World who participated in the ASU



January 1961
 Sam Marcy (center),
 Vince Copeland
 (right) and others
 after demonstration
 inside UN protesting
 U.S. diplomatic
 attack on Cuba.

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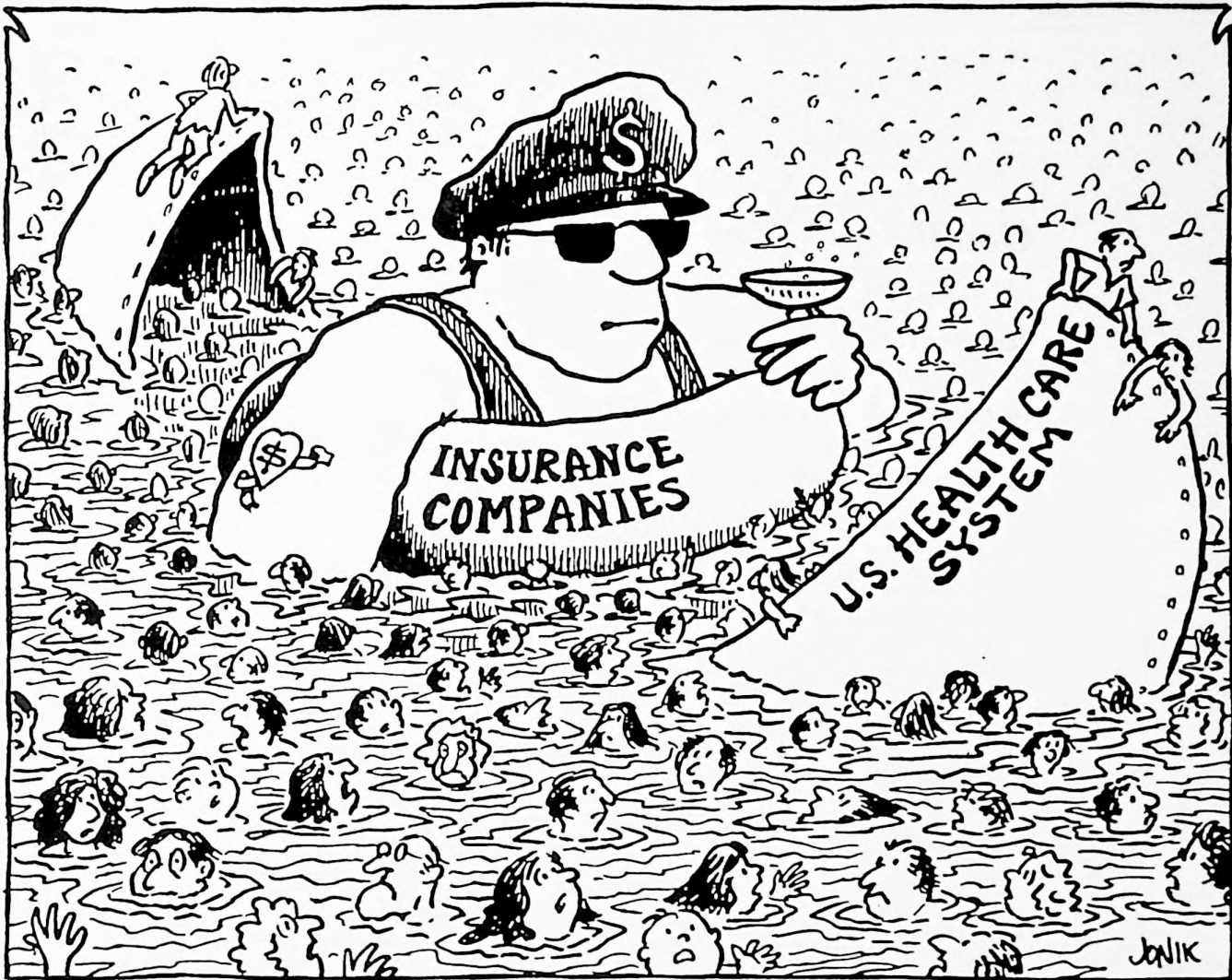
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| Wilbur Grattan | Sisters by Choice, Rose Lee |
| Richard Harris | Violetta Weaver |
| George Harrison | Doris Wilder |
| Lee Heilman | Nicole Wood |
| | Joe Zarba |



As health care workers, we honor the memory of Comrade Sam Marcy for his leadership and contributions to the struggle for a world where health care will be for people, not for profit.

John Black
Sharon Black
Ellen Catalinotto
Joyce Chediak
Hillel Cohen
Valerie Colangelo

Frances Dostel
Rachel Duell
Sharon Eolis
Beverly Hiestand
Nina Howes
Berta Joubert

Rachel Nasca
Anne Pruden
Ray Rakow
Estela Vasquez
Virginia Warner
Gary Wilson

Goodbye, Comrade Sam.

***You realized before anyone that workers forced
to serve in the U.S. imperialist army could be organized
to fight for their rights—
including the right not to be cannon fodder
in a war for corporate profit.***

— Andy Stapp

Sam

Our family is proud to have worked alongside
you in fighting for a better world.

We will miss you in the years ahead as
the struggle, to which you gave your life,
goes forward.

*Shannon Spence
Claudio Villalobos
Diego Villalobos
Daisy Villalobos
Tom Spence
Vikki Chenette
Emily Chenette
Theo Spence
Barbara Davidson
Beryle Ann Davidson
Michael Davidson*

***In loving memory we salute Sam
Marcy as a writer and thinker
ahead of his time.***

***We remember him as a loving
and caring uncle.***

—Sharon, Wendy, and Susan

A president of the United States lays a wreath at the Nazi SS cemetery
in West Germany...

Unocal oil company loves the Taliban in Afghanistan...

Hundreds of millions are doomed to lives of misery...

A planet's future is dimmed by capitalism's science for profit,
ethnic fragmentation, and militarism.

The capitalist crisis in Asia has captured worldwide attention. Even more
dramatic and clear, though, is the abrupt pauperization of the masses in
the former Soviet Union, a catastrophe that occurred as soon as Socialism was
destroyed. This sudden and disastrous conversion to capitalism presents
a historically unprecedented comparison of systems that the world can see.

What more proof is needed that

Communism

is more vital, relevant, and holds more promise for the world now
than at any time in the past!

**— An admirer of Sam Marcy
and the Workers World Party**

“This century will go down in history—not only as a century of wars and Revolutions, not only as the century that gave birth to Marxism and Leninism, and not only the century where for the first time we saw the growth and development of the working class movement internationally. It will go down in history as the century where, for the first time in human history, the vast overwhelming majority of the human race, the vast majority of the oppressed people throughout the world, stood up and said to the oppressors, ‘No More . . . from here on we are challenging the very foundations upon which your exploitation and oppression takes place.’”

Sam Marcy, April 1992

**In Memory of Sam Marcy the Struggle Continues.
Key, Estela, Tamara, Alejandro, Evelyn & Danielle**

**Organizer—
Fighter—
Theoretician for the working class**

**A loving and
much beloved man**

*Gavrielle Gemma
Sherry Finkelman
Michele Finkelman
Max Michael Swietnicki*

**In memory of Sam Marcy,
a great soldier in humanity’s
long liberation war — and one
of its great teachers.**

— Bob Lapides

**In loving memory of Comrade Sam
and his unfaltering commitment and
contributions to the international working class.**

**Your brilliant support, analysis and guidance
will live on in all of us whose lives you have
touched in this country and around the world.**

The struggle continues.

**Susan Rotgard
and Virginia Warner**

**Long live the legacy of Comrade Sam Marcy!
Thinker. . . Fighter — Print & graphics staff**

Donat Bukuba	John Long	Scott Scheffer
Paddy Colligan	John Martin	Rebeca Toledo
Bob Conklin	Key Martin	Charles Twist
Gregory Dunkel	Lyn Neeley	Igor Vertiletsky
Franco	Keith Pavlik	Claudio Villalobos
Marsha Goldberg	Elena J. Peckham	Elizabeth Weber
Stephanie	Jimmy Raynor	Phil Wilayto
Hedgcocke	Jim Ricks	Gary Wilson
Terri Hoffman	Lal Roohk	

Comrade Sam Marcy has pointed the way to Communism. Red is the color of our future, and red is the color of our Rainbow Flag. May our party show the Rainbow community its true road to liberation.

— Kristianna Jo Tho'mas

**To the memory of Comrade Sam Marcy,
whose life spanned the birth and death of the
Soviet Union, but who always kept the Red flag
flying high.**

We will clear the trail that you have blazed!

—Ronald L. Kuby

In Tribute to Sam Marcy

- true son of the U.S. working class
 - a proletarian internationalist
 - steadfast friend of the Soviet Union and Soviet People
- U.S. Friends of Northstar Compass
Organizing Committee for U.S. Friends of
Soviet People
P.O. Box 140434
Staten Island, New York 10314-0434
Lois Singer • Dr. Angelo D'Angelo
Directors

With love and insight
He guided us in struggle
Building the Party
Building toward revolution
Comrade Marcy, Presente!

— Dave Schechter

We honor the memory of
Sam Marcy

Mid-Hudson (N.Y.)
National People's Campaign

Co-chairs: Donna Goodman & Jack A. Smith
Ken Burge, Gale McGovern,
Ethel Michelson, Nancy Rice,
Joanne Steele, Phil Sullivan

With the passing of SAM MARCY, we are witnessing the ending of an era and the beginning of a new era in which things are looking up as LABOR and WE ON THE LEFT prepare for a new and stronger militant STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM!

— Ed Rothberg

In heartfelt memory of Comrade Sam Marcy who led Workers World Party through years of struggle In Anti-imperialist Friendship, Peace, and Solidarity for Chosun Un Hanada!

— Yoon Bok-dong

SAM MARCY

His keen mind, clear radical politics and dedication to workers and oppressed around the globe were an inspiration to the often floundering left movement in the U.S. Workers World was fortunate to have a strong leader of his caliber and commitment.

YURI KOCHIYAMA

The brilliant Marxist Revolutionary work of Sam Marcy will ever be a shining beacon in the struggle for Socialist Democracy.

Norma Abdulah

SAM

Social Economic Philosopher and political strategist with dual thought perception of the criminal ruling class and our class — the inclusive international working class.

Liberation.

Brenda Kirby

An embrace to all our sisters and brothers.
The struggle continues and victory is nearer.

The family of Al Stergar

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BECAUSE OF STRUGGLE

Everything will be made right because of the struggle.
Murderers will be vanquished, tears will be dried.
Happiness is not too much to ask.
For every action in the universe, there is an equal and opposite reaction.
Human energy can be neither created nor destroyed, only changed in form.
Even if we are departed, our human spirit shines and triumphs forever because of the struggle.

—W. Gill

Sam lives on in all of us for his:

- Uncompromising hatred of racism, national oppression, and all oppressions, including that of women, lesbians and gay men, the disabled, elders and children.
- Fearlessly struggling in the streets against injustice, exploitation, and war.
- Deep and unshakable confidence in the workers of the world.
- Lover of all humanity and the Earth.

— Bill Bateman, National Peoples' Campaign activist, Providence, R.I.

I had an opportunity to enjoy a brief vacation near the ocean. I once again observed, as I have always done when I am at the seashore, the high tide and low tide of the water. It is often assumed that, when the ebb tide comes, it not only moves backwards but it takes everything with it, leaving only debris. That is not so. There are small ripples that move in while the ebb tide flows out. And these may be formidable. There are even waves that move forward.

What does this mean in terms of politics? It means that even in periods of reaction, we can take advantage of these waves and ripples to strengthen and fortify the movement and the party.

*– Sam Marcy,
September 1992*

From two friends

WW SUPPORTERS HONOR SAM MARCY

As members of the Workers World Supporter Program, we salute Sam Marcy as we celebrate the brilliance, inspiration and leadership he provided through his many articles in the newspaper for more than 35 years. Sam Marcy analyzed and explained the myriad problems confronting the workers and oppressed peoples, both at home and around the world, in the second half of the 20th century through the clarifying lens of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. We will forever be grateful for his extraordinary body of work, which is his legacy to all who continue the fight for world socialism.

Norma Abdulah	Angela Durso	Lois Lenius
Wayne Barnette	Eric	Walter Lippmann
Bob Baylinson	Irving Fierstein	Gail Mansouri
Yoon Bok-Dong	Frances Forman	Dianne Mathiowetz
Beverly Boling	Franco & Cathy	Lucia Morehead
Lee Booth	Dick Franke	Jerry Moss
Richard Bush-Brown	Steve Gillis	Frank Neisser
Lillian & Ned Carney	Donna Goodman & Jack A. Smith	Keith Pavlik
Vikki Chenette & Tom Spence	Liza Green	Consuelo Pena & Dee Knight
M.S. Cole	Max Greenberg	Betsey & Joe Piette
Polly Connelly & Carl Smith	Judy Greenspan	Cornelia & Ray Rakow
David Cormier & Jacklyn Francisco	Joan Hamilton	Susan Rotgard
Hilda Cowan	Terry Hannon	Ed Rothberg
Morton H. Cowden	Patricia Hilliard	Eugene E. Ruyle
Carol Cross	Patricia James-Keiters	Lois Singer
Barbara Davidson	J.J. Kaufman	Carrie Singleton
Ellie Dorritie	Bill Knapheide	Joyce & Dave Sole
Rachel Duell & John Jones	Pat Kohler Sr.	Bette Spero
	Steve Kreznar	Al Strasburger
	Cheryl LaBash	Caro Torrez

For more than two decades many people have contributed to the Workers World Supporter Program to ensure that the essential working class viewpoint of Workers World newspaper is heard. If you wish to help build the paper, you can become a supporter by contributing at least \$75 a year or \$6 a month (sustainers give \$100, sponsors give \$300). If you are not already a member, we hope you will consider joining us in this important effort.

Write for details: **Workers World Supporter Program,**
55 West 17th Street, 5th Floor,
New York, NY 10011.

Messages of Solidarity



CUBA

PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE CUBA

Con profundo dolor hemos conocido la noticia del fallecimiento del compañero Sam Marcy, y queremos expresar nuestras más sentidas condolencias a sus familiares, a la dirección del Partido Mundo Obrero, tal que fuera líder y fundador, así como a sus amigos y otros compañeros. Sam Marcy constituye una sensible pérdida para el movimiento progresista en los Estados Unidos y a nivel internacional. Conocedores de su vida y de su obra, rendimos homenaje en esta hora a quien fue siempre un antiimperialista consecuente, un apasionado luchador por el socialismo, por la justicia social y los intereses de la clase obrera, así como un notable organizador y teórico.

Honramos también al firme internacionalista que defendió los derechos de los pueblos a su autodeterminación e independencia. Siempre lo recordaremos con gratitud por el apoyo activo y solidario que brindó a Cuba desde el triunfo mismo de nuestra Revolución, y su legado constituye una sólida base para que las relaciones entre nuestros partidos continúen fortaleciéndose.

COMITE CENTRAL

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

We receive the news of the death of Comrade Sam Marcy with deep pain, and we wish to express our most heartfelt condolences to members of his family, to the leadership of Workers World Party, of which he was leader and founder, as well as to his friends and other comrades in struggle.

The death of Comrade Sam Marcy constitutes a genuine loss to the progressive movement in the United States and internationally. At this time, those of us familiar with his life and work pay homage to one who was consistently anti-imperialist, and always an impassioned fighter for socialism, for social justice and the interests of the working class, as well as an outstanding organizer and theoretician.

We also honor the firm internationalist who defended the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence. We will always remember him with gratitude for the active support and solidarity he demonstrated towards Cuba from the very triumph of our revolution, and his legacy constitutes a solid foundation upon which the relations between our parties may continue to grow stronger.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE



DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Upon receipt of the news that Comrade Sam Marcy, National Chairman of the Workers World Party USA, has passed away on February 1st because of a heart attack, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea expresses deep condolences to the National Committee and all the members of the Workers World Party USA.

Although Comrade Sam Marcy passed away, the achievements he contributed as the founder of the Workers World Party USA to the struggle to strengthen and develop the Party and safeguard the independent rights of the working masses will remain forever in the hearts of the revolutionary and progressive peoples.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea expresses its belief that the National Committee of your Party will change the sadness of losing the valuable Comrade with courage to wage a more energetic struggle to build the workers' world which Comrade Sam Marcy admired so much in his lifetime.

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

THE PHILIPPINES

BAYAN INTERNATIONAL-USA

Comrade Sam Marcy, the tireless American working class leader passed away, but his theoretical and political leadership which anchored the Workers World Party survives and grows stronger in these difficult times.

We, members of Bayan International USA in particular and the national democratic movement in general, grieve with Sam Marcy's comrade-in-arms and solemnly mourn his passing. He died in the period where we, the Filipino people, are commemorating the centenary of our struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local puppet. This commemoration is also to condemn the U.S.-Ramos regime's "celebration" of U.S. imperialist socio-economic-political domination of the Philippines.

Along with our brothers and sisters of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, we were the first victims of US imperialism. They seized our homeland by staging the mock battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, the mock battle of Manila on Aug. 13, 1898, and provoked the Filipino-American War on Feb. 4, 1899.

The U.S. imperialist occupation forces exterminated close to 600,000 Filipinos and annexed the archipelago, including Guam and the Carolines, by the anomalous Treaty of Paris of Dec. 10, 1898, wherein Spain ceded its Pacific Territories for the amount of \$20 million.

Recently, the U.S. and the puppet Ramos regime signed the Visiting Forces Agreement that will allow U.S. forces to use the Philippines as a springboard for aggression in Asia and other parts of the world.

Comrade Sam Marcy contributed much to the international working class struggle and national liberation struggle in the colonized and semi-colonized peoples of the Third World countries.

We grieve Comrade Sam Marcy's death but as we salute his innumerable contributions to our national democratic struggle and for our struggle for socialism, we pay homage and vow to fight for the liberation of our motherland and the interests of more than a million Filipinos living in the U.S. and other oppressed peoples of the world.

Comrade Sam Marcy's death is not the end of his glorious fight. It is just a prelude to a more vigorous struggle ahead that we together will win. We have the world to win as we break the chains of our bondage.

Victory to the Filipino People's Struggle for National Liberation and Democracy!

Honor to Comrade Sam Marcy!

JOE NAVIDAD, CHAIR

INDIA

ALL INDIA ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORUM

We feel a deep sense of loss at the news of the sudden death of Comrade Sam Marcy. A relentless fighter against capitalism and imperialist aggression, Comrade Sam Marcy held high the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In his death the oppressed people of the world have lost a staunch ally in their struggle against world imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. We salute him for his resolute courage in exposing the war machinations of the U.S. government, living in the United States and for espousing the cause of self-determination of the oppressed people.

The All India Anti-Imperialist Forum cherishes the interaction it had with the comrades from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party during the Anti-Imperialist Forum Meet in Calcutta in November 1997. While expressing our deepest sympathy to the comrades of the Workers World Party at their great loss, we pledge our fullest support to their continuing struggle strengthening our mutual bond.

With revolutionary greetings,

**Manik Mukherjee,
Vice-President**

BANGLADESH

SOCIALIST PARTY OF BANGLADESH

We are profoundly shocked at the demise of Comrade Sam Marcy, the founder and chairperson of Workers World Party. At the death of Comrade Sam Marcy the world communist movement has lost a leader who made a great contribution in advancing the struggle against world imperialism and holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

We hope Workers World Party will be able to recover the loss and will continue the revolutionary struggle launched by Comrade Sam Marcy.

INDIA

SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

Red Salute to Comrade Sam Marcy

We received with a deep sense of grief the news of Comrade Sam Marcy's sudden death. We remember Comrade Sam Marcy's fight against capitalist and imperialist oppression and exploitation, upholding the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Analyzing the bourgeois trends in the Gorbachev doctrine of perestroika, he exposed the revisionist degeneration of the Soviet party. He stood in support of national liberation movements of countries and in defense of socialist countries against imperialist intervention and counterrevolutionary intrigues.

He was uncompromising in his combat against all forms of oppression, racism and moral degradation in the American society. Undaunted by the hostile situation in the United States, throughout his life he struggled to organize the downtrodden people of America in the fight against oppression and exploitation. With resolute courage, living in the United States, he fought against U.S. war machinations and imperialist maneuvers. The Workers World Party of the United States is a living testimony to his unique creative ability as an organizer.

Comrade Sam Marcy is no more, but we firmly believe that the party he founded will continue with its leaders, cadres and friends the struggle to accomplish his unfulfilled tasks.

I, on my personal behalf, and on behalf of our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, express our solidarity with the comrades of the Workers World Party in their hour of grief and pledge our wholehearted support for their struggle against capitalism-imperialism, upholding the noble banner of proletarian internationalism.

**Nihar Mukherjee,
General Secretary**

TURKEY

PARTY FOR SOCIALIST POWER

We would like to express our sincere condolences on the passing away of Comrade Sam Marcy, founder of your party. We know that Comrade Marcy has spent 70 years of his 86-year life fighting for the victory of socialism. He will be commemorated with his contributions to the development of the international communist movement and his efforts to organize opposition activities in the United States of America as well as with his theoretical works. He has an esteemed place both in the working class movement in the United States and the revolutionary movement in the world.

Marcy will continue to fight in all the areas of struggle for the international communist movement with his works, with his party which is the most concrete and active form of realization of his works, and with his comrades all over the world.

In solidarity, Political Bureau

BELGIUM

WORKERS' PARTY OF BELGIUM

Together with the leadership and membership of the Workers World Party and with many communists the world over, we mourn the passing away of Comrade Sam Marcy, the founder and chairperson of the Workers World Party, last Feb. 1.

We can all learn from a life as rich as Sam's, entirely devoted to the working class and to world revolution. Indeed, his writings and his activities came to be known in many a corner of the world, and the proletarian internationalist spirit with which he lived and worked is a great example that too many of us are not yet fully able to emulate. His early recognition of the revolutionary significance of the socialist experiences of China and Korea, and his farsightedness in timely and aptly exposing and criticizing Gorbachev's revisionism, have been important in times when so many progressives and revolutionaries get distracted from the road of revolution by bourgeois counterrevolutionary propaganda, right opportunism and petty-bourgeois pessimism or even outright capitulationism.

We understand that Comrade Sam's death is a great loss to the Workers World Party. But great leaders leave behind a great legacy in theoretical knowledge and practical experience, that can be taken up and taken further by new generations of communist cadres. We trust that this will be the case for the Workers World Party.

Comrade Sam Marcy, Presente!

Bert De Belder, International Department

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

FUERZA DE LA REVOLUCIÓN

La Dirección Nacional de Fuerza de la Revolución se dirige a ustedes para expresar nuestra condolencia ante la lamentable desaparición del consagrado y destacado dirigente comunista, Camarada Sam Marcy.

Dada su enorme contribución a la causa comunista en los Estados Unidos y más allá de su frontera, nos unimos al dolor que siente el Partido y los compañeros de lucha y combate de Marcy.

La causa de los/as trabajadores/as norteamericanos/as ha perdido un digno representante, una vida de entrega y una pluma aguda en la denuncia y la confrontación del sistema capitalista e imperialista.

Nos reconforta, sin embargo, saber que personajes de esta gigantesca estatura no mueren jamás y que serán siempre ejemplos fecundos para los que le continúan.

En nombre de la Dirección Nacional de Fuerza de la Revolución, reciban nuestro pesar y la reiteración de profunda amistad.

**Narciso Isa Conde
Coordinador General**

FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION

In the spirit of Camaño! Communist! The National Directorate of Revolutionary Strength wishes to express our condolences for the terrible loss of the outstanding and revered communist leader, Comrade Sam Marcy.

Given his enormous contribution to the cause of communism in the United States and beyond its borders, we share the pain felt in his Party and by his comrades in struggle and in comrades in arms.

The North American workers' cause has lost an exemplary leader, a life given over to the struggle and a razor sharp pen with which to confront and expose the system of capitalist imperialism.

Nevertheless, we are comforted in the knowledge that personalities of this gigantic stature never die but live on forever as powerful examples for those who carry forward their work.

In the name of the National Directorate of Revolutionary Strength, please receive our expression of grief as well as the reaffirmation of our deep friendship.

**Narciso Isa Conde,
General Coordinator**

HAITI

HAITI PROGRÈS WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

Under Sam Marcy's leadership, Workers World Party became a leading force in the North American working-class movement, as well as a reliable ally to many national liberation struggles, including that of Haiti.

Central to the swift and sure emergence of Workers World under Marcy's leadership was its unshakable confidence in Marxism-Leninism, its immunity to bourgeois propaganda and confusion, and its unflinching support of socialist and national democratic revolutions the world over. "What distinguishes our party above everything else is the clarity of its perspective and direction," said Marcy in 1992.

And his vision was keen indeed. In 1991, shortly before the inauguration of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, members of Haiti Progrès met with Sam and other WW comrades to discuss the outlook of the struggle in Haiti. Despite the infectious excitement of that time, Sam expressed deep apprehension about the likelihood of a coup based on his materialist study of history. "You know, over 500,000 people rallied in the streets of Santiago, Chile two days before the Army overthrew Allende," he said. "You can't stop a coup with mass demonstrations." His words were, of course, prophetic.

The thought and analysis of Sam Marcy will probably now receive more attention with his passing, but already his works have been translated into many languages around the world and read by workers and oppressed in factories, fields, and prisons. We hope the Haitian people will also come to better know the ideas of this great revolutionary, as they have come to know the valuable solidarity of his party.

Sam Marcy, un internationaliste révolutionnaire.

BRITAIN

COMMUNIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

On behalf of all members, supporters and friends of the Communist Organisation of Britain, and on behalf of all those in Britain who in the course of their revolutionary work have developed a respect and admiration for the Workers World Party of the USA, we are writing to extend to you and to the revolutionary proletariat of the USA as a whole our condolences on the passing away of Comrade Sam Marcy on Feb. 1, 1998.

Comrade Sam inspired your Party to take an earnest and close interest in revolutionary developments in other capitalist countries, and on a number of occasions the WWP has been instrumental in encouraging its sister revolutionary movements in Britain and other countries and participating with them in international initiatives. In the course of such joint work, we have come to have the greatest admiration for the dedicated, informed and warm-hearted style of mass work of your Party, a style which with one accord you have all attributed to the example of your founder and chairperson Comrade Sam.

Comrade Sam provided encouragement and guidance to every individual and every section of society that had something to give to the fight against capitalist exploitation. He was a tower of strength against all forms of prejudice, and bound together all victims of discrimination into a bond of comradeship and hope, in such a way as to accomplish that most difficult of all ideological tasks — the task of building a revolutionary party in the imperialist heartland.

Having begun to work closely with your Party only since the end of the 1980s, we were only able to witness a tiny fraction of the activities of Comrade Sam which had already extended over half a century. Nevertheless, his influence on our work has been profound, and it was with great pleasure and pride that our delegate met him during the Party Conference of 1995, and enjoyed a few words of discussion and encouragement from him.

We have been deeply impressed with the way that Comrade Deirdre Griswold and all other Party members enabled Comrade Sam to sustain his contribution to revolutionary political life to the very last.

As the WWP advances towards its 40th anniversary next year, we take the occasion of the sad loss of Comrade Sam to renew our commitment to work in common with the WWP and all revolutionaries throughout the world for the cause of proletarian internationalism and socialism to which Comrade Sam dedicated his life.

With warmest revolutionary greetings,

Hugh Stephens, Secretary

PALESTINE

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

On behalf of the Committee for a Democratic Palestine and community as a whole, I wish to extend our deepest condolences and sympathy for the passing of Comrade Sam Marcy.

The legacy of Comrade Marcy lives stubbornly in the endless struggles and battles that are waged by your members, affiliates, supporters, and all the progressive forces in this society and the world as a whole.

Your tireless and principled support to our people has always reminded us of the natural and imperative relationship between the oppressed everywhere. As many have abandoned the principles of justice and equality in favor of bourgeois morality, and as countless movements and parties have shed the ideology we all hold so dear in order to embrace the reactionary thought of free markets, we remain along Comrade Marcy's side in the trenches struggling for social change and for the emancipation of humanity from the shackles of colonialism and imperial control.

We understand your grief for we have lost similar beacons of liberty. There was Ghassan Kanafani, and there was Guevara Gaza . . . There was Ali Al Jammal . . . Abu Khadieja . . . and . . .

But we also understand that history is not made by individuals, though they may hold the key to revolutionary change and clear ideology at given moments. We know too well, as Comrade Marcy has insisted through the years, that only the cumulative struggle of the masses is able to forge a real and qualitative socio-economic change. Only the selfless organizing of the poor, the exiled, the dispossessed and the nationless will ever yank freedom from the mouth of the beast despite all cost and in spite of all cost.

Comrades, together we will triumph and ours is a future of independence, freedom, and equality regardless of the passage of time.

We stand in towering respect and eternal gratitude for our fallen Comrade!

Long live the struggle!

RUSSIA

WORKERS RUSSIA

The Executive Committee of the "Workers Russia" movement and the provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union convey our deepest condolences and solidarity at the upon the death of the founder and chairperson of your party, the extraordinary Comrade Sam Marcy.

Until his last breath, Comrade Sam Marcy was true to the ideals of proletarian internationalism and at no time ever doubted the ultimate victory of the cause of the workers the world over. Soviet communists greatly appreciate and will never forget the contributions made by Comrade Sam Marcy to the international communist movement, towards the consolidation of revolutionaries throughout the world based strictly on criteria of class struggle. Comrade Sam Marcy was one of the first communist leaders to unmask the treacherous essence of "perestroika" and publicly identified the agents of imperialism from Gorbachev to Yeltsin.

This is an irreplaceable loss. At this most painful moment we would like to convey to the National Committee of our fraternal party, Workers World, founded by Comrade Sam Marcy, our wishes for the continued unity, courage and firmness characteristic of true communists. Sam Marcy's struggle will continue.

Together we will triumph!

Chairperson Victor Anpilov

COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

Word has just reached us of the death of Sam Marcy, Chairperson of the National Committee of the Workers World Party.

Such news, always painful for any person and comrade, is especially poignant because it marks the end of the life of an extraordinary man.

We knew Sam Marcy as a steadfast fighter, clairvoyant thinker, sage and experienced leader of the Workers World Party. We admired his fervent commitment to the ideals of Socialism, his more than seven decade long outstanding involvement in the political movement and his valuable contribution to the strengthening of the working class struggles.

His personal wisdom of his accumulated years won him and his Party numerous and sincere friends and comrades in many countries. His exemplary life is the most developed expression of what one can do for the most pure and noble ideals.

Dear comrades, we are deeply moved by this tragic news and convey to you our most profound condolences and expression of solidarity in these mournful days.

Viktor Tiulkin
First Secretary, Central Committee

IRAN

ORGANISATION OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF IRAN (RAHE KARGAR)

We received your announcement of the death of Comrade Sam Marcy with deep sadness and great sorrow.

Comrade Sam's death, as you have stated, is an immeasurable loss to the current and future struggle of the working class and oppressed people of the United States. We wish also to add that his death is a great loss to the working class movement and revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism across the world. However, we are certain that the valuable theoretical, political and ethical legacy left behind by Comrade Sam will be followed and carried forward by the Workers World Party's new generation of leaders.

Comrades! While we share your sense of loss in this moment, we find ourselves beside you to continue the way, and to struggle for the fulfillment of the values, aims and aspirations to which Comrade Sam's life was devoted.

We believe as long as the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the working and oppressed people all over the world is present, Comrade Sam Marcy is present!

With the warmest greetings,

Central Committee

ITALY**MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM**

It is with a deep sense of sympathy that we received the news about the death of Comrade Marcy. In the past years we had the opportunity to meet him personally for a short visit and had plenty of occasions to read his recent and past articles and books. We have always been surprised by the depth and clarity of his analysis of the world-wide confrontation between imperialism and socialism and his ability to clarify in the light of this the most controversial issues. This clarity had become something more and more precious and rare in so many progressive organizations in the recent past. So it was wonderful to find it so clearly expressed in the United States, in Marcy's writings and in the practical work of your Party. We know how much you have been and still are engaged in the anti-war movement in the United States and know how crucial this engagement is. Well, it is not by chance that your organization stands in the front line fighting imperialism. It is the valuable heritage that Sam Marcy brought to you. May this heritage find deep roots in your country and bring the fruits it deserves.

BRITAIN**NEW COMMUNIST PARTY**

We were saddened to hear of the death of Comrade Sam Marcy, the founder and chairperson of the Workers World Party of the United States.

Sam Marcy was known to many of our members and supporters through the columns of our weekly, the New Worker, which often reprinted Sam's articles over the years, and in the course of friendly, fraternal contacts with members of the Workers World Party.

Sam lived a long and active life dedicated to the American working-class movement and the party he established and though he is now gone his fighting spirit will continue in the columns of your newspaper and the strength of your Party.

Please pass on our condolences to the American comrades.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the New Communist Party and the New Worker, with best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Andy Brooks, General Secretary

PALESTINE**PALESTINE EDUCATION COMMITTEE**

On behalf of the Palestine Education Committee, we take this opportunity to express our deepest sorrow upon hearing the news of the passing of Comrade Sam Marcy, esteemed leader in the fight for social justice, equality, national liberation and socialism. He has truly been an inspiration to all who support the cause of the working class and oppressed peoples. We especially appreciate the unwavering support he gave to the cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Faruk Abdel-Muhti, President

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

DOMINICAN WORKERS PARTY, PTD

The death of Comrade Sam Marcy fills the international revolutionary movement with grief and sadness. His conscious life was guided by a commitment to the independence, sovereignty, and the self-determination of nations, for social justice, international solidarity and the struggle for socialism. The workers, peoples and oppressed nations lose a consistent and trustworthy comrade who shared our dreams, our ideals and our struggle.

Sam Marcy was a sincere friend of the Dominican people and the Dominican Workers Party, PTD. We Dominicans found in him and in Workers World Party which he founded and led, encouragement and support for our people's mass struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle. He and the party also offered stimulus and a sense of identification with the struggle for the democratic, social and economic rights of the Dominican Diaspora in the U.S.

The death of Sam Marcy is an even heavier blow for the comrades of Workers World Party. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that you will know how to overcome the difficulties, you will remain united and will convert the pain into strength and tirelessly follow the path and the revolutionary legacy mapped by Sam Marcy.

*Eternal glory for Comrade Sam!
United, we will triumph!*

DOMINICAN WORKERS PARTY

La muerte del Camarada Sam Marcy llena de tristeza y enlutece al movimiento revolucionario internacional. Su vida consciente estuvo normada por el compromiso con la independencia, la soberanía y la autodeterminación de las naciones, con la justicia social, la solidaridad internacional y la búsqueda del socialismo. Los trabajadores, los pueblos y las naciones oprimidas pierden un consecuente y solidario compañero de lucha, de sueños y de ideales.

Sam Marcy fue un sincero amigo del pueblo dominicano y un leal compañero de quienes militamos en el Partido de los Trabajadores Dominicanos (PTD). Los(as) dominicanos(as) encontramos en el y en el WWP, partido que fundó y lideró, aliento y apoyo a la lucha popular y antiimperialista de nuestro pueblo en la isla, así como estímulo e identidad con la lucha de la diáspora dominicana en los Estados Unidos por nuestros derechos democráticos, sociales y económicos.

La desaparición física de Sam Marcy es un golpe mucho más duro para las compañeras y los compañeros militantes del WWP. Aun así, tenemos la firme convicción de que ustedes sabrán sobreponerse a las dificultades, se mantendrán unidos(as), convertirán el dolor en fuerza y persistirán en el camino y en el legado revolucionario trazados por Sam Marcy.

*¡Gloria eterna al Camarada Sam!
¡Unidos Venceremos!*

Partido de los Trabajadores Dominicanos (PTD)

COLOMBIA

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo FARC-EP Comisión Internacional

Reciban de las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo FARC-EP un cálido y bolivariano saludo, a través del cual queremos hacernos presentes en el homenaje a la memoria del Camarada Sam Marcy y brindar un reconocimiento a su vida dedicada a la lucha por una sociedad justa, sin explotadores ni explotados.

Sobre nuestra patria y nuestra lucha les decimos: El Imperio y sus representantes nacionales no cejan en el empeño de masacrar a la población para mantener su dominio y su sistema, utilizando el terrorismo de Estado, sus grupos paramilitares y la criminalización de la protesta social. La miseria, la represión, la impunidad y la corrupción siguen creciendo a niveles insospechados. Intentan acabar violentamente con todo vestigio de resistencia. Por eso actualmente en Colombia no hay posibilidad de otro tipo de lucha, la oposición política hay que hacerla con las armas en la mano. En tal situación, las FARC-EP continuamos sembrando sueños y esperanzas a golpes de fusil y demostrando nuestra indeclinable voluntad de paz con justicia social, con soberanía, con dignidad y con democracia plena. Somos pueblo en armas, somos una organización político militar, el compromiso es luchar sin tregua y el esfuerzo y lucha de todos nuestros hombres y mujeres esta dedicado a la construcción de una Nueva Colombia, la que soñaron todos los mártires que han ofrendado su vida en la lucha por construir una patria justa una patria socialista.

La responsabilidad de la violencia es del Sistema, del Régimen, del Estado y sus diferentes gobiernos. La guerra es una consecuencia de las políticas que han impuesto, porque el pueblo solo esta ejerciendo su legítimo derecho de defensa al responder a las agresiones oficiales, al buscar las vías necesarias para lograr el respeto de sus derechos fundamentales.

Igualmente, denunciamos la continuación de la campaña de injurias y calumnias contra nuestra organización, en el intento por deslegitimar la justa lucha por los derechos fundamentales de la mayoría de los colombianos. Se pretende descalificar la lucha de los pueblos, al tildar de narcotraficantes y/o terroristas a todos los que de una u otra manera, desde lo legal hasta lo insurgente, realizan acciones por los cambios

necesarios en nuestras sociedades.

Los pueblos del mundo no podemos soportar con resignación el desarrollo voraz del capitalismo que cada día nos hunde más y más en la miseria e invierte los valores de nuestras sociedades. El sistema esta en crisis, su actual modelo —el neoliberalismo— también. Sin embargo es necesario desarrollar la lucha consciente para derrumbarlo y construir las sociedades que nos merecemos las mayorías. Sociedades socialistas, que consulten realmente la situación particular de cada uno de los países, sin modelos predeterminados, sin hegemonismos y recogiendo las experiencias negativas, para no repetirlas y positivas para desarrollarlas.

La solidaridad es la ternura de los pueblos y se expresa fundamentalmente en la lucha de todos y cada uno por sus propios derechos; nuestro destino, el destino de los pueblos del mundo no puede ser la miseria y la indignidad que nos imponen actualmente las cúpulas dominantes. El futuro es nuestro, el mundo justo que queremos, solo será producto de nuestras luchas.

Rindamos un sentido homenaje y honremos la memoria de quienes entregaron su vida por la causa socialista; la mejor manera siguiendo su ejemplo y desarrollando sus enseñanzas.

Bolivarianamente

COLOMBIA

Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army FARC-EP

International CommissionThe Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) send warm greetings in the spirit of Bolivar to Comrade Sam Marcy's tribute and offer recognition of his life, dedicated to the struggle for a just society, without exploiters or exploited.

With regard to our homeland and our struggle we say to you: The Empire and its national representatives tirelessly and endlessly massacre the population in order to maintain their domination and their system, using state terrorism, their paramilitary groups and the criminalization of social protest.

Misery, repression, impunity and corruption continue growing to unsustainable levels. They intend to violently wipe out every trace of resistance.

For this reason there is no possibility in Colombia today of any other form of struggle—political opposition has to be carried out arms in hand. In this situation, we in the FARC-EP continue planting dreams and hopes through armed struggle and showing our unending will for peace with social justice, with sovereignty, with dignity and with complete democracy.

We are an armed people. We are a military-political organization whose task is to struggle without rest. The effort and struggle of all our men and women is dedicated to building a New Colombia—the one dreamed of by all the martyrs that have offered their lives in the struggle to build a just homeland, a socialist homeland.

The System, the Regime, the State and its different governments are responsible for the violence. The war is a consequence of the policies they have imposed. The people are only exercising their legitimate right to self-defense in response to official aggression, searching for the necessary means to gain respect for their fundamental rights.

We also denounce the continuing slander campaign against our organization, aimed at delegitimizing the just struggle for the fundamental rights of the majority of Colombians. They try to discount the people's struggle, labeling as drug traffickers and/or terrorists all those who in one way or another—from the legal to the insurgent—take action for the necessary changes in our societies.

The people of the world cannot sit by idly while the voracious development of capitalism plunges us deeper and deeper into misery and turns the values of our societies on their heads. The system is in crisis—including its current model, neoliberalism. Nevertheless it is necessary to develop the conscious struggle to overthrow it and to build the societies the majority deserve: socialist societies that really take into account the particular situation of each country, without predetermined models, without hegemony and recognizing the negative experiences so as not to repeat them as well as the positive ones so they can be developed.

Solidarity is the affection among peoples and is fundamentally expressed in the struggle of each and all for their own rights. Our destiny—the destiny of the peoples of the world—cannot be the misery and indignity that the ruling elites currently impose on us. The future is ours. The just world that we want will only be the product of our struggles.

We send a heartfelt tribute and honor the memory of those that gave their life for the socialist cause. The best way to honor them is to follow their example and develop their teachings.

In the spirit of Bolivar

Messages from organizations in the U.S.

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and our special project, Pastors for Peace, joins the rest of the progressive world in mourning the passing of Compañero Sam Marcy—a steadfast revolutionary with an undying commitment to the fight against racism, sexism, classism and repression based on sexual orientation.

When the world lost Sam Marcy, it lost a friend of justice; a soldier in the war against oppression and exploitation; a supporter of self-determination for poor and working class people. The progressive community is now charged with the task of honoring the life and commitment of Sam Marcy by continuing the struggle that was so central to his life—the struggle for justice and liberation of the working class and all oppressed people.

**In loving memory,
IFCO/Pastors for Peace**

Casa de las Americas esta presente en este tributo al dirigente Sam Marcy, lider del Partido Mundo Obrero.

UD. fue un gran amigo de Cuba y lo apreciamos mucho. Estamos en solidaridad con UD. y al Partido Mundo Obrero.

**Casa de las Americas,
Nueva York, Nueva York**

Casa de las Americas is present with you in this tribute to Sam Marcy, WWP leader. You were a great friend to Cuba and we appreciate it greatly. We stand in solidarity with you and WWP.

**Casa de las Americas,
New York, New York**

I wish to express my sincerest condolences to comrades, family and friends of Sam Marcy. I had the honor of meeting him 15 years ago, in New York City during a national tour that the All Peoples Congress organized for the Diné people of Big Mountain.

We salute Sam Marcy for his enduring dedication and commitment to the cause of humanity. His commitment could never be questioned. He was a very important entity in the American political landscape. In particular we note his unswerving support for Native people and all oppressed people to the right of self-determination and the active stance that Workers World Party has taken, from the defense of Wounded Knee in 1973 to the many activities that you organized in support of Native people.

**Vernon Bellecourt
National Representative
American Indian Movement
Grand Governing Council
President, National Coalition on
Racism in Sports and the Media**

Our deepest sympathy to Workers World Party at the loss of your Chairman Sam Marcy. Although only some of us had the pleasure of meeting him, we know through working with his comrades against the blockade and in defense of the Cuban revolution that his death is a loss for us as well.

We know that he was an unswerving supporter of the Cuban revolution and we admire him for the struggle he waged for all people.

**Bay Area U.S.-Cuba
Friendshipment Caravan**

The Freedom Road Socialist Organization wishes to extend our condolences on the death of Sam Marcy. Our organization recently lost a veteran leader, comrade Gil Sanchez, and we know how much tested thinkers and fighters can be missed.

Sam Marcy's influence reached well beyond the ranks of the Workers World Party. It was manifested in two main ways. One was in his prolific writing. His straight-forward columns in Workers World newspaper often dispelled unclarity and revealed the class forces at work within complex social developments. The other is through the activity of the core of revolutionary cadre he and coworkers like the late Vince Copeland trained over the years in Workers World.

We want to cite three areas where Sam Marcy's contributions deserve attention from all who strive to make revolution in this country.

First is the spirit of internationalism which has characterized the work of the Workers World Party from the very first US demonstration against the Vietnam War to today's growing resistance to US imperialism against Iraq.

Second is the respect and support that your organization has given to the liberation movements of the African-American nation, the Chicano nation and the First Nations, and to all the struggles of oppressed nationalities in this country.

Third is the independent and Marxist spirit which enabled Sam Marcy to break repeatedly with ingrained orthodoxies inherited from the political tradition in which he developed, as when Workers World became a strong early voice for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender liberation.

For these three reasons, among others, Sam Marcy will be missed.

**Juliet Ucelli,
for the National Executive Committee,
Freedom Road Socialist Organization**

I join with all of you in this tribute to Sam Marcy.

Bernadette Cozart

Only 16 percent of the laboring force in the United States of America are, at the present time, organized. Workers can do nothing without organization. Whenever and wherever power is left in the care of a few people who are corrupt or are capable of being corruptible, we find victims and slavery. Without unionism workers can be enslaved and impoverished.

Without labor there can be no wealth, so why shouldn't the laboring class of people share in an equitable share of that wealth? Such was the struggle put forth by Sam Marcy, who recently passed away. Surrounded as he was by men and women of the highest rank in talents and plain common sense, he was able by his perseverance and the fidelity with which he discharged the trusts committed to him by the people to command an unbounded influence.

Rest in peace, brother Marcy, the world will know that you came our way and left something tangible to show that you had done all that was possible against the princes of darkness to ease the pain and suffering of humankind from oppression and exploitation.

**James Cameron,
Founder-President-CEO,
America's Black Holocaust Museum, Inc.**

I was saddened to hear of the death of Sam Marcy, stalwart internationalist and founding leader of the Workers World Party. As a long-time reader of your newspaper, I have been helped by comrade Marcy's analysis of world imperialism and the struggle by working people to realize the necessary and revolutionary transformation of our unjust economic system. His writing was insightful and passionate, and always based on a Marxist understanding of the world.

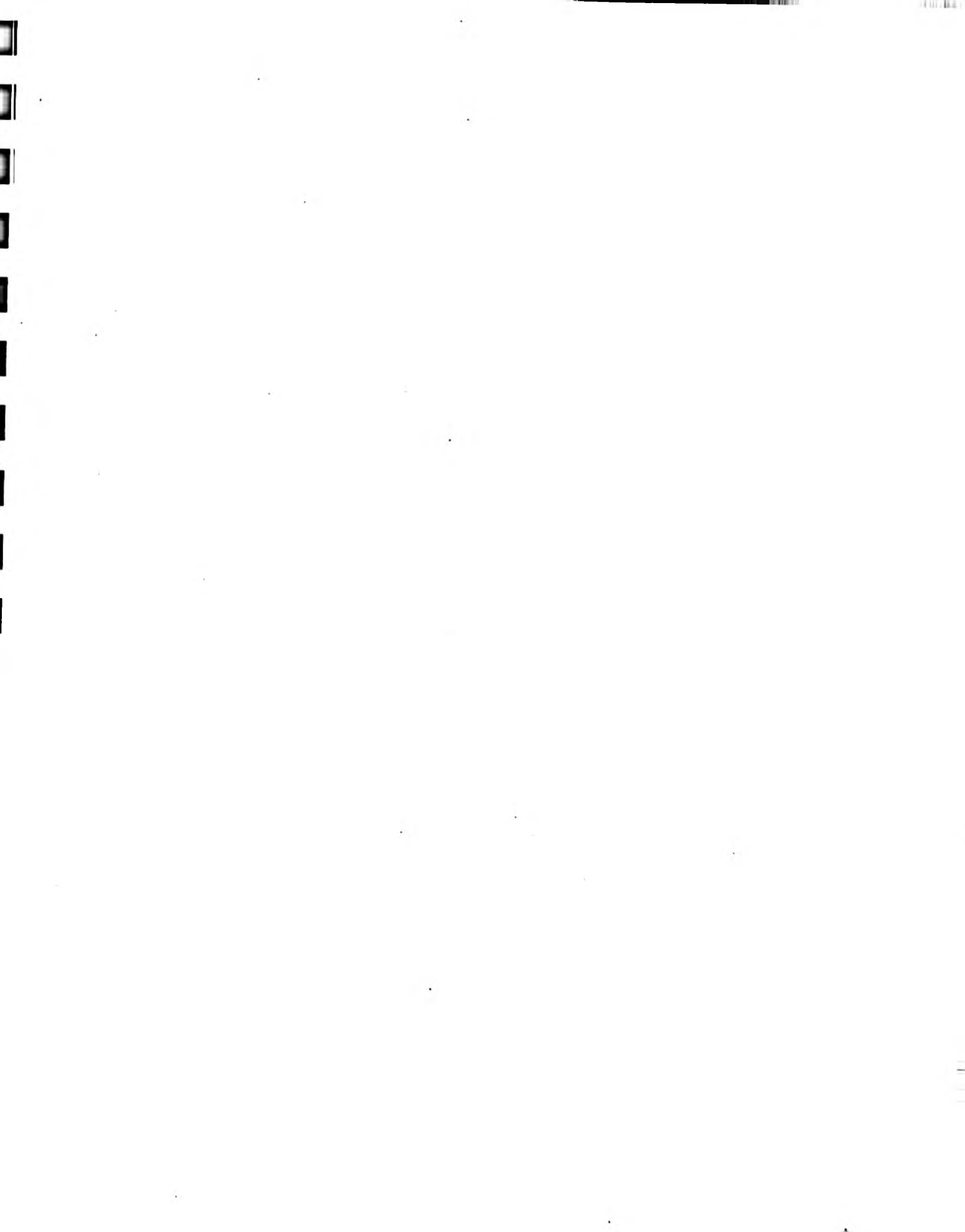
It is difficult to face one's own mortality, and I'm sure that this death has caused sadness within your party. And yet I am sure that comrade Sam would have us join with Mother Jones who said, "Pray for the dead, but fight like hell for the living." And so I salute the continuing activity of the Workers World Party which will, I am sure, continue in the path developed by your leadership, not the least by comrade Sam Marcy.

I will continue to walk with you, and other people's, workingclass and Marxist movements, as we struggle in Boston to give hope to the hopeless, voice to the voiceless, and power to those who are truly powerful—the workers.

**David Carl Olson, Ministerial Candidate
Community Church of Boston (non-sectarian)**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank all the comrades in the branches and the center for their hard work collecting messages for this important journal. We especially want to recognize the comrades who did the editorial and technical work on the journal: Comrades Sharon Ayling, Paddy Colligan, Sue Davis, Gregory Dunkel, Kathy Durkin, Sharon Eolis, Carl Glenn, Deirdre Griswold, Cheryl LaBash, Lyn Neeley, Jim Ricks, Lal Roohk, Monica Somocurcio, Maggie Vascassenno, and Gary Wilson.



The International

Words by Eugene Pottier (Paris 1871)

Music by Pierre Degeyter

*Arise you prisoners of starvation,
Arise you wretched of the earth;
For justice thunders condemnation—
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us;
Arise you slaves no more in thrall;
The earth shall rise on new foundations—
We have been naught, we shall be all!*

CHORUS:

*'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in their place;
The international party
shall be the human race!*

(repeat)

The International was written to celebrate the Paris Commune of March-May 1871.