

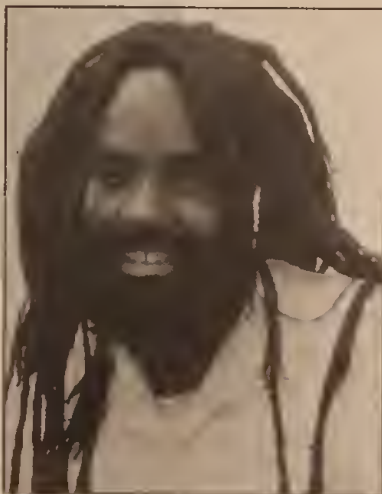
Stop the Execution! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



JULY 24—Mumia Abu-Jamal is slated to be executed in barely three weeks. As the executioner's clock is ticking, across the country and around the world thousands of people are rallying to save the life of this fighter for black freedom. The fight to save Jamal has come to symbolize the struggle against the death penalty and the whole system of racist capitalist oppression in America. In these crucial weeks, we must muster all energy and strength for the battle which has been engaged. Particularly important is to mobilize the power of the organized, multiracial working class at the head of oppressed minorities and all those committed to social justice to demand: **Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!**

Jamal, the former Black Panther, award-winning black journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, has been on death row since 1982, when he was framed up on charges of killing a cop. As FBI Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) files show, this champion of black rights had been targeted by the Philly cops and FBI since the late 1960s. He was railroaded in a far-reaching conspiracy by the Philadelphia police, judiciary and city rulers who run this 40 percent black city as if it were Philadelphia, Mississippi in the days of Jim Crow. From arch-racist Frank Rizzo, who as Philly's police commissioner (later mayor) lined up the Black Panthers naked at gunpoint in the street in 1970, to black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, who helped carry out the murder of eleven black men, women and children in the 1985 bombing of MOVE, Philadelphia has come to symbolize black oppression in *extremis* in America today.

Now Mumia Abu-Jamal struggles for his life, caught in the murderous net of the racist "justice" system. On June 1, the Harrisburg *Patriot-News* reported that Jamal's attorneys were about to file papers for a new trial. *That very night*, Governor Thomas Ridge signed Jamal's death warrant, ordering the execution by lethal injection to take place at 10 p.m. on August 17. The appeal for post-conviction relief (PCRA) filed on June 5 calls for a new trial. Together with that, Jamal's attorneys filed motions for a stay of execution and the recusal of notorious "hanging



Jennifer Beach
Philadelphia City Hall, July 12—Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal heard chants of over 800 demonstrators who rallied in his defense on first day of court hearing before "hanging judge" Sabo.

judge" Albert Sabo from this case. The defense papers give proof of Jamal's innocence and starkly expose the mockery of justice which characterized Jamal's arrest, trial and sentencing in 1982. Hearings on the appeal began on July 12 in front of Sabo in the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas.

This court session was the first time Mumia had been able to appear in front of his supporters in Philadelphia since his banishment to death row 13 years before. The courtroom was divided, with scores of cops—virtually all white—on one side and Mumia's family and supporters on the other. As Mumia entered, his supporters stood in silent solidarity, until his grandson cried out, "Hi, grandpa!" At that point, cheers for Mumia rang out inside the court, and in the hall outside as well, where scores of people waited who could not get in. Throughout the morning, and at every court appearance since, hundreds of demonstrators rallied and marched outside the court building, where their cries of "Sabo must go!" and "Free Mumia!" could be heard.

Jamal's attorneys, led by noted civil rights advocate Leonard Weinglass, first argued that Sabo, as a retired judge, had no valid jurisdiction in this case. In ruling against the defense, Sabo exhibited what would become a pattern of abuse of Jamal's attorneys and blatant bias in favor of the district attorney's prosecutorial team. Known as the "King of Death Row" for sentencing more people to death (at least 31, 28 of whom are minorities) than any sitting judge in the U.S., Sabo served 16 years as a Philadelphia undersheriff and is a "former" member of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which is actively campaigning for Jamal's death. Despite overwhelming evidence of bias, Sabo refused to remove himself from the case. He then refused to rule on the stay of execution, saying the date was "not close enough." And, in a move that death penalty experts called unprecedented, Sabo asked the defense to provide witnesses to testify as to why the stay should be granted.

When court resumed two days later, Sabo again refused to rule on the stay, saying that he would take it "under advisement," i.e. delay the ruling as long as he wished. He also denied a defense motion for discovery, which would have required prosecutors to turn over evidence that had been withheld. The following week, Sabo demanded that the defense call witnesses to begin an evidentiary hearing on the merits of the appeal on only *two days' notice*. Fighting against this outrageous maneuver, on July 18 Jamal's attorneys obtained a one-week continuance from the Pennsylvania state Supreme Court. The hearing on the PCRA is scheduled to resume on July 26, in Sabo's court.

Sabo's intentions are crystal-clear: to keep Jamal's appeal in his court as long as possible in order to thwart attempts to appeal to a higher court, while racing ahead into hearings, giving Jamal's attorneys virtually no time to prepare witnesses. Meanwhile, the clock keeps ticking. After watching the proceedings on July 12, radical black academic Cornel West remarked, "I've never seen a Jim Crow court until today. The whole atmosphere of this court is Mississippi 1955" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 13 July).

As we wrote in our last issue:

"Mumia is being set up to be the first political prisoner executed in the U.S. since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were killed in the electric chair in 1953.

continued on page 10



Chicago: Hundreds Die in Heat Wave

Victims Are Mainly Poor, Aged, Blacks

CHICAGO—It was business as usual in City Hall when the worst heat wave on record scorched its way across Chicago in mid-July. But by Saturday, July 15, the third day in a row of 100-plus temperatures intensified by high humidity, emergency vehicles were lined up outside a city morgue already jammed with dead bodies. Refrigerated food trucks were borrowed to house the cadavers that turned up over the next several days in funeral homes and neglected apartments across the metropolitan area. By July 20 the toll of the dead in Cook County stood at 456—mostly elderly, mostly poor, disproportionately black. A social "surplus"

no longer exploitable by a decaying capitalist system, they were killed by official indifference, social service cutbacks, declining medical care.

"We're talking about people who die because they neglect themselves," said city Human Service Commissioner Daniel Alvarez, while Mayor Richard Daley questioned the medical examiner's method of counting the dead. But the administration's callous portrayal of old hermits stubbornly basking themselves to death was given the lie by the massive 50-60 percent jump in 911 emergency calls over the two hottest days, a collective SOS from a desperate population.

Only when the bodies started piling up on Saturday did Daley declare an emergency. The flimsy emergency plan entailed the use of "cooling centers" (but made no mention of transporting people to them) and called for issuing press releases about the dangers of 105-degree temperatures. In other words, city officials told people it was really hot and they should go somewhere to cool down.

What help did arrive was too little too late. Throughout the crisis profit-conscious hospital administrators saved on overtime by refusing to heef up emergency staffs. As a result, at least 16 hospitals went on "hypass" status, refusing to accept patients. Like planes in a holding pattern, ambulances were forced to drive around for 35 minutes or more before finding a hospital that would take heat victims.

Feeling some heat himself, Daley lamhasted Commonwealth Edison for a weekend power outage in a mostly white, upscale North Side neighborhood. (Indeed, ComEd scrambled to restore power to Wrigley Field in time for a Saturday night Cubs game while residents in the surrounding area didn't get power restored until Monday morning.) But most of the heat deaths occurred not where the electricity was lost but in poverty-stricken areas like the South and West Side ghettos, where many can't afford air conditioners or the jacked-up ComEd bills they bring. Despite the sweltering heat, many black

retirees were afraid to even open their windows for fear of the crime that segregation, racist neglect and massive unemployment have brought to their neighborhoods.

Cook County Medical Examiner Edmund R. Donohue called the heat wave a natural disaster, "an act of God" (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 July). But Quentin Young, a Chicago physician and president of Health and Medicine Policy Research Group, told *Workers Vanguard*, "The heat wave was natural enough, but the disaster was avoidable. It's about as 'natural' as children dying of measles because they don't get their immunizations." Young adds, "Our technical resources and communication systems, properly organized and inspired, can handle this problem extremely well."

The heat wave struck on the same day that welfare cuts ordered by the state legislature went into effect. The entirely preventable heat tragedy merely exposed the growing decay of the capitalist social order marked by welfare and medical cuts, rampant unemployment and segregation. What is needed is not an emergency plan, but a planned economy, in which decent housing and health care are available to all. The capitalist economy, based on profit, will not and cannot provide for the basic needs of the population. That will take a socialist economy, in which production and services are based on human needs, and there is no such thing as "surplus" population. ■



TROTSKY

Hiroshima and Nagasaki: War Crimes of U.S. Imperialism

August 1995 will mark the 50th anniversary of one of the greatest atrocities in world history: the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S. imperialism. This mass murder of defenseless Japanese people expressed both the intense racism of the white American ruling class and the looming Cold War against the Soviet Union. While the Japanese government was ready to sue for peace, the atomic bomb was dropped to



LENIN

demonstrate to the Soviet leaders that the U.S. had developed a weapon of unprecedented destructive power. Almost half a century later, the Cold War ended with capitalist counterrevolution and the destruction of the Soviet Union as the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy disintegrated under the weight of its own contradictions and the all-sided pressure of Western and Japanese imperialism. The post-Soviet world is marked by increasing interimperialist rivalries between the United States, Germany and Japan pointing to a new world battle over markets and spheres of exploitation. A third imperialist world war could bring the annihilation of mankind. Following the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stated:

In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism killed or injured half a million human beings. The young and the old, the child in the cradle and the aged and infirm, the newly married, the well and the sick, men, women, and children—they all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan....

American imperialism has brought upon itself the fear and hatred of the whole world. American imperialism is regarded throughout the world today as the enemy of mankind. The First World War cost twelve million dead. Twelve million. The Second World War, within a quarter of a century, has already cost not less than thirty million dead; and there are not less than thirty million more to be starved to death before the results of the war are totaled up....

Before the Second World War, with all its horror and destruction of human life and human culture, is formally ended, they are already thinking and planning for the third.

Don't we have to stop these madmen and take power out of their hands? Can we doubt that the peoples of all the world are thinking it cannot go much further, that there must be some way to change it? Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism, that capitalism threatens to go down in ruins and drag civilization with it. But in the light of what has been developed in this war and is projected for the future, I think we can say now that the alternative can be made even more precise: The alternative facing mankind is socialism or annihilation! It is a problem of whether capitalism is allowed to remain or whether the human race is to continue to survive on this planet.

—James P. Cannon, "The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (August 1945)



Autopsy technicians move bodies into refrigerated trucks, as over 450 die during Chicago heat wave.

Letter

Who's Revolting?

Bay Area
10 July 1995

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Senator Jesse Helms wants to cut spending on AIDS research and treatment because gays engage in "deliberate, disgusting, revolting conduct."

Some eminent authority, a near rocket scientist, in answer to the question "Is sex dirty?" once observed, "Only when it's done right."

A. Worker

WV responds: Speaking of "revolting," along with Jesse Helms, there's Clinton's Secret Service agents, who put on rubber gloves to "handle" gay and lesbian elected officials who were invited to the White House on June 13. Helms says

gays engage in "unnatural acts," the Secret Service think AIDS is transmitted through a shake of the hand. How about producing some giant condoms to sheath Helms et al. and protect the rest of us from the deadly infection of their medieval perversions? ■

CORRECTION

In our last issue (WV No. 625, 30 June), in the article "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!" the caption of the photo of a demonstration for Jamal on June 5 in Oakland misidentified Brian McWilliams of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as president of Local 10. McWilliams is International president of the ILWU.

WORKERS VANGUARD



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No. 626

28 July 1995

On the morning of July 1, over 200 bellhops, waiters, housekeepers and maintenance staff walked out the front door of the luxury Drake Swissotel in Manhattan and set up picket lines outside. Drake management, led by Swissotel's union-busting V.P., Andreas Meinhold, is determined to break the unions at this posh East Side establishment. Yet at the same time, New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani was brokering a deal between hotel owners and union tops to avert a strike of 22,000 hotel workers on the July 4 weekend.

When Drake strikers went out on July 1, they were left fighting on their own as the Hotel Trades Council's president Vito Pitta (who also heads H.E.R.E. Local 6) extended the contract negotiating deadline at 79 other hotels. Drake bosses brought in out-of-town scabs who are living inside and working 16-hour days. Now acting as general manager, Meinhold's racist arrogance is buoyed by his experience in busting a union at a Swissotel in Puerto Rico.

Support NYC Drake Hotel Strikers!

Meanwhile, in a backstabbing attack on the Drake strikers, union elevator mechanics, laundry and sanitation workers have been crossing the picket lines, where the bosses have set up video cameras to finger militant strikers. Angry West Indian and Hispanic hotel workers told *Workers Vanguard* that the union had planned a large strike support demo on July 12, but union negotiators quashed it to take the heat off the Drake's bosses.

Dreading the prospect of a strike in the heart of Manhattan during the height of the tourist season, Giuliani personally intervened to stop the hotel showdown. On July 4 at City Hall, Pitta cut a deal with the owners of 70 hotels for a con-

tract providing some improvements in pay, pension and medical benefits, and preserving the closed shop. In exchange, the union bureaucrats agreed to a six-year contract which won't expire until after the year 2000. At the Grand Hyatt, no deal has been struck and employees are working without a contract.

The city administration, hotel bosses and union tops all remember and fear the militancy sparked by the last NYC hotel strike in 1985. This time H.E.R.E. leader Pitta posed tough, but then conspired with the bosses to fashion a deal which would prevent a hot summer of labor unrest. The pact was pushed through at a mass meeting at the Coli-

seum on July 6. Now Pitta is praising Giuliani and even Police Commissioner William Bratton as friends of labor!

The Drake strikers launched their struggle on the same day that AFSCME District Council 37 president Stanley Hill and the UFT's Sandra Feldman pledged to deliver \$1.2 billion in union givebacks to the capitalist politicians over the next three years. A class-struggle leadership in the unions could have galvanized all the city's workers, minorities and impoverished youth behind the fight not only against the hotel owners—sleazy and arrogant profit-gougers like Donald Trump and Leona Helmsley—but also against the vicious budget cutbacks imposed by Republican Giuliani and the Democratic City Council.

Drake workers must not fight alone. Mass pickets and genuine union solidarity is needed to stop the union-busters and run out the scabs. That means no deliveries, no utilities—and let the trash pile high. Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the Drake strike! ■

Illinois "War Zone" Workers Need Class-Struggle Leadership

DECATUR, Illinois—Two hundred unionists gathered here on June 24 for a War Zone Labor Conference, which was followed the next day by a 2,500-strong march and rally to support striking Caterpillar workers and locked out Staley workers. The conference and rally came on the heels of a defeat for the United Rubber Workers (URW) in Decatur and elsewhere, whose ten-month strike against Bridgestone-Firestone was

washed down the drain in an unconditional surrender by URW leadership (see "Anti-Japanese Racism Kills Rubber Strike," *WV* No. 624, 2 June).

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee, to support political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is threatened with execution on August 17, and calling on participants to raise Jamal's case in

their locals and internationals.

Below are excerpts from remarks made at the conference by Kevin Quirk, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 in Chicago.

* * *

A defeat—a major defeat—has been inflicted on the labor movement here in Decatur. The battle is not over here, but if we are to move forward and win we must call things by their right name. I agree with the sister who spoke earlier about the need to stop the scabs. That is all-important. The only way workers can win is to shut down production. It's all there for us in the annals of labor's struggles: picket lines that no one crosses, mass picketing—real effective solidarity like bot-cargoing scab goods.

This is racist America. The labor movement is getting a little taste of what has been the daily fare in the cities and ghettos of this country for years. Minorities and all oppressed layers would rally to the side of a strong, bold and fighting labor movement. It is urgently necessary for a combined struggle against our common enemy: the union-busting bosses and racist state terror.

These strikes were defeated because the existing leadership sold them out. The union leadership played by the

bosses' rules. If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose. The only illegal strike is one that loses. Strikes are won at the point of production. That's where our power is. Strikes are not won at supermarkets, banks or at shareholders' meetings. While it is important to point out that there is a capitalist class and it has solidarity, and it does rule, it is a diversion to push consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns" while scabs are running the plants.

These strikers have been sacrificed on the altar of racist, flag-waving anti-Japanese protectionism and support for Democratic Party politics by the pro-capitalist bureaucrats in the unions. Someone on the podium spoke of the lack of international support. How do you expect to win international support when you spread the vile lie that workers of other countries are the enemy? The main enemy is at home, right here in the corporate boardrooms of America.

There is a need for new leadership in the unions. We need to get rid of all the dinosaurs in the AFL-CIO leadership. We can't afford to replace one dinosaur with another, the way Kirkland replaced Meany. We need a bold class-struggle leadership in the unions that will fight the bosses' attacks. We need to build a party that will lead that fight, one which is totally independent of the capitalist Democratic Party. We need a revolutionary workers party that will fight all the way to put power in the hands of those who toil and create the wealth in this country—the workers. ■

Protest Deportation of Ramona Africa by Canadian Immigration!

On July 23, Ramona Africa, a prominent representative of the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, was grabbed by Canadian immigration authorities at Montreal's Dorval airport, detained overnight and deported the following afternoon. Ramona, the sole adult survivor of the 1985 police bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE house, had been invited to address public meetings and protest rallies in defense of Jamal across Canada. As the Partisan

Defense Committee in Canada wrote in a protest statement to the Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration: "Tens of thousands of individuals and organizations representing millions more have joined the international campaign to save Jamal's life. ... Your department's actions against Ramona Africa are an outrageous attempt to disrupt this important international effort." Join in demanding that the ban on Ramona Africa's entry into Canada be rescinded!

Mobilize Labor/Black/Minority Power!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Stop the Execution
of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Demonstrate!

Thurs., Aug. 3, 4-7 p.m.
Foley Square
across from
U.S. Federal Courthouse
40 Centre Street
(Take any train to Chambers St.)

For more information:
(212) 406-4252

NEW YORK CITY

Thurs., Aug. 3, 4:30 p.m.
Assemble at
14th and Broadway
March to the Federal Building
and then to Rally at
HERE Local 2850
(20th St. between
San Pablo and Telegraph)

For more information:
(510) 839-0852

OAKLAND

Thurs., Aug. 10, 7 p.m.
Rally at
University of Illinois
at Chicago

Chicago Circle Center
Illinois Room
750 S. Halsted

For more information:
(312) 663-0719

CHICAGO

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee

Stop the Execution!
Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Fri., Aug. 11, 7 p.m.
SEIU Local 399 Union Hall
1247 W. 7th St.
(at Witmel, West of 110 Hwy.)

For more information
(213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

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

Mon., Aug. 14, 5 p.m.
U.S. Consulate
1095 West Pender
(at Thurlow)
For more information:
(604) 687-0353

VANCOUVER

Initiated by the Partisan
Defense Committee
and co-sponsored by the
New Democratic Youth
of Canada and
the Canadian Union of
Postal Workers
(Vancouver Local)

Mon., Aug. 14, 5 p.m.
U.S. Consulate
360 University Ave.
(between St. Patrick and
Osgoode subway stations)
For more information contact
the PDC: (416) 593-4138

Sponsored by the
Committee to Free Mumia
Abu-Jamal and the
Partisan Defense Committee

TORONTO

Anti-Communist Smear Targets Jamal Campaign

The signing of a death warrant against black journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on June 1 touched off a series of worldwide protests that continue to build with the approach of the August 17 execution date. As the central focus of the fight against the racist death penalty in the U.S., the struggle to stop the execution of this passionate fighter for minorities and the poor has drawn thousands across the country into struggle against the systematic police terror and government attacks on blacks and the poor inherent in the American capitalist system. And this has some ruling-class circles seeing red.

The 16 June *Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page article by one Laurie Cohen titled, "Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays." As is to be expected from the house organ of American finance capital, the piece sneers at a range of "secretive" leftist organizations with "hardly familiar names: The International Socialist Organization, the Freedom Socialists, Radical Women, the

Spacast League." The *Journal* is fully aware that a lot more than the "radical left" has taken up the fight to save Jamal from execution. But the point of this mocking piece is to denigrate and diminish this struggle as it intensifies with the approach of Jamal's scheduled execution by portraying his supporters as a hunch of wild-eyed crazies grooving over a "cop-killer."

In this light, Cohen takes pains to go after the Spartacist League, which along with the Partisan Defense Committee has been out front in mobilizing support for Mumia Abu-Jamal since 1987. Cohen does manage an accurate reference to our aims, describing them as "familiar": "The Spartacist League wants to 'expropriate the capitalist class and sweep away its state apparatus of repression.'" But she then attempts to ridicule this purpose, quoting Charlene Mitchell of the Committees of Correspondence (a right-wing split from the Communist Party) who claims the SL is "a group of 20 people who...don't represent anything."

press.

It's nasty business to be depicted as a cult on the front page of a major capitalist mouthpiece. As radical journalist Alexander Cockburn noted following the government's mass murder of the Waco Branch Davidians: "What really did in the Branch Davidians was the word 'cult.' You can do more or less anything to a cult" (quoted in *NY Press*, 3 May). The bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE group in 1985 is another example. The SL forthrightly protested the MOVE and Waco massacres (while almost the entire left remained silent or alibied these grisly acts of state terror). The *Journal* article appears at a time when the Clinton administration is obscenely attempting, using the pretext of the Oklahoma City bombing atrocity, to equate leftist political activity with right-wing terrorism.

A couple of weeks later, the *New York Times* (30 June), which has been pushing the theme that right-wing militias are derived from the anti-government protests of the '60s New Left, wrote that



New York's Penn Station, June 5: Outpouring of protest in emergency demonstration following signing of Jamal's death warrant.

Spartacist League." The article quotes Noam Chomsky as saying that with the labor movement "demolished" and with "no intellectual left left to speak of," what remains are "marginal groups" that "have no impact."

Toward the end of the article, Cohen complains of this left that is supposed to be dead, "The radical-left groups also have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and a convicted cop-killer from Philadelphia who has written a book called 'Live From Death Row.' His dreadlocks currently adorn the cover of almost every radical-left publi-

The article takes a more sinister turn when it goes on to cite the "International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists," who "deride their old party as 'Jonestown,' a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide." The "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT)—a clot of embittered ex-members, most of whom quit our organization some years ago—has always sought to be the instrument of bigger forces with its provocative slurs and slanders against the Spartacist League. Now they've finally made it into the big time, in the pages of the most virulently anti-communist bourgeois

the rhetoric of the anti-technology "Unabomber" was "a blend that might have come from Trotsky or Thoreau." Responding to a subsequent inquiry from the Associated Press on the "Unabomber," a spokesman for the Spartacist League stated: "We oppose his purposes and deplore his means. Rather than trying to eliminate those who are in charge of commercial technology, we believe, as did Trotsky, Lenin and Marx, that human beings must overcome class divisions and take over the means of production, placing those means in the hands of the majority of the society, the workers who produce the wealth."

Then came an editorial titled "Extremists of the Manic Right" in the *San Francisco Examiner* (9 July), scurrilously blaming the bloody crimes of the "true believers of the extreme right" on the "extreme left," which supposedly became so "frustrated" with "peaceful protest" that it carried out "acts of terror, assault and murder.... Eventually, the Weatherpeople disappeared into myth along with Black Panthers, Progressive Labor Party, Spartacists and others who sought an elusive apocalypse" (see the Spartacist League letter to the *Examiner*, reprinted on page 5).

Sneers and all, the *Wall Street Journal* article indicates some angst among the powers that be over the wave of protests for Jamal, which has drawn increasing numbers of youth, trade unionists and others into struggle against U.S. legal

Not Much Left:
'The Movement' Is
Pretty Still Nowadays

Despite the GOP Revolution,
Radical Groups Can't Win
Converts to Their Brand

By LAURIE P. COHEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK — It was May Day in the first year of the Contract With America. Ultraright —

he seem more concerned," he says. The radical-left groups also have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and a convicted cop-killer from Philadelphia who has written a book called "Live From Death Row." His dreadlocks currently adorn the cover of almost every radical-left publication. A few blocks from Mr. Durham's

Capitalists' house organ sneers at Jamal campaign, seeking to trivialize broad-based international support.

lynching. The fact that revolutionary Marxists are playing a prominent role in a campaign against the racist rulers is considered an offense by the *Journal*, which endlessly brays about the supposed "death of communism." For over eight years, the SL and PDC have initiated united-front defense actions on behalf of Jamal, seeking to mobilize fighters for black rights, leftists, defenders of civil liberties and particularly sections of the labor movement to take up his cause. We have linked the demand to save Mumia from execution with the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. And we have generated financial and legal support so that Mumia could have the best possible defense in the courts to challenge the racist frame-up against him. To their credit, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party/Refuse & Resist have also fought against Jamal's persecution for a number of years.

In recent months, a host of other leftist organizations have joined this fight, along with a growing number of trade unions, parliamentarians and civil rights organizations around the world. This is all to the good—the task now is for every organization siding with labor and the oppressed to throw its weight into mobilizing mass protests to stop the execution of this militant, courageous spokesman for the downtrodden.

"Leftists" in the Service of the State

At least everyone knows where the *Wall Street Journal* is coming from when it tries to witchhunt communists. But it was the "leftists" of the International Socialist Organization who, the day after the *Journal* article appeared, fleshed out its insidious intent through a violent attack on Spartacist and PDC comrades outside an ISO conference in Chicago. While our comrades ably defended themselves, the ISO went on to launch a lying campaign, primarily through the Internet. As we noted regarding the ISO's statement:

"Here we find the following amalgam of slander. The SL's 'actions, rather than helping to build our movement, are aimed at destroying it'; 'among the Spartacist League's initiatives is the Partisan Defense Committee'; 'the PDC has been heavily involved with the campaign to free Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal.' You don't need to read between the lines to get the message of this smear job—i.e., one of the main organizations fighting to mobilize in Jamal's defense are 'thugs' who want to 'destroy' the workers movement and therefore...you shouldn't get involved."
—ISO Goons Beaten Back."
WV No. 625, 30 June

To the ISO's gangsterism one can add redbaiting. Currently, the SL and PDC are building labor-centered demonstra-

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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San Francisco Examiner Smear

The following letter was sent as a formal protest against an editorial by the San Francisco Examiner, the flagship of the Hearst newspaper chain, which printed false accusations against the Spartacist League and other leftists in reckless disregard of the truth. A highly truncated version of our letter was printed in the 16 July Examiner.

July 11, 1995

San Francisco Examiner

To the Editor:

Your July 9 editorial, "Extremists of the manic right," claims that in the '60s, the "extreme left...evolved into violent words and, eventually, into acts of terror, assault and murder." Into this hash, you throw the "Black Panthers, Progressive Labor Party, Spartacists and others who sought an elusive apocalypse." This is a deadly smear of the Spartacist League/U.S. (and other left and radical groups) as violence-mongers and perpetrators of criminal and terrorist acts. Simple justice demands an immediate retraction.

Your editorialists are no doubt aware that the Spartacist League is a political organization, neither "violent" nor "terrorist." In 1981 your paper reported,

under the headline "Marxists Not Mobsters," the Spartacist League's successful suit compelling then-California Attorney General Deukmejian to retract his inclusion of our organization in a report on terrorism. In 1983, the *Washington Times* responded to a libel suit brought by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League with a written retraction of its malicious libel of our organization as "provoking violence" at a mass anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the SL/U.S. in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. Similarly, in 1984 the Spartacist League successfully concluded a suit against the FBI and U.S. Attorney General which forced the FBI to revise its slanderous "definition" of our organization and concede that advocacy of Marxist political principles cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or criminal enterprise.

Your editorial is a belated, but no less grotesque, contribution to the media's attempt, in the wake of the appalling Oklahoma City bombing, to equate leftist opponents of this racist capitalist state with the fascistic network of "patriot militias," abortion clinic bombers and KKK/Nazi killers. The purpose of this attack on "extremism" is transparent: to beat the drums

for the wholesale attack on fundamental constitutional guarantees, from the right to bear arms to freedom of speech and association, being pushed by both Clinton's Democrats and Gingrich's Republicans.

The mass arrest in San Francisco, on June 26, of nearly 300 demonstrators protesting the planned execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a vivid example of the drive to criminalize all left-wing political dissent. Most of those arrested were held behind bars for almost 48 hours on phony felony counts of arson! Your editorial follows a front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (16 June) sneering at "radical-left groups," including the Spartacist League, who "have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal." Jamal—a former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist—is an innocent man who has been sentenced to die for his political beliefs.

The *Wall Street Journal* article and the *S.F. Examiner* editorial are clear attempts to denigrate and diminish the growing movement to save this courageous man.

From age 15, Jamal was a target of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program which resulted in the murder of

38 Black Panther Party members. The violence of the '60s was perpetrated by the U.S. government, which also used its fascist henchmen. There was a direct line from the FBI to segregationist Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor to the KKK nightriders. Former FBI agent Gary Rowe has testified to the actual participation of the FBI (in the person of himself) in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway.

These are the antecedents of today's fascistic militias. Timothy McVeigh, the principal suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing, was reportedly driven by virulent bigotry against black people and hatred for affirmative action and abortion rights. While hardly its intent, your editorial does serve as a useful reminder that laws ostensibly aimed at curbing right-wing violence will in fact be used against the left, working people and minorities.

As the cover letter from our attorney states, we will consider the printing of this letter in the "Letters to the Editor" column in next Sunday's (July 16) edition of the *S.F. Examiner* as redress to the deadly smears of our organization contained in your July 9 editorial.

Yours truly,
Emily Turnbull
for the Spartacist League/U.S.

tions in New York, Oakland and Chicago calling to stop the execution of Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty. So now comes an Internet message by one Ben Burgis, who issued the first ISO statement after the Chicago attack, which coyly asks, "Has any one else ever noticed that the Spartacists seem to feel the need to put the word 'Labor' in everything they sponsor, even though the rest of the world knows the event is Spartacist?"

It's inconceivable to these reformist social democrats, whose idea of "fighting" fascist terror is to waltz into police pens at anti-Klan demonstrations, that the dozens of unions and labor officials representing tens of thousands of workers who have endorsed the upcoming rallies for Jamal would see the fight against his persecution by the state as *their* fight also. As if to answer these apprentice finks, one Philadelphia trade-union official told PDC representatives recently, "You're socialists. So what? We're talking about saving this man's life."

Thus, only weeks before the scheduled execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, with the Philly cops slaving for Jamal's death and the Philadelphia D.A.'s office issuing threatening letters to celebrities supporting Jamal, the ISO and a clique of professional anti-Spartacists are doing their part to stir up an anti-communist witchhunt against Mumia's most prominent supporters on the left. As we noted after the assault in Chicago, "The ISO's gangsterism is devastating evidence that their 'support' to the campaign for Jamal isn't worth the paper it's printed on."

Rushing through cyberspace to the

ISO's defense following our repulsing their goon attack was a veritable rogues' gallery of anti-Spartacists whose common traits include documented personal participation in gangsterism against other leftists. Among these is Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the counterfeit-Trotskyist Workers League (WL) and now a brazen social democrat who has come out for American intervention in Bosnia, as well as for the U.S. occupation of Haiti. Wohlforth is only too happy to add his keystrokes to the Spartacist-bashing-by-modem, writing on June 28 that "my sympathy is with the ISO in this matter." No doubt. Back when this pimp for imperialism was masquerading as a Trotskyist, the WL repeatedly launched violent attacks on the SL and other leftists. Now he lectures that "the Sparts conduct themselves in a manner which only contributes to the left's further weakening. Therefore any socialist who really CARES about the struggle of American and worldwide workers, minorities, women must hate those who act in a manner which hurts the struggle." But how should they feel toward Wohlforth, who *cares* to rally to the support of racist U.S. imperialism (on the "Peacenet" no less)?

Also among the sleazy neturfers was one Carlos Petroni, who denounces physical confrontation between leftists and says that he should know because he himself has been a "participant and/or an apologist for it." No "or" about it. In 1982, as a leader of the "International Workers Party," Petroni personally led a goon squad against SL comrades, *wielding a claw hammer in a potentially fatal*

attack on a supporter of the SL in the CWA phone workers union. Petroni also reasonably calls for "an investigation and a public hearing" on what happened outside the ISO conference. Just *who* is to investigate *whom*? To update an adage of Stalin, the Internet will take anything that's posted on it.

The ISO's attempt to tar the SL with the brush of its own anti-working-class practices has prompted a number of individuals who are aware of their record of gangsterism to denounce the Chicago attack on us. A supporter of the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) wrote on June 20, "While BACORR in general, and myself in particular, have political disagreements with the SL on a wide range of issues, the most principled ways to debate these differences is through political struggle and polemic—not unprincipled thuggery as has [been] used by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) on more than one occasion." In fact, the SL and PDC have been able to collaborate effectively with a range of very diverse organizations in common work in defense of Jamal, while carrying on political debate inside this framework. But the principles of workers democracy and united-front action are completely alien to the ISO, which has been noticeably absent (or represented by token teams) at recent demonstrations for Jamal.

To understand the current anti-Spartacist witchhunt for what it is, just look at who is contributing to it. On the one hand, there is the bankers' mouthpiece, the *Wall Street Journal*. On the other hand, a gaggle of reformists and sleazy renegades, who: 1) are certified practitioners of thuggery against the left (ISO, Wohlforth, Petroni); 2) lie; and 3) spread illusions in the cops, the hired guns of the capitalist rulers, who the ISO claims are "workers in uniform." Deadly illusions in these uniformed racist thugs are spread as well by groups like the BT, which several years ago joined "Cop-watch" in the San Francisco Bay Area, whose work involved "monitoring" police abuse in order to somehow modify their reign of terror against the ghettos and barrios.

Witchhunts and Frame-Ups

There can be no justice for Mumia at the hands of the cops who have vowed to kill him or in the capitalist courts that have railroaded him to death row. Nor will the liberation of black people from

the chains of racial oppression be achieved short of a socialist revolution which destroys the whole murderous state apparatus of cops and prisons. The fight for Mumia's freedom requires the broadest possible mobilization of social protest, linking minorities and youth to the labor movement. Gangsterism and defamatory ravings about the SL as a "cult" feed into the *Wall Street Journal's* vintage redbaiting, which is aimed at *spiking the necessary mass protest that is essential in fighting for Jamal's freedom.*

The use of violence and the "Big Lie" to discredit communists in the public eye is nothing new. In fact, it is a method commonly used by the bourgeoisie and its bought-and-paid-for media mouthpieces to thwart the emergence of communist-led struggle, particularly when it intersects the explosive black question. In the 1930s, liberals led by the NAACP joined with the capitalist press in a campaign of lies and calumny against the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense during the campaign to save the Scottsboro Boys—nine black youths in Alabama faced with execution after being falsely accused of raping two white women. While the CP/ILD mounted an international protest campaign, with millions of workers conducting strikes and mass demonstrations, the NAACP denounced the CP's agitation and propaganda and preached complete reliance on the courts—which meant putting faith in Southern lynch-law "justice." But it was precisely the mass protest of workers and the oppressed around the world—and not the workings of the racist "justice" system—that saved the Scottsboro Boys from legal lynching.

As Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in response to early objections to the ILD's mass agitation for the Scottsboro Boys: "Not to the courts alone, and not primarily there, but to the masses must the appeal of the persecuted of class and race be taken. There is the power and there is the justice" (*Militant*, 16 January 1932). Today, in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal there is literally not a moment to lose. Anti-communist witch-hunting and violence directed at Jamal's supporters are poison to this struggle, whether it comes from the voice of the *Wall Street* bankers or from "socialists" whose venomous hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League far outweighs their professed defense of Jamal. ■



Touching faith in bourgeois state: reformist ISO willingly submits to being frisked and corralled into police pens at Illinois anti-Klan rally, June 3.

David North "Abolishes" the Right to Self-Determination

The collapse of the former workers states of Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union unleashed an orgy of nationalist bloodletting. Today the imperialist media denounces Serbian war crimes in the fratricidal slaughterhouse that is now Bosnia. But "ethnic cleansing" is hardly a practice unique to the Serbs. Not only are grisly atrocities carried out by all sides in the Balkans, but no less bloody national wars have been waged between Armenians and Azeris

PART ONE OF TWO

for possession of Nagorno-Karabakh, by Georgia against the Ossetians and Abkhazians, and throughout the Caucasus. To assert its domination in the region, the Russian army launched a full-scale military invasion of Chechnya which has virtually obliterated the capital city of Grozny and devastated the countryside.

To read the bourgeois press one would get the idea that these gruesome nationalist slaughters are inspired by the revival of some ancient "tribal" feuds. In fact, it is the logic of capitalist counterrevolution that is the motor force behind the resurgence of nationalism from Central Europe to the Caucasus, as economically more advanced peoples seek to consolidate their own advantage at the expense of their less-developed neighbors. As we wrote in "Ethnic Cleansing and Nationalist Wars" (WI No. 580, 16 July 1993): "What is happening in Bosnia is a recurrent phenomenon in this epoch of capitalist decay.... Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities."

Yet it is to the capitalist imperialist rulers that a whole number of Vietnamese "doves," liberals and radical intelligentsia appeal for military intervention to bring "democracy" to the Balkans. Among this lot is one Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the American Workers League, the U.S. satellite of the now-departed Gerry Healy and his International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). In his current role as saved sinner and "born again" anti-Leninist social democrat, Wohlforth called for U.S. imperialist intervention in Bosnia under the headline "Give War a Chance" (*In These Times*, 26 July 1993).

Wohlforth's former master, Gerry Healy, was the consummate example of what Lenin called a "political bandit"—able to wield Trotskyist orthodoxy when that suited his purpose and equally capable of being the bought-and-paid-for press agent for a variety of bourgeois-nationalist Mideast regimes (which he and his organization were for many years). Almost a decade ago, Healy's organization blew apart, but the mark of this self-proclaimed "founder-leader" of the ICFI can be found today in the heated exchange between Healy's one-time lieutenants over their mutual responses to the Balkan quagmire. One side openly embraces Bosnian Muslim nationalism, while the other feigns orthodoxy in a supposed anti-nationalism which turns out to be de facto support for imperialism and national oppression.

For the past couple of years, Healy's former "theoretician," Cliff Slaughter, and his Workers Revolutionary Party have occupied the leading position in the campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia." Running supplies to the bourgeois-



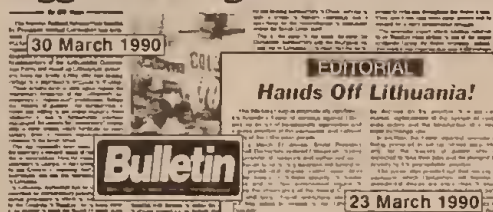
Cliff Slaughter (right) and David North (below right)—former henchmen of deceased political bandit Gerry Healy—wage their own Balkan war. Slaughter's *Workers Press* pushes support to Bosnian Muslim government in league with Western imperialists as British and French troops, in guise of UN "peacekeepers," rode shotgun for convoy of "Workers Aid to Bosnia."



Bulletin

David North now derides Slaughter & Co. for aiding imperialism in Balkans. Yet during Cold War II, North's *Bulletin* denounced U.S. imperialists for not backing anti-Communist nationalists like Lithuanian Sajudis who spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution and breakup of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Steps Up Stalinist Aggression against Lithuania



Bulletin

nationalist Bosnian Muslim regime, with French and British imperialist troops in "UN" blue helmets riding shotgun, the WRP calls this an example of "working-class internationalism"! To believe this line, one would have to include former Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher—who is beating the drums for more aggressive aid to the Bosnian Muslim government—in the ranks of "proletarian internationalists." In short, "Workers Aid to Bosnia" is nothing other than a direct echo of, and stalking horse for, those ruling-class forces who want to take a more helligent military stance against Serbia.

Occupying the "orthodoxy" corner is David North, who replaced Wohlforth as leader of the Workers League and is now the head of the various national fragments who lay claim to the heritage of Healy's ICFI. In response to Slaughter's "Workers Aid" campaign, North's group published a lengthy statement titled, "The Road to Tuzla—How Slaughter's WRP Aids Imperialism in the Balkans" (May 1994). Correctly arguing that communists must "fight intransigently against the nationalist poison spread by capitalism," North's ICFI screams foul at its former comrades, sputtering with indignation, "Never before has a group claiming to be Trotskyist directly collaborated with bourgeois regimes...." Actually, Healy's ICFI dragged the banner of Trotskyism through that pigsty some years ago—and not without the complicity of one David North.

It is hardly a large leap for Slaughter and the WRP to go from singing the praises of Libya's Qaddafi, Iraq's Saddam Hussein and the Ayatollah Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution" to becoming the blatant press agent for the Islamic regime of Sarajevo's Alija Izetbegovic. But North's Workers League was also up to its neck in backing the sheiks and colonels in the name of the so-called "Arab Revolution." If today North's ICFI chooses to wax "orthodox," it is simply because that is what fits their perceived opportunist advantage.

In the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, amidst the imperialist chorus hailing the "death of communism," North's organization began issuing strident statements writing off the unions as "direct agents of imperialism." Any and every other tendency within the workers movement have been deemed to be thoroughly bourgeois organizations. To what end? The obvious conclusion is that one is to believe that David North is now the sole uncontested proletarian leader on the face of the planet. Now, posing as Marxist theoretician máximo, North writes off the right of nations to self-determination as completely retrograde.

Proletarian Internationalism and the Right to Self-Determination

There can be no democratic solution to the bloody nationalist conflict in Bosnia and other regions of ex-

Yugoslavia short of a thorough-going socialist revolution. Bosnia is not a nation, and there is no Bosnian "people." Rather, Bosnia-Herzegovina is composed of three heretofore intermingled and closely related peoples—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims. Formerly a province in the Ottoman and then Habsburg empires, Bosnia-Herzegovina was set up as a constituent republic in Titoist Yugoslavia, intended to be a model of interethnic harmony. Now, within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, the heavy geographic interpenetration of these various peoples means that the national rights of one can only be realized through savage persecution aimed at driving out the others.

While various social-democratic and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations hack the Bosnian Muslims and some leftover Stalinists back the Serbs, as communists we oppose all sides in this national/communist slaughter. We also, naturally and necessarily, oppose all imperialist intervention in the Balkans. Concretely this means that our organization internationally has stood for the defense of the Serbs against repeated NATO air strikes, as well as demanding that all UN troops, including those of Yeltsin's Russia, get out of the Balkans and calling for an end to the UN/NATO blockade of Serbia. The only perspective that offers a way out of this all-sided slaughter is for the working class throughout the former Yugoslavia to overthrow their bourgeois-nationalist leaders in an internationalist

struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

To realize such a perspective, to forge proletarian unity and bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class of the Balkans, requires a leadership which in Lenin's words acts as a "tribune of the people," fighting against every manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism and ethnic hatred. Only in this way can the various competing nationalisms be undercut and the common class interests of all of the working people be brought to the fore. It was in this respect that the Bolshevik Party championed the right to self-determination for the myriad nations and peoples imprisoned in the tsarist empire.

But such a leadership is not what the Northites have on offer, nor could they. While they write that the "strong internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav proletariat must be revived on the basis of a scientific analysis and revolutionary program," in "The Road to Tuzla" they simultaneously write off the whole question of the defense of the right to self-determination as an anachronism, inapplicable in today's "global economy":

"In politics, terms which had a definite social and class content in one period often come to represent something quite different in the next. This is the case with the slogan of 'self-determination'.... "Those who advance the demand for self-determination through national separatism and bourgeois rule are responsible for the global consequences of such slogans. This 'right' will be championed by imperialist powers and backed by their military forces in other parts of the Balkans and throughout the world."

Beyond Bosnia, the Northites argue against the right of self-determination for Kashmir, the Punjab and other nations locked into the "prison house of peoples" that is the Indian bourgeois state. Similarly, they come out against the national rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Québécois in Canada.

The ICFI statement invokes the authority of the Marxist movement and Lenin. But in fact the Northites' position is a purely chauvinist one which accepts the rule of the dominant nation in multinational states. Or as Lenin himself put it in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914): "Repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration...."

Far from having become some kind of anachronism, defense of the right of self-determination is, if anything, increasingly important. The escalation of interimperialist rivalries coming in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the drive by major powers to redivide the world into regional trade blocks and the increasing offshore production in low-wage "Third World" countries reinforces the need for communists to champion the rights of neocolonial and



Latvian rifle battalions in Petrograd played heroic role in 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin's support for the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations in the tsarist empire was key to forging unity between Russian and non-Russian workers.

oppressed nations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle.

North's ICFI and Nationalist Reaction

The Northites try to find refuge in the statement that in "Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in particular, nationalism arises today as part of a retrograde tendency seeking to restore both direct imperialist domination and capitalist property relations." But nationalist reaction is not simply a product of counterrevolution. It was also a driving force for capitalist restoration in the former Stalinist-ruled workers states. In the latter case, North's organization was among the biggest fans of nationalism.

For decades the imperialist rulers howled about the "oppression" of the so-called "captive nations," seeing them as a battering ram for shattering the former Soviet bloc. And the Northites howled right along with them. In 1979-80, when the Soviet army intervened in Afghanistan, we of the Spartacist League said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," noting that this brought with it the possibility, albeit unfulfilled, of breaking the chains of Islamic feudal reaction and extending the gains of the October Revolution to that hideously backward country. The Northites, in contrast, squealed along with U.S. president Jimmy Carter that the Soviet intervention was an attack on "the national rights and feelings of the Afghan people" (*Bulletin*, 8 July 1986). But there was no Afghan "nation," and the peoples whose "rights" were being attacked were a cabal of tribal chiefs and Islamic *mujahedin* funded by the CIA.

Together with the Vatican and the CIA, North's Workers League made the counterrevolutionary cause of the Pilsudskiite nationalist Solidarność in Poland their own, hailing it as "an undaunted, young, vigorous and independent trade union

movement" (*Bulletin*, 15 September 1981). In 1990, they echoed crazed anti-Communists like U.S. Senator Jesse Helms in denouncing then-president George Bush for refusing to take retaliatory action against the Soviet Union for its clampdown on the right-wing nationalist Sajudis government in Lithuania.

An article headlined "Gorbachev Steps Up Stalinist Aggression Against Lithuania" (*Bulletin*, 30 March 1990) decreed that the "Bush administration has pointedly refused to make any condemnation of the Soviet military actions in Lithuania." As we wrote in our article, "Imperialists Demand the Baltics" (*WV* No. 518, 18 January 1991):

"As Leninists and internationalists, we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that opposes counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. But in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics the fig leaf of 'national independence' is being used as a cover for capitalist restoration. And this must be fought.... To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the proletarian internationalism which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky."

Looking to establish their own independent capitalist states, the nationalist movements in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had their own program for "ethnic cleansing," calling for the suppression of any and all rights of other peoples (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, Poles and others) within these states, if not openly advocating their forcible removal. But this didn't much bother the Northites then.

Now they try to palm themselves off as the epitome of proletarian internationalism. Not only is this a monumental fraud, but the ICFI's new-found opposition to nationalism is neither "orthodox" nor even vaguely leftist. Rather, once again, their position mirrors that of the imperialist rulers. Whereas yesterday

they aided and abetted reactionary nationalism in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union, today international capitalism is far from happy that the spoils they expected to loot from the victory of capitalist counterrevolution are being drowned in a sea of bloody nationalist-inspired regional conflicts. While raising a hue and cry about "poor little Bosnia," the imperialist rulers now generally decry the very nationalist forces they fomented, and the Northites join the chorus.

Was It All Gerry Healy's Fault?

In his article, "Permanent Revolution and the National Question Today" (*The Fourth International*, Winter-Spring 1994), David North declares that Healy's WRP "systematically betrayed the principles of Trotskyism as it subordinated the proletariat to...bourgeois regimes such as those of Libya, Iran and Iraq." From here he goes on to opine that only the "split within the International Committee made possible an intensive re-examination of the movements of 'national liberation' and their relation to the proletariat and the perspective of socialist revolution."

North certainly has an elastic view of his own history—similar to his organization's relation to any question of Marxist principle or proletarian morality. His support to bourgeois-nationalist forces was far from abstract. In 1979, North's *Bulletin* reprinted articles from Healy's *News Line* hailing the execution of 21 Iraqi Communist Party members by Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist government. The *Bulletin* (30 March 1979) even reprinted from *News Line* an official Iraqi communique, under the grotesque headline, "Where the Iraqi Communist Party Went Wrong." That same year, celebrating the "Tenth Anniversary of the Libyan Revolution," the Workers League sent a telegram to Qaddafi praising his "progressive socialist policies." The ICFI, including North and his current cohorts, also enthused over "the anti-imperialist content of the struggle being waged by Khomeini"—i.e., the Iranian ayatollah's "struggle" for an Islamic Republic (to the best of our knowledge this praise was *gratis*).

Healy's financial ties to Arab regimes were a notorious scandal on the left long before the 1985 implosion of his Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain. As for the so-called "split" in the ICFI, it would better be described as a falling out among thieves. Healy was ousted, North rushed to claim his mantle as the ICFI "leader," and Slaughter took the name of the WRP and ran. For years, North & Co. have sought to clear their name by claiming they had no idea Healy was being paid for the role as publicity agent for Hussein, Qaddafi and others. In other words, their defense is that they betrayed the very same Trotskyist principles—except that,

continued on page 13

Healy/North: The Qaddafi Connection

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION

Qaddafi Hails Arab Unity

THE IRAQ REVOLUTION AND STALINISM

This is a straight case of Moscow trying to set up cells in Iraqi armed forces for the purpose of undermining the regime. It must accept the consequences. It ill-behaves Mr. A. and the British

16 March 1979

Workers League Salutes the Jamahiriyah

Bulletin

7 Sept. 1979



Healy's Gold Pipeline

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	£1,075,163

In late 1970s-early '80s, Healy/North's International Committee acted as bought-and-paid-for agents of bloody Arab bourgeois regimes, hailing Libyan nationalist strongman Qaddafi and justifying the execution of Iraqi Communists by Saddam Hussein's Ba'athists.

The Political Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

Among the many thousands who have spoken out in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In a statement to a Boston meeting of the Partisan Defense Committee on February 16, Michael and Robert Meeropol wrote:

"We are gathered here tonight because for the first time since the execution of our parents, a political prisoner sits on Death Row. Make no mistake about it. The death penalty was imposed in this case because of the POLITICS of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Make no mistake about it, the legal system is brushing aside all evidence of prosecutorial misconduct and other denials of due process because of Mumia Abu-Jamal's POLITICS ...

"We must not shy away from the defense of Mumia. We must make sure that NO AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER suffers the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

The parallels between the Rosenberg case and that of Mumia Abu-Jamal are striking. Both were sent to death row as a result of racially biased, politically motivated frame-ups. Both were victims of vendettas by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI-Jamal through the notorious COINTELPRO terror operation which aimed to "neutralize" black militants in the 1960s, the Rosenbergs as part of the McCarthyite witchhunt which sought to outlaw "reds" as Soviet agents. Both became symbols of defiance for their refusal to bow before this racist, capitalist ruling class. But where the Rosenbergs had been plucked from obscurity to become sacrificial victims of the frenzied anti-Communist frustration of an American imperialism which had just lost its nuclear monopoly, Mumia Abu-Jamal had long been singled out by the Philadelphia cops and the FBI for his articulate and outspoken writings against racism and police brutality.

On the evening of 19 June 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg walked their last steps to the execution chamber in New York's Sing Sing prison. To the very end, they proclaimed their innocence of the accusation of having passed "the secret of the atomic bomb" to the Soviet Union. Their "trial" two years earlier had been a mockery of justice from beginning to end. Around the world, millions raised their voices in an outcry demanding justice for the Rosenbergs. But from the White House on down, the American ruling class was united in its determination to make an example of these courageous Jewish leftists. As U.S. imperialism geared up for nuclear war against the Soviet Union and waged a red purge at home to regiment the American labor movement, the blood of the Rosenbergs was to be a warning to all who refused to capitulate to the prevailing winds of anti-Communism.

In his book, *My Secret War*, the great Soviet spy Kim Philby rightly called them the "heroic Rosenbergs." Clearly committed in their own way to the Soviet Union and the struggle for social progress and equality, the Rosenbergs went to their deaths refusing to bargain with their executioners. Even as first Julius and then Ethel were strapped into the electric chair, a U.S. marshal stood outside the execution chamber, waiting for a nod from either of them indicating that they would "confess" and "name names." Two FBI agents waited by a special phone with an open line to Attorney General Brownell, ready to call off the execution if the Rosenbergs capitulated and allowed



The heroic Rosenbergs, martyrs of Cold War witchhunt.

the government to use them as it had other links and turncoats. But they would not. Julius Rosenberg had been a political activist from the age of 15, when he enlisted in the campaign to free imprisoned labor leader Tom Mooney; Ethel as a young textile worker had been a strike leader. They would not forsake their class and let themselves be used as tools of the witchhunters, even under penalty of death.

They Keep Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again

Having murdered the Rosenbergs in 1953, the U.S. rulers and their anti-communist apologists have time and again tried to kill the memory of this honorable couple, trying to bury the volumes of evidence exposing their frame-up under mounds of lies and slanders. In 1983, Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, two "god that failed" New Leftovers who claimed to have finally "seen the light," raised a flap with their book, *The Rosenberg File*, which retailed and embellished on the FBI's original case. As we wrote in "Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up: They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again" (WV No. 440, 21 October 1983):

"... the debate on the Rosenberg case has focused narrowly on the question of whether or not Julius Rosenberg engaged in espionage for the Russians. Yet it is clear that the government killed the Rosenbergs for political purposes. The question of their innocence or 'guilt' mattered not at all. Nor is it the key question for revolutionaries in this historic case. ... For Radosh/Milton and the rest of the social-dems, Russian espionage is a crime not only on the law books but in their own American social-patriotic eyes. For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity."

The nuclear arms of the Soviet Union were a defense of the gains of the Octo-

ber Revolution, which remained despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of that revolution. The destruction of the former Soviet degenerated workers state at the hands of Yeltsin's imperialist-backed counterrevolution ultimately expressed the impossibility of building "socialism in one country," the nationalist dogma of a narrow and privileged Soviet bureaucracy. In the name of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Stalin and his heirs repeatedly betrayed proletarian revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries which alone could have preserved the socialist economic foundations of the Soviet Union and by extending them lay the basis for genuine socialism.

Yet even now, when the former Soviet Union has been drowned by capitalist counterrevolution, attempts to frame the

Rosenbergs all over again have not subsided. The latest installment, reported in the press the day of Mumia's July 12 hearing for a stay of execution before Judge Albert Sabo in Philadelphia, came with the release by the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA) of supposed Soviet diplomatic telegrams from the 1940s allegedly proving the Rosenbergs to be "atomic spies" for the Soviet Union.

As Robert Meeropol remarked, "The documents themselves don't tell you anything." They refer to an agent code-named "Liberal," whom the NSA helpfully identifies as Julius Rosenberg. But to relieve the NSA, the "Soviet transmissions" themselves pinpoint "Liberal" by naming "the wife of his wife's brother, Ruth GREENGLASS," described as "an intelligent and clever girl" who is "21 years old" and "lives on STANTON [STANTAUN] Street." (It's hard to imagine an intelligence service so foolish as to send out such detailed information; why bother with cover names then?)

Moreover, as Meeropol pointed out in an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, these messages were decoded beginning in 1946 and were supposedly instrumental in breaking the "Rosenberg spy ring," yet the Rosenbergs were not arrested until 1950, "leading me to believe," he said, "that my parents' names were plugged into these documents after the arrest and prosecution." The feds say, "trust us, trust us," added Meeropol, but "politically we've learned you can't trust them."

The full truth of the Rosenberg case isn't likely to be revealed until a victorious workers revolution opens the government's secret files. In a socialist America, the Rosenbergs will be honored as martyrs to the cause of expropriating the world's bourgeoisies.

A Cold War Show Trial

The U.S. government knew it had no case against the Rosenbergs for espionage. So they were charged *not* with espionage but *conspiracy* to commit espionage. The government knew, as the FBI papers show, that the Rosenbergs did not "steal the secret of the Atomic bomb." They were political scapegoats, executed on the altar of the Cold War anti-Communism of the so-called "American Century," in which the U.S. rulers saw the USSR as the main obstacle



Judge Irving Kaufman (left) sent Rosenbergs to the electric chair as McCarthy aide Roy Cohn (far right) acted as chief prosecutor.

to American imperialist world hegemony. According to the U.S. Constitution, "treason," a capital crime, is defined as giving aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime. But the USSR was an ally of the U.S. in World War II, when the supposed crime took place!

The case against the Rosenbergs consisted solely of the testimony of self-confessed perjurers. They were sentenced to death under the provisions of an act which didn't apply to their case and repeatedly denied appeals by one court after another. And when, at the eleventh hour, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglass granted a stay of execution, Attorney General Brownell got Chief Justice Vinson to convene an unprecedented emergency session of the court, recalling justices who were already on summer vacation to overturn the stay hours before the execution.

The Rosenbergs' judge, Irving Kaufman, was cut of the same cloth as Judge Sabo, the hanging judge who signed Jamal's death sentence and is widely known as a "prosecutor in robes." Kaufman was a fanatical anti-Communist from his days as one of the only Jewish students at New York's Catholic Fordham University, the FBI's traditional recruiting ground. While piously invoking "spiritual guidance," he took his marching orders directly from the chief prosecutors, hard-bitten witchhunters Irving Saypol and Roy Cohn. In his autobiography, Cohn cynically recalled, "the closest [Kaufman] got to prayer was the phone booth next to the Park Ave. Synagogue. He called from that booth to a phone I used behind the bench in the courtroom to ask my advice on whether he ought to give the death penalty to Ethel Rosenberg. We often communicated during the Rosenberg case in this manner."

One of the key prosecution "witnesses," Harry Gold, was a pathological liar who admitted to having become "so tangled up in a web of lies... it is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears." The pliable Gold readily picked up on his FBI interrogators' "hints" to spin ever new and more elaborate—and often contradictory—tales about his role as a supposed Soviet courier. Yet not even Gold testified to ever having met or known Julius or Ethel Rosenberg. The linchpin of the prosecution's case rested on the accounts of Ethel's sister-in-law, Ruth Greenglass, and her husband David, a hysterical hustler who had apparently stolen a piece of uranium while working as an army technician at the Los Alamos nuclear facility in 1945. Worried that the feds would use his former membership in the Young Communist League to throw the book at him when they came poking around on one of their fishing expeditions, the despicable Greenglass agreed to "name names," setting his sister and her husband up as fall guys. As a trained engineer who had been dismissed from a Signal Corps job in 1945 on charges of being a CP member—which he denied—Julius Rosenberg was an ideal candidate for this set-up.

The ingredients the FBI threw together for its case against the Rosenbergs were the stuff of a third-rate spy thriller. There was the supposed Jello box top torn in two to identify a courier; the password "I come from Julius"; an alleged Russian "gift" of an "expensive" table which it turned out the Rosenbergs had bought at Macy's for \$21; a facsimile of Greenglass' crude drawing of the "implosion" device for the Los Alamos A-bomb, which scientific observers at the time derided as "not much of a secret" and "illogical, if not downright unworkable." In fact, the only hard evidence against the Rosenbergs introduced at the trial was a contribution box found in their home for Spanish Civil War refugees and Ethel's signature on a petition for a Communist candidate for New York City Council.

An American Dreyfus Case

This, however, went to the core of the government's case. Just as Mumia Abu-

Jamal was sentenced to death on the basis of the prosecutor's claim that Jamal was necessarily a "cop killer" because of his Black Panther Party background, the Rosenbergs were convicted on the argument that all reds were by definition Soviet spies who deserved to die. Shortly after the Rosenbergs' arrest, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act stigmatizing all members of the CP and "Communist Front" groups as "agents of the Soviet Union," while right-wingers like Westhrook Pegler called for completely outlawing membership in the CP and to "shoot or otherwise put to death all persons convicted

repeatedly threatening to nuke Russia during early confrontations in the Cold War—in 1946, in 1948 over Berlin, again in 1950 over Korea. U.S. rulers reacted with shock to the ending of their short-lived monopoly of nuclear arms. FBI chief Hoover seized on the Soviets' August 1949 atomic test to unleash his army of G-men to hunt down the "atom spies" who supposedly stole the "secret" of the nuclear bomb, a convenient excuse for ratcheting up the already existing campaign of repression against the left.

It was hardly coincidental that all the principals in the "atom spy" case—the Rosenbergs themselves, their codefen-

House Un-American Activities Committee was controlled by Dixiecrats like Mississippi's John Rankin, who raved with undisguised anti-Semitism against liberal Hollywood personalities like June Havoc: "We found out that her real name is June Hovick.... Another one is Eddie Cantor and his real name is Edward Iskowitz.... There is one who calls himself Edward G. Robinson. His real name is Emmanuel Goldenberg" (quoted in Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State*, 1993). Meanwhile, a Washington, D.C. outfit called the "Pentagon Patriots" ranted that if the Rosenbergs were not executed, an "outraged nation" would "drag them from their prison cell... to swing and die and dangle from the Hangman's rope!"

In 1950, the Chicago *Sentinel* reported: "Since the outbreak of the Korean war, American immigration authorities in Germany have practically discontinued issuing visas to Jewish DPs [displaced persons] who were fully entitled to them on the wholesale suspicion that all Jewish DPs are communists. Every Jewish DP who applies for a visa now is subjected to an inquisition by the Counter Intelligence Service" (quoted in *Jewish Life*, December 1950).

A series of "security" investigations of government scientists at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey were so flagrantly anti-Semitic that they created a furor in the bourgeois press: 16 of 18 scientists suspended in 1948 were Jewish (the other two were black), as were 40 of 50 suspended four years later. Many of the Jewish scientists under suspicion were forced to wear yellow badges—recalling the treatment meted out to Jews in the ghettos of East Europe under the Nazis—and assigned to a "Leper Colony" (*Jewish Life*, December 1954). The key criterion for determining who was suspect was if they "went to the wrong college"—New York's City College, called "Jew-CCNY" by anti-Semites. This was the same basis on which the FBI tracked down Julius Rosenberg's supposed "accomplices."

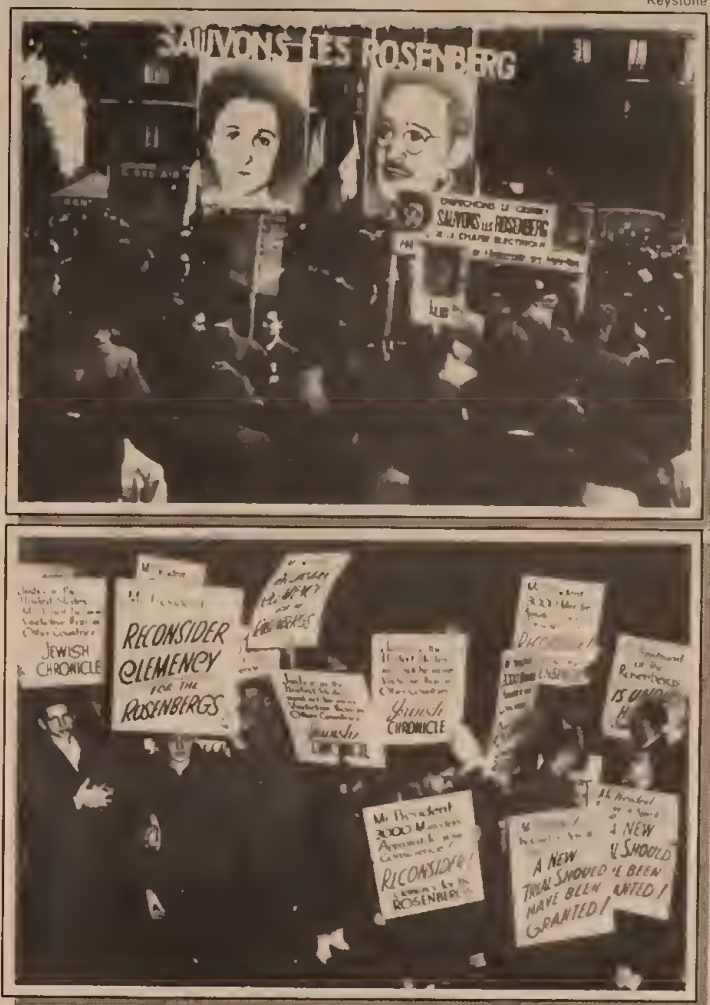
Many of McCarthy's closest allies and supporters were fascistic anti-Semites who railed that "there are too many Jews in Washington" (*Jewish Life*, February 1954). McCarthy himself denounced the Nuremberg anti-Nazi trials for being controlled by a "vengeance" team of "Americans of very recent origin," calling one "a '39er," meaning by that a non-Aryan refugee from Hitler Germany."

Yet the major bourgeois Jewish organizations, like the American Jewish Committee and the misnamed Anti-Defamation League, played a despicable role in this period, as they do today. With the likes of Kaufman, Saypol and Cohn leading the way, these outfits joined forces with the witchhunters and bayed for the blood of the Rosenbergs. AJC spokesman S.A. Fineberg penned a scurrilous hatchet job, *The Rosenberg Case: Fact and Fiction*, which regurgitated every FBI lie and added a few, grotesquely accusing the Rosenbergs' supporters of "injecting" anti-Semitism into the case and "exploiting" the children for political ends. As Julius Rosenberg angrily charged in a letter from prison, these "self-appointed leaders of Jewish organizations took on the role of an American Judenrat." The *Judenräte* (Jewish councils) were the Nazis' puppet administrators in the European ghettos.

Honor the Heroic Rosenbergs!

Racism and anti-Semitism have historically been the handmaidens of political reaction, from the Dreyfus Affair in turn of the century France to the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Marietta, Georgia, which signaled the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, to the post-World War I Palmer "Red Scare" and the post-World War II McCarthyite witchhunt. Today, as the ruling class drives to eviscerate all social welfare programs and to wipe out a whole layer of the black ghetto population, hlatanti anti-Semites like Patrick

continued on page 14



Cold War frame-up of Rosenbergs provoked mass protests around the world. Demonstration in Paris (top) on eve of execution; in U.S., *Jewish Chronicle* pointed to anti-Semitic aspects of witchhunt.

of such." Time and again, Kaufman admonished the jury to take note of the "link...between aiding Russia...and being members of the Communist Party." Coming in the midst of a full-fledged red scare exacerbated by jingoist hysteria over the U.S.-led imperialist war against the North Korean deformed workers state and Mao's China, this was ammunition enough to send the Rosenbergs to the electric chair.

Julius Rosenberg was arrested three weeks after the outbreak of the Korean War and less than a year after the first Soviet A-bomb test. American nuclear scientists had repeatedly made it clear that it was only a matter of time before other industrial powers managed to develop their own atomic bombs. This was particularly so for the USSR, whose scientists were already engaged in pioneering nuclear research on the eve of Hitler's 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. Three days after the U.S. exploded its first test bomb in July 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff adopted a policy of "striking the first blow" in a nuclear war. And two months after Washington dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Pentagon mapped out a plan to launch a nuclear attack on 20 Soviet cities.

Throughout the next few years, the U.S. engaged in nuclear blackmail,

dant Morton Sobell and his accuser Max Elitcher, the Greenglasses, Harry Gold—were Jewish, as were the prosecutors and judge, chosen in a transparent attempt to cover up the stench of anti-Semitism surrounding the trial. Yet, as the *Indiana Jewish Chronicle* (7 March 1952) observed, "Not a single jury member was Jewish, and this in the city of New York, which has a Jewish population amounting to one-third of the total population. Strange, or rather sinister, if you ask us." The judge and the prosecutors ganged up to ensure a jury made to order: no Jews, no manual workers or teachers, no one with the slightest leftist sympathies. After a list of 105 "subversive" organizations—including the likes of the American Jewish Labor Council, the Jewish Peoples Committee and the School of Jewish Studies—was read out to the jury pool, Kaufman asked "whether any juror has been a member of, contributed to or been associated with, or any member of his family, or close friend, with any of those organizations."

Rampant McCarthyite hysteria had unleashed a barrage of anti-Semitic agitation reviving the Hitlerite war cry against "Jew-Bolshevism." The anti-red witchhunt began in earnest with the 1947 prosecution of the Hollywood Ten, six of whom were Jewish. The infamous

Free Jamal!...

(continued from page 1)

victims of McCarthyite Cold War anti-Communism.

"We must not let that happen! It is necessary to build on the momentum of the wave of recent protests with a strategy aimed at mass mobilizations of blacks, Hispanics and all the intended victims of capitalist repression, centrally seeking to unlock the social power of the integrated labor movement... this is not only a struggle for Mumia's life—it's a fight against the institution of the death penalty itself, a barbaric means of repression which in the U.S. is necessarily racist. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*"

Courtroom Battle of Class Forces

Sabo's kangaroo-court proceedings show that Mumia Abu-Jamal faces the same racist, politically motivated frame-up that sent him to death row in the first place. Hanging over the court is the spectre of the state's murderous vendetta against MOVE. When Weinglass argued on July 18 for time to gather witness files to prepare his case, Sabo claimed that Jamal has had the files for the past 13 years. Weinglass replied, "His files were destroyed in the MOVE bombing."

On July 18, it was revealed that the prosecution had subpoenaed the defense witnesses. When one did not show up in court, the D.A. demanded that Sabo immediately issue a warrant for his arrest! Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel and one of Jamal's lawyers, blasted this as "part of a whole history and pattern of harassment, of persecution, of coercion against anybody who will speak the truth about this case."

The D.A.'s reply to the defense motion for a stay of execution baldly revealed that the death penalty is at the center of the state machinery of repression: "The death penalty... is the highest exercise of the state's authority; and it should not lightly be disturbed." Revealing the state's utter racist contempt for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, it grotesquely states that "The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay!"

With the eyes of the world on Sabo's court, the daily display of racist bias and the blatant railroad job being carried out have evoked a storm of criticism even from within the Philadelphia bourgeois establishment. Republican U.S. Senator

Arlen Specter, a former Philly D.A., complained to the Republican National Committee about the "rush to judgment," criticizing Sabo's order for an immediate evidentiary hearing, which would occur "without sufficient interval for review of documents and preparation." Specter continued: "You cannot maintain a penalty as severe as the death penalty without being meticulous in how it is applied." A staunch advocate of the death penalty, and contender for the Republican presidential nomination, Specter represents a wing of the bourgeoisie which doesn't want to see the U.S. murder machine gummed up by Sabo's antics.

Along with Specter's complaint came editorials in the "mainline" bourgeois *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 July) and the more right-wing *Philadelphia Daily News* (21 July). The *Inquirer* wrote:

"The behavior of the judge in the case was disturbing the first time around—and in hearings last week he did not give the impression to those in the courtroom of fair-mindedness."

"Instead, he gave the impression, damaging in the extreme, of undue haste and hostility toward the defense's case."

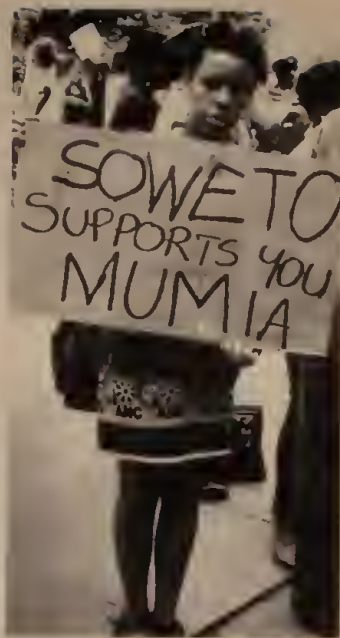
The *Daily News* editorial, "A Live Convict, Not a Dead Martyr," echoed this line:

"The orchestrated worldwide campaign on Abu-Jamal's behalf—misdirected as it may be—has generated enough doubt to justify serious consideration of a retrial.... A jurist with an astonishing record of murder convictions, [Sabo] has become part of the defense's argument."

The line of the capitalist media is to maintain the lie that Mumia is guilty, but should be entombed for life instead of being executed and becoming a martyr. Life imprisonment would itself be a grotesque travesty of justice. *Mumia is innocent!* He was marked and is persecuted because of his beliefs and his courageous exposures of oppression in capitalist America. *True justice demands: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*

FOP Campaign of Filth

The Philadelphia cops are acting like a lynch mob, packing the court each morning, wearing T-shirts reading, "The Jury Said Death... Do It." They parade in with the widow of policeman Daniel Faulkner, whom Jamal was falsely convicted of killing. Her slanders of Jamal allegedly gloating over her dead husband's "bloody shirt" in the 1982 "trial," retailed in the capitalist media during the FOP's campaign against Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, were designed to "soften up" public opinion in advance



WV Photo

Outside the court in Philadelphia, July 12. Support rallies have continued every day of hearings.

of the signing of the death warrant.

Last week, the FOP massed 300 armed cops outside the headquarters of hospital workers union Local 1199C, with signs reading, "Lethal injection for convicted cop killers now," because that union had dared to come out in support of Jamal (see page 16). Led by FOP führer Richard Costello, the cops have also been ominously smearing Jamal's legal team, and the hundreds of supporters who gather in his defense each day of the court proceedings, as "outside agitators" and "terrorists." These smears are meant, above all, to tar Jamal and speed his execution.

On July 21, Rachel Wolkenstein demanded a retraction from WTFX-TV, Channel 29, after the station aired a statement by Costello that railed, "Let these out-of-town lawyers, these out-of-town terrorists, get the hell out of here and leave Philadelphia to us. This is our city." Wolkenstein wrote, "Your broadcast labeling attorneys and supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal as 'terrorists' is utterly false, without any factual basis and is defamatory.... These types of accusations against 'outsiders' come right out of the 'old South' and the Scottsboro Boys case."

Earlier that week, Channel 29 broadcast a spot linking alleged "bomb threats" at City Hall to Jamal's supporters. Wolkenstein demanded these statements also be retracted. Jamal himself issued a statement on July 14 lashing out at these news reports, saying they were "rumor—damning rumor designed to demonize, not just myself, but anyone daring to call themselves supporters." Referring to the 1985 bombing of MOVE, Jamal went on: "And where did the report come from—of a 'bomb threat' allegedly 'connected' to 'the Mumia Abu-Jamal case'—but from the Police Department—the very experts of bombings—experts of mass murder! The source of this alleged 'news' is the source of this threat itself—the Philadelphia Police Department—the F.O.P.—Babykillers."

Protests Across Europe

The cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been taken up by thousands throughout Europe, including key sections of the workers movement. In Italy, the Jamal campaign has directly intersected the struggle against capitalist attacks on workers' livelihoods. On June 24, a labor protest in Rome of more than 70,000 workers against government austerity measures joined the campaign to save Jamal. A 700-strong contingent demanding Jamal's freedom marched in the demonstration, and a representative of the Italian National Committee Against the Death Penalty and for Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal spoke from the podium. The rally chairman put forward a motion demanding "freedom for Jamal" that was approved by universal cheering.

Leonard Weinglass has reported receiving a call from the consul general of Italy, who said, "the Italian government in Rome wants an explanation as to what's happening to Mumia Abu-Jamal." Meanwhile, WV has learned that on July 10 the Florence city council voted to demand a stay of execution, a new trial and a new judge for Jamal. This has a particular symbolic importance, as Florence abolished the death penalty in the 1700s. On July 12, the leadership of the CGIL, Italy's main union federation of over five million members, passed a similar motion. All this week there will be demonstrations outside American consulate offices in cities throughout Italy.

In Berlin on July 22, some 5,000 people, mainly youth, marched to the American consulate in a national demonstration for Jamal called by anti-racist

Join the Campaign!

1 Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Prepare for emergency demonstrations—**get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.**

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And just out from the PDC is a new pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposing in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther

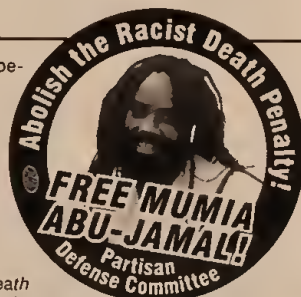
Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for \$10.00. For only \$1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers,

to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for \$30.00 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of \$5.00 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

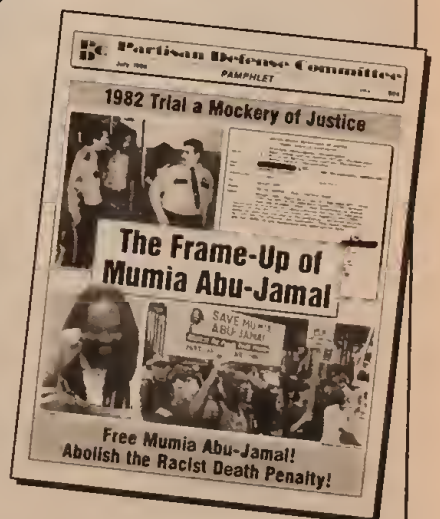
3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. In the first week after he signed Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 772-3155.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Get your button and new PDC pamphlet



For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Statement of July 12



As expected, Judge Sabo has denied the motion: we are not surprised. What does one expect from a "retired" member of the F.O.P. who now masquerades as a fair, impartial senior jurist?

As a matter of fundamental fairness, would not a "fair," "impartial" judge have announced to the defense, before trial, of his professional associations, especially in a case such as this?

That he did not is silent and sufficient testament to what "fairness" and "impartiality" mean in the city of Philadelphia.

A blind man can see that I didn't receive a fair trial, and now, to compound this outrage, I have been denied a fair PCRA hearing.

As South Africa assigns the death penalty to the garbage can of history, Philadelphia whets its racist appetite as it hays for more black blood. In the most benighted sectors of South Africa, from the *laagers* of Afrikanerdom, to the drunken *shebeens* of the townships, all know that the Constitution protects the fundamental "right to life."

Here, in Philadelphia, the very place where the American Constitution was written, signed and published, the Constitution is no more than a passing thought; it is a minor hindrance, to be tolerated when able, and ignored when necessary, when the state's goals are death.

What does it protect, save the interests of the established?

As South Africa takes a great leap forward, Amer-

ica embraces its second season of neo-apartheid, as racist demagogues run on raw hatred—the political flavor of the '90s.

Several years ago, at my so-called "trial," I repeated Mao Zedong's familiar quote: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In retrospect, perhaps a more fitting quote would've been: "Political power grows out of the seat of an electric chair."

Look—and you'll see a widening politics of DEATH; from the D.A., to the Mayor; from the judgeship, to the governorship; from the Congressman, to the President—all allied in death centrism.

Politicians all—running on death.

Who brought you the massacres of the MOVE bombing, the mass murders of Waco and the many mini-murders in between—all whitewashed by the same government that claims to be "tuff on crime"—unless it's their own; for people get trial and prison, while governments get hearings and re-elections.

You have seen a trial where a man has been denied his right to select a jury; to defend himself; to have counsel of his choice, or even to have competent counsel of the state's choice.

You have seen a trial where evidence of my innocence was withheld, false evidence utilized, all presided over by a card-carrying member of the F.O.P. ("retired"), where "presumption of innocence" was an inside joke.

If it was proper for the state to go back over a

decade to promote my former Black Panther membership, why is it suddenly improper to examine Judge Sabo's former F.O.P. membership?

Even if the government granted a new trial, before an unbraced jurist, how could I receive the assistance of *John Africa* at the defense table, or of Theresa Africa as a paralegal, when this selfsame government murdered them in the massacre of May 13th, 1985, by shooting and bombing them, incinerating them out of this existence?

The same D.A.'s office prosecuting this blatantly unjust death sentence, looked at the bloody carnage of May 13th—with 11 men, women & children bombed into oblivion—and saw no crime, no violations of any law.

The same D.A.'s office that intentionally removed 11 black jurors from my jury pool, had the nerve to select an "investigating" grand jury in the May 13th bombing of my brothers and sisters, only to "recommend" that they file no charges in a case of premeditated mass murder.

From such an entity, what can the word "justice" really mean?

True justice requires more than a stay of execution—it requires a complete dismissal of this clearly political persecution!

It requires more: it requires the committed mobilization of our communities to resist a system that is more repressive than South Africa's—to abolish this racist death penalty!

It requires *freedom*—for all MOVE political prisoners, and all political prisoners of whatever persuasion! *Now!*

It requires a continuing revolution—to beat back the forces of the neo-apartheid state.

Organize! Mobilize!

From South Africa to the U.S.A., push the racist death penalty away!

Ona Move! Long Live *John Africa*!

Autonomous youth. Flags from the Social Democratic Party and its youth organization could be seen, as well as trade-union flags of IG Medien, IG Metall and the commercial/bank workers union. A contingent of over 100 people marched under the banners of the Spartakist Workers Party and Committee for Social Defense (KfSV). Along with the enormous outpouring of support for Jamal in Germany, the case has now been taken up by former German president Richard von Weizsäcker, who, according to *Neues Deutschland* (22 July), intends "to communicate his support to Abu-Jamal's lawyer and appeal to the Governor of Pennsylvania."

In London on July 22, a united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee brought out over 300 people who marched past the U.S. embassy to a rally at Belgrave Square. The National Union of Journalists, Southern and Eastern regions of the Trades Union Congress, the Fire Brigades Union, and local branches of railway and public service workers backed the march, along with several socialist and minority groups and the Green Party. The protest was also supported by Labour Members of Parliament Bernie Grant, Tony Benn and Jeremy Corbyn.

In Paris on July 8, 300 people came out to a rally called by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS—associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France), the Socialist Party, the Paris region of the CGT labor federation and others. Supported by the International Organization of Journalists, the rally heard speakers including African writer Madjeu Matcheu and Nobel Prize winner Théodore Monod. A statement by Julia Wright, the daughter of Richard Wright, author of the classic American novel of black oppression, *Native Son*, was read. It noted, "I am convinced that my father, Richard Wright, would have taken on the challenge of Mumia Abu-Jamal's pending execution on August 17th."

On July 12, the CDDS joined a demonstration of some 500 people called by the Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples (MRAP) in front of the American consulate in Paris, with placards reading, "Save Mumia! Stop the Legal Lynching!" Speakers

included a representative from the International Parliament of Writers whose president is Salman Rushdie. In addition, Paris' "newspaper of record," *Le Monde*, has repeatedly published quarter-page appeals signed by prominent individuals demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," submitted by MRAP and the Committee for Defense of Liberty and the Rights of Man, associated with the French Communist Party. The latter is also circulating 1.5 million leaflets in defense of Jamal.

The fact that Jamal has been persecuted for his written and spoken commentaries has generated important support from world-renowned writers. On July 17, the International Parliament of Writers (IPW) issued an appeal to save Jamal and sent a protest letter to Governor Ridge signed by over 500 writers, including Jorge Amado (Brazil), Breytan Breytenbach (South Africa), Mohamed Harbi (Algeria) and Harold Pinter (Britain). Also signing the letter was Salman Rushdie, living in Britain under a death threat issued by the reactionary Islamic regime in Iran. The PEN American Center and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal are holding an emergency press conference in New York City on August 1 to coincide with a Paris press conference organized by the IPW.

The fight to save Jamal has also been taken up in Brazil. The Brasiha Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which includes the Unified Black Movement and the Union of Professional Journalists, has called a demonstration on August 2 at the U.S. embassy and has gathered 1,500 signatures on petitions for Jamal. Vicente Paulo da Silva, president of the powerful CUT labor federation, has signed a statement in Mumia's defense. On August 9, a demonstration initiated by Luta Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Struggle) will be held in Volta Redonda.

Significant new support in the U.S. is also coming in. Jesse Jackson issued a 13 July letter to Governor Ridge stating, "The National Rainbow Coalition supports Mumia Abu-Jamal in his fight for life and in the battle to uphold his constitutional right to have an impartial court of law hear the facts of his case." Author E.L. Doctorow, in an "op-ed" column in the *New York Times* (14 July)

titled "From Here to Death Row," demanded a new trial and denounced the harassment directed at Jamal for his book, decrying that "what the Fraternal Order of Police hopes are the last 40 days of his life may pass as wretchedly as possible."

Mobilize the Power of Labor and Blacks! Stop the Execution!

Just as the mobilization of the world working class in the 1930s prevented the legal lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, today the forces of organized labor must be brought to bear in the fight to free Jamal. This is the significance of rallies, initiated by the PDC, to "Mobilize Labor/Minority Power" to stop Jamal's execution and abolish the racist death penalty which have been called for New York and Oakland on August 3 and for Chicago on August 10.

Mobilizing the labor movement against racist repression is crucial, not only in fighting against Jamal's threatened execution, but for the very survival of the unions. Working people have been reeling under the bosses' union-busting, wage-gouging attacks, while the unions have been decimated, hamstringed by a leadership that falsely identifies workers' interests with their exploiters. If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it must take up the struggle against racist terror—of the extralegal KKK/skinheads as well as of the cops and courts—and the defense of immigrants and others victimized by the capitalist rulers.

Any unionist who doesn't already understand the connection between the fight for Mumia and the struggle for labor rights need only look at the ominous cop mobilization against Local 1199C in Philadelphia last week. The ruling class owns the means of production, education, the media, and protects its profits through a whole apparatus of governmental repression. The multiracial working class has the numbers, organization and the power which is derived from the fact that it produces all the wealth in this society. To realize this power is a matter of *consciousness and leadership*.

Labor can and will only become a force against capitalist exploitation when it actively takes up the fight for black free-

dom. What is desperately needed to unchain labor/black power against racist American capitalism is the leadership of a *class-struggle workers party* which champions the rights of all the oppressed.

The August 3 New York rally has won important support from the 1199 National Health & Human Service Employees Union, along with several SEIU public service unions, the chairman of the Philadelphia chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Refuse & Resist and other groups. Connecting Mumia's struggle with the fight against racist cop terror, the rally has been endorsed by Margarita Rosario, mother of Anthony Rosario and aunt of Hilton Vega, two Bronx youth gunned down in a wave of racist cop killings. The demonstration in Oakland has been endorsed by a mainstay of Bay Area labor, ILWU longshore Local 10, as well as a number of SEIU locals, including the largely Latino Local 1877 ("Justice for Janitors"). Among those backing the emergency rally in Chicago are Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241 and Operation PUSH.

Speaking to a crowd of Jamal's supporters outside Sabo's court on July 18, Rachel Wolkenstein underscored the importance of mass social protest:

"Speaking for myself now, on behalf of the organization that I work with, the Partisan Defense Committee, I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot get a fair trial in this city. If there was ever a question before we walked into that courtroom, then it is abundantly clear now. Hopefully there will be a decision in the courts, but it's not going to happen without your support and without more—ten, twenty, a thousand times the support—organizations, trade unions, politicians, artists, unemployed, out there demanding: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

The farce being enacted in Sabo's courtroom makes it amply clear that Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot expect the least justice from this criminally unjust system of terror and repression. Mumia should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be on death row now. Black freedom and the liberation of all humanity requires workers revolution to sweep away the capitalist state, its prisons, courts and cops, and to once and for all abolish the barbaric death penalty. ■



Jamal campaign has resonated among black workers in South Africa. Workers at June 6 COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg hold up Jamal flyers. COSATU and NACTU union federations representing millions of workers have taken up Jamal's cause.

Apartheid Death Penalty Abolished

South African Workers Fight to Save Jamal

As the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal intensifies with the August 17 execution date looming, support from South African trade unions and civic organizations has surged. On June 19, at a demonstration of 15,000 trade unionists in Johannesburg, workers took up the chant, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the predominantly black union federation representing 1.5 million workers, as well as the country's second-largest labor federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), have passed resolutions and sent letters of protest.

A host of key unions have come to Jamal's defense. These include the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Chemical Workers Industrial Union, Turning Wheel Workers' Union, the Steel Mining and Commercial Workers Union (STEMCWU), the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA).

The African National Congress (ANC), now the leading party in the "power sharing" government, has also taken up Mumia's case. ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa sent a protest letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge on June 2, the day after Jamal's death war-

rant was signed. Now the ANC newspaper, *Mayibuye* (July 1995), has run an article headlined "Race On to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," and an editorial noting, "The Jamal case is a classic example of the racism, prejudice and barbarism which still lurks in the US judicial and law enforcement system."

In South Africa, where the death penalty was finally abolished by the Constitutional Court on June 6, execution was long used as a weapon of terror to enforce apartheid segregation against the black and "coloured" (mixed-race) population and to smash workers' struggles. During the early 1980s, striking railway workers of the SARHWU union were hanged, as were participants in the township rebellions of 1983-87. Thus the urgent campaign against the "legal" lynching of an anti-racist fighter in the United States has particular resonance among South African unions and leftists.

Most recently, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA) sent a July 13 letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, signed by General Secretary Sithembile Khala, stating:

"Our history goes back to the early seventies in the Union of Black journalists... We engaged the racist government of the National Party, in the struggle for liberation. For this role we paid dearly... "This union's National Executive and its membership decided to grant Mumia Abu-Jamal honorary membership. He is a widely acclaimed journalist who spent

his life fighting for the freedom of his people.

"Our members are on the death row in your state. We join millions of people and organisations around the world who direct passionate appeals to you, to intervene and save the life of Jamal."

A number of civic and human rights organizations have also taken up the call to stop Jamal's execution. The South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights (SAPOHR) issued a July 6 statement together with other organizations, including the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR).

South African political organizations which have issued appeals to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal include the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO). Among those left groups which have taken up Jamal's cause are the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (WIRFI), the New Unity Movement, the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO) and the International Socialist Movement (ISM).

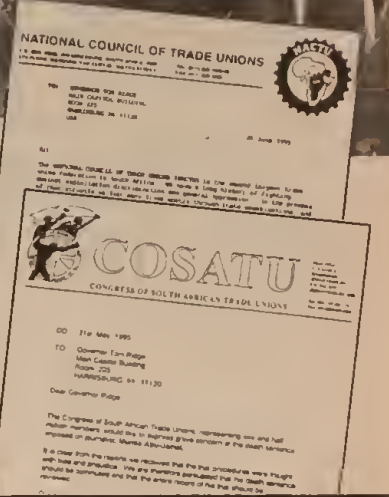
WOSA passed a resolution at its June national conference which "called on the American government not to execute the African-American political pris-

oner, Mumia Abu-Jamal." Now WOSA, together with other organizations, has launched a South African Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which has led weekly pickets of the U.S. embassy in Cape Town.

The WIRFI sent a protest telegram denouncing the racist police frame-up of Jamal, stating, "We take courage from the principled struggles waged by the comrades around Abu-Jamal and support you wholeheartedly." New Unity wrote that "Governor Ridge and his followers...now wish to claim the life of Mumia to provide a blood-sacrifice on the altar of mounting fascist war on liberty and justice."

The black proletariat of South Africa came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle in the huge class battles to forge the black unions. It was their social weight which rocked the white-supremacist regime. But the aspirations of the workers and township youth who have fought for freedom from racist oppression and capitalist exploitation have been blocked by the "power sharing" deal aimed at preserving South African capitalism.

Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, today South African workers organizations are adopting Jamal's case as their own. ■



Spartacist Forums

ATLANTA

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Down with the New COINTELPRO!
Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Saturday, August 12, 7 p.m.
Little Five Points Community Center
1083 Austin Ave., N.E.
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON

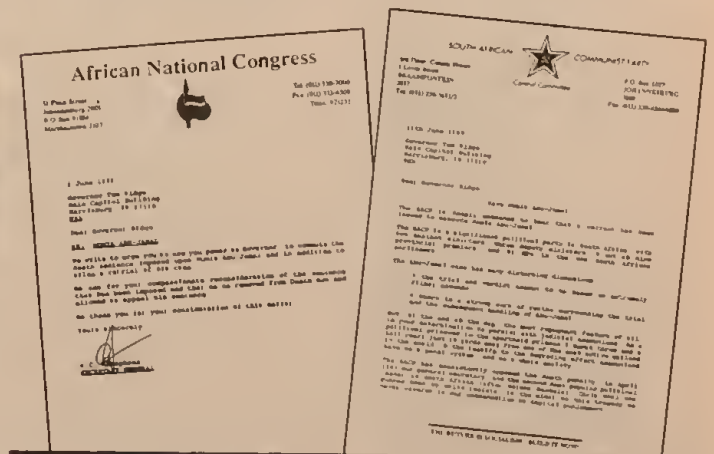
Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!
The Death Penalty and Clinton's New
COINTELPRO
Monday, August 7, 7:30 p.m.
Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
(near Copley MBTA station)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Unchain Labor/Black Power! Fight for a
Class-Struggle Workers Party!
Thursday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College
(BMCC), Student Development Center,
199 Chambers Street
For more information: (212) 732-7860

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Down with the New COINTELPRO!
Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Tuesday, August 1, 7 p.m.
First Congregational Church, 10th and
G Streets, NW (Metro Center Metro stop)
For more information: (202) 872-8240



Letters of protest to Governor Ridge on behalf of African National Congress and South African Communist Party.

Vile Stalinist Attack on Italian Trotskyists

Jamal Banner Torn Down, Women Assaulted

MILANO—On July 15, six supporters of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTD'I) were brutally attacked by goons from the Rifondazione Comunista (RC) party here. Our comrades, three of them women, were distributing literature along with other left groups at an RC "festival" in Milano. The RC thugs also removed a banner of the Committee for Social and Proletarian Defense (CODISPRO), which called to "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal," the former Black Panther and political prisoner scheduled to be executed in the U.S. on August 17. The CODISPRO is affiliated with the LTD'I, and fraternally linked to the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S.

The goon squad at first forced the Trotskyists to move to the entrance of the Lampugnano metro station. Then more RC thugs arrived and with kicks and fists pushed our comrades away from the festival, to a place where our literature couldn't be seen by RC members. The men were expelled first, so that they couldn't see what was happening to the women. Then the RC goons grabbed one woman comrade of the LTD'I by the neck, lifting her off the ground, and slapped another one. Leaflets and copies of the LTD'I publication, *Spartaco*, were ripped up and the

Jamal defense banner taken down.

A week earlier, on July 8, Rifondazione goons had launched another attack against the Lega Trotskista's literature table outside the RC festival. That time as well the RC took down the CODISPRO banner, which only a few days earlier (on June 24) had been prominently displayed next to the speakers platform in a union demonstration of some 70,000 which endorsed the demand to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The LTD'I was distributing a leaflet protesting that earlier attack when they were set upon again on July 15.

Rifondazione Comunista is the Euro-Stalinist rump of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which largely liquidated itself into the social-democratic PDS (Democratic Left Party) led by Achille Occhetto. RC continues the same old reformist politics, adorned with the PCI's hammer-and-sickle fig leaf (instead of the PDS' oak tree symbol).

On July 8, the RC goons particularly went after a placard stating, "Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party. No to the Class Collaboration of the PDS and RC!" No doubt the goon squad was also offended by the LTD'I placard, "No Vote to the Anti-Worker, Anti-Woman, Anti-Immigrant Popular Front!" The RC and



Spartaco

Banner demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" was carried in workers demonstration in Rome, June 24. Rifondazione Comunista goons took down this same banner and attacked our comrades outside RC gathering in Milano.

PDS reformists have imposed the strait-jacket of the popular front, which binds the working class to the bourgeoisie, on the combative Italian proletariat.

In a press release issued the evening of July 15, the LTD'I stated:

"We energetically protested this brutal action in the tradition of Stalinist and social-democratic violence against revolutionaries. We are for open political debate in the workers movement and underline that this revival of violence in the tradition of Stalinism goes hand in hand with the strengthening of RC's

ties with bourgeois parties with the perspective of a class-collaborationist government. So while the top cop of the Berlusconi government, Roberto Maroni, is welcomed with full honors onto the platform of the *Liberazione* festival, the communists of the Trotskyist League are removed with physical violence. The despicable message of discredited Stalinism now being used against those who spearheaded the campaign in Italy to defend Jamal is a deadly blow against those fighting for his freedom from racist capitalist 'justice' and has done a great service to his would-be executioners."

David North...

(continued from page 7)

unlike Healy, they did it for free! But even this "defense" would appear to be rather threadbare, considering that, for one, North's colleague Nick Beams, leader of the Australian Socialist Labour League, got censured by the Central Committee of his own organization in February 1986 for failing to report the receipt of monies from Arab regimes to the IC (*Socialist Labor League Internal Bulletin*, February 1986).

To alibi their former support for a whole variety of reactionary nationalist causes and regimes, today North's ICFI acts as if nationalism has only recently become a "retrograde tendency." In the "Road to Tuzla," they write of the "progressive, unifying characteristic of the national movements of the epoch in which Lenin put forward the slogan of self-determination of nations." But in calling for military support to national movements fighting against imperialist-colonialist subjugation, Lenin never praised their supposed "progressive, unifying character." On the contrary, in his "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions" at the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920), Lenin called for:

"...a determined struggle against attempts to give a communist colouring to bourgeois-democratic liberation trends in the backward countries; the Communist International should support bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on condition that, in these countries, the elements of future proletarian parties, which will be communist not only in name, are brought together and trained to understand their special tasks, i.e., those of the struggle against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations."

The Bolsheviks championed the right of self-determination not to advance the cause of nationalism but to advance proletarian class unity. The fundamental propositions of a Marxist position on the national question in the imperialist epoch were underlined by Lenin in "The

Right of Nations to Self-Determination": "on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for international unity in their class struggle."

The right to self-determination is purely a bourgeois-democratic demand and as such is correspondingly a subordinate part of a revolutionary-internationalist program. This question was posed point-blank for the Bolsheviks following the 1917 Russian Revolution in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus. In the latter region, newly independent bourgeois regimes sought and found the direct military backing of the imperialists—first the Germans and then the British—posing a direct threat to the revolution. At the close of the Civil War, the Bolsheviks took power in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan through a combination of local uprisings and Red Army intervention. As Trotsky wrote two decades later, "Forceful sovietization was justified: the safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles" ("Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events" [April 1940] in *In Defense of Marxism*).

The "Global Economy"

Other than claiming that their newfound "wisdom" on the national question is the fruit of having got rid of Healy, the ICFI claims a "new world reality" for its line change:

"Vast changes in world economic and political relations have created corresponding changes in the character of the national movements.... Can it be seriously argued that the resurgence of ethnic chauvinism in the Balkans, or for that matter in the former USSR or the Indian subcontinent, expresses an effort to put an end to the legacy of imperialism and feudal domination? Can one speak today of the national bourgeoisie of Bosnia, or Kazakhstan or Kashmir seeking to 'capture the home market,' thereby creating conditions for the 'victory of commodity production' and hence a fuller development of the class struggle?"

The idea of an "era of global economic integration" which North presents as if it were yet another of his unique "theo-

retical breakthroughs" has been known to the Marxist movement for over a century now. It's otherwise known as imperialism!

Up until the mid-1880s, Marx and Engels judged national movements according to their ability to consolidate modern independent nation-states favorable to economic development. But with the development of imperialism the terms of reference changed. Marx and Engels began to address this over the question of Irish independence. As Marx wrote in a paper on the Irish question in 1869: "it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connexion with Ireland.... The English reaction in England had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland."

Marx's position on Ireland was further developed by Lenin in his writings on the national question. For Lenin the question of self-determination had nothing to do with the ability to develop a modern, economically independent capitalist nation. Indeed he polemicized at some length against Rosa Luxemburg, who declared that self-determination had become an "illusory" demand with the development of imperialism. In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Lenin answered:

"Not only small states, but even Russia, for example, is entirely dependent, economically, on the power of the imperialist finance capital of 'rich' bourgeois countries. Not only the miniature Balkan states, but even nineteenth-century America was, economically, a colony of Europe, as Marx pointed out in *Capital*....

"For the question of the political self-determination of nations and their independence as states in bourgeois society, Rosa Luxemburg has substituted the question of their economic independence."

Unlike the Northites, however, Rosa Luxemburg was animated by genuine proletarian internationalism. Although wrong, her visceral opposition to the right of self-determination was motivated by revulsion with the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in Poland (forces which some decades later the Northites would

cheer on in the name of Solidarność counterrevolution).

Lenin recognized that imperialism was the epoch of capitalist decay, in which the development of a national economy and emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie were stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination over the more backward capitalist countries. The understanding that the national bourgeoisies of these countries are incapable of carrying out the most elementary bourgeois-democratic tasks, such as genuine national independence, is ABC Trotskyism—in fact it is a fundamental underpinning of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

Of course, very real changes have taken place in the world in the aftermath of the collapse of the former Soviet Union. The relentless drive to destroy the Soviet workers state provided a point of unity for the various imperialist powers. With that removed, inter-imperialist rivalries have escalated. The global system of "free trade"—the economic cement which held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance—has crumbled as the major powers seek to redivide the world into regional trade blocs. But what is going on is not "new." Rather, the post-Cold War world increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world of heightened inter-imperialist rivalries intersecting regional nationalist conflicts.

The so-called "globalization of production"—i.e., the export of capital—simply means that the capitalists have moved large chunks of industry to low-wage "Third World" countries. This, for example, has meant the attempted wholesale takeover of Mexico by U.S. imperialism under the conditions of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Far from being a negation of the Leninist position on the national and colonial question, the current situation underlines the importance for communists of defending the rights of neocolonial and oppressed nations against imperialist depredations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Philadelphia...

(continued from page 16)

the feds go back over the cases in which these cops were involved, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (28 June) reports "scores—possibly hundreds—of bogus arrests" may be reversed. Meanwhile, Philadelphia's fledgling Police Advisory Commission announced it would hold its first hearings this summer to investigate the fatal beating of Moises DeJesus by police last August. Despite witnesses to the cop beating, the medical examiner declared there was no evidence DeJesus had been clubbed over the head, claiming that he died of a "cardiac arrest" caused by a drug overdose. At the same time, after a two-year investigation by the Police Department's Ethics Accountability Division, two former 19th District cops were last month sentenced to prison for planting drugs on five victims and robbing them of money, jewelry and other possessions.

The *New York Times Magazine* story focused on D.A. Lynne Abraham's manic and blatantly racist use of capital punishment: "no prosecutor in the country uses the death penalty more." Asked about her reaction to the execution in May of Keith Zetlemoyer, the first man to be put to death in a Northeastern state since 1967, she remarked coldly: "I don't feel anything." This vicious death sentence fanatic declared, "I've looked at all those sentenced to be executed. No one will shed a tear. Prison is too good for them. They don't deserve to live." Abraham, at the time a judge, presided over the initial arraignment of Mumia in 1981. The article notes that Philadelphia was "the first city to reserve a group of specialized judges to hear only homicide cases.... The most notorious was Judge Albert F. Sabo," who sentenced Jamal to death in 1982. Philadelphia mayor Ed

Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell at White House, swearing in 153 new Philly cops, June 8.



Rendell was himself district attorney in 1982 and personally approved seeking the death penalty against Mumia.

Philly D.A.s systematically seek the death penalty every time the law permits, ensuring that when these cases go to trial they will get a "death qualified" jury (purged of any jurors who oppose the death penalty) that is far more likely to convict. Moreover, the D.A. knocks blacks off juries without cause and conceals evidence of a defendant's innocence so regularly that in 1992 a Superior Court judge protested that "prosecutorial misconduct seems to arise in Philadelphia County more so than in any other county in this Commonwealth." Today, Philadelphia's death row population of 105 has the highest proportion of black people in the country and is the third largest of any county (close behind Houston's Harris County and Los Angeles County, which

are far larger, and have higher murder rates).

As Jamal wrote in a recent column, "D.A.—Insult to Justice" (3 July), "The acronym, 'D.A.' might as well stand for *District Assassin* given its accomplished history of murdering Justice, especially when it comes to black and hispanic lives, property and safety."

The sordid racist record of Philly cops is long and well-documented. In fact, in 1979 the U.S. Justice Department sued the city of Philadelphia, Mayor Rizzo and virtually the entire police administration, charging them with systematic police brutality, especially against blacks and Hispanics, that "shocks the conscience." This suit marked the first time in American history that the federal government has sued an entire police force and local government administration for police brutality. Cop terror in Rizzo's Philadelphia in the late 1970s was so

rampant that the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran two series by reporters Jonathan Neumann and William Marimow on the subject in 1977 alone, one devoted to police killings and the second on cop violence in the streets. The *Inquirer's* 24-27 April 1977 series, "The Homicide Files," includes this description:

"A four-month investigation by The *Inquirer* has found a pattern of beatings, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion and knowing disregard for constitutional rights in the interrogation of homicide suspects and witnesses."

"The illegal interrogations follow a pattern:

"• They are conducted by teams of detectives at police headquarters—known as the Roundhouse—at Eighth and Race Streets. The suspect or witness is often handcuffed to a metal chair, which is bolted to the floor. Some of these sessions have lasted 24 hours.

"• Some of the techniques used in the beatings leave no severe marks. Those techniques include placing a telephone hook on a suspect's head and hammering it with a heavy object; beating his feet and ankles; twisting or kicking his testicles, and pummeling his back, ribs and kidneys.

"• Other techniques do leave marks. Testimony about interrogations that judges have ruled illegal has shown that suspects have been beaten with lead pipes, blackjacks, brass knuckles, handcuffs, chairs and table legs. One suspect was stabbed in the groin with a sword-like instrument....

"What we're living in at the Roundhouse," a former homicide detective said, "is a return to the Middle Ages."

A Philly First: Feds Sue Over Police Brutality

The Justice Department's August 1979 civil lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia and the Rizzo administration charged a pattern of persecution which reads like a litany of police practices in apartheid South Africa. The suit cited "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse" including "shooting, nondangerous, nonviolent, fleeing

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 9)

Buchanan and Pat Robertson are increasingly prominent in the Republican Party. (And as in the early '50s, these anti-Semitic anti-Communists are courted by the ADL and other Zionists.) Robertson, whose Christian Coalition dominates a sizable chunk of the Republican Party, is the author of *The New World Order*, an anti-Semitic screed whose depiction of an international Jewish conspiracy is lifted straight from the pages of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a tsarist secret police forgery concocted in the late 1800s with the aim of instigating anti-Jewish pogroms and which denounced the Russian revolutionary workers movement as an "alien" force controlled by Jews.

While rightly emphasizing the anti-Communist character of the frame-up, the Rosenbergs were not oblivious to the anti-Semitic elements involved in their persecution and the broader anti-red purge. In a personal appeal for clemency to President Eisenhower three days before her execution, Ethel Rosenberg wrote: "Today, while these ghastly [Nazi] mass butchers, these obscene racists, are graciously receiving the benefits of mercy and in many instances being reinstated in public office, the great democratic United States is proposing the savage destruction of a small unoffending Jewish family, whose guilt is seriously doubted throughout the length and

breadth of the civilized world!"

In the U.S., support for the Rosenbergs was limited by the McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria, but around the world there was indeed an enormous outcry on their behalf, extending even to the Pope and the French government. *Le Monde* decried the threatened execution as a "ritual murder" and the Dreyfus family made a personal appeal for the Rosenbergs' lives. But President Eisenhower and the rest of the U.S. rulers turned a deaf ear to all pleas for clemency or a new trial. The night of the execution, machine guns ringed the U.S. embassy in Paris as tens of thousands of protesters gathered outside. The CP's popular-frontist illusions in American "democracy" notwithstanding, U.S. imperialism's rehabilitation and embrace of the Nazi mass murderers and its own murder of the Rosenbergs were two sides of the same coin: its unrelenting pursuit of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state, which has now been realized.

The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party underscored the true meaning of the Rosenberg verdict: "The Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union" (*Militant*, 27 October 1952). During World War II, when the Stalinists enlisted in U.S. imperialism's fraudulent "war against fascism," the Trotskyists became the first victims of the Smith Act—which was later extensively used against the CP during the witchhunt—for their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war.

To the bitter end, when the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution were finally extinguished as a result of Yeltsin's counterrevolution, we Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and advanced a program of proletarian political revolution to sweep away the bureaucratic betrayers

in the Kremlin. We hailed heroic Soviet spies—like Kim Philby, Richard Sorge and Leopold Trepper—who put their lives on the line in defending the Soviet Union against imperialism. At the same time, the monstrous security apparatus built up by the Kremlin Stalinists was brutally employed to extinguish those who fought to revive the proletarian internationalism that animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

That Soviet security could be wielded both in defense of the USSR and to murder those, like the Trotskyists, who alone had a program for genuine defense of the world's first workers state, reflected the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. On the one hand, this parasitic caste derived its bureaucratic position from sitting atop the gains of the October Revolution. At the same time, it served as the transmission belt for the pressures of a hostile world imperialist market that ultimately destroyed the Soviet Union.

Speaking of his courageous parents,

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Robert Meeropol said two years ago, "By refusing to falsely accuse themselves and others, they became powerful symbols of resistance." Today such symbols of resistance are to be found in former Black Panther activists Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo has spent 25 years in prison for a crime the government knows he did not commit, repeatedly denied parole specifically for his defiant refusal to repudiate his political beliefs. Mumia sits on death row, with an August 17 execution date hanging over his head, for his impassioned championing of all the oppressed.

In the coming weeks, every potential victim of this capitalist state's apparatus of frame-up and repression must exert every effort to mobilize the mass, labor-centered protest which is key in the fight to ensure that Mumia Abu-Jamal does not suffer the fate of the Rosenbergs. All honor to the Rosenbergs! Free Geronimo! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Aholish the racist death penalty! ■

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NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.

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criminal suspects" or "suspects who cease flight," "shooting criminal suspects who make gestures or verbal comments while surrendering," and "physically abusing the witnesses (including victims) of shootings to discourage them from disputing the justification of the shooting fostered by the Homicide Division." Justice Department lawyers also charged that the medical examiner's office participated in coverups: "Once they had done an autopsy, they sit down with the police department to try to fit their findings in with a justifiable shooting" (*Washington Post*, 19 August 1979).

After studying the city's own police and prison files, the Justice Department provided a list of *thousands of people*—271 pages of names—who had been shot or beaten by the police. Earlier the same year, a group associated with the Philadelphia Bar Association had determined that 299 killings by Philadelphia police between 1970 and 1978 were illegal by the standards of bourgeois law. The Justice Department suit demanded a court injunction against the abuses and asked that federal aid to Philadelphia be cut off until reforms were made. Mayor Rizzo responded by calling the suit "hogwash" and boasting that his cops were so powerful "we could invade Cuba and win." In October 1979, a federal judge, without passing judgment on the substance of the Justice Department's accusations, dismissed most of the suit on jurisdictional grounds.

The Justice Department suit was precipitated in part by the August 1978 attack by the FBI and Philadelphia police on MOVE. In that attack 600 cops brutally assaulted MOVE's Powelton Village home; when one cop was killed in the crossfire, 12 MOVE members were framed up and thrown in prison for years. When the *Inquirer* ran a series of chilling photos of cops savagely stomping MOVE member Delbert Africa, 400 off-duty cops picketed the newspaper's office in an attempt to close it down. One year later, when three cops were indicted for the beating, 500 police marched on City Hall, and the head of the Fraternal Order of Police cried, "They should have killed him" (*New York Times*, 14 August 1979). In reporting on this hideous atrocity, Mumia Abu-Jamal came to sympathize with MOVE, and also earned the enmity of Rizzo, who threatened the "new breed of journalism" Jamal represented.

There was bitter irony in the federal government suing the city of Philadelphia for police abuse since some of the most sinister police measures were instituted in direct collaboration with the Justice Department. In 1964, when the black ghetto in Philadelphia was one of the first in the U.S. to explode, the police set up the notorious Civil Defense (CD) squad, which worked with the FBI to infiltrate or spy on virtually every civil rights or political organization in the city. Lieutenant George Fencil, who headed the CD unit, boasted that "we have some 18,000 names" on file. The Philadelphia "counterintelligence" program served as a model for the FBI's COINTELPRO



Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

In racist obscenity, Rizzo's killer cops lined up Philadelphia Black Panthers naked on the street after 1970 raid (left); Osage Avenue neighborhood burnt down after Mayor Wilson Goode okayed police bombing of MOVE commune in 1985 (right).



UPI

program targeting the Black Panther Party and others for murder or frame-up. The close collaboration between Philly police and the FBI was manifested in the murderous 1985 assault on MOVE when the feds supplied the explosives for the police bomb. And, as we showed in our article, "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (WV No. 624, 2 June), 700 pages of recently obtained FBI files prove that during years of surveillance Jamal was a special target of this operation.

The 1979 federal lawsuit against Philadelphia was the culmination of years of public hearings and studies which documented the cops' Gestapo methods and the unchecked police powers in that city. In 1972, the Pennsylvania State Committee of the federal Civil Rights Commission noted that the city's police were a "paramilitary institution" which acted like "a law unto itself" and had "avoided" the tradition that "military forces in this country have been under civilian control." It cited the fact that "the police have become an organized political force which uses the 'law and order' issue to play on the fears of many" so that "city officials and those who aspire to political office tend to avoid the enmity of the police and often abdicate the issue of civilian control" (*Police-Community Relations in Philadelphia*, June 1972).

A Web of Police Power

Police victimization of blacks and Hispanics is not limited to the Philadelphia PD: it pervades the entire judicial system, including the district attorney's office and the courts, and is backed up by the mayor's office. Revealing the absurdity of the bourgeoisie's claims of "checks and balances" and a "separation of powers," the police, courts, city administration and even Congress are staffed by the same pool of people. D.A. Abraham, Judge Sabo, Mayor Rendell, U.S. Senator Specter are all veterans of the machinery of Rizzo's police city-state. Today, in Sabo's court, you can see how the cops, prosecution and judge make up a well-oiled machine, geared to carry out the execution of Jamal. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (WV No. 625, 30 June): "Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial."

This is the state machinery of death that is increasingly central to the system of racist repression in this period of capitalist decay, with inner city ghettos that are vast reservoirs of the unemployed and homeless, beset by every social ill and held in check by police who act like an occupying army. "Rizzotown" is perhaps the starkest expression of the general trend to police bonapartism—untrammeled cop power—in the U.S. today, and Mumia Abu-Jamal has been in their cross hairs for decades. But the system of capitalist oppression this epitomizes is far broader. It's no accident that President Bill Clinton, who inter-

rupted his 1992 campaign to rush back to Little Rock to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, should ostentatiously support the Philly cops. (After attending the annual national police bash in mid-May, Clinton later presided over the swearing in of 153 new Philadelphia police officers on the White House lawn.) The government's new "Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill" is a recipe for police-state powers to regiment the entire population.

This is a bipartisan program, carried out by both Republicans and Democrats, as the example of Philadelphia shows: Rizzo switched from Republican to Democrat to become police commissioner, he was elected mayor as a Nixon Democrat, and in 1986 he switched back to the Republicans; black Democrat Wilson Goode, who beat Rizzo in the 1983 primary, approved the '85 bombing of MOVE that was carried out with "technical support" (C-4 explosives) supplied by Republican Reagan's "Justice" Department. By the same token, as the murder of Philly MOVE and the attempt to lynch Jamal have been supported by both capitalist parties, the struggle to free Mumia must be a fight against the cap-

italist system which has produced this terrible machine of state murder. From South Africa to Europe to the U.S., workers, youth and fighters against racial injustice are taking up the cause of freedom for Jamal. This growing support is key to stopping legal lynching.

In the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee place no confidence in the capitalist courts to dispense "justice." Rather, we seek a massive mobilization of the social power of the proletariat, in this country and internationally. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" in our last issue:

"This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street."

—WV No. 625, 30 June ■

FOP Rally...

(continued from page 16)

striking Philly transit workers. Scandalously, this was *saluted* by the Communist Party! The CP is not alone in the treacherous reformist view that the cops are some kind of "workers in uniform" who can be won to labor's side through struggle. It is shared by other self-proclaimed "leftists" like the International Socialist Organization.

As we warned in our article, "Victory to Philly Transit Strike!" (WV No. 620, 7 April), the FOP is no "union" but an outfit of armed strikebreakers of the ruling class. Its "support" was a kiss of death to the transit strikers:

"From hauling off arrested air traffic controllers in their 1981 strike, to the 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE and the destruction of the Osage Avenue neighborhood, to running scabs through Teamster picket lines during the 1994 trucking strike, the cops are the sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed. Mobilizations by the cops in whatever guise, reflect their own agenda and are sinister attempts at police bonapartism, to slip the leash of civilian control. Cops out of the labor movement!"

The Philadelphia cops have a long, bloody and notorious history of operating like an out-of-control gang of white ethnic toughs whose idea of "justice" would insult the Mafia. An ongoing federal investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia has uncovered a trail of vicious frame-ups. The exposures of five Philly cops who issued phony search warrants, manufactured and planted evidence, and hought off prostitutes to give fabricated testimony has to date led to overturning 39 convictions.

Among their more recent rampages,

on July 8 a hit team of cops stormed a wedding in a black church and seized the groom at the altar. Earlier on the day of the FOP's racist siege of the union hall, 1199 president Nicholas had pointed out in a news conference that there is a relationship between this violation of a church and "the beating of our union brother at a South Philadelphia hotel" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 July). The previous day some 1,500 unionists had protested the savage beating of a union official representing striking Philadelphia hotel workers by Holiday Inn security guards. FOP head Costello, who was ranting that the suspension of three cops who headed up the church bust was "politically motivated," doubtless had his appetite for vengeance whetted by the 1199 president's protest.

Speaking to the danger of the "liaison" between the leaders of the Philadelphia transit workers union and the cops, we warned last April: "The FOP's threat to kill Philly's 'voice of the voiceless,' Mumia Abu-Jamal, is also a threat against labor." Now this is being brought home in the FOP's sinister threats against Philadelphia's 1199 hospital workers union.

The call to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been taken up by unions across this country and around the world. Championing the cause of this eloquent and powerful spokesman for the oppressed could be a vital component to revitalizing a fighting labor movement in this country. That is what the racist strikebreakers of the FOP want to stop.

Black rights and union rights go forward together or fall back separately. Unchain labor/black power! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Aholish the racist death penalty! ■

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Philadelphia Daily News

Frank Rizzo, racist demagogue who terrorized black Philly as police commissioner and mayor in the 1960s-'70s. Left: MOVE member Delbert Africa is stomped by police after cop assault on MOVE's Powelton Village home in 1978.

W R. Everly III

In their drive to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther and crusading journalist whose execution is scheduled for August 17, the Philadelphia police and the "justice" system have stopped at nothing. In Jamal's 1982 trial, the prosecution intimidated witnesses who contradicted the state's story, pushed others to falsely testify, knocked blacks off the jury, lied to the jury—all to convict and sentence Jamal to death for his political beliefs. *It's a legal lynching.* In appealing for a new trial, Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, told ABC News (25 July):

"We are also basing our appeal on the fact that the prosecution withheld evidence, that the prosecution manufactured evidence, that the prosecution gave out favors to prostitutes in return for their testimony."

Mumia Abu-Jamal was a special target of the Philly cops who has been railroaded by a racist system of unchecked police power.

In fighting to free Jamal, we have emphasized that the blatant frame-up of this courageous fighter for the oppressed was prepared by years of harassment and attempts to set him up by the capitalist injustice system. This travesty of "justice" is an object lesson in the class nature of the state. The entire apparatus of bourgeois repression—the cops, the courts, the secret police—was mobilized to destroy Mumia for the "crime" of opposing, exposing and denouncing this system of racist oppression. The savage crusade against Mumia was spearheaded by the brutal regime of Frank Rizzo, the racist demagogue who, first as police commissioner beginning in 1967 and then as mayor during 1972-80, ran Philadelphia for more than a decade as a local police state.

It was under Rizzo's successors that Jamal was gunned down in 1981 and then framed up, and that the home of the black MOVE commune was bombed in 1985, killing eleven black men, women and children. The fact that these atrocities were carried out in "Rizzotown," where the hired guns of the

bourgeoisie act as if they are lording it over a backwater of the Jim Crow South, left an indelible stamp. A recent profile of Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham in the *New York Times Magazine* (16 July) shows how the entire police and prosecutorial apparatus in this city that is the "capital of capital punishment" is filled with Rizzo's protégés. In the misnamed "City of Brotherly Love," the cops are used to calling the shots. As Rizzo once told a court magistrate, "All right, you're the boss in here, but we're the boss on the street."

Since long before Rizzo, Philadelphia police have spread murderous terror against the black and Hispanic population. They have carried out widespread spying and harassment of even "respectable" bourgeois critics, openly threatening everyone from newspaper editors to judges and the city council. Intimidation, torture, frame-ups, and at the center of it all, the death penalty: this is "law and order," Philly-style.

Lately, Philadelphia has been full of the stench of police corruption with several simultaneous investigations being carried out into police brutality and frame-ups of innocent victims. An investigation by the FBI going back several years has centered on manufacturing of evidence and lying in court by cops of the 39th District in North Philadelphia. Five cops recently pleaded guilty in federal court to violating the civil rights of people they arrested, framed and sent to prison. In one case they set up a 53-year-old grandmother, Betty Patterson, on charges of cocaine and crack dealing in order to manufacture evidence against her sons in a murder investigation. In another case, they tried to frame a Temple University student, Arthur Colbert, as a drug dealer, including kidnapping, heating, putting a revolver to his head, and hiring a prostitute to testify against him.

So far, convictions in 39 drug cases in the 39th District have been overturned. But as

continued on page 14

Philly Cops Threaten Organized Labor

FOP Rally to Kill Jamal

On July 19, the union hall of Local 1199C of the National Hospital and Health Care Employees Union in Philadelphia was to have been the site of a fund-raiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces death at the hands of the state's executioner on August 17. Instead, the union hall was besieged by a gang of 300 Philadelphia cops. They brought signs reading, "Lethal Injection for Convicted Cop Killers Now!" and chanted with bloodthirsty glee, "Four More Weeks!"

Sounding like the leader of one of the lynch mobs who tried to run the lawyers for the Scottshoro Boys out of town in the "Old South" of the 1930s, the head of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of

Police, Richard Costello, told reporters: "Let these out-of-town lawyers, these out-of-town terrorists, get the hell out of here and leave Philadelphia to us." But the FOP doesn't have its sights trained simply on "outsiders." Sinisterly equating the fund-raiser with "advocating the murder of a police officer," Costello demanded an "apology" from the union and said that he was going to push the AFL-CIO District Council to bring "sanctions" against 1199 president Henry Nicholas.

This is a deadly threat aimed at the heart of organized labor. Last spring, the FOP made a bid to woo the unions by declaring its "solidarity" with the

continued on page 15



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia, July 19—Mob of 300 racist Philly cops besiege headquarters of hospital workers Local 1199C, denouncing union support for Mumia Abu-Jamal.