

Hanging Judge Sabo Turns Down Appeal

As expected, on September 15 Philadelphia judge Albert Sabo ruled against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial. The ruling came only four days after closing arguments in the hearing held under Pennsylvania's Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) guidelines. Jamal's attorneys submitted voluminous documentation of how he was framed up by the police, prosecution and courts for the 1981 killing of policeman Daniel Faulkner. Despite a judicial blockade thrown up by Sabo, which prevented dozens of defense witnesses and exhibits from coming before the court, Jamal's attorneys presented evidence of his innocence, as well as of the police and judicial misconduct that was key in railroading Mumia to death row. Sabo's ruling sets the stage for appeals to the Pennsylvania state supreme court and federal court.

The persecution of Jamal shows that the truth weighs little on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." The stay of his scheduled August 17 execution was the direct result of a worldwide outcry on Jamal's behalf. The racist cop mobs howling for Mumia's blood dismiss his supporters as a handful of Hollywood liberals and "terrorists." In fact, hundreds of thousands have demonstrated from South Africa to the U.S. to save Jamal, trade unions representing millions of workers have taken up his cause, and his case has come to symbolize the barbarity of the death penalty. The response to hanging judge Sabo's decision must be to intensify the campaign to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty.

Jamal was targeted for repression as an award-winning journalist who courageously spoke out against the brutally racist Philly cops. He became a supporter of the MOVE organization, whose members were regularly terrorized by the cops. In the hearings,



Lou Jones

Sabo excluded the more than 600 pages (out of a total of 800) of FBI files submitted by the defense documenting the government's attempts to set up Jamal, which began in the late 1960s when as a teenager he was one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia.

But even the fraction of the evidence allowed by Sabo was enough to show that the prosecution's case against Jamal was a tissue of lies. Four eyewitnesses gave testimony showing that someone other than Jamal shot Faulkner. Ballistics and medical experts

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No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Defy Ban on Mass Pickets in Free Press/News Strike!

Detroit Labor: Stop the Scabs!

SEPTEMBER 18—For the fourth time this month, hundreds of unionists converged on the Detroit *Free Press/News* plant in Sterling Heights on Saturday night, September 16, determined to shut down production and delivery of the scab paper. The few dozen cops lining the median strip across Mound Road should have been no match for a militant mass picket line of the newspaper strikers and the auto workers, Teamsters, construction workers, utility workers and government employees who came out to back them up. Two weeks earlier, 3,500 pickets faced down cops and Vance Security strikebreakers in an attempt to keep the trucks from rolling out of the plant.

But despite occasional militant rhetoric, the union tops have consistently undermined the power of the mass pickets. This time, faced with a strikebreaking injunction that went into effect last Thursday allowing only ten pickets at the main gate, the bureaucrats divided the strikers' forces, telling some to drive

slowly around the plant and sending others downtown, where the Detroit Newspaper Agency bosses were revving up the presses at the Riverfront plant. With the picket lines dispersed, by dawn the company had hundreds of thousands of scab papers from both plants on the street.

The newspaper strikers and their allies have shown enormous courage and determination in facing down the Vance strikebreaking goons, police charges and tear gas. For the past two weeks, the owners of the *Free Press/News* were forced to use helicopters to get out the first copies of the Sunday edition over the picket lines. But the union misleaders have tied up the strike in endless appeals to the NLRB and look for aid from the same Democratic Party mayors who are calling out the cops on strikers. In the face of the bureaucrats' criminal passivity, the emboldened bosses today began publishing separate editions of the morning *Free Press* and evening *News*. Meanwhile, dozens of strikers face criminal charges for defending their picket lines. The unions must come to the defense of these workers! Drop all the charges!

It is clear to militants that the strike is in danger. Time and again, the picket lines have been gutted. On the night of September 9, after the cops had moved



Striking workers block scab van outside Detroit *Free Press/News* Sterling Heights printing plant, August 26. Strike is in its third month.

back and 1,500 workers surrounded the main gate, a strike "leader" took the bullhorn to urge the pickets to step aside if the company tried to move trucks out. The crowd erupted in shouts of "No! No! No scab trucks!" But a few

hours later, as the bureaucrats demobilized the lines and only a few hundred picketers remained, the bosses made their move and began rolling out the scab papers. As one young union carpenter

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Geronimo Now!

As we go to press, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has once again dealt a blow to former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). On September 18, the Court reversed a ruling issued by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel in June 1994 which held that Geronimo's January 1994 transfer to Mule Creek Prison and placement in a double cell, just days after a FOX TV series detailed proof of his innocence, was an unconstitutional retaliation for Geronimo's

exercise of First Amendment rights and the publicity given his fight for freedom.

Judge Weigel's ruling in Geronimo's lawsuit against persistent prison harassment counsel Valerie West recognized Geronimo's innocence of the killing for which he was sentenced to life in prison, stating the FOX series "exposed for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years." In a

rare instance of discarding a District Court judge's findings of fact, the appeals court outrageously concluded that there was "insufficient evidence" that prison officials were aware of the FOX interview when deciding to transfer Geronimo, although they convened an extraordinary Christmas Eve meeting to discuss his transfer two days after learning of the interview. A motion for rehearing of Pratt's appeal is being filed.

As a well-known Panther leader, Geronimo was targeted for "neutralization" by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, working hand in hand with the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS), a special anti-Panther hit squad within the force. Four days after Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the cops came for Geronimo in L.A. On 8 December 1969, Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops; thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired into it for five hours. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Geronimo was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his head. LAPD fink Louis Tackwood confirmed that Geronimo was the primary target of this murderous raid. Failing to assassinate Geronimo, the LAPD and FBI then framed him for the unsolved 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica, and condemned Geronimo to a life of prison hell.

In a recent book, *FBI Secrets. An Agent's Exposé* (South End Press, 1995), M. Wesley Swearingen, the former FBI agent in L.A. who has previously testified that Pratt was "set up," lays out a whole history of government provocation. He says that "after witnessing twenty years of FBI wrongdoing," it was no surprise to him that Pratt "was framed for murder" as "a target of COINTELPRO." Swearingen reveals that there were no less than three different sets of FBI wiretaps on the Panther offices—by the Oakland, SF and L.A. Bureau branches—revealing that Geronimo was in Oakland, 400 miles away, at the time of the murder. He also reports that there was a meeting of the FBI's Los Angeles "racial squad" at which the supervisor said that the LAPD would not tell the jury that the victim's husband "identified at least three other suspects before he identified Pratt."

The state's key witness in the case against Geronimo was Julius Butler, who repeatedly lied on the stand and (unknown to the jury) was also an informant for the LAPD and FBI. Swearingen notes that Geronimo had expelled Butler from the Panthers for violent behavior. The same FBI "racial squad" supervisor told the other agents the Bureau would "close our informant file on Butler during the trial so that Butler can say he is not an FBI informant."

Additional proof of Geronimo's innocence was compiled by James McCloskey, a lay minister and investigator, and submitted to D.A. Gil Garcetti nearly two years ago, with the request that he reopen Geronimo's case. In 1992, an investigation by McCloskey won freedom for two black men, Clarence Chance and Benny Powell, who had spent 17 years in prison on concocted evidence, when the city conceded they had been intentionally framed. It was the findings in McCloskey's report that were featured in the FOX TV series leading to Geronimo's transfer. McCloskey's investigation of Geronimo's case added specific details linking the murder to two petty criminals on the fringes of the Panthers—both of them associates of Butler—who long ago died violent deaths. Twenty-one months later, the well-documented proof that Geronimo was framed gathers cobwebs in Garcetti's office while Geronimo continues his fight for freedom under conditions of unceasing prison harassment.

Months after Geronimo's retaliatory transfer, in August 1994 officials harried Geronimo's attorney, Kathleen Cleaver, from his parole hearing. Because of his refusal to recant his commitment to black



Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned 25 years on frame-up murder charge.

freedom, Geronimo was denied parole for the 13th time and was told he is "going to have to change his attitude toward the criminal justice system" which has already stolen 25 years of his life and which spawns racist killers like Mark Fuhrman.

Last year, SEIU locals in L.A. organized a protest for Geronimo outside Garcetti's office. In the past two years, unions representing millions of workers have taken a stand in support of Geronimo, including the SEIU International, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Education Association, California Teachers Association and Chicago ATU transit workers, among others. We must fight for Geronimo, who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system from behind bars for too long. Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!

Gary Graham Sparks Texas Death Row Prisoners' Protests

Organized protest against the barbaric, racist death penalty is growing in the very heart of the Southern "death belt," in Texas' Huntsville death row prison. On June 21, Gary Graham, who was railroaded into a death sentence when he was a young black man of 17, began an indefinite hunger strike, taking only liquids, in protest against this killing machine. "We have lived here in horror and watched how people are systematically slaughtered in a discriminatory manner," Graham said. "We have reached the point where this injustice is no longer acceptable to us. It will no longer be passively endured" (*Austin American-Statesman*, 23 July).

Meanwhile, another death row prisoner and fighter against the hellhole conditions of Texas prisons, Thomas Miller-El, has had his execution date rescheduled to October 17. Miller-El has done many interviews on Pacifica radio about death row struggles and was a founder of *Endeavor*, the prison paper Gary Graham co-founded.

On June 28, over 100 prisoners in the Ellis Unit of the Huntsville prison staged a protest against the threatened execution of their fellow inmate, Angel Rivera. Dozens of Texas death row prisoners

1965 Indonesia Massacre: A Monstrous Crime



TROTSKY

This month marks 40 years since one of the most horrendous counterrevolutionary massacres in history, the CIA-engineered slaughter of half a million leftists, workers and peasants by the Indonesian army and right-wing Islamic mobs. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was decimated and pulverized in a matter of days. The military dictatorship installed by this reign of terror continues to this day to enforce grinding



LENIN

poverty and untrammeled exploitation on the Indonesian masses. As we wrote at the time, the Stalinist PKI leadership and its mentors in Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party bore direct responsibility for this grisly defeat through their policy of supporting the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno government. The bloody events in Indonesia underscored again the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution—that in the colonial and semicolonial countries, only the working class led by a Bolshevik party can, despite its relative weakness numerically, lead all the oppressed in a proletarian revolution which would not only solve the democratic tasks but necessarily place on the order of the day socialist tasks as well, while giving powerful impetus to socialist revolution in the advanced countries.

The reign of terror being carried out by the Indonesian army against the working class of that country follows logically from a process of treachery tragically familiar in the annals of working class struggle. The working people of Indonesia are now paying with their blood for the betrayal by the leadership of the 3,000,000-member, pro-Chinese Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which must share guilt for the present violence. Workers and militants of all countries, particularly those who look to the CP of China for "revolutionary" example and direction, cannot afford to ignore the warning of this classic lesson.

Guided by the Mao government's "bloc of four classes" doctrine and need for "Peaceful Coexistence" with "progressive, non-aligned" capitalist "friends," such as Indonesian President Sukarno (a former collaborator with colonialism), the PKI—largest Communist party in the capitalist world—has been helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state. Meanwhile the Chinese press has heaped continuous praise upon Sukarno....

Modern history has amply demonstrated that the outstanding problem facing the international working class is the question of leadership—i.e., the necessity for an international revolutionary party which, on the basis of its program, can lead the working people to the conquest of state power in every country....

DEMAND RELEASE OF THE JAILED COMMUNIST WORKERS OF INDONESIA!

REPLACE SUKARNO AND ALL CAPITALIST REGIMES WITH WORKERS' GOVERNMENTS!

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET BLOC!

NO CLASS COLLABORATION—TOWARD THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION!

—"Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal,"

Spartacist No. 5 (November-December 1965)

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Mexican Ford Workers Strike Against Starvation Wages

Auto workers at a Ford Motor Company subsidiary in the Mexican border city of Nuevo Laredo won a tentative victory in a wildcat strike in July. For four days workers occupied Ford's Lamosa maquiladora (free-trade zone) plant, which produces catalytic converters and axle rods, in a struggle that pitted them against the corporatist CTM "union" bosses who are part of the apparatus of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the capitalist ruling party in Mexico for the last six and a half decades.

The sit-down strike erupted on Monday, July 17, when workers came back from a two-week plant shutdown to learn that in their absence the CTM tops had signed a secret agreement with Ford accepting a measly 7 percent salary increase for this year. Workers had been demanding a 30 percent increase. The drastic devaluation of the peso earlier this year has meant a huge drop in the purchasing power of the already starvation-level wages in the maquiladoras.

According to reports in the *CJM Newsletter* (Summer 1995), put out by the San Antonio-based Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, anger boiled over when the workers learned that the bureaucrats had negotiated a 30 percent increase for themselves. Workers stormed out of the plant as hated CTM regional leader "Chema" Morales arrived to try to force them to call off their action. But the workers quickly seized the facility, and Ford management fled the plant.

The strikers held out for four tense days, while the CTM denounced the strike as illegal. Ford threatened to close down the plant for good, while heavily armed state police circled the factory in cars and pickup trucks. Rumors circulated that Chema Morales



Ford workers occupy Lamosa parts plant in Nuevo Laredo last July, demanding 30 percent wage increase in wake of drastic peso devaluation.

might soon send in the cops to break up the strike, as occurred with fierce brutality in the Sony maquiladora strike in Nuevo Laredo last year (see our two-part article, "Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras," *WV* Nos. 620 and 621, 7 and 21 April). The very fact that this bureaucrat could order a police attack is vivid proof that the CTM is a straitjacket for capitalist control by the PRI-government.

The CTM is an extreme example of what Leon Trotsky, in his 1940 essay on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," referred to as the tendency of modern trade unions to "draw close to and grow together with the state power." The CTM is a company union on a grand scale. It is formally one of the three "sectors" of the ruling capitalist party, the PRI, and frequently acts as a

virtual labor contractor. It often mobilizes goon squads working together with the police and army to repress labor "dissidence." Thus the struggle for the political independence of the working class in Mexico is intimately bound up with the fight to break the iron grip of the capitalist state's "labor" cops.

Ford finally caved in, agreeing to a 30 percent salary increase, but payable only in "food coupons" rather than cash. Management and the CTM tops agreed to remove the official CTM plant committee and allow new union elections. And the company agreed to pay the week of the strike in full and no reprisals

against strikers (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 22 July). But although union elections were held at Lamosa on August 15, workers report that the promised increase still had not come, and the word was it may be replaced by a one-time bonus.

The imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" pact in January 1994 was a scheme for U.S. imperialist plunder of Mexico. But the brutal superexploitation of largely women workers in the maquiladoras sparked a series of strikes this year in the northern border zone from Ciudad Juarez to Nuevo Laredo. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of troops of the Mexican army have occupied the desperately poor southern state of Chiapas ever since the Zapatista-led peasant uprising on New Year's Day 1994.

As burgeoning workers unrest spread through the northern area early this year, and then 15,000 Mexico City bus drivers were summarily fired, the 94-year-old "dinosaur" who heads the CTM, Fidel Velázquez, canceled the official May Day march in the capital, fearing militant labor protest. Yet, half a million workers and Zapatista supporters turned out in the largest independent May Day mobilization in decades.

The road to victory for the courageous workers in the maquiladoras is through internationalist unity of workers' struggles on both sides of the border. The Spartacist League and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the International Communist League, have opposed the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico. The GEM has underlined the need to throw off the stranglehold of the corporatist CTM and form genuine unions as organs of workers struggle, and to champion the cause of women workers who are hideously oppressed and exploited in the maquiladora sweatshops. The key is to build revolutionary workers parties in the U.S. and Mexico as part of the ICL's struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■



Gary Graham

whether he should be granted a hearing to present several new witnesses on his behalf.

Graham was charged with the shooting death of Bobby Lambert in a supermarket parking lot, convicted solely on the testimony of a witness who observed the gunman for "a split second" from about 40 feet away. Not one of the five other eyewitnesses identified Graham, and one says she has since seen Lambert's killer on the street several times. Graham's court-appointed lawyer was an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness and refused to investigate Graham's alibi defense. Four witnesses who were never called to the stand have come forward with affidavits saying that Graham was with them at the time of the shooting.

Support and money is, as always, urgently needed, especially since in August Congress voted to completely cut out the budget for lawyers for poor death row prisoners. Write to: Gary Graham Legal Defense Committee, P.O. Box 23957, Houston, TX 77228, or call/fax: (713) 665-4854. To reach "Texas Prisoners United in Resistance for Human Rights," write to P.O. Box 280507, Houston, TX 77228, or fax: (713) 665-4854.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the Partisan Defense Committee. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class Struggle Defense Notes*. For the current issue, send \$.50 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013 ■

have joined hunger strike activities, while over 60 men have signed a pledge to refuse to cooperate with prison officials should they be led to the death chamber.

Despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, Graham was just hours away from execution in 1993. Texas is no stranger to the execution of innocent men, maintaining before the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Leonel Herrera that the Constitution does not bar the execution of someone who is innocent. Endorsing that view, the high court approved the legal murder of Texas inmate Jesse Dewayne Jacobs on January 4, reviving up the assembly line of death which has taken 39 lives this year, a rate of one execution per week.

Unlike Jacobs and Herrera, Graham was saved by a massive outcry of support and protest, but he remains on death row, awaiting the outcome of a decision from the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which heard him 16 months ago, as to

Spartacist Events

ATLANTA

Tuesday, September 26: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case*; Speaker: Gene Herson, PDC Labor Coordinator, Georgia State University, 12 noon: Room 460, University Center; 7 p.m.: Room 302, Urban Life Building. For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON

Thursday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.: *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor*; Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*; Boston University, College of Liberal Arts Building, Room 216, 725 Commonwealth Avenue (near Kenmore Square). For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Saturday, September 30, 7:30 p.m.: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case*; Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee; Guest Speaker: Jon Piper, co-counsel for Jamal, Blackstone Hotel, English Room, 636 S. Michigan (at Balbo). For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, September 21, *Imperialism, War and Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Room to be announced. For more information: (312) 663-0715

EUGENE

Wednesday, September 27, 6:30 p.m. *Capitalism Means Racist State Terror—Battle for Mumia's Freedom*, Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League, University of Oregon, EMU, Ben Linder Room. For more information: (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Tuesday, October 3, 12 noon: *Defend Affirmative Action and More—Fight for Open Admissions!* UCLA, Ackerman 3508. For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.: *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor*; Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*; PS 234, 292 Greenwich Street (at Chamber Street)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, September 22: *The State*; October 6: *Workers Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street). For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Tuesday, October 3, 7 p.m.: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case*; Speaker: Brian Manning, Spartacist League; First Congressional Church, Room 206, 10th & G Streets, NW (Metro Center Metro stop). For more information: (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, Spartacist Canada Editorial Board, St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W (just west of Spadina). For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, Spartacist Canada Editorial Board; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, September 28: *The Marxist Program*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive). For more information: (604) 687-0353

INDEPENDENCE FOR QUEBEC!

Last week, the Parti Québécois (PQ) government of Quebec announced that a referendum will be held on October 30 proposing "that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership." The Anglo-chauvinist federal government in Ottawa has historically kept the Quebec nation forcibly confined within the Canadian confederation, and is not about to agree to any amicable "partnership." Thus this referendum is in effect a straight vote for or against secession from Canada. Legislation introduced simultaneously in the Quebec National Assembly makes clear that a "yes" vote will lead to a declaration of independence within one year, regardless of the outcome of negotiations with Ottawa.

The prospects for anti-capitalist class struggle in Canada are deeply poisoned by chauvinism and nationalism. Spawned by the oppression of the Quebec nation under the heel of the unitary Canadian state and fueled by the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ who seek to be the exploiters of their "own" working class, these animosities have divided the working class along national lines. In seeking to unite the workers of Quebec and English Canada, Marxists today call for an independent Quebec as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. Thus we believe that class-conscious workers in Quebec should vote "yes" in the coming referendum.

The following article, written just before the referendum was announced, was first published in English and French in *Spartacist Canada* No. 105 (September/October 1995), the newspaper of our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste. It is reprinted here in abridged and slightly adapted form.

* * *

Twenty-five years ago, in October 1970, Quebec Liberal cabinet minister Pierre Laporte and British diplomat James Cross were kidnapped by a small group of Quebec separatist militants, the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). Using the "FLQ Crisis" as a pretext, the federal government under Pierre Trudeau imposed the War Measures Act and sent the army to occupy Montreal. Ottawa's troops stormed houses and apartments, rounded up hundreds of trade unionists and left-wing activists at gunpoint and threw them in prison where they were held incommunicado. Their "crime": an association with the belief that the oppressed Québécois nation had the right to determine its own fate. This martial law starkly exposed the enforced subjugation of Quebec, which is a foundation stone of the Canadian capitalist state.

The existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, continues to define the political landscape in this country, and has terribly undermined working-class struggle. As revolutionary Marxists, we unconditionally defend the national rights of the Québécois people and at the same time oppose all manner of nationalism and chauvinism, which strangle the fight against capitalist exploitation. We seek to advance the cause of all working people through building a revolutionary workers party that is a tribune of the oppressed. The forcible confinement of Quebec within



Remor/Canadian Press



Canadian Press

Pro-independence demonstrators in Montreal, June 1995 (top). Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government sent army to occupy Montreal in 1969 to enforce subjugation of Quebec. Trotskyists advocate Quebec independence to open road to anti-capitalist class struggle.

Canada has poisoned relations between the English Canadian and Québécois working class. The recognition by the workers of each nation that their respective capitalist rulers—not each other—are the enemy can only come through an independent Quebec.

In the late 1960s/early '70s, opposition to the suppression of national and language rights fueled militant proletarian struggle in Quebec. The Québécois working class emerged as the most combative in all North America. This was underlined in the near-insurrectionary general strike of 1972, which saw whole towns taken over and run by striking workers. But in English Canada, the anti-Quebec chauvinism of the trade-union officialdom and the social democrats of the New Democratic Party (NDP) served to tie the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie in the name of "Canadian unity." This Anglo chauvinism helped impel the Québécois workers increasingly into the arms of the Parti Québécois, the political representative of Quebec's newly emergent francophone (French-speaking) bourgeoisie.

Since our inception, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste has actively championed Quebec's right to independence. As we wrote in 1978, when Trudeau again threatened to "use the

sword" against Quebec:

"Labor must proclaim its unconditional support for the Québécois' right to self-determination ...

"The Quebec working class is today the most combative on the North American continent. This gives burning importance to the defense of Québécois national rights by English-Canadian and U.S. labor. Such a revolutionary program which combats all forms of social oppression, including the national oppression of the Québécois, is essential to truly unite the English- and French-speaking proletariat of North America."

— "Trudeau Threatens War on Quebec," *Spartacist Canada* No. 23, February 1978

While unconditionally defending Quebec's national rights, we did not then advocate the separation of Quebec. Our perception was that national antagonisms had not yet become so intense as to make Quebec independence the only means of cutting through these hostilities and bringing the class struggle against capitalism to the fore.

But within the context of an Anglo-chauvinist unitary Canadian state, the national divide has poisoned relations between the working class of English Canada and Quebec. The depth of this schism can be amply seen in the parties that currently occupy the opposition benches in parliament. On the one side is the rabidly Anglo-chauvinist Reform Party. On the other is the *indépendantiste*

Bloc Québécois. The long-ruling federal Tory party has been obliterated, and the Liberals rule only by virtue of having swept Ontario in the last elections.

The same mutual national suspicions and hatreds which led to this parliamentary shake-up reach deep into the working class. Hundreds of thousands of unionists and other working people in English Canada, disillusioned at the NDP's wholesale capitulation to Bay Street's austerity diktats, abandoned "their" party and cast their votes for the mivarnished chauvinism of Preston Manning's Reform Party in 1993. In Quebec, working-class militancy and combativity has been dampened, submerged into support for the PQ, which was elected for the third time last fall pledging to hold an early referendum on independence.

These events only confirm that nationalism and chauvinism are, and have long been, a decisive brake on the workers' struggle in both nations.

Through an extensive internal discussion on the Quebec national question, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste re-evaluated our previous position. A motion adopted at a July plenum of our Central Committee noted in part:

"As revolutionary Marxists who seek to advance the cause of proletarian internationalist class struggle, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates independence for Quebec. Our historic position of upholding Quebec's right to self-determination, while not advocating independence, was at best based on a superficial appreciation of the evolution of a self-conscious Quebec nation and the class struggle within it. Although the question of independence has yet to be put to a referendum vote of the Québécois population, the question was effectively resolved with the implementation of French-only language laws in the 1970s (i.e., the choice of assimilation or separation was decided in favor of the latter).

"For Leninists, the advocacy of an independent Quebec is the means to get this question 'off the agenda,' particularly to combat the orgy of Anglo chauvinism in English Canada, but also to foil the aims of the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec who seek to tie the historically combative Québécois proletariat to their conaitals. This is the only road to bringing to the fore the real social contradictions between the working class and their 'own' bourgeoisie in either nation, and thereby laying a genuine basis for common class struggle in the future."

The Development of the Quebec Nation

Quebec was forcibly incorporated into British North America following the defeat of the French garrison on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The British conquerors, who had expelled the French-speaking population of Nova Scotia (the Acadians) some years earlier, subjugated the rest of New France through a deal with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Centuries of dynastic and commercial warfare between France and England made anti-French chauvinism a defining feature of the consciousness of the English ruling class. Thus the true founders of the Anglo-Canadian state—counterrevolutionary British Loyalist refugees fleeing the American War of Independence—poured into Ontario and the Maritimes with truly hardwired arrogance and bigotry toward the conquered French.

Isolated from the rationalist and anticlericalism of the Enlightenment, and from the French Revolution of 1789, for well over a century Quebec remained largely a priest-ridden rural backwater.

Any indigenous French-speaking bourgeoisie was eliminated as a factor. In 1837, a national-bourgeois revolt, the *Patriote* rebellion, was brutally crushed. Through the nineteenth century, Anglo-Canadian (later joined by American) capital gradually displaced the British overlords.

Significant industrialization and urbanization began to change the character of Quebec society by the end of the century, but it took many decades for these developments to find political expression. The weak francophone bourgeoisie was thoroughly integrated with dominant English-Canadian capital, while the petty-bourgeois elite remained tied to the church.

The Catholic hierarchy maintained an iron grip on Quebec society, including the working class. For a period in the late 1800s, membership in the Knights of Labour union organization was even declared to be a "mortal sin." The church continued to exercise direct or indirect control over much of the labor movement right up to the 1950s.

Throughout the long rule of Maurice Duplessis beginning in the 1930s, a period known as the "Great Darkness," virtually all social discontent was met with state repression. But from World War II on, a series of strikes—notably the illegal five-month battle by 5,000 miners in Asbestos and Thetford Mines in 1949—showed that the proletariat was beginning to stir. Then the death of Duplessis in 1959 gave rise to a sea change in Quebec society.

With the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s, a Québécois bourgeoisie emerged, striving to cohere an autonomous political economy of which they would be the apex and chief beneficiaries. The Liberal government of Jean Lesage carried out a series of major nationalizations. Hydro-Québec in particular became the symbol of the growing power of Québécois capital. The new Caisse de Dépôt et de Placement state pension fund created a huge capital pool to invest in building up Québécois-owned industry. Socially, the dominance of the Catholic hierarchy was broken. Birth rates plummeted, from one of the highest in the world to one of the lowest. French-language education was secularized and vastly broadened, including new francophone universities and CEGEP junior colleges.

Politically, two distinct trends emerged, reflecting the choices confronting the rapidly modernizing Quebec society: toward assimilation (leading to the eventual disappearance of the nation) or toward separation and the creation of an independent state. The chief representative of the former trend, Pierre Trudeau, sought to use the federal government in Ottawa to incorporate and submerge Quebec into the rest of Canada. Trudeau couched this program in "liberal" trappings of "bilingualism and biculturalism," necessarily weighted in favor of the economically and politically dominant English-speaking people.

While government services in French became available for the first time in much of the country, the mere appearance of French in everyday life (e.g., French translations on cereal boxes) drove English-Canadian bigots into a frenzy. Meanwhile, Trudeau's answer to *indépendantiste* agitation in Quebec was to send in the army in 1970 and to threaten again in later years to invade Quebec. Today, this legacy is carried forward by his lieutenant, Jean Chrétien.

The key weapon of those who sought to counter the assimilation of Québécois society became language legislation. A common political economy requires a common language, which is also then the vehicle of the culture. Beginning in the late 1960s, the Quebec National Assembly began to pass a series of ever more discriminatory laws, culminating in the PQ's 1977 Bill 101 which declared, in effect, a unilingual French Quebec. French was made the official language of work, while "foreigners," including English speakers from elsewhere in Canada, were required to send their children to French schools. We opposed such anti-democratic measures, upholding equal language rights for all, including francophones in English Canada and anglophones in Quebec.

Large sections of Anglo-Canadian capital and hundreds of thousands of English speakers decamped down the highway to Toronto and beyond. Not only did the historic anglophone population, centered on the West Island of Montreal, decline sharply, but new immigrants began to be assimilated into French-speaking society. In 1971 only 15 percent of children whose mother tongue was neither French nor English were registered in Quebec public schools where French was the language of instruction. Around this time, there were significant protests among immigrant communities, notably Italians in the Montreal suburb of St-Léonard, for the right to continue to send their children to English schools. But by 1989, over 70 percent of such children were in French-language schools.

In the decades since the Quiet Revolution, Quebec society has been reshaped. The decisive pinnacles of industry and finance are no longer in Anglo-Westmount. As the Québécois bourgeoisie continues to consolidate its own separate political economy, the logical end product is the creation of an independent state, a new minor imperialist power à la Austria or Denmark.

National Chauvinism: Poison to Class Struggle

The utterly anomalous situation where Canada is split on national lines while Quebec has not yet separated produces deep nationalist animosity. The workers in both nations have been driven ever deeper into the clutches of their respective bourgeoisies, undermining the class struggle against capitalism.

The Quebec General Strike of 1972 was the most explosive class conflict in the Canadian state since 1919. Yet it was

Defend Native Peoples!

Caught up in the nationalist cross-fire, Canada's Native Indian and Inuit peoples are targets of vicious chauvinism from all sides. In 1990 the Quebec police and Canadian army staged armed assaults (helms) against Mohawks seeking to protect an ancestral burial ground at Oka, near Montreal. Nearby, thousands of racists hanged Natives in effigy and chanted, "Québec aux Québécois."

The federal government in Ottawa has tried to manipulate the Native peoples of Quebec to look to the Canadian

state as an "ally" against the prospect of Quebec independence. But Ottawa's cynical con game was exposed as police and army in British Columbia and Ontario opened fire on Native land occupations earlier this month, murdering Chippewa protester Anthony George and wounding two others. The working class in both English Canada and Quebec must actively champion the cause of the Native peoples against capitalist oppression and degradation, as part of the struggle for an egalitarian socialist future.



opposed and denounced by the leadership of English-Canadian labor. In the midst of the strike, the Canadian Labour Congress executive waved the flag of Anglo chauvinism against Quebec labor militancy, declaring:

"It is, therefore, essential that the Congress and its affiliated unions oppose those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of Confederation or a reduction of the federal powers as a means of pursuing selfish regional aims."

—quoted in *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 15 May 1972

As for the NDP, federal leader David Lewis publicly applauded the jailing of the Common Front strike leaders. Betrayed and abandoned in that pivotal struggle by the leadership of English-Canadian labor, the militancy of Québécois workers was channeled toward the bourgeois nationalists, leading to the election of the first Parti Québécois regime of René Lévesque in 1976.

Six years later, Québécois workers got a taste of mass union-busting from their "own" PQ government, which slashed wages and ripped up union contracts in the public sector. Fifty thousand angry unionists demonstrated outside the National Assembly with signs reading "Duplessis-Lévesque: Like Father, Like Son." In an article entitled "For a Quebec General Strike!" (printed in French and English in *Spartacist Canada* No. 57, March 1983), we wrote: "This critical showdown between Quebec labor and the PQ provides an unprecedented opportunity to win this militant labor movement to a perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity where it is destined to play a *vanguard* role." But the nationalist union tops called off the strikes and the PQ was able to carry through its sweeping attacks, dealing Quebec labor a blow from which it has yet to recover.

Today all three Quebec labor federations are locked in a deadly nationalist embrace with the *hauts bourgeois* Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard. In rallying round the PQ and Bloc, Québécois workers are responding to the pervasive, ugly Anglo chauvinism that dominates English Canada. Five years ago, the Meech Lake Accord collapsed amid ranting and raving in English Canada against its simple statement that

Quebec is a "distinct society." Then came the federal Tories' Charlottetown Accord, supposedly the final attempt to resolve the "constitutional crisis" and end the "Quebec problem." It was rejected by majorities in both nations.

Following the election of the latest PQ government last fall, another upsurge of bigotry has erupted in English Canada. A Québécois woman tourist whose car broke down in an upscale Vancouver neighborhood was brutally beaten by thugs who spotted her Quebec license plates. This summer in Owen Sound, Ontario, a Québécois woman and her family were virtually driven out of town when their home was pelted with eggs and defaced with "Frogs Go Home" written in excrement on the living room window.

While there have been episodic examples of common class struggle, for example in the federal public-sector strike of 1991, the national divide goes very deep in the organized working class. The vast majority of unions in Quebec are either entirely separate from those in English Canada, or exercise nearly complete autonomy. And it speaks volumes that during this year's rail strike, former Tory cabinet minister Bouchard could get away with grandstanding as a "friend of Quebec workers" by initially opposing federal strikebreaking legislation.

National animosity cripples working-class struggle. As Karl Marx said a long time ago, a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free. Marx's arguments for Irish independence from England, despite the different particulars, are instructive for the situation in Canada today:

"...it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland. The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. The English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland."

—Letter to Engels, 10 December 1869

Leninism and the National Question

Twentieth-century capitalism has intensified national oppression and exacerbated reactionary national conflicts.

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Remon/Canadian Press

Bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois leaders Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard seek to exploit their "own" working class.

Young Spartacus

Police Red Squad at CUNY Colleges

Cops Off Campus!

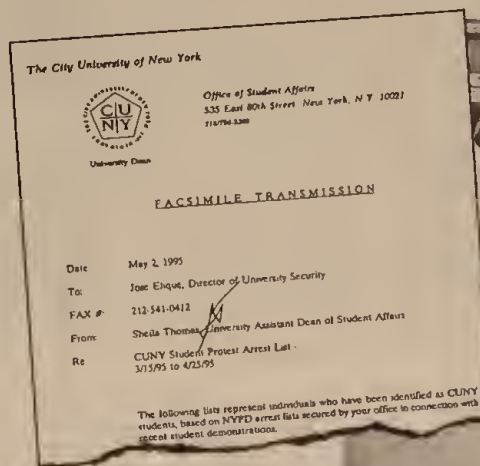
The City University of New York (CUNY) is escalating its sinister police repression of student dissent. A campus "red squad," trained and supplemented by the New York Police Department, is targeting the most visible student activists for blacklisting, arrest and academic witchhunting. In a broad campaign of surveillance and harassment, CUNY administrators pass the day poring over newspaper stories, tracking photos and articles and issuing memos to the NYPD in order to build up dossiers on student militants. They want a pre-emptive strike against student radicals who might stir up trouble. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Cops off campus! And that goes too for the ever-present campus security squads who demand student ID "passes" at every gate and entrance at city colleges.

The red squad was formed last January when the CUNY administration anticipated an outpouring of student opposition to planned budget cuts. This special 33-member cop force, remarkably dubbed "SAFE," is authorized to carry guns and was trained by the NYPD to keep tabs on protesters. When mass student mobilizations broke out at many CUNY schools in the spring, the red squad was called on at least six times: at three public trustee meetings that drew more than 100 protesters, at a CUNY career fair and the March 23 CUNY protest at City Hall, where more than 60 protesters were arrested and brutalized. In April, when students at City College went on a brief hunger strike, a crew of "SAFE" specialists busted more than 47 activists, including hunger strikers and their supporters. All summer long, protesters were dragged through the courts on charges ranging from criminal trespass to felony charges of resisting arrest.

CUNY officials, in collusion with the NYPD, have compiled an alphabetical list of the "usual suspects" who participated in spring protests, complete with racial characteristics, Social Security numbers, addresses and personal academic records. Vice Chancellor Elsa Nunez-Wormack, the head of "student affairs," said it was for the students' "own good" (!) and cynically claimed: "I get a thousand calls after every demonstration from spouses, significant others, relatives, wondering whether their loved ones were involved. I need that information" (*New York* magazine, 14 August). More than 100 documents obtained by the Hunter College *Envoy* under the Freedom of Information Act detail a web of spying and harassment stretching to NYPD commissioner William Bratton. Internal memos originating from the Office of Student Affairs show requests for academic information on students at various colleges, detailed reports on arrests made at student protests and requests made to the NYPD.

The whole operation is reminiscent of the FBI frame-up and spy campaign known as COINTELPRO that was used against communists, leftists and black radicals during the 1960s—even liberals like Martin Luther King Jr. were targeted. COINTELPRO and local police red squad frame-ups murdered 38 Black Panther Party members. Many others were framed up and languish in jail, including former L.A. Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned for over 23 years for a crime the government knows he could not and did

CUNY Office of Student Affairs memo reveals ominous surveillance of student demonstrators, drawn from NYPD files of those arrested at March 23 City Hall protest and elsewhere.



WV Photo

not commit—their own wiretap records (conveniently "disappeared") showed he was hundreds of miles away at the time. Today, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, is on death row for his political views and his beliefs—as more than 800 pages of FBI surveillance records amply reveal. While the red squad at CUNY isn't hunting students to kill them in their beds as the cops did to the Black Panthers, no one should underestimate the ominous nature of CUNY's surveillance efforts.

As Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Governor George Pataki heed the politics of Bill Clinton's White House, slashing programs and faculty throughout public higher education, students are squeezed out of classes or out of the system altogether. Enrollment dropped after the CUNY Board of Trustees agreed to hike tuition by as much as 82 percent—an increase of \$750 annually for undergraduates and a \$1000 increase annually for graduate students. The CUNY colleges are losing more than 600 professors through firings and early retirement as departments are whittled to the bone. Some four-year colleges abolished entire departments for physical education, nursing and Romance languages. Remedial programs which have long opened the doors to working-class, poor and immigrant youth in New York City are gutted. A 10 percent cut in financial aid by the state has forced thousands of youth out. What this amounts to is a racist purge, aimed principally at black and Hispanic youth.

Those who survive the cuts face the knowledge that they may never graduate since required courses are overbooked or never offered. For working-class youth juggling two or three part-time jobs to pay the bills, the dream of a college education is further out of reach. For the ruling class, which no longer has much use for educated working-class and minority youth, the answer to increasing numbers of young people shut out of the "land of opportunity" is to ratchet up the police repression: more jails and cops, fewer schools.

The priorities of the ruling class are clear at CUNY: courses and funding are

slashed and burned while the CUNY bureaucrats splurge on an internal security budget of \$30 million. Another manifestation of the austerity drive was shown at the College of Staten Island, where the student-run *College Voice*, an advocate of student protests, was denied funding by the administration in the name of fiscal constraints.

As the CUNY blacklists show, campus administrators are linked by a thousand threads to the bourgeoisie's state apparatus. As *Young Spartacus* wrote last spring: "Any serious social struggle will quickly come up against the whole state apparatus the capitalist class uses to suppress working-class struggles—the cops, the courts and the military. The bosses' government is not 'our' state but an instrument of terror on behalf of the capitalist exploiters" (WV No. 619, 24 March). The question of how to fight against state repression was hotly debated among students. This issue was posed sharply at a meeting of the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts on April 15, where SYC members successfully fought to expel a cop who was allowed into the meeting to speak. In protesting the cop presence, our comrades reminded students of the orgy of head-busting by the cops at the March 23 protest and the arrest of hunger strikers days earlier.

Even a basic democratic right like a decent education requires going up against the system itself. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for open admissions and free, quality education for all. As we wrote in YSp last spring at the height of the CUNY protests:

"Across the country, amid a racist backlash against affirmative action, black people are fast becoming missing persons on college campuses. To open up education to working-class and minority youth, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for open admissions, no tuition and a living stipend for all students. The private bastions of race and class privilege, like Columbia and New York University, should be nationalized! Against illusions in the university administration, the SYCs say students, workers and faculty should control the universities. Abolish the board of trustees!"

—WV No. 619, 24 March

New York Spartacus Youth Club members fought at teach-ins, rallies and meetings last spring for the perspective of students uniting with labor, in particular through a one-day citywide strike to shut down New York City. This call struck a chord with many CUNY students, who in their vast majority come from working-class families and themselves often work full-time. Many student activists understood that the attacks on higher education could be defeated if students linked up with powerful city unions, like transport and sanitation workers, who also face Giuliani's killer cuts. The main obstacle to this strategy was the labor bureaucrats. A palpable opportunity to unite students and labor in action was stabbed in the back by the labor misleaders such as Dennis Rivera who made secret deals with Giuliani and derailed by student bureaucrats and the fake left who through "coalition" politics tie students to the Democratic Party.

CUNY's escalation of police harassment of student activists again highlights the necessity of students allying with the working class, which alone has the social power and class interest to challenge the rule of the hudget-ax wielders. The Detroit newspaper strike gives a taste of the power of labor to strike against the bosses—and the role of hired security thugs and cops in busting picket lines. The popular chant, "Students united will never be defeated," is wrong. Students alone don't have the social power to take on the bosses' state and win. Increased repression is meant to make students lie down before the budget steamroller without any struggle. There should be no illusions in the administration, the courts or the bourgeois politicians—Democrats or Republicans. Their whole system keeps the working class exploited, divided and denied the fruits of their labor. We must ally with labor to sweep away this capitalist system and its entire apparatus of repression through socialist revolution. All cops off campus! For student/worker/faculty control of the university! Abolish the board of trustees! ■

What Comes Between You and Your Calvins?... The FBI

Calvin Klein jeans are hot again, regaining a cool, even slightly "gangsta," image. This summer's racy advertising campaign by ultra-fashionable photographer Steven Meisel, showing youthful models in seedy rec room "home video" scenes, sent sales of Klein's underwear and pants soaring. It also sparked a storm of controversy in a prurient press. And then the U.S. Justice Department and FBI decided to "investigate" whether "child pornography" laws were violated.

One mom tells *Newsday* (11 September) the ads are "absolutely" pornographic. Meanwhile her 15-year-old daughter's reaction to one shot: "She's got the body to wear it. Why not? I can't believe there's a controversy over this." This would all be just the usual fashion froth and generational misunderstanding—except for the genuinely sinister and scary intervention of the government. Just what business is it of the Justice Department and FBI what kids want to wear? And what makes it "pornography" anyhow? After all, the business interest of Calvin Klein, Inc. is to keep kids' pants ON, not off.

Back in 1980, the feds didn't get involved when 15-year-old Brooke Shields told a nationwide TV audience that "nothing comes between me and my Calvins." The use of teenagers and even very young children (infants' diaper commercials!) as working models is nothing new to the fashion industry,



Clinton's sex cops target everyone: ad campaign with teens modeling Calvin Klein jeans now being "investigated" by FBI morals squad.

where parental release forms are avidly sought after by yuppie parents yearning to make big bucks quick with a cute kid.

Sex is being used to sell clothes? How shocking. What we have here is yet another attempt by outraged reactionaries and bureaucrats to try to enforce puritanical social codes on everybody, especially youth. "Child pornography" was a watchword of the Reagan years in the 1980s, when the White House and its Christian fundamentalist allies unleashed a witchhunt against day care, drugs, teen sex and porn, designed to manipulate the population into chasing largely imaginary devils, while seeking to hide the

fact that this society has done horrible harm to youth with its enforced poverty and inequality.

Today, Democratic president Clinton's Justice Department, headed by the sinister Janet Reno, who authorized the slaughter of over 80 men, women and children near Waco, Texas, on the pretext of stopping "child abuse," continues this sick, bizarre attempt to cover its own real crimes. While Congress conducts hearings on how the FBI has gotten away with murdering American citizens, it seems these top bureaucrats have their minds set on going after teen sexuality and fashion. It's not the Calvin ads but the FBI that's disgusting and creepy

and a deadly danger to us all. No one is safe to look at anything they want, not even in cyberspace. The FBI snoops have expanded their police web, busting computer users in the name of cracking down on "child pornography." What this is really about is the administration trying to show it is "morally correct" on "family values" for the 1996 elections.

As for the fashion industry, what's disgusting about it is not the fantasies it promotes via high-paid fashion models, but its exploitation of thousands of unseen workers in sweatshops, including young women and children. Witness the recent "discovery" of Thai women trapped in the El Monte factory in California, or the slave-like conditions of Jessica McClintock's sweatshops in the Bay

Area. This grinding exploitation goes on every day around the world. In the U.S., immigrants, often Hispanic and Asian, toil their lives away in the garment industry, as their bosses compete with foreign capitalists who exploit even cheaper labor abroad, all to make millions in profits for the big business capitalists who rule the world—for now. What's needed is to organize the unorganized, to mobilize union power against the garment bosses to fight for workers power. This is what the Spartacus Youth Clubs stand for and it is part of the same fight to keep the government and its sick killers like Janet Reno out of our bedrooms, out of our lives and OUT of our jeans! ■

Detroit...

(continued from page 1)

said after spending a cold night on the line: "This army needs a leader."

The last decade is littered with hard-fought strikes that ended as bitter defeats, knifed by the union tops. In Pittsburgh in 1992, a 5,000-man mass picket shut down the scab *Press/Post-Gazette* operation, but the strike dragged on for months, and in the end the bureaucrats sold it out, giving the owners the job cuts they were after. At Hormel in 1986, Local P-9 put the company's back to the wall with roving pickets and workers massed at the Austin, Minnesota plant. But the leadership folded the strike into a losing consumer boycott when faced with the mobilization of the National Guard. Today in Decatur, Illinois, massive scabbing, unopposed by the union misleaders, has defeated the Bridgestone-Firestone strike and threatens to wipe out the unions at Staley and Caterpillar, where the UAW brass are preparing to fold again.

The union leaderships themselves are the main reason why strike after strike has gone down to defeat. Fundamentally, this bureaucratic layer views the world through the same lens as the corporate bosses. They serve as lieutenants in the labor movement for the capitalist ruling class, policing the unions to prevent outbursts of class struggle and to isolate and sabotage strikes when they occur. Their loyalty is not to the union membership but to the strategic interests of U.S. capital. Thus over the last two decades they have presided over massive

cuts in real wages, intensified productivity through speedup, and decimation of industry, all in the name of making American capitalism more competitive, while U.S. companies move to the open shop Sun Belt and go "off shore" to reap superprofits from starvation-wage Third World workers.

In order to fight against the bourgeoisie there must be a fight within the trade unions to oust the bureaucratic leaderships. But various groups that claim to offer a "socialist" alternative to the Detroit newspaper strikers are no better than the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The Communist Party joins the union tops in lame appeals for readers to cancel subscriptions to the scab paper. The way to stop subscriptions is by *stopping production*. And how can the Workers League (*International Workers Bulletin*) offer a way to fight union-hustling? It doesn't even print its own paper in a union shop! Over the years, these bandits have gone from hedging George Meany (!) to form a "labor party" to today completely writing off the unions as workers organizations. When it comes to the Detroit strike, the *Bulletin* offers empty rhetoric about the need for "political struggle" and no program to mobilize union power to win this key class battle.

One group that has shown up on the picket lines is the Revolutionary Workers League and its "Strike to Win Committee." The Committee's leaflets proclaim: "We say picket lines are for stopping scabs." That's pretty rich coming from the RWL, the first issue of whose (now defunct) paper was dedicated to justifying its supporters crossing picket lines, in particular in an AFSCME

strike at the University of Michigan in 1977!

In strike leaflets, the RWL's be-all and end-all is "militant mass struggle." This is a program of trade-union economism just waiting for a militant-talking careerist to take it up. What they want is a repeat of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which both they and the International Socialist Organization (*Socialist Worker*) support. The TDU, far from challenging the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, was pivotal in engineering the takeover of the Teamsters by the Justice Department and the capitalist courts.

Militant, mass picket lines that *shut down the scab papers* are urgently necessary. But as one defeated strike after another has shown, militancy alone is not enough. It is necessary to break out of the bounds of business-unionism.

That's clear as day in labor/black Detroit. Significant as the mass pickets in Sterling Heights have been, they are also overwhelmingly white. UAW president Steve Yokich spouts hot air, but where were the over 20,000 United Auto Workers members who work in the area, and the many more just a few miles away in Detroit? It is necessary to bring out the doubly oppressed black Detroit working class and ghetto poor to help surround the plant and *stop the scabs*. To forge that kind of alliance in struggle requires a leadership that links the fight against union-busting to the fight against racist cop terror, that battles layoffs with the demand for jobs for all and that recognizes the need to mobilize the power of organized labor against right-wing racist terrorists.

The Spartacist League fights to forge

a workers party built in sharp struggle against both the Democrats and Republicans and their capitalist profit system. That's not what Labor Party Advocates (LPA), heavily hoisted by much of the left, is about. Over the past year, a section of the AFL-CIO has turned to the LPA as a means of pressuring Clinton's Democrats. The bureaucracy's program of class collaboration is codified in their position in the Democratic Party. Both contenders for the AFL-CIO presidency, Donahue and Sweeney, have already endorsed "open shop" Clinton for '96, and Sweeney (the supposed "new blood") sits on the Democrats' National Committee. And the LPA's "founding conference" is slated for next June, in time to slide in behind the Democrats' election campaign.

An LPA leaflet to the newspaper strikers calls for "a trade policy that raises wages"—a call for imperialist protectionism of the sort that UAW tops brandish against Japanese auto workers. Such protectionist poison killed the recent Bridgestone-Firestone strike and feeds into the racist anti-immigrant campaign being waged by both capitalist parties.

Devastated Detroit is a monument to the irrationality of capitalism, a hoohum-hust system which tramples on human lives and destroys productive capacity. What's needed is a workers party that fights to replace the capitalist system with a workers government, which will expropriate the bosses and create a planned economy geared to meeting the needs of working people and the poor. That's the sort of leadership needed to win the newspaper strike and the class battles to come. ■

Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

continued from page 1

took the stand to challenge the state's "evidence," and it was revealed that Jamal's supposed "confession" was cooked up at a meeting of police and the prosecution weeks after the killing.

Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, asked to delay the final decision to allow testimony from more new witnesses, at least three of whom have made themselves known in the last few weeks. This request was summarily denied, as were so many before. Reflecting unease in ruling-class circles, a number of major dailies, including both the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*, editorialized against Sabo's antics. Don Terry in the *New York Times* (16 September) noted that Sabo "overruled almost every defense objection and sustained almost every one made by the prosecution."

In the battle that raged all summer between Jamal's supporters and the forces of death arrayed by the court, the D.A. and cops, truth and justice were continually ruled "out of order." Sabo baldly proclaimed in his September 15 decision, "It is not credible that police officers investigating the murder of a police officer would discard an eyewitness report implying the existence of an additional suspect or suspects." But Mumia wasn't just any suspect—they had him in their gun sights for years. Coming at the height of investigations into the Philly cops' systematic manufacturing of evidence, along with setting up and brutalizing of suspects, the frame-up pattern that led to the death sentence for Mumia is all too familiar to black people in Philadelphia, and many others.

Sabo, the black-robed executioner who has consigned over 30 people to death, roughly double that of any other judge in the U.S., has long been a key cog in Philly's racist frame-up system. As a former chairman of the Philadelphia Bar Association's criminal justice section put it, "the Constitution dies a little bit each time Judge Sabo walks onto the bench." Recently, a federal judge ordered a retrial for Edward Sistrunk (now known as Omar Askia Alia), a black man serving a life term after being convicted in Sabo's court for a 1971 robbery/murder. Sistrunk, whose radical views made him a target of the Philly cops, won the retrial on the grounds that prosecutors excluded blacks from his trial jury.

A similar claim of gross racial bias was raised in Jamal's appeal, which showed that during the 1982 jury selec-

tion process at least ten of the prosecution's 15 peremptory challenges were used to remove black jurors. When Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Jamal's attorneys and Partisan Defense Committee counsel, tried to present evidence of racial bias in Pennsylvania's death penalty before Sabo, he ordered her jailed, to the astonishment of reporters and spectators.

Sabo's 154-page decision was virtually, argument by argument, a restatement of the D.A.'s "findings of fact," rejecting every one of the points raised by Jamal's defense. Wolkenstein responded: "That type of dismissal is simply not credible. This is confirmation of

ing him to sit with his legs shackled.

The Pittsburgh suit has already forced prison officials to admit that they opened sensitive and legally privileged correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys, discussing defense strategy for the PCRA hearings, and forwarded it to the governor's office. Authorities at the SCI Greene "supermax" prison, where Jamal is incarcerated, say they will stop opening such correspondence and will now allow Jamal the same, highly restrictive, media access that other death row prisoners get. However, visits from paralegals are still being cut off. Back in Philadelphia, when Wolkenstein tried to submit evidence of the

tant intimidation, he disappeared again.

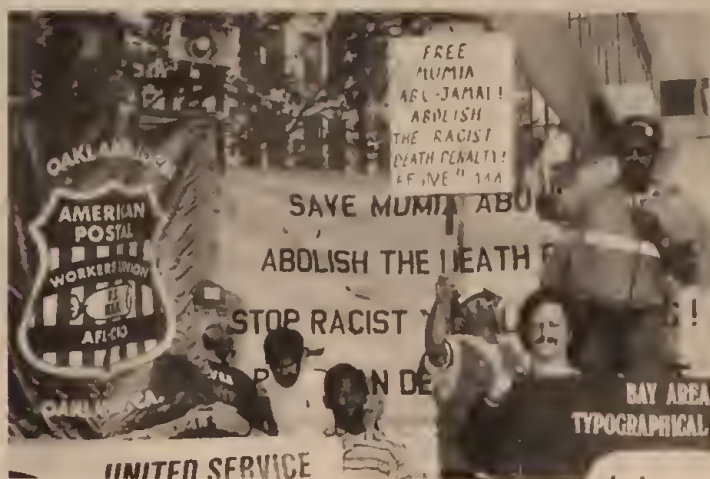
Cook had good reason to fear for his life. At every session of the PCRA hearings, a praetorian guard of armed Philly cops organized by the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which counts Sabo as a former member, sat opposite Mumia's family and supporters. When international protests forced Sabo to grant the stay execution, one FOP thug sneered, "It makes you wonder, maybe we should have executed him at 13th and Locust" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

Sabo rushed to issue his ruling so that an FOP demonstration scheduled for Philadelphia's Independence Mall the next day would turn into a pro-death "victory" celebration. The rally featured a mob of several thousand cops howling for Mumia's death. They didn't need lynch ropes and white sheets—their uniforms and guns are the outlits these racist thugs use to carry out their reign of terror against minorities in Philadelphia. California governor (and Republican presidential hopeful) Pete Wilson lashed out against Jamal at a recent Philly FOP gathering. And both Democratic and Republican parties are whipping up racist right-wing "law and order" sentiment for the '96 elections.

The cops, prosecutors and judges comprise part of a system of state repression that has long had Mumia in its cross hairs. The battle to free Jamal is a fight for all working people and minorities. If the racist rulers succeed in carrying out this legal lynching of an innocent man sentenced to die for his political beliefs—or if they keep him locked up for life, as leading capitalist mouthpieces such as the *New York Times* prefer—it will buttress the machinery of capitalist state terror. Since the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League took up Jamal's defense over eight years ago, we have insisted on the need to mobilize labor's power in action to save him. Now Mumia's supporters must redouble their efforts in mobilizing to demand his freedom and the abolition of the death penalty that stands at the pinnacle of the racist bourgeois legal system.

Sabo's Kangaroo Court, Part II

The conclusion of the PCRA hearing on September 11 took place in Philadelphia's new criminal justice building, a veritable monument to the burgeoning U.S. police state. Ostensibly representing "the people," Sabo and the D.A.s were sealed off from the people attending the session by a thick wall of bulletproof glass. As the only court so equipped, this facility was dubbed by



Hundreds of trade unionists came out in labor/black rallies for Mumia Abu-Jamal in August. Above: Oakland, August 3.

what we have said all along—that this was a racially motivated, politically biased prosecution, and Judge Sabo had no intention of hearing what we had to say."

A separate legal action was undertaken on September 5 in U.S. District Court in Pittsburgh by attorney Jere Krakoff, challenging the state's harassment of Jamal for "engaging in a profession"—i.e., his powerful writings describing the horrors of the prison system. These hearings were suspended after three days to allow the Philadelphia hearing to conclude. Since the announcement of the publication of Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, he has been barred from interviews in prison with the press, and visits from legal aides have been severely restricted. The state jacked up its harassment of Mumia at the Pittsburgh hearings, forc-

state's tampering with Jamal's mail. Sabo ruled her out of order and again threatened her with jailing.

A dramatic development in the final days of hearings was the appearance of Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, whose car was stopped by Faulkner moments before the 1981 shooting. Cook surfaced at the Pittsburgh court after years of living in hiding. After speaking with Cook, Wolkenstein submitted an affidavit that Cook stated that "Mumia did not shoot officer Faulkner." Wolkenstein also reported that Cook "feared for his life if he testifies for his brother and that after his arrest in 1981 and on numerous occasions thereafter he had been warned by police not to testify." In response to Wolkenstein's affidavit, the prosecution threatened to arrest Cook on outstanding bench warrants, should he appear at the PCRA hearing. Driven away by this bla-

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but as expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Sabo, ruled on September 15 against Mumia's appeal in a flagrant disregard of the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia is now closer to a legal lynching. As the next stage of legal appeals goes forward, we must redouble our efforts for his freedom. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's earlier (August 7) ruling for a stay was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

1 Organize protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom 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. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

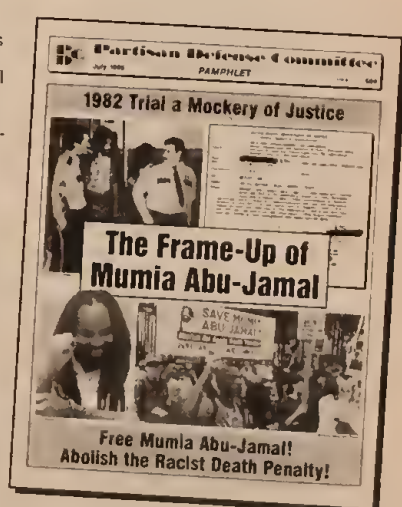
2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of

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. 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 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of \$5 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. Ridge changes 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) 789-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

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.



Spread the word: order bundles of the new PDC pamphlet!

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

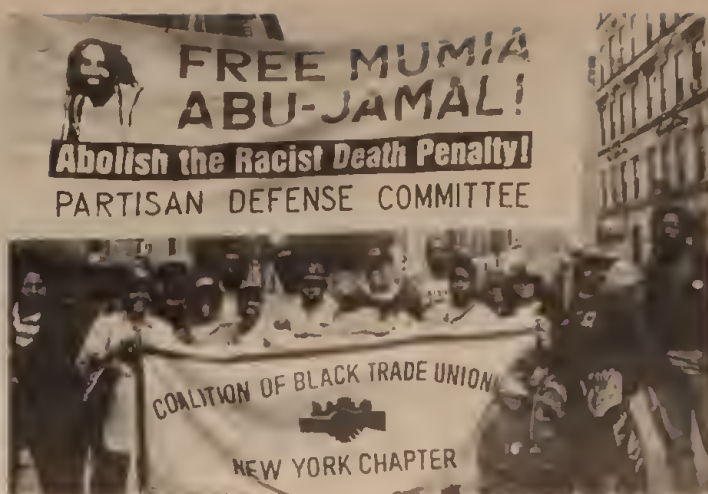
court and press personnel as alternately the "mob room" and the "Mumia room."

As the first of four defense lawyers to speak in the final arguments, Dan Williams pointed to the failure of Janial's 1982 attorney to present character witnesses at the sentencing portion of the trial and challenged the state to find one case where a defendant had been sentenced to death without presentation of mitigation witnesses. Williams demolished the story of Mumia's "confession," declaring that evidence that the D.A. and cops conjured up this tale "blows the lid off the prosecution's case." The first time there was any mention of a "confession" was 64 days after the shooting, after Jamal had pressed charges against the cops for having assaulted him that night, when the D.A.s convened a meeting with the cops to cook up this story.

This meeting came to light in the testimony of Gary Wakshul, the cop who guarded Mumia from the time the cops arrived on the scene of the shooting until he received medical treatment hours later. Wakshul wrote in an official report that day that "during this time the negro male made no comments." During the 1982 trial, Wakshul was said by prosecutor Joseph McGill to be "on vacation" and "unavailable" for testimony. It turns out that he was *at home during the entire trial*. When asked by Internal Affairs cops in February 1982 why he had not reported the alleged confession earlier, Wakshul answered, "I didn't realize it [the confession] had any importance until today." Who can possibly believe this?

Jamal's legal team tore into the credibility of the prosecution's witnesses, who changed their original reports on the shooting to implicate Jamal after they were offered deals or favors because of their own criminal records. Anthony Jackson, Jamal's court-appointed attorney in 1982, testified in these hearings that "whenever there was any testimony that was changed, it was always to the benefit of the Commonwealth. Each and every time." Prostitute Cynthia White, for example, was allowed to work the streets under police protection after saying that Jamal was the shooter.

Taking the stand in August, taxi driver Robert Chobert, who initially reported seeing Faulkner's shooter run away hut



Jamal's cause was raised by marchers at African American Day Parade in Harlem, September 17.

changed his testimony to implicate Jamal, testified that he was driving a cab that night with a suspended license. When he told this to prosecutor Joseph McGill, not only was he not prosecuted, but McGill said he would see what he could do to reinstate the license. He continued to drive for years without a valid license. Chobert's earlier arson conviction—for torching a school for pay!—was hidden from the jury that convicted Jamal.

Jamal's defense team also showed that witnesses who saw someone other than Jamal shoot Faulkner were either hidden from the defense or intimidated into silence. A chilling exhibit of the frame-up methods of the Philly cops was revealed in the testimony of William Singletary, who had reported to police that he saw Faulkner shoot Jamal and that another man shot Faulkner. As reported in Jamal's "findings of fact":

"Mr. Singletary gave his written statement to the detective. The detective read the statement. Then the detective ripped it up and threw it in the trash. "Mr. Singletary wrote out his statement a second time. Again the detective glanced at it, halled it up, and threw it in the trash. "The detective told Mr. Singletary to write what the detective wanted him to

write. The detective threatened Mr. Singletary and said 'I wouldn't leave, that they would take me to the elevator and beat me up and that my business would be destroyed.' Detective Green said 'you will stay here until you say what I want you to say or you won't leave.' "Ultimately Mr. Singletary was asked to sign an investigation report which was not true, and did not disclose that Mr. Jamal was innocent. Detective Green dictated the report and Mr. Singletary hand wrote it."

Under constant police harassment, threats and suspicious and repeated damage to his gas station, Singletary fled the city in fear.

In her summary remarks, Rachel Wolkenstein described the D.A.'s case against Jamal as "a house of cards propped up by prosecutorial misconduct." She pointed to the parallels in the federal investigation into corruption and brutality in the 39th precinct taking place simultaneously with these hearings. Assistant D.A. Hugh Burns lamely replied that "this case happened in the 6th district in 1982, not in the 39th district in 1995." But the defense "findings of fact" noted: "It was a pattern and practice of the Philadelphia Police Department to harass, intimidate and threaten witnesses who filed complaints against

the department. This pattern and practice was the subject of the 1979 lawsuit filed by the United States of America against the City of Philadelphia."

The systematic injustices suffered by blacks in Philadelphia were addressed by attorney Jonathan Piper. Denouncing D.A. Lynne Abraham's "passion for death," he pointed out that blacks are three to four times more likely than whites to be sentenced to death in Pennsylvania, yet the defense was denied the right to argue that this racial bias rendered the state's death penalty unconstitutional. Piper cited the D.A.'s jaw-dropping statement, in response to Jamal's appeal, that "death does not constitute irreparable injury" to the defendant. He listed numerous constitutional violations in the 1982 trial and now in the PCRA hearings, and brought up the denial of Jamal's right of discovery of prosecution evidence hidden from the defense. None of this mattered to the court.

Lead attorney Leonard Weinglass wrapped up the defense's arguments by recapping the reasons for a new trial, from Sabo's denying the defense access to ballistics, investigative and medical experts to the incompetent counsel Mumia was saddled with in 1982. Weinglass concluded, "This case is well below the acceptable standards of due process rights in this country. The court must step in and recognize that Jamal never had a trial in 1982. Give Mr. Jamal an opportunity to test, in the crucible of opposition, the prosecution's case."

Closing her remarks to the court, Wolkenstein described how Jamal's FBI files reveal "collusion between the Philly cops and the FBI and massive bias against Jamal as an outspoken critic of police brutality and racism.... Not only is Jamal entitled to a new trial, but the level of misconduct is so great that the charges should be dismissed." As the proceedings have shown, justice for Jamal will not come about through the workings of the capitalist courts. As a sign in a recent demonstration for Jamal in Brazil proclaimed, it is necessary to "Mobilize the Proletariat with Its Methods of Struggle for the Liberation of Jamal, the Oppressed and Exploited." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

France...

(continued from page 12)

anti-immigrant campaign in France. The LTF initiated a united-front demonstration on September 15 protesting Chirac's racist state of siege and colonial repression.

The Chirac government started the new political season by showing the true face of the French bourgeoisie: racist and imperialist state terrorism. Soon after having participated in the bloody UN/NATO aggression against the Bosnian Serbs, they brought down brutal colonialist repression on the revolt in Tahiti; at the same time they put "metropolitan" France under a racist state of siege, swarming not only with cops but also with the army.

It is the duty of the workers movement to mobilize right now all the social power of the working class for massive, militant actions (like strikes and demonstrations) against the racist terror which is raining down on immigrant communities in France and the Polynesian people!

**Tahiti: Freedom Now for the Imprisoned Trade Unionists and Demonstrators!
Independence Now for the French Colonies!**

From de Gaulle to Mitterrand, the *force de frappe* [French nuclear arsenal] was targeted on the major cities of the USSR. While the social-chauvinists of the

Socialist Party and the PCF supported this terrorist arsenal, we Trotskyists, who defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism (while calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy), opposed the *force de frappe* from the outset. Now that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has opened the Pandora's box of interimperialist rivalries, Chirac, by deciding to restart nuclear tests, is brandishing his arsenal of death as a threat against all the potential rivals of French imperialism who might threaten its "vital interests," but also against all the neocolonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke.

This arrogant decision has provoked an outcry throughout the world, and particularly in the French colonies of the Pacific. The mobilizations which have taken place in Polynesia since June have turned into a veritable uprising against the colonial "order" which crushes these islands. The demonstrations of September 6 and 7 confronted a horde of police. This is the way that Chirac commemorates the 50th anniversary of the imperialist massacre at Sétif, in Algeria, by once again launching his thugs against a colonized people. The blows of colonial "justice" immediately rained down: some ten protesters were sentenced to several months in prison and today around 20 pro-independence trade-union militants have just been arrested. *The workers movement must demand their immediate release and the dropping of all the charges.* French imperialism has also carried out acts of piracy against Greenpeace ships. *Chirac, hands off the*

Greenpeace activists! We Trotskyists say: Down with the French force de frappe! Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army! Down with the attack by France, the UN and NATO on the Bosnian Serbs! Down with the racist, colonialist terror of French imperialism! French imperialism out of the Pacific! Independence for Polynesia and all the French colonies of the overseas departments and territories! Eloi Machoro, Rainbow Warrior, Ouvea—the working class must avenge the crimes of French imperialism!

Down With Operation Vigipirate! Down With the Racist State of Siege!

The Chirac government is using the criminal bombings which have bloodied the streets of Paris and Villeurbanne to unleash a huge racist operation, unprecedented since the dirty war in Algeria. Racist identity checks, roundups, deportations, charter flights shipping out "illegals," etc. By giving the operation the name "Vigipirate" (as during the bloody imperialist Gulf War in 1990-91), the government clearly shows its main aim: to terrorize the immigrant communities.

In the name of the racist, chauvinist "holy alliance" "against terrorism," Chirac wants to prepare the population for arbitrary measures and for repression against anyone who fights its measures of social reaction. The anti-immigrant policies of the bourgeoisie are the spearhead of its utterly reactionary politics. Chirac whips up hysteria against immigrants and their children to avoid a social "third round" [i.e., a wave of unrest fol-

lowing the two rounds of the presidential elections in June], which the strikes last spring threatened. The bourgeoisie wants to divide and rule. *The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight!*

Stop the charter flights and the deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Caps out of the ghetto housing projects! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defense guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

**No to Class Collaboration!
For a Workers Government!**

The present leaders of the workers movement have so far not lifted a finger in defense of the Polynesians or of immigrants and their children. Quite the opposite: as loyal servants of their own bourgeoisie, they defend the imperialist interests of France, forming part of the racist consensus. The PCF leadership has even engaged in an obscene flirtation with the neo-Gaullist Chirac: a way for them to recall the "good old days" when PCF ministers sat in the government of de Gaulle which massacred the Algerians at Sétif. The struggle against racist and colonialist terror poses ponthank the need to build a multiracial, internationalist revolutionary workers party, which must be the tribune of all the oppressed.

Only the establishment of a workers government, a hastion of world socialist revolution, will be able to put an end to all the barbarity of capitalism—from racist and imperialist terror to the threat of a nuclear holocaust. ■

Quebec...

(continued from page 5)

Nationalist reaction was a driving force for capitalist restoration in the former workers states of East Europe and the Soviet Union. At the same time, in the wake of counterrevolution, nationalist hostilities have exploded worldwide, along with an escalation of interimperialist rivalries.

The drive by major powers to redivide the world into regional trade blocs and the increasing offshore production in low-wage Third World countries underscores the need for communists to champion the rights of oppressed nations. Only by standing forthrightly against the nationalism of an oppressor nation can the proletarian vanguard claim the moral authority to call on workers of an oppressed nation to fight their "own" nationalist leaders, who seek to solidify their place among the exploiters and oppressors.

In a series of major writings, Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin developed the Marxist approach to the national question in the epoch of imperialism, i.e., the epoch of capitalist decay. The tsarist empire was a prisonhouse of peoples, the Great Russian autocracy lording it over millions of Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians and a multitude of other oppressed nationalities. In his "Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (February-May 1914), Lenin wrote:

"In this situation, the proletariat of Russia is faced with a twofold or, rather, a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind, above all, Great-Russian nationalism; to recognize, not only fully equal rights for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards polity, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession. And at the same time, it is their task, in the interests of a successful struggle against all and every kind of nationalism among all nations, to preserve the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organizations, amalgamating these organizations into a close-knit international association, despite bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness. "Complete equality of rights for all nations, the right of nations to self-determination, the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teach the workers."

While upholding the right to independence, Lenin emphasized that the question whether or not to advocate separation can and must be judged only in the concrete: "The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism" ("Resolution on the National Question," May 1917). In Russia, it was clear that national separation or the attainment of any other substantial democratic demand was inconceivable without a thoroughgoing revolution. Thus Lenin advocated to the non-Russian nationalities a course of common struggle

against the tsarist autocracy.

In each case the question for Marxists is: how best, under the given historical circumstances, to break the hold of nationalism and chauvinism and turn the workers against their own bourgeoisie, opening the road to revolutionary struggle. The answer is not the same at all times and in all places, nor can a policy for one country be mechanically transposed to another. The differences between English Canada and Quebec are much greater, for example, than those between the Swedes and Norwegians, who separated peacefully in 1905, or between the Russians and Ukrainians, whose Slavic languages are largely mutually intelligible (not to mention the Croats and Serbs who speak the same language!).

The closest contemporary parallel would appear to be the Walloon-Flemish division that is Belgium. National/linguistic antagonisms in that country have significantly deepened over recent decades, and are today a strategic obstacle to working-class struggle against capitalism.

In Canada and Quebec, the experience of at least the past two decades demonstrates clearly that successful proletarian struggle demands separation into two independent nation-states. Thus, regardless of the outcome of the coming referendum, and in general in the future, we will continue to advocate Quebec independence. At the same time, we recognize that self-determination is a bourgeois-democratic right and as such is subordinate to the broader interests of proletarian revolution. Thus our position advocating Quebec independence could dramatically change in any case or at any juncture where this would cut against the historic interests of the proletariat.

Quebec Independence and Canada's Future

There is much speculation that Quebec's separation could accelerate already strong centrifugal forces, leading to the breakup of English Canada and its unification in whole or in part with the U.S. We are strategically indifferent to such a development, and certainly think it has absolutely no bearing on the question of advocating independence for Quebec.

The unification of English Canada with the U.S. poses no particular question of principle for Marxists other than that it be democratically arrived at. We are far from indifferent, however, if the principal aspect of such an act is to strengthen American imperialism, particularly in the face of the sharp rise of interimperialist rivalries. In this regard, the statement in the document adopted by the Second International Conference of the International Communist League that "we are opposed to the disintegration of English Canada which at present could only strengthen the power of U.S. imperialism" is truncated and correspondingly potentially one-sided.

In the 1970s, American ruling circles expressed concern about the instability which could be ushered in by the creation



In January 1983, 50,000 workers demonstrated in Quebec City against union-busting by nationalist PQ government.

of an independent Quebec. While Washington hardly considered René Lévesque a Fidel Castro of the north, it was worried by the widespread labor and leftist radicalism which was shaking Quebec at the time. More broadly, in the context of international Cold War, the U.S. sought to maintain Canada as a reliable forward base for war against the USSR.

Now, with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, this is no longer so important, especially as Parizeau, Bouchard & Co. have sworn fealty to NATO and other military pacts. Additionally, the North American Free Trade Agreement creates a framework for continued and strengthened economic ties whether Quebec is independent or not—not least, access to relatively cheap hydroelectric power.

Nonetheless, during his recent visit to Canada, U.S. president Clinton again made clear Washington's preference for a "united" and independent Canada. Ottawa has proved extremely useful over the years as a soft cop for American imperialism, the "peacekeepers" who have provided a front for the U.S. from Korea to Vietnam to Africa and the Middle East. But in the end, Wall Street could care less whether Montreal bankers and industrialists speak French or English—as long as the dividends and interest payments are in convertible currency and are paid.

For North American Socialist Revolution!

As in 1980, there has been much jockeying and maneuvering among Quebec's separatist leaders over the wording of the question to be put to a referendum vote this fall. Not surprisingly, the Québécois are a bit ambivalent about departing—especially with one-quarter of the Canadian national debt as their inheri-

tance from having been under the English for so long. Comedian Yvon Deschamps captured the contradiction in his famous quip that what the Québécois really want is "an independent Quebec within a strong and united Canada."

But whatever the conjunctural sentiment, the fact remains that Quebec has, in all concrete ways, insisted on *la survie* (survival), necessarily through compacting an insular francophone culture and society. And in English Canada, the chauvinist outcry against Quebec's assertion of national sovereignty erects profound barriers to proletarian class struggle. It is necessary, and has been for quite some time, to cut the Gordian knot.

Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their "own" capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is "not us." Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror "justified" in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and hedevis this country.

We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity. For an independent Quebec! For class struggle against all the capitalist exploiters, from Bay Street and Ottawa, to Rue St-Jacques and Quebec City, to Wall Street and Washington! Forward in the fight for North American socialist revolution! ■



Huge and lucrative Hydro Quebec power projects, financed by New York banks, symbolized growing assertiveness of Québécois bourgeoisie.

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Balkans...

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be subordinated to a Greater Croatia. But the gratuitous character of the murderous bombing campaign was underscored by the fact that Milosevic—desperate to end the imperialist starvation embargo of Serbia—and the Bosnian Serbs acquiesced to Clinton's "peace" proposal before NATO launched its latest assault. And Washington has assiduously covered up the real terms of the latest agreement on withdrawal of Serb guns from around Sarajevo.

While the NATO air offensive produced a momentary convergence of interests among the Western powers, one immediate effect was to provoke a flare-up with Russia. Seeking to assert itself as a regional power—although short on the military wherewithal—Moscow has simultaneously postured as the big-power champion of Serbia in the international diplomatic arena and the "soft cop" for the Western imperialists vis-à-vis the Serbs. Thus, the Russians made a big show of indignation over the NATO air strikes while simultaneously pressuring the Bosnian Serbs to acquiesce. Washington then offered Russia a role in policing the NATO-imposed ceasefire around Sarajevo.

This key element is not mentioned in the American press, but is extensively reported in West Europe. The German news weekly *Der Spiegel* (18 September) summed it up as "Russians to Sarajevo." The Rome daily *La Repubblica* (15 September) ran a front-page editorial under the headline "The Russian Card," and reported: "The division of labor will see Moscow's troops deployed on territory under Serb control, and above all in the suburbs around Sarajevo, so as to prevent eventual incursions by the Bosnian army." In exchange for Russia policing the Serbs, the U.S. and NATO have agreed to ease treaty restrictions on the number of tanks Moscow can deploy in the Caucasus.

Under the umbrella of NATO's air war, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim ground forces launched an offensive in western and central Bosnia which succeeded in driving 100,000 Serbs from their ancestral homeland. Following on the heels of the Croatian onslaught against Krajina last month, in a matter of weeks upwards of 300,000 Serbs have been forced from their homes. This is the single most extensive instance of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan blood wars—which have already produced well over 3 million refugees—and the largest forced population transfer in the region in over a century. And it was perpetrated under the direct auspices of the U.S. and its NATO allies, with the complicity of the Serb leadership, aimed at "creating facts" on the ground for the imperialist-engineered carve-up.

Noting that "Serbian efforts to repel the [Croat/Muslim] attacks have still been surprisingly light," an article in the

New York Times (14 September) cited the comment by a UN official in western Bosnia: "It's a lot easier to scare these people into moving out of an area that's going to be given up than it is to wait until the new borders are announced and then ask them to please leave their homes." In other words, tens of thousands of Serb families are being bombed out of their homes in order that the various nationalist leaders and their imperialist sponsors can "peacefully" redraw the map amid the serenity of Lake Geneva. Such imperialist-inspired forced population transfers are not without precedent in the Balkans. In the 1920s, more than two million people were brutally "exchanged" among Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey under the auspices of the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations.

For years, the Western press has steadily churned out denunciations of "ethnic cleansing" by the Bosnian Serbs. Exposing the imperialist hypocrisy, we have pointed out that these nationalist wars for redivision of territory have been marked by chauvinist atrocities on all sides. They are part and parcel of the counterrevolutionary destruction—which the imperialist powers helped to engineer—of the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Milosevic rose to power as the IMF's man in Belgrade in the 1980s, imposing brutal austerity policies. Milosevic's drive for a Greater Serbia trampled on the federated structure of Tito's Yugoslavia, and was mirrored in Croatia by the ascendance of fascist Holocaust apologist Franjo Tudjman. In 1991, Germany instigated Croatia's declaration of independence, which triggered the fratricidal slaughter that destroyed Yugoslavia. A year later, the U.S. encouraged Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic to form a separate state, provoking the three-sided communal bloodbath among Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed the nationalist slaughter on all sides while denouncing all imperialist intervention, including the presence of UN "peacekeepers" and the punishing economic embargo of Serbia. However, in recent months the character of the war has changed as the weight of Western imperialism increasingly pressed against the Bosnian Serbs, first with the deployment of NATO's "rapid reaction forces" in the spring and then with the U.S./German-sponsored Croatian blitzkrieg in Krajina. Now this has become a Western imperialist war against the Bosnian Serb people. For Leninists, this mandates a position of *revolutionary defensism* toward the Bosnian Serbs.

In defending the Bosnian Serbs on the battlefield, we do not change in the least our revolutionary opposition to their reactionary nationalist leaders like General Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic and their rapacious policies. On the contrary, working-class struggle to overthrow the nationalist butchers in Belgrade and Pale—and their counterparts

in Zagreb and Sarajevo—is the only way to halt the cycle of fratricidal slaughter and revenge. Key to this is the formation of Leninist-internationalist parties, cohered in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International and committed to a program of workers revolution against all the nationalist regimes as part of the fight for world socialist revolution.

While Tito's World War II Partisans rid the country of the fascist Ustasha and Chetnik royalist gangs, his Stalinist policy of building "socialism in one country" inevitably fostered growing national antagonisms, ultimately preparing the ground for counterrevolution. Today, amid the growing war-weariness and impoverishment, there is widespread nostalgia for the relative ethnic harmony which existed before capitalist counter-revolution. A Trotskyist nucleus would fight to galvanize the working people among all the nationalities in revolutionary struggle against the imperialist bloodsuckers who created this horror and the nationalist demagogues who perpetuate and profit from it.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the International Communist League likewise called for defeat of the U.S.-led imperialist onslaught and defense of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi working masses and oppressed Kurds to overthrow the despot Saddam Hussein. General Colin Powell's memoirs now reveal that the Pentagon even considered using nuclear weapons against Iraq. Yet, going with the flow of Washington's "New World Order," many liberals and even leftists joined the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait," donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing. By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types had graduated from being simply cheerleaders into becoming the most bellicose advocates of NATO imperialist intervention.

Thus one Tim Wohlforth, the squeezed-out former honcho of the Workers League, who previously pleaded for the imperialists to "give war a chance" (*In These Times*, 26 July 1993) and now peddles his demented pro-imperialist enthusiasms on the Internet, congratulated NATO on September 6 for its terror-bombing of the Serbs with a fervent "Good Going!" Not far behind this outright warmonger are many self-styled "socialists" who have enlisted in the imperialist crusade over Bosnia. The British Workers Power group, one of the hoosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, could barely restrain itself from enthusing over NATO's air war, arguing that its "objectives would be progressive" if only the war planes did not have NATO insignia. Workers Power's 5 September statement scandalously declares that "in the war between NATO and the [Bosnian Serb] Republika Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides." Workers Power openly

admits that NATO is now waging war against the Bosnian Serbs, yet remains "neutral" with a hefty pro-imperialist bias. What's behind this is simple: these "socialists" screamed for more aggressive imperialist intervention in Bosnia, and they got what they wanted.

Justifying its flagrant repudiation of the Leninist principle of *unconditional* military defense of a small nation or semicolonial people against imperialist aggression, Workers Power moans, "Each side's strategic goals are reactionary." By their logic, Trotskyists should not have defended Saddam Hussein's Iraq against the U.S. This directly contradicts Trotsky's defense of Haile Selassie's Ethiopia against Italy in the 1930s and of Chiang Kai-shek's China against Japanese colonialism. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or another particular "strategic goal" but a system of domination and exploitation of the vast masses of the world's peoples by a handful of powerful capitalist ruling classes. A blow against the U.S./NATO imperialists in Bosnia would be a victory for working people the world over.

Whatever comes of this latest attempt to impose imperialist "law and order" on the contending Balkan nationalists, it will not bring peace but only lay the basis for future wars. Indeed, Pentagon planners have been projecting the need for 50,000 NATO troops—half of them American—to enforce Washington's "peace" plan in Bosnia, which could turn into a bloody quagmire for the imperialists. A lasting peace and national justice for all the peoples of the region can be achieved only through proletarian revolutions leading to a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The new Balkan wars are both the product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bloc and an arena for the intensified interimperialist rivalries of the post-Soviet world. Germany seeks to turn Croatia (and Slovenia) into neocolonies of the Fourth Reich. American imperialism wants to show that it still calls the shots in the NATO alliance and has the military might and will to bully the world's peoples into submission. In addition to arming the Zagreb and Sarajevo regimes, Washington has quietly established a military and intelligence presence in Albania and Macedonia, while brokering an end to the dispute between the latter and NATO ally Greece. For the moment, there is a convergence of interests between German and U.S. imperialism; in the long run they will necessarily clash.

As on the eve of World War I, the Balkans have once again become the powder keg of Europe. This bloody conflict points to the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle of the International Communist League to reforge the Fourth International, to fight against the imperialist war criminals who have the power to destroy civilization if not humanity itself. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With Clinton's Bloody Balkans Terror!

U.S./UN/NATO Out Now!

SEPTEMBER 18—For two weeks, wave after wave of NATO warplanes rained down tons of bombs on the Bosnian Serb people. Tomahawk cruise missiles blasted off from a U.S. warship in the Adriatic to aid the campaign of destruction. "Operation Deliberate Force" is the biggest operation in NATO's history and the most massive use of imperialist firepower since the Pentagon's devastation of Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. By the time a temporary halt in the bombing was announced on September 14 after the Bosnian Serbs gave in to an imperialist *diktat*, NATO commanders were complaining that they had run out of "military" targets and openly talked of bombing factories and other civilian population concentrations.

The stated purpose of the NATO bombing was to force the Serbs to lift their siege of Sarajevo, the capital of the Bosnian Muslim regime. But like the

one-sided slaughter in the Persian Gulf four years ago, the terror-bombing of the Bosnian Serbs is intended to reassert the U.S. rulers' role as the "cops of the world" and to send a bloody message to those who dare defy Washington's dictates. *The international working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world must defend the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its clients of the Muslim-Croat alliance!*

Washington has been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson in imperialist bully-boy etiquette. Western leaders are now claiming that the bombing succeeded in forcing Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept a "peace" plan which amounts to partition of Bosnia, giving 49 percent to the Serbs and 51 percent to a fictitious Bosnian Muslim/Croat federation which would

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NATO warplanes bomb Bosnian Serb areas near Sarajevo. Marxists call for military defense of Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism.

Bloody Repression of Anti-Colonial Protests in Tahiti Army, Cops Terrorize Immigrants in France

French Imperialism's Iron Fist



French troops deployed in Paris and other cities in vast police/army "security" operation.

Following a series of six bombing incidents in as many weeks, the French government called out the army on September 8 to occupy the Arc de Triomphe and other prominent spots in Paris and other cities. The anonymous bombings started in late July when an explosion on a crowded underground train in Paris killed seven. Most recently, on September 7 a car bomb exploded in front of a Jewish school outside of Lyon, wounding 14. Now riot police and secret service agents are carrying out vast sweeps of immigrant neighborhoods, arbitrarily arresting scores of supposed Islamic fundamentalists. The purpose of this racist campaign is to divide and intimidate the working class.

Meanwhile, President Jacques Chirac went ahead early this month with the first of a series of nuclear tests at the Mururoa atoll in the Pacific. This provoked a united demonstration of anti-nuclear and pro-independence forces in Papeete, Tahiti, capital of French Polynesia. In Australia, massive demonstrations against the tests have been going on for months, dominated by virulent anti-French chauvinism. (The Australian bourgeoisie is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism, which has plenty of nuclear weapons in the Pacific and a string of military/spy installations to police the region, including the NSA outpost in Alice Springs.)

We print below a translation of a leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, distributed at a September 11 demonstration against the French nuclear tests. Despicably, the Communist Party (PCF) organizers of the demonstration refused to raise any slogans against the racist

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Racist cops have stopped hundreds of thousands for identity checks in campaign targeting "immigrants."