

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!

U.S. Targets China



AP photos

Taiwan: U.S.-supplied warships, artillery target Chinese deformed workers state. Bush administration is laying basis for war against China.

MAY 7—The Bush administration is laying the basis for a war against the People's Republic of China, a war that would be nuclear in scope. That was the import of Bush's April 25 statement that the U.S. would militarily intervene with "whatever it took" in an armed conflict between its Taiwanese client state and China and that "the Chinese must understand that." This provocative declaration, tearing the veil off Washington's long-standing policy of "strategic ambiguity"

toward the question of war with China over Taiwan, came only a day after Beijing warned that the U.S. had crossed a "red line" by offering Taiwan an array of advanced weaponry. Today, the U.S. resumed spy flights off China's coast for the first time since the EP-3E provocation last month.

On May 1, Bush told the world to "rethink the unthinkable" as he announced that the U.S. was planning to tear up the 29-year-old Anti-Ballistic

Missile Treaty in order to proceed with a vast missile defense system. Beijing official Sha Zukang said, "Once the United States believes it has both a strong spear and a strong shield, it could lead them to conclude that nobody can harm the United States and they can harm anyone they like anywhere in the world" (*New York Times*, 29 April). No one believes Washington's flimsy claim that it is prepared to shell out \$100 billion or more to deal with a nonexistent threat from Iraq,

North Korea or other "rogue states," i.e., small countries without nuclear weapons. The clear purpose of such an elaborate scheme—should the Pentagon ever get it to work—is to carry off a successful nuclear *first strike*. The *New York Times* (6 May) noted, China's "nuclear deterrent—20 or so ICBM's—now stands at most risk of being negated."

New Pentagon war plans to be completed this summer, according to a report
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All U.S. Troops, Bases Out of Puerto Rico!

MAY 5—At least 180 protesters were arrested on Vieques last week as U.S. Navy fighters and warships staged a four-day training exercise barely two years to the day since a bombing run killed a local resident. Angry protesters repeatedly tore down security fences and surged onto the firing range to force a halt to the bombardment. As military security forces kicked people to the ground and fired pepper spray at demonstrators—even some who had already been arrested and handcuffed—a Navy spokesman had the gall to denounce the demonstrators as "violent." Some of those arrested were held for several days in a former dog kennel stinking of urine, forced to sleep on the concrete floor.

Vieques is integral to the U.S. military presence on Puerto Rico, which has long

Free All Vieques Protesters!

been key to American military designs. Vieques served as a training base for the terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 and of Serbia in 1999. Puerto Rico was a launching pad for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic and the 1983 occupation of Grenada. The U.S. military presence is aimed at enforcing the imperialist subjugation of Puerto Rico and the rest of Latin America and is a dagger pointed at the Cuban deformed workers state in particular. We say: All

U.S. troops and bases out of Puerto Rico! U.S. military out of the Caribbean! For unconditional military defense of Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The Navy presence in Vieques exemplifies the colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico from the time it was seized by an emerging U.S. imperialism during the Spanish-American War of 1898. The U.S. military controls almost one-eighth of Puerto Rico's scarce land, including
continued on page 3



Reuters

Arrest of protester on Vieques as resumption of military exercises provoked broad anger.



Mexico: Protest Cop Killing of Worker on May Day

We reprint below a May 3 statement by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), Mexican section of the ICL, protesting the heinous police killing of a trade unionist on May Day. This action by police under the control of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) underscores that the PRD is no alternative to the ruling clerical-reactionary PAN (National Action Party) or the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party).

* * *

On May Day, PRD-controlled Mexico City Metro police beat to death Daniel

Osornio Cruz, a 22-year-old member of the Independent Union of Graphic Arts Workers. Osornio and six fellow unionists were entering the Hidalgo Metro station after attending the May Day demonstration when they were set upon by Metro police in a vicious attack which included the use of tear gas. Osornio died instantly of massive brain trauma. The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), condemns this police killing and solidarizes with the fellow unionists, friends and family of Daniel Osornio. Earlier on May 1, Mexico

City police also arrested four demonstrators, two of them known UNAM student activists. We demand all charges be dropped!

Close to half a million workers demonstrated on May Day, in three different concentrations led by different union groupings. But at none of these demonstrations did President Vicente Fox escape the anger of the working class, which showed its discontent with his economic plans. From privatizations and layoffs, to 15 percent taxes on food, medicine and books, to further opening of the economy for exploitation by American imperialism—it all spells increased misery for Mexican toilers. This murderous display of police brutality is yet another indication that the PRD and its police will stop at nothing to keep workers and the oppressed under control. Indeed, from Chiapas to Tepito and elsewhere in the country, the PAN, PRD and PRI are united in immiserating the masses and then terrorizing them to try to keep the lid on growing discontent.

The murderous police have also taken their cue from the reactionary Fox, who in the five short months of his term has overseen attacks on labor, peasants, the indigenous population, women and

homosexuals. In the new “democratic” Mexico, student strike leaders have been expelled from UNAM for defending public education, and Alejandro Echevarría (“El Mosh”) faces ten months in prison under bogus charges of “robbery.” We say: Down with all charges! Rescind the expulsions!

While it is common for labor strikes to be declared legally “nonexistent,” the Supreme Court has now declared the “closed shop” law unconstitutional. A union’s right to demand that all workers at a particular shop be union members is an important tool in labor’s arsenal against the bosses who seek to divide the working class and weaken their organizations by hiring non-union labor.

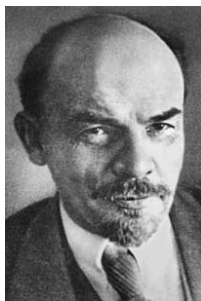
The police, the armed forces and the courts exist to defend the interests of the capitalist class; that is, their ability to extract profit from the labor of others. It is the proletariat which has the power to stop the increased impoverishment of the working class by leading all the oppressed in the struggle to eradicate capitalism, which is part of the fight to construct a world socialist society in which production is not for the profits of the bosses but to meet the needs and desires of the masses. ■



TROTSKY

For Non-Sectarian Class-Struggle Defense!

As Mumia Abu-Jamal’s fight for freedom enters a new and critical stage on the legal front, it is all the more urgent that Jamal’s many supporters around the world mobilize in powerful labor-centered protest action to save the life of this innocent man. In advancing this strategy, the Partisan Defense Committee follows in the class-struggle tradition of the International Labor Defense of James P. Cannon, who was later



LENIN

founding leader of the U.S. Trotskyist movement. In a 1927 article on the frame-up of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, who were ultimately executed, Cannon explained that illusions in capitalist “justice” are counterposed to a class-struggle defense strategy.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is no private monopoly, but an issue of the class struggle in which the decisive word will be spoken by the masses who have made this fight their own. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss openly the conflicting policies which are bound up with different objectives.

One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions. This is what has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so far. Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation.

The other policy is the policy of “respectability,” of the “soft pedal” and of ridiculous illusions about “justice” from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the “vulgar and noisy” demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an “unfortunate” error which can be rectified by the “right” people proceeding in the “right” way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and “clemency” for Sacco and Vanzetti, in the form of a commutation to life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent.

The conscious proletarian elements with whom we identify ourselves unconditionally, are for the first policy. The bourgeois elements, and those influenced by them, are for the second....

Only the organized and united protest movement of the masses can save them. In this movement the class conscious workers—the militants—are the driving force. Let those who hamper this movement or endanger its unity pause lest they unconsciously become the executioners of Sacco and Vanzetti.

—James P. Cannon, “Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?”, *Labor Defender*, January 1927, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.



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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is May 8.

No. 758

11 May 2001

Gary Mayor Tries to Criminalize Anti-Klan Protest—Defend Kevin Quirk!

All opponents of the Ku Klux Klan’s racist terror have a vital interest in fighting the prosecution of Kevin Quirk, a member of Chicago’s Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, for his role in the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana last January 20. On that day, Gary mayor Scott King banned any and all protest. When we successfully defied that ban, the police cited Quirk, a PDC representative, for “parading without a permit.” Quirk faces a hearing at 1:30 p.m. on May 16 at the Gary Circuit Court, 1301 Broadway.

The Klan’s threat to march at the Lake County Courthouse on January 20 was a direct and deadly threat to the overwhelmingly black population of Gary and to the unions that are based there. The PDC’s united-front call—“All Out to Stop the KKK!”—won widespread backing from labor organizations and trade-union officials in northwest Indiana, Chicago and across the country, as well as internationally. When King denied the PDC’s permit application for an anti-Klan demonstration and threatened to arrest

anyone who showed up, protest letters from unionists across the country helped to stay his hand. Over 150 trade unionists, black people, students and socialists turned out to stop the Klan provocation, chanting, “KKK, no way! You didn’t march today!”

King’s Democratic administration is trying to criminalize the elementary act of self-defense against KKK terror—indeed, *any* protest against racism and injustice. Last year King even refused a permit to Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union to hold a rally for a decent contract. Just as an outpouring of protest letters and calls helped stop King from staging a mass arrest at the January 20 mobilization, a similar effort is urgently needed now. Protest letters demanding that the charge against Kevin Quirk be dropped should be faxed to (219) 881-1263 or sent to: Corporation Counsel Hamilton Carmouche, Law Department, Gary City Hall, 401 Broadway, Gary, Indiana 46402. Please mail copies of protest letters to the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099. ■

Spartacist/SYC Events

Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of the Cuban Revolution—For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

Saturday, May 19, 4 p.m. Eyewitness Report
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect Ave.,
Hollywood (one block east of Vermont)

LOS ANGELES

For more information: (213) 380-8239

From Seattle to Quebec: Anti-Globalization Protests Push Illusions in Rapacious U.S. Imperialism

Beware the Fraud of “Human Rights” Imperialism!

Defend China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Tuesday, May 22, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago, Room 115, Cobb Hall, 5811 S. Ellis
Eyewitness Report from Quebec Anti-FTAA Protests

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 563-0441

Cops Unleashed Against NYC Transit Workers

As they tighten the screws on the workforce, New York City Transit (NYCT) bosses are now using NYC cops as enforcers against Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. TWU members told *Workers Vanguard* that cops were called in to the 207th Street subway maintenance barn in late April against union officials when they came to the defense of a victimized worker. Management threatened to fire the worker after a confrontation with a security guard. They proceeded to interrogate him behind locked doors in a manager's office without a union rep being present. When the officials demanded to see the worker, the superintendent called the NYPD cops to evict them from the facility.

A few weeks earlier, on April 1, NYCT management at the Jackie Gleason Bus Depot in Brooklyn's Sunset Park called in the NYPD to prevent union safety reps from checking on potentially deadly gas leaks. These repeated leaks of high-pressure natural gas are so serious that a couple of weeks later the Fire Department shut down a nine-block area, including a public school. TWU secretary-treasurer Ed Watt reported in a letter to the NYC *Chief-Leader* (4 May): "On more than six occasions Transit Authority management called or threatened to call the police to remove some of our highest-ranking officers. Even when natural gas leaks were being reported on a daily basis, our members were ordered to work under armed guard, with no respect for their safety and well-being. Some might insist that labor relations at gunpoint is no problem. Our members would disagree."

"Labor relations at gunpoint" aptly describes the massive cop mobilization deployed against Local 100 on the eve of a threatened strike in December 1999, as Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer teamed up in an attempt to bust the union with draconian Taylor Law injunctions criminalizing even use of the word "strike." Both wings of the Local 100 bureaucracy, the "old guard" under then-president Willie James and the New Directions (ND) opposition that has since

taken control, capitulated in the face of this assault, even enforcing the state's dictates against their own members. This was a signal to the transit bosses that they could declare "open season" against TWU members.

Only months after this capitulation, management at the 240th Street subway maintenance facility in the Bronx called in the NYPD to bust up a shopgate union meeting, firing 18 cleaners (who were eventually reinstated) for "insubordination." Reporting "TA Sics Cops on Union

mechanic told WV, "then they try to make the rest of us do it." The union must fight to abolish the "probationary" and "provisional" classifications which deny workers full union rights and protections.

What is needed to beat back the wave of company victimizations and cop assaults, as well as escalating speed-up, safety violations and attacks on the union's health benefits fund, is a concerted effort by the union as a whole. But while ND makes a pretense of being more militant than its predecessor, ND



WV Photo

New York City, March 28: TWU workers rally to defend health benefits fund against management.

Meeting," we wrote: "The union should have immediately made clear to the arrogant TA bosses that not a single train would pull in or out of the station unless all 18 cleaners were reinstated on the spot with full pay and no disciplinary action" (WV No. 732, 24 March 2000).

Now, at the East New York bus maintenance facility in Brooklyn, workers are engaged in an overtime boycott to reverse the firing of two probationary mechanics on bogus charges of not finishing a job in the allotted time. "They try to get the probationaries to work harder and faster to show it can be done," one young

president Roger Toussaint took pains to assure NYCT management that he was not "strike happy" even during his election campaign. More recently, when asked if management's threats to cut off health benefits or massively increase co-payments might lead to job actions, Toussaint replied, "You'd love to have me say that, wouldn't you? I think there are lots of other ways for us to do that within the Taylor Law, whether it's legal action, member mobilization or educating the community and the riders" (*Chief-Leader*, 6 April).

What Toussaint means by "other

ways" was clear at a March 28 TWU rally in defense of health benefits, which was turned into a Democratic Party election rally, with every Democratic mayoral hopeful in the city on the platform and Jesse Jackson as the featured speaker. Since taking office, Toussaint has trumpeted his intention of channeling union resources into a "political action committee" for the Democratic Party. This is in keeping with the strategy of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which is devoting even greater efforts to getting Democrats elected now that Bush is in the White House. ND's flagrant subservience to the racist Democratic Party was to be expected given its longstanding strategy of using the agencies of the capitalist state—the courts, the District Attorney and the Labor Department—against the union in its efforts to win control of the local.

The union tops hide behind the state Taylor Law outlawing public workers strikes to cover up their own craven class collaboration. Even founding TWU president Mike Quill himself, a pro-capitalist bureaucrat, understood that collective bargaining without the right to strike is just "collective begging." Quill *tore up* a court injunction based on the Taylor Law's predecessor, the Condon-Wadlin Act, on the eve of a 1966 strike and went to jail for it—but the strike won.

The same cops who are deployed against TWU members are also used to occupy the ghettos and barrios. Yet ND, as did the previous James leadership, supports the presence of management's "property protection" security cops in the union. The cops, as well as the courts, are direct agents of the class enemy; they have no place in the labor movement. Cops out of the TWU!

To defend and advance the rights of labor requires a class-struggle leadership that seeks to mobilize labor's power in its interests and those of all the oppressed. Such a leadership will be forged as part of the struggle for a workers party counterposed to all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class and committed to the proposition that those who labor must rule. ■

Vieques...

(continued from page 1)

the Roosevelt Roads naval station, the hemisphere's largest. In the case of Vieques, the Navy took over *two-thirds* of the island during World War II, throwing thousands out of their homes and ordering impoverished farmers whose families had occupied the land for generations to leave the area within 48 hours. Eastern parts of Vieques have been bombed so heavily that no soil remains, just the underlying rock broken into small pieces. With farming devastated, fishing restricted and tourism gutted by decades of live bombing, fully 70 percent of the population lives below the poverty level. Unemployment is 50 percent, two and a half times the rate on Puerto Rico itself.

As nominal citizens of the U.S., Puerto Rican youth serve as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's wars of domination. But residents of Puerto Rico are politically dispossessed—denied the right to vote in federal elections—and discriminated against economically, linguistically, racially and culturally. The island's working people are exploited as a low-wage labor pool by U.S. capitalists seeking to maximize their profit margins. The imperialists have met any challenge to their colonial domination with brute terror, from the 1937 Ponce massacre to the assassination and imprisonment of countless independence fighters.

The April 1999 killing of a local security guard and the wounding of four other

residents by an American jet that missed its bombing target made the Vieques base a focus for national indignation among Puerto Ricans. Opposition to the bombings has become so widespread that even a legislator from the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, linked to the Republican Party, got arrested in the recent protests, as did Chicago Democratic Congressman Luis Gutierrez, actor Edward James Olmos and a member of the Kennedy clan. Popular Democratic Party candidate Sila Calderón was elected governor last November largely on the basis of her vow to end the bombing runs. Seeking to calm popular outrage, Clinton pushed through a deal offering Vieques residents a referendum on the Navy presence—to be organized *by the Navy* by next February—and suspending the use of live ammunition in training exercises until then. Washington hopes to bribe the population with promises of a \$40 million aid package if the vote goes in its favor. As part of the deal, the Navy last month gave up a chunk of the island being used for ammunition bunkers, which one resident accurately described as a "waste dump."

The Spartacist League fights for the right of self-determination—that is, *the right of independence*—for Puerto Rico, the principal remaining colony of the U.S. We seek to mobilize the U.S. proletariat to combat all manifestations of national chauvinism, and we defend the right of advocates for independence to organize and agitate for secession. At the same time, we warn against illusions in

the nationalist lie of "*el pueblo unido*" (the people united), which disappears class conflict in the interest of "unity" of the oppressed with the capitalist class enemy. The two-day general strike in 1998 against plans to sell off the state-owned telephone company illustrated the massive popular opposition to national subjugation as well as the power of the Puerto Rican proletariat. But that power was derailed by labor bureaucrats who chained the working class to the program of bourgeois nationalism and tied the unions to bourgeois political and right-wing religious elements through a class-collaborationist front called CAOS (Greater Committee of Trade-Union, Civic, Religious, Cultural, Political, Student and Environmental Organizations).

That there is today little mass support in Puerto Rico for the perspective of independence is due not least to widespread fears that this would mean an end to unrestricted travel to the U.S. and a sharp drop in what is now the highest standard of living in Latin America (albeit much lower than in even the poorest state on the mainland). Moreover, despite calling for the "demilitarization of Puerto Rico," the Puerto Rican Independence Party has made it amply clear that an independent capitalist Puerto Rico would be quite willing to maintain U.S. bases if the price was right.

The only road to breaking the stranglehold of imperialist domination, and exploitation and grinding poverty lies through proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico and above all in North America.

Puerto Rican workers on the mainland can play a key role in linking the struggles of the multiracial U.S. proletariat with those of the combative proletariat on the island, many of whom work for U.S. subsidiaries. Only socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere, laying the basis for international planning with massive assistance from the victorious proletariat in North America, can open the road to genuine economic development for the countries which are today under the imperialist boot. ■

ESPARTACO
PUBLICACION DEL GRUPO ESPARTACISTA DE MEXICO
NUMERO 15
PRIMAVERA-VERANO DE 2001
MEXICO \$2.00

**Las pláticas de paz son un fraude
¡Fuera ejército de Chiapas!**

Página 9

**¡Abajo el TLC!—¡Ninguna confianza en el PRD
nacionalista burgués!**

Espartaco
Publication of the Grupo
Espartacista de México
No. 15, Spring-Summer 2001
\$5.00 (40 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Young Spartacus

Imperialist Killers in Training ROTC Off Campus!

SYC at UC Berkeley

Every year the Berkeley Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) rappels down a building at the center of UC Berkeley's campus in a bid to recruit incoming college students to the officer corps of the U.S. imperialist military. On April 21, the Spartacus Youth Club led a demonstration opposing this deadly arm of the bourgeoisie.

Our protest got the attention of hundreds of students who came to Cal Day (the open house when prospective students tour the campus). We passed out 200 to 300 leaflets and sold our flaming red communist literature. We planned on first having a demonstration on Sproul Plaza, but that was thwarted by the circus we encountered there (it's hard to have a demo when you're competing against Ricky Martin at 120 decibels). We instead marched with our signs straight to Wheeler Hall, where the 25 or 30 ROTC recruiters were quite taken aback. Immediately after our appearance, the campus police started following us, with one cop filming us from minute one. ROTC was also filming us—at one point they set up a surveillance post from the second floor, but quickly abandoned it. Our protest drew supporters from the crowd, and included students from local high schools. We then marched through campus and chanted slogans like "ROTC is an imperialist tool—Workers must smash bourgeois rule!" and "ROTC recruiters—Imperialist looters—Off campus now!"

Shenanigans abounded. After about 10 minutes, a marching band strategically relocated to within feet of us and played bad '80s tunes to the scattered cheers of soldiers and pro-ROTC civilians. A middle-aged woman started screaming "Go ROTC!" but quickly left. Later a team of utterly untalented women started singing the "Star Spangled Banner" like madmen. While a guy in a Nixon mask tossed a globe into a toilet labeled "FTAA," a motley group of weird anarcho- "deep ecologists" started hovering around us with pictures of animals being tortured and signs that showed their displeasure with American imperialism—this based solely on the fact that American soldiers mistreat monkeys in labs!

What really attracted the attention of many students and parents were our signs in Chinese and English that said: "Protest U.S. Spy Plane Provocation! Defend the Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!" One Chinese student asked a comrade if there is a third way between socialism and capitalism. Upon getting her firm negative, he exclaimed, "Me too! I'm for pure communism!" Today China is the main target of all the imperialists. For revolutionaries, defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states is a basic act of opposition to our "own" bourgeoisie.

Our demonstration against ROTC comes in the context of increased bellicosity across the board by the American bourgeoisie. A right-wing Republican administration in the White House is

brashly asserting American hegemony around the globe by waving its military fist at North Korea, Russia and China. Clinton's policy of genocidal starvation and bombing of Iraq proceeds unabated. The troops of U.S. imperialism still occupy the Balkans in a situation fraught with scarcely suppressed all-sided communalist fratricide which is still tearing apart south central Europe. Bush is continuing Clinton's funding and arming of the murderous war against the Colombian peasant insurgents.

With Bush in the Oval Office, many left-leaning workers and students will look toward the liberal Democrats as a lesser evil. As the SYC warned in our speeches at the protest, the Democratic Party is no alternative. It is a capitalist party of racism and war, loyally serving the same ruling class as the Republicans. From World War II to Vietnam to the terror bombing of the Balkans, the Democrats have been the traditional party of imperialist war. As for the FTAA, the Clinton/Gore administration implemented NAFTA and intensified the "free trade" rape of Mexico, while backing to the hilt the murderous war against the Chiapas peasants.

Where was the rest of the campus left when ROTC staged its recruitment stunt? Progressive Labor not only refused to come to our protest, they also physically excluded an SYC'er from their meeting earlier in the week when we went to invite them to participate in this elementary act of opposition to U.S. imperialism. During a time of increasing U.S. hostility against the Chinese deformed workers state, it is not so surprising that PL refuses to come to an anti-ROTC demo. PL writes off the gains of the Chinese Revolution by labeling the deformed workers state as a capitalist imperialist country. A lone PL supporter sulked at the edge of our ROTC demo, watching us mournfully from the shadows. We approached him and asked if he could justify PL's refusal to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal for well over a decade, PL's bizarre claims that the 1997 UPS Teamsters strike was a "dogfight" between two wings of the bosses (*Challenge*, 3 September 1997), and their utterly disgusting position that the gay rights movement and anti-gay violence are "both faces of fascism" (*Challenge*, 4 November 1998). He alternated between claiming ignorance and protesting that he did not agree with their positions. He then tried to brush aside the enormity of these betrayals by explaining that PL is fighting opportunism in its own organization!

The International Socialist Organization also refused to come to our protest. The ISO's theoretical and organizational progenitors broke with Marxism long ago by abandoning defense of the USSR and China in 1950, after the U.S. and British imperialists invaded Korea. Following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the ISO declared that the counter-revolution was a great triumph that "should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). The ISO spent much of the last year campaigning for capitalist politician Ralph Nader, whose protectionism and



Young Spartacus

SYC anti-ROTC demo at UC Berkeley. Demanding "ROTC Off Campus!", SYC called on students to oppose U.S. imperialism.

anti-Communist hatred of the Chinese workers state goes hand in hand with his trumpeting of American "democracy." No wonder these groups don't take a basic stand against the agents of imperialism on campus. Given that they look to the self-same U.S. bourgeoisie to play a progressive role internationally, it is logical that they won't protest and expose the crimes of American capitalism from the perspective of the international working class. Now that the Republicans are swinging back through the White House, the ISO's paper, *Socialist Worker*, runs headlines like "We Won't Go Back!" (read: "please bring Clinton back") and "It's Time to Send Bush a Message" (i.e., unite with the liberals to "fight the right"). The ISO consciously rejects the struggle to mobilize the proletariat in its own interests to smash the capitalist system and instead preaches the counterrevolutionary strategy of putting pressure on the "progressive" members of the ruling capitalist exploiters, i.e., the racist Democratic Party.

We reprint below the leaflet issued by the SYC in building this protest.

* * *

On April 21, "Cal Day," prospective Berkeley students may well wonder if they have applied to a police state rather than a college. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) plans to showcase the United States armed forces on campus by rappelling down Wheeler Hall. ROTC trains the next generation of men and women who will carry out slaughter for the most rapacious imperialist power in the world. But ROTC has not always enjoyed the right to herd students into the blood-drenched armed forces. Organized outrage over atrocities committed by American imperialism's armed forces in Vietnam successfully drove ROTC off campuses all over the nation. When ROTC reintroduced itself in academic garb in the mid-seventies, we led a campaign against its return to the Cal campus. The Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) today calls on students outraged by U.S. imperialist rampages—from increased belligerence against China to the terror bombings of Iraq to the "drug war"

on Colombia—to demand: ROTC Off Campus!

Wars like the 1999 U.S./UN/NATO war on Serbia that murdered civilians and bombed Serbia's infrastructure back to the Stone Age are endemic to the capitalist system. Imperialism is not a policy, but the highest stage of capitalism in which the world powers wage ruthless warfare over markets in order to improve their relative competitive positions, ravaging the colonial and semi-colonial countries at the expense of their rivals. Witness the proposed FTAA, which extends NAFTA's "free trade" rape of Mexico to further the domination of American capital over the economies of all Latin America. But a contract is only worth as much as the guns that back it up. ROTC is the direct appendage of the bloody military machine that defends the interests of the American ruling class. The SYC says: No to the FTAA! Down with NAFTA! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!

The organizers of the April 21-22 protests to "Stop the FTAA," however, consciously push the deadly lie that U.S. imperialism can be pressured to fight for the "human rights" of the Third World. But, from WWI's "war to end all wars" to the war against Serbia on behalf of Albanian Kosovars, the U.S. has always draped its imperialist adventures in "human rights" clothing. The "anti-globalization" movement propagates the illusion that the U.S. must combat "undemocratic" multinational trade bodies like the WTO—but such agreements are just conveniences that various nationally-based bourgeoisies work out when they're not actually shooting at one another to divvy up the world. The AFL-CIO union bureaucracy has made racist protectionism a theme of the anti-globalization movement, peddling the lie that U.S. workers have a common interest with their bosses. These protests and their fake-socialist cheerleaders, like the ISO and Socialist Alternative, obscure the fundamental truth that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the working and oppressed people of the world, and actually mobilize workers and youth behind the American imperialist behemoth.

Bob Kerrey, Vietnam War Criminal

Almost as obscene as the slaughter of 21 women, children and elderly men perpetrated by Bob Kerrey's Navy SEAL death squad in Vietnam in 1969 is the hand-wringing concern in the American capitalist media over the "psychological damage" done to the *killers*. Responding to sickening editorials like "The War Within Bob Kerrey" (*New York Times*, 26 April), one letter to the *Times* (30 April) rightly protested, "It's almost as if those who were killed have become mere stage props in some morality play.... The famous photo from World War II of the little boy in Warsaw held at gunpoint by a German soldier puts the situation in the right order: it is the child we focus on, not the soldier."

All the "war is hell" pontificating by pundits and politicians is a coverup for *mass murder*. Many GIs were sent to Vietnam and did not become torturers and murderers. Hugh Thompson, who as a helicopter pilot in Vietnam threatened to fire on Lieutenant William Calley's troops when he saw them raping and murdering villagers in My Lai in 1968, told the *New York Post* (27 April), "If [Kerrey] did what they say he did, he should go to jail."

Kerrey was the head of a specially trained killer commando unit. Their assignment in the village of Thanh Phong on the night of 25 February 1969 was to assassinate a local "Viet Cong" leader. Not finding the man they wanted, Kerrey and his killers rounded up and systematically slaughtered any villagers they found. Bui Thi Luom, who was 12 years old when she witnessed the massacre, said last week, "At the time, I was too small. If I could, I would like to get my revenge on them. If I could kill them, I would."

Despite persistent complaints at the time of a U.S. massacre, Pentagon brass awarded Kerrey a Bronze Star whose citation reads, "twenty-one Viet Cong killed" (*Washington Post*, 27 April). In the eyes of the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese henchmen, any villager not penned up in "strategic hamlets," i.e., concentration camps, was presumed to be Viet Cong. Some 100,000 Vietnamese liberation fighters were assassinated under the CIA's "Operation Phoenix," while countless others were tortured in tiny bamboo "tiger cages." It is because of such criminal acts and others that the U.S. refuses to sign the treaty for an international war crimes tribunal, even as it demands that every tinpot strongman who falls out of Washington's favor be tried for "war crimes."

Kerrey went on to receive a Medal of Honor, the highest U.S. military decoration, and to pursue a career as a leading Democratic Party politician, cynically hiding this atrocity as a "private memory" until a reporter confronted him with the story in 1998, just days before he called off a planned presidential bid. Kerrey

should be brought to justice before a workers and peasants tribunal in Vietnam! As the Spartacus Youth Club chanted at a May 3 protest outside New

down bombs and napalm on the Vietnamese people, they were waging a war of extermination against black militants at home, like the Chicago cops under Dem-

tory! Two, three many defeats for U.S. imperialism!

In the name of "human rights," the imperialist rulers are now trying to overthrow the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution; to crush Cuba under the jackboot of U.S. imperialism; to recapture China, which was ripped from the hands of the imperialists in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, for imperialist exploitation. The doors for renewed imperialist penetration, emboldening the internal forces of counterrevolution, are being opened by the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats of those countries. We say: 1,2,3,4—Workers rule is what we're for! 5,6,7,8—Defend the Chinese workers state! Defend the Vietnamese workers state! Defend the Cuban workers state! Defend the North Korean workers state!

What Kerrey did was no aberration. Mass murder of the heroic Vietnamese people was government policy. The workers of the world owe a huge debt to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, who defeated the most powerful imperialist war machine on the face of the planet. We are fighting to repay that debt by fighting for workers revolution here "in the belly of the beast" to overthrow U.S. imperialism. When the wealth of this country belongs to the working people that created it, then we can begin to redress the crimes committed by the rapacious U.S. rulers against the working people and oppressed masses of the world. We say: Capitalism means racism and war! Socialist revolution is what we're for! ■



Relatives and friends of family killed in 1969 massacre at Thanh Phong gather at the graves.

York's New School University, where Kerrey is now president: "Bob Kerrey shouldn't die of old age—Put him in a tiger cage!"

We print below a speech by an SYC spokesman at the protest.

* * *

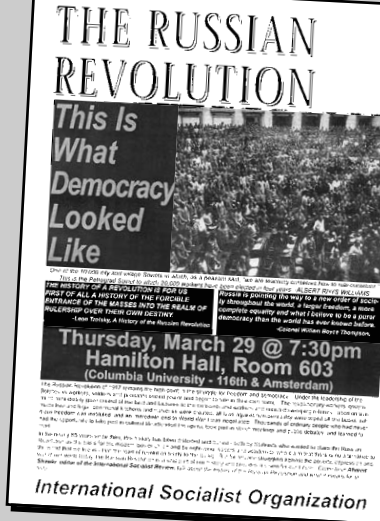
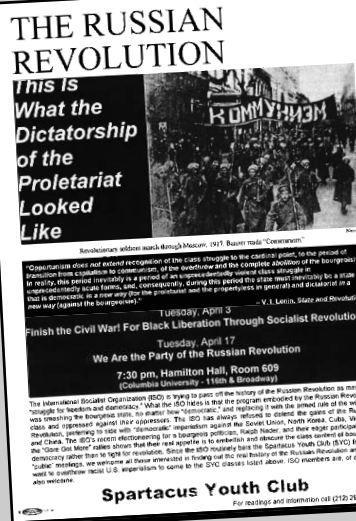
Bob Kerrey is a war criminal, the head of a team of Navy SEALs in Vietnam, trained assassins who killed 21 civilians—mainly women and children—in Thanh Phong in 1969. This bloody butcher later came home as a decorated "war hero" for the crimes he perpetrated against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. We of the Spartacus Youth Club say: Bob Kerrey is a war criminal! Butcher of Vietnam!

Kerrey went on to become a Democratic Party Senator and was a liberal hopeful for the presidential candidacy. This is fitting. U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam started under liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy and was continued under the Democratic Party administration of Lyndon B. Johnson. This year is also the 40th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which was put down by the Cuban masses who fought in defense of their revolution. Democratic Party—party of war and racism! We say: Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!

The Democrats are pushed by the labor bureaucrats and black Democratic hustlers like Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton as the "friend of labor and blacks" at home and the purveyors of "human rights" imperialism abroad. But the war criminal Bob Kerrey is the true face of the Democratic Party. While they were raining

ocratic Party mayor Daley who assassinated Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark while they were asleep in their beds. The same people who purvey the lie that the U.S. imperialists can be pressured to bring "human rights" and "freedom" to the oppressed masses of the world say, "No more Vietnams," echoing the imperialist rulers who were *defeated* by the courageous Vietnamese workers and peasants. We say: Vietnam was a vic-

SYC vs. ISO



On the Russian Revolution

When the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) distributed a leaflet for a talk on the Russian Revolution at Columbia University titled "This Is What Democracy Looked Like" (a play on the documentary about the Seattle anti-WTO protests, *This Is What Democracy Looks Like*), the Spartacus Youth Club countered, "This Is What the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Looked Like" in a leaflet exposing both the ISO's pretensions to revolutionary politics and their distortion of the Bolshevik Revolution. The main text of our leaflet appears below.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) is trying to pass off the history of the Russian Revolution as merely a "struggle for freedom and democracy." What the ISO hides is that the program embodied by the Russian Revolution was smashing the bourgeois state, no matter how "democratic," and replacing it with the armed rule of the working class and oppressed against their oppressors. The ISO has always refused to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution, preferring to side with "democratic" imperialism against the Soviet Union, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and

China. The ISO's recent electioneering for a bourgeois politician, Ralph Nader, and their eager participation in the "Gore Got More" rallies shows that their real appetite is to embellish and obscure the class content of *bourgeois* democracy rather than to fight for revolution. Since the ISO routinely bars the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) from its "public" meetings, we welcome all those interested in finding out the real history of the Russian Revolution and who want to overthrow racist U.S. imperialism to come to the SYC classes listed above. ISO members are, of course, also welcome.

Noam Chomsky: Radical Impostor, Anti-Communist Censor

The following is a leaflet produced by the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, May 7.

Like the Wonderful Wizard of Oz, Dr. Noam Chomsky of MIT is not really what he pretends to be. Whatever Chomsky's radical rhetoric, he's nothing more than a liberal anti-Communist. As we pointed out last spring in a leaflet titled "Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's 'Armchair Anarchist'" (reprinted in WV No. 735, 5 May 2000):

"Much is always forgiven those who, like Chomsky, line up faithfully with their own ruling class on the key loyalty test for Americans: better hate the Reds if you want to get ahead. The red-baiting professor and his ilk spit on every social revolution including the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. 'If the left is understood to include "Bolshevism," then I would flatly dissociate myself from the left. Lenin was one of the greatest enemies of socialism, in my opinion,' says the anti-Communist Chomsky."

While attendees at various Chomsky lectures eagerly grabbed our leaflet (perhaps looking for some break from the good professor's notoriously long-winded presentations), it obviously really got under Chomsky's skin. And ever since, the man who likes to posture as a radical muckraker who exposes the crimes of American imperialism has been on a vendetta aimed at silencing our exposés of him as nothing but a "radical" fraud and windbag. At meeting after meeting, Chomsky has given his audience a lesson in "manufacturing consent." Upon discovering that a Spartacist is speaking during the discussion period at these publicly advertised events, he immediately stampedes his followers into voting against our right to speak.

At the last meeting, however, it seems Chomsky's anti-Communist sensors suffered a brief malfunction. An SYCer was able to speak for a whole 30 seconds. But as soon as we mentioned the word "imperialism," he snapped to attention, asking if this was a "Spartacist intervention." One recalls stories from the McCarthyite witchhunt in the 1950s where if someone were to utter the word "imperialism" in a bar, people would immediately be getting out of their seats to phone the FBI and turn in the "Red." Having failed to shut us down, Chomsky sneered that revolutionary politics have no place at MIT. Although Chomsky, who teaches at MIT, would like to keep it that way, we are sure that there are students on campus—particularly black, immigrant and working-class students—who actually do burn with a hatred for the brutality of U.S. imperialism and are looking for a revolutionary alternative.

Chomsky's radical reputation rests on his pretensions to be some kind of



Israeli troops fire on fleeing Palestinian youth in Gaza Strip, October 2000. Chomsky and associates openly called for imperialist intervention against Israel to stop violence against Palestinians in statement published in *Socialist Worker* [Britain], 13 January (above).



AFP



Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals

Baghdad Children's Hospital, 1991. In 1991 Chomsky urged that "sanctions and diplomacy" be used to get Iraq out of Kuwait—sanctions have caused deaths of a million and a half Iraqis to date.



Der Spiegel

Lech Walesa (left) prays in front of Gdansk shipyard in Poland, 1980. Solidarność, the force for capitalist restoration in Poland driven by CIA and Vatican, rolled back social gains. Chomsky supported capitalist restoration across East Europe.

anarchist socialist and his expositions on the hypocrisy of American imperialist machinations. Unlike official spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class who try to conceal the crimes of imperialism under the guise of "human rights," Chomsky strikes a more critical pose. A *Boston Review* (December 1993) article about "humanitarian intervention" is characteristic. There he wrote that "the category of 'humanitarian intervention' is vanishingly small" and only "means interven-

tion authorized or directed by the United States." It doesn't take a brain surgeon to point out the tremendous "violence, impudence, and moral cowardice" of killing more than two million Vietnamese, of the almost daily bombing of Iraq for ten years accompanied by a starvation blockade that has killed one and a half million Iraqis, or of the recent Balkans War which pummeled Serbia to rubble. Nonetheless, Chomsky's exposés can seem refreshing against the Greek chorus of imperialist hawks.

But Chomsky strives to be the imperialists' rescuing *deus ex machina*. The professor's main problem with the U.S. rulers is that they act counter to "international law." In an article at the time of the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia in 1999, Chomsky lectured: "There is a regime of international law and international order, binding on all states, based on the UN Charter and subsequent resolutions and World Court decisions" ("Crisis in the Balkans," *Z Magazine*, May 1999). But the United Nations, far from being a "neutral" body, has always been a den of the imperialist thieves and their intended victims. Its purpose is simply to give cover and sanction to the imperialists' wars of conquest, as it has done from the Korean War in the 1950s to the 1991

Gulf War and the continuing starvation blockade of Iraq. As for "international law," such as it even exists, it is nothing other than a thin veil to hide the hideous face of imperialist exploitation and aggression. Through his repeated invocations of the UN and "international law," Chomsky's purpose is to peddle the mythical idea that through pressure from the intelligentsia and good radical-liberals like himself, the imperialists will become good. This is based on his belief that capitalist democracy means that all citizens, regardless of their social class, could have equal influence over the state. In short, Chomsky wants to reform the system.

The capitalist system cannot be reformed. The capitalist state is not a neutral arbiter; it exists to maintain the rule of the capitalist class. Imperialism is not just a bad policy; it is the highest stage of capitalism, the organic outcome of the striving for ever more and larger profits and new markets and spheres of exploitation. This creates competition between the largest of the imperialist countries as they contend for domination of these markets. This competition inevitably reaches a crisis that can no longer be confined to diplomatic maneuvering, and it breaks out in war, wars against the smaller beholden nations for their acquiescence, like the bombing and occupation of Serbia, and finally wars between the major imperialist nations themselves, like World War I and World War II.

Chomsky believes that capitalist states can be made to be rational. We are not dealing with a rational system, but imperialism, which will lead humanity into another world war—this time using huge arsenals of nuclear weapons—if it is not stopped through international socialist revolution. In the wake of the collapse of the USSR, which plunged the former degenerated workers state into misery and all-sided bloodletting, rivalries between the major imperialist powers—primarily Germany, the U.S. and Japan—have increased, not decreased. The choice is, as communist revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it, socialism or barbarism. We struggle to get rid of capitalism altogether by overthrowing it through workers revolution.

Perhaps Chomsky fancies himself a modern-day Voltaire. While the latter schooled Frederick the Great, the professor evidently dreams of being an adviser to today's not-so-enlightened despots. However, Voltaire soon realized the naiveté of such an endeavor. Chomsky, on the other hand, like the Energizer bunny, keeps at it. He gives the game away when he writes, "Occasionally, the population has compelled the state to undertake humanitarian efforts" and cites as a "real example" the "protection zone that the Bush administration reluctantly extended to the Kurds in northern Iraq" after the Gulf War. Of course, Chomsky does not mention that the Kurds were "protected" by the very same U.S. and British military might which bombed Iraq into submission during the war and have imposed the starvation embargo ever since. Today, Chomsky weeps crocodile tears over the million and a half Iraqis—mostly children and the aged—who have died as a result of these UN-enforced sanctions. But Chomsky himself urged the imperialists in 1991 to use "the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy" to get Iraq out of Kuwait (*Z Magazine*, February 1991).

During the 1999 Balkans War, Chomsky, along with other prominent liberal



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at 5 June 1999 antiwar protest in San Francisco. SL opposed imperialist intervention, called for defeat of U.S. in Iraq and Serbia.

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

The following letter, concerning former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui's planned visit to Cornell University—now postponed to late May—was submitted by a Spartacus Youth Club supporter. It was printed by the campus paper on April 5.

Since the Chinese Students and Scholars Association's (CSSA) "Open Letter Against Lee Teng-hui's Visit" was published over three weeks ago, the CSSA has been the target of repeated anti-communist attacks in the *Sun*. The editorial "Welcome Back" (26 March) makes it appear that the issue is the CSSA's purported attempt to suppress Lee's "civil liberties." The *Sun* editors lamely bleat that "nothing indicates that Lee's visit would be of a political nature." This is rubbish—and they know it. Since 1949 Taiwan has been U.S. imperialism's launching pad for capitalist counterrevolution in mainland China. A key component of Washington's increased belligerence toward China is supplying Taiwan with destroyers and advanced Aegis radar systems.

China is lined up in the deadly sights of

SYC Letter to Cornell Daily Sun

the U.S. imperialists who aim to destroy the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. This revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned and collectivized economy, as opposed to the private ownership of the means of production under capitalism, which is the basis of the exploitation of the many by the few. The Chinese Revolution laid the basis for huge strides for the masses of workers and peasants in education, health care and housing. The Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution against the U.S. imperialists and offshore Chinese bourgeoisie who seek the capitalist re-enslavement of China. The brazen U.S. spy plane provocation against China this week underscores our call for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The purpose of Lee Teng-hui's visit is to

advance a counterrevolutionary agenda to which we are opposed, and would protest. This has nothing in common with calling on the campus administration or U.S. government to ban Lee Teng-hui from appearing on campus.

Unlike the CSSA, our defense of China has nothing to do with nationalism, patriotism or political support to the ruling Stalinist bureaucratic caste. The bureaucracy derives its privileges from China's collectivized economy, while simultaneously threatening the very existence of the workers state by seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists and opening China's economy to imperialist penetration through "market reforms."

Beijing has pursued a policy of reunification with Taiwan on the basis of maintaining capitalism there, under the slogan of "one country, two systems." We call for the revolutionary reunification of China and Taiwan: for a socialist revolution on Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the

capitalists and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats and place political power in the hands of the working class. This call is linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries in order to extend and advance the gains of the Chinese Revolution through building an international socialist planned economy.

The U.S. imperialists sometimes cloak their drive to secure the right to brutally exploit Chinese workers in the guise of pushing for "human rights" and "democracy." It is a deadly illusion to believe that the U.S. and other imperialist powers are anything but irreconcilable enemies of the Chinese deformed workers state. The U.S. imperialists are the bloodiest butchers and biggest violators of "human rights" on the planet—from the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the ongoing terror bombing of Iraq today. The only way to guarantee the interests of the world's working people and oppressed is by smashing U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! ■

academics, in an open letter printed in the British *New Statesman* (10 May 1999) once again advised the imperialists that:

"Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

The OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) is a military bloc dominated by the European imperialists. Complaining that "the NATO bombings further undermine what remains of the fragile structure of international law," Chomsky essentially argues that the bombings would have been okay if the U.S. were not so unilateral. During the recent Israeli repression against Palestinians, Chomsky and associates were at it again. This time they signed a statement openly appealing for imperialist intervention: "We are appalled by the lack of action by Western governments to stop the slaughter" (printed in *Socialist Worker* [Britain], 13 January). This is ludicrous: one wonders what kind of "action" Chomsky had in mind, since the U.S. is the chief military and financial supporter of the Zionist garrison state.

During both the Gulf War and the Balkans War, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs called to defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution. We called for the military defense of both Iraq and Serbia, and said that the destruction of American imperialism is the necessary precondition for the creation of a truly just society here and internationally. We defend the Palestinians against Israeli state terror and fight for Arab/Hebrew workers revolution to overthrow the Zionist rulers.

Chomsky's liberal faith in the ultimate rationality of imperialism is an obstacle to the revolutionary struggle necessary to get rid of capitalism. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), looks to the example of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which overthrew

May Day in Petrograd, 1917. Banners read: "For the Arming of the People/Long Live the International," "Russian Social Democratic Labor Party [Bolsheviks] of Kronstadt Proletarians," "Long Live Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Bolshevik Revolution smashed capitalism, brought workers to power.

Novosti



capitalism in Russia amidst the devastation of the First World War. Although deformed by unrelenting imperialist pressure and undermined through Stalinist bureaucratic misleadership, for more than 70 years the Soviet Union continued to embody gains for the working class internationally. This is why we fought for the unconditional military defense of the USSR and East European deformed workers states against imperialism—and why we today fight for the unconditional military defense of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Chomsky, however, recoils in horror from those revolutions and ardently supports the restoration of capitalism.

Chomsky fumes when we point out that his emperor's new clothes are not merely threadbare, but that he stands naked as nothing but a liberal. But just as Don Quixote could not continue his quest without Sancho Panza to hold his lance, Chomsky only has such authority because much of the so-called left heralds him. One of the standard-bearers in the cult of Chomsky is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Although—on the increasingly rare occasion—the ISO makes pretense to revolutionary Marxism, the truth of the matter is that they share in Chomsky's acceptance of the democratic credentials of the imperialist rulers. Thus, political lecturer Alex Calinicos—a leading member of the British Socialist Workers Party and a theoretical leading light for the ISO until he expelled them from his "International Socialist Tendency" earlier this year—was a prominent signatory on both the open-letter

appeals for imperialist intervention in the Balkans and Israel.

They also don't take a back seat to Chomsky when it comes to vehement anti-Communism. The ISO embraced every imperialist-backed force whose purpose was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. On the home front, they are not to be outdone in trying to silence the voice of revolutionary Marxism. Just try to get into one of their public meetings if you're even carrying a copy of the Spartacist League's newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. You're just as likely to get a fist in the face, the response of ISO goons to any known or suspected member of the

Spartacist League or Spartacus Youth Clubs. As we noted in our article protesting racist ideologue David Horowitz, the "no-free-speech for communists" zones established by the likes of Chomsky and the ISO have only fed Horowitz's efforts to silence anyone with views to the left of Strom Thurmond.

Unlike Chomsky and his "socialist" camp followers, we fight not only to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism, but to overthrow their rapacious rule through workers revolution. While this grievously offends the sensibilities of liberal ideologues like Chomsky, it is the only way forward for the liberation of humanity. **Smash U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution!** ■

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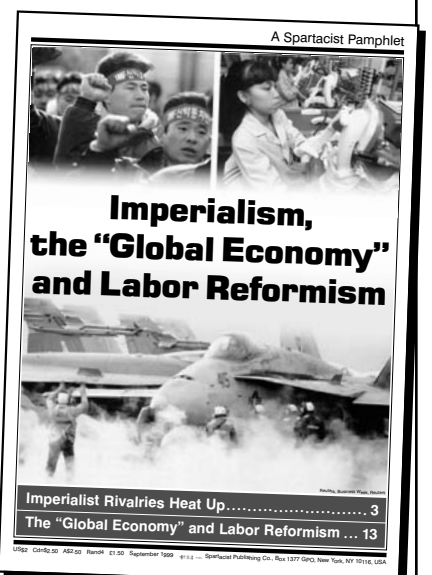
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This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

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China...

(continued from page 1)

at an April meeting of the Union of Concerned Scientists, *target hundreds of sites in China for nuclear attack*. And the *Washington Post* (27 April) reports: “Despite the facade of ambiguity, the U.S. military already has detailed plans for the defense of Taiwan. They are one of only two sets of war plans on the shelves of the U.S. Pacific Command; the other is for the defense of South Korea.”

The Reaganite Cold Warriors around Bush have made clear that they are abandoning Clinton’s rhetoric of “strategic partnership” and now deem China a “strategic competitor.” Significant sections of corporate America are concerned that the administration’s more bellicose line will cause the Beijing regime to slow down the pace of pro-capitalist “market reforms” and interfere with existing and future U.S. investment in China. But all wings of the American capitalist class are united around the strategic goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reconquering China and its vast population for direct imperialist exploitation.

With ever greater urgency, this poses the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, against imperialist attack and against the forces of internal capitalist counterrevolution. Defense of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution is integral to the task of mobilizing the U.S. proletariat for a socialist revolution to sweep away the American capitalist order, the only road to disarming the nuclear madmen in Washington.

China in the Cross Hairs

Though deformed from inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic caste, the 1949 Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People’s Liberation Army (PLA) overthrew capitalist property relations and the yoke of imperialist subjugation, constructing a planned, collectivized economy which meant enormous social progress for the worker and peasant masses and especially for women. U.S. policy toward China has gone through very different phases since 1949. In the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S. imperialism engaged in an all-out shooting war against Chinese and North Korean forces. In the 1970s and ’80s, Washington entered into a strategic alliance with Beijing against the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states and thus the chief obstacle to U.S. imperialist ambitions.

When the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. bourgeoisie expected that China would soon fall into its lap. America’s rulers even hoped that capitalism would be restored without a major political upheaval, projecting that “reform-minded” elements of the Beijing regime



AP photos

China has increased military budget in response to escalating U.S. provocations. Right: Beijing newsstand displays newspaper with caricature of Bush; headline reads, “China Is Never Afraid of Threats.”



would simply privatize or liquidate state-owned industry and integrate China into the world capitalist market. But developments have not exactly gone according to these projections. “Market reforms,” especially the closure and privatization of state-owned enterprises, have produced massive working-class resistance. As strikes and other protests against layoffs and corruption multiply, the deepening of market measures is constrained by the regime’s fear of another 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into student protests posed the overthrow of the venal bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution.

At the same time, fear of an increasingly aggressive American imperialism has caused Beijing to beef up its military capacity. And Washington’s provocations have generated widespread opposition to U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. spy plane landed on Hainan, university students there daubed a wall with the slogan: “Wipe Out Our National Humiliation, Severely Punish the American Military.”

The present situation in China is deeply unstable. Undermining the foundations of China’s socialized economy, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. But it is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution which places power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). That is the *only way* to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and open the road to a socialist future.

America’s rulers are frustrated and angry that “Communist China” has turned out to be a tougher nut to crack than they thought. Those frustrations were clearly expressed in a *New York Times* (6 April) column by Thomas Friedman, a Clintonite Democrat who was an early advocate of U.S. military action against Serbia and promotes Washington

as enforcer of a global regime of “free markets” and “democracy.” Friedman ridiculed China’s demand for an apology for the death of fighter pilot Wang Wei in the spy plane incident:

“Why stop with the plane incident? We should apologize for being the market for \$40 billion a year of China’s exports. We should apologize for the fact that U.S. companies are among the largest foreign investors in China and have been instrumental in China’s economic take-off. We should apologize for the fact that 54,000 Chinese students study in the U.S. every year, more than any other nationality. We should apologize for the fact that the U.S. has shown restraint in weapons sales to Taiwan. We should apologize for the fact that the U.S. paved the way for China’s entry into the World Trade Organization. Yes, we should apologize for *all* these things and promise to stop *all* of them immediately.”

These barbs amount to a call for a complete cutoff of U.S. relations with China.

The conservative and hardheaded London *Economist* (28 April) commented: “Talk of a new ‘cold war’ between China and America is starting to sound like an understatement.” It is not only China but Washington’s European and Japanese imperialist “allies” who are worried about the U.S. waving its nuclear big stick against Beijing. Japan and the European powers pursue their own interests in China, and these conflicting interests would vastly intensify in a scramble over the spoils of capitalist counterrevolution. More generally, America’s imperialist rivals are concerned that the U.S. is becoming increasingly brazen in asserting its self-declared role as the “world’s only superpower.” The leading German weekly *Der Spiegel* now talks of “the snarling, ugly Americans.” What we can do to China, Bush is in effect saying to them, we can also do to you.

In an article headlined “Colliding Interests,” the London *Financial Times* (27 April) noted, “The collapse of the Soviet Union has destroyed the overwhelming rationale binding the US and Japan so closely together and perhaps created an opportunity for China to play on their differences.” “There is a newly nationalist mood in Japan,” says one diplomat quoted in the article. Japanese imperialism is increasingly assertive of its own regional interests. Epitomizing this shift is Japan’s new prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, who is simultaneously pushing massive austerity attacks and layoffs to revitalize the Japanese economy and a heightened military posture abroad. Immediately after taking office, Koizumi declared that the constitution should be revised to unshackle the “Self-Defense Forces.” As the *Financial Times* reported: “For the first time since the second world war, this would authorize the Japanese military to wage offensive operations—reviving fears among Japan’s neighbours about the nation’s militaristic history.” Koizumi also talks of visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, which honors Japanese soldiers who died in World War II and is a rallying point for chauvinist revanchism.

Germany, which manufactures some of the parts for the diesel submarines being sold to Taiwan, announced that it would not supply these parts for the U.S. arms

package. Last week, France and several other European states joined with China, Cuba and other countries in voting the U.S. off the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the first time in the UN’s history. Citing Washington’s long-standing use of “human rights” as a club against China, the *Xinhua* (4 May) news service noted, “The human rights issue is actually only a ‘big stick’ for the U.S. to use on other countries for its own hegemonic purposes.”

“Left” Joins Anti-China Crusade

We wrote in “U.S. Spy Plane Provocation—Defend China!” (WV No. 756, 13 April):

“It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people in the U.S. to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the American capitalist rulers. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the U.S. bourgeoisie, and the imperialists internationally, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home.”

Our aim is to forge a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power. This perspective is anathema to the reformist and centrist pretenders to socialism in the U.S. and internationally, who ever more openly bow to the dictates of their respective bourgeoisies. These groups moved sharply to the right in the tow of the war drive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the subsequent imperialist ideological offensive over the “death of communism.”

Despite its redder-than-red rhetoric, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) offers the most flagrant example of capitulation to imperialist China-bashing, echoing language you hear from extreme right-wing anti-Communists. *Challenge* (25 April) declares that the spy plane provocation “reveals the sharpening of a rivalry that will ultimately lead to a war for world domination between these imperialist gangsters.” In equating the world’s most powerful capitalist-imperialist state with a bureaucratically deformed workers state, PL acts to disarm workers and radicalized youth who seek to oppose American imperialist aggression.

You wouldn’t know from reading the *Challenge* statement that PL once considered China to be socialist. Indeed, at one point in the 1960s PL had Beijing’s franchise as the American “revolutionaries.” PL lined up with Mao Zedong in denouncing the Soviet Union as “social-imperialist” and hailed Mao’s “Cultural Revolution.” By the early 1970s, PL had repudiated the Beijing regime and declared that China was capitalist. PL’s often bizarre politics can best be described as inverted Stalinism. PL identifies the bureaucracy with the workers state: renouncing political support to the regime, it simultaneously rejected military defense of the workers state and its material foundations—the collectivized economy. PL also rejects military defense of small capitalist states against the imperialists, equating oppressor nations with oppressed nations. Thus PL has refused to defend Iraq and Serbia against U.S. terror bombing.

It is a measure of how right-wing PL’s

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“revolutionary communism” is in practice that its line is essentially indistinguishable from that of the International Socialist Organization (ISO). The hallmark of these overt social democrats has always been anti-Communist hostility toward China and the Soviet Union, when it existed. The ISO supported every U.S.-backed reactionary force against the Soviet degenerated workers state, from the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan to clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and Russia’s Boris Yeltsin. Evenhandedly denouncing the “more aggressive posture of each side,” *Socialist Worker* (27 April) writes: “The U.S. and China are competing for influence in Asia.” A previous article titled “Washington’s China Bashing” (*Socialist Worker*, 13 April) seemingly tilted toward China, but in fact it was nothing more than the ISO’s usual “tilt” toward the Democratic Party:

“In recent years, U.S. policy towards China has balanced uneasily between seeing the country as a huge trade and investment opportunity on the one hand, and as a military threat on the other. “Under George W. Bush, whose administration is stuffed full of former Cold Warriors, there’s been a sharp shift to the hawk end of the spectrum.”

The get-tougher line toward China is not simply a result of the Republican right having taken over the White House. Liberal Democrats and the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO bureaucracy of John Sweeney have repeatedly blocked with the Republican right in bashing China, with the former railing against “slave labor” and the latter fulminating against “persecution” of Christian sects. As the American spy plane crew was being held in Hainan, Democratic Senator Torricelli demanded that the U.S. recall its ambassador.

There has indeed been a shift under Bush, but it was prepared under Clinton. While the Clinton administration avidly pursued “constructive engagement,” U.S. capital investment in China and U.S. nuclear-armed warships in the South China Sea serve the *same purpose*: to recapture the country for imperialism. And they complement each other: the greater the extent of U.S. investment, the louder the drums will beat for military action to protect that investment. In a statement issued last October, Beijing explained its need to increase military spending by pointing to the “new gunboat policy and neo-economic colonialism” of Clinton’s U.S.

In Britain, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), with whom the ISO was allied until recently, published a commentary by SWP leader Alex Callinicos commenting that “China’s rulers haven’t forgotten their biggest confrontation with the US in recent years. When they carried out live missile tests close to Taiwan in 1996, the Clinton administration deployed a carrier battle group just off the Chinese coast” (*Socialist Worker*, 21 April). The SWP would like its readers to forget that at the time of that confrontation it sounded just like Bush does today, proclaiming in *Socialist Review* (April 1996): “We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression.”

Another British group, the centrist Workers Power (WP), writes: “We have no truck with the Beijing bureaucrats



Beijing students protest U.S. bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade during 1999 Balkans War.

who restored capitalism to China.... But we should stand with China against US imperialism’s attempt to dominate Asia” (*Workers Power*, April 2001). Less than a year ago, WP echoed the imperialist “human rights” chorus, demanding “workers’ sanctions” against China (*Workers Power*, September 2000). In the face of growing imperialist hostility toward China, WP abandoned even its lip service to unconditional military defense of the deformed workers state, declaring “Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China” (see “New ‘Theories,’ Old Renegacy,” WV No. 754, 16 March). But it is rather cheap for Labourite leftists in Britain to “stand with” virtually anybody against *American* domination. More to the point, during the Balkans War two years ago WP stood with the imperialist Blair Labour government in railing against Milosevic’s Serbia in supposed defense of the Kosovo Albanians.

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Chinese Nationalism

The U.S. Workers World Party (WWP) solidarizes with “socialist China” in denouncing the U.S. war moves, while stating: “The fundamental socialist institutions in China have been considerably eroded by market reforms and imperialist corporations have a foothold in China. But Chinese society as a whole is under protection from being reconquered and reenslaved by imperialism because of the existence of the Chinese Communist Party and the People’s Liberation Army” (*Workers World*, 26 April).

But who introduced the “market reforms” and invited imperialist corporations in if not the selfsame CCP leadership? WWP’s amnesty of the CCP leadership is counterposed to the fight to mobilize the proletariat, the only force capable of defeating the drive toward capitalist restoration. Indeed, during the 1989 Tiananmen events WWP supported the regime’s bloody suppression of the incipient proletarian political revolution.

While parasitically resting on the social foundations of the workers state, the Stalinist bureaucracy is not committed to the defense of the collectivized economy. As current events in China make amply clear, this bureaucratic layer acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the world capitalist market on the

workers state. Basing itself on the dogma of “socialism in one country,” the CCP regime always opposed the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries in favor of “peaceful coexistence.” Today, this nationalist outlook serves those leading sections of the bureaucracy who, striving to become part of a new exploiting class, reach out to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie with the aim of forging a “greater China.” Regime spokesmen do not even talk about “defending socialism” anymore, but contend that U.S. hostility is aimed at preventing China from becoming a great world power.

In 1997, the former British colony of Hong Kong was reunited with China under the formula of “one country, two systems.” The Beijing bureaucracy has likewise offered to guarantee the continued existence of capitalism on Taiwan in the event of reunification. Taiwan’s capitalists have invested tens of billions of dollars on the mainland. The Trotskyist International Communist League stands for the revolutionary reunification of China: for a *socialist* revolution against the Taiwan bourgeoisie and a *political* revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy.

Many of those who oppose Beijing’s concessions to imperialism also speak in the language of Chinese nationalism, seeing defense of China in national, not class, terms. Particularly with the bombing of China’s Belgrade embassy in 1999, U.S. provocations have produced a wave of anti-American nationalism on the mainland. When the spy plane landed on Hainan, a Beijing shop assistant exclaimed: “Our government should have shot down the plane. Jiang Zemin is too weak. If Grandpa Mao were still alive, the Americans would not dare to bully us” (*New York Times*, 5 April).

China was liberated from imperialist domination only through a social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) which ended the class rule of the *Chinese* bourgeoisie. Moreover, the survival of the People’s Republic in its initial years was critically dependent on Soviet military and economic support. Only fear of Soviet retaliation prevented the U.S. from using nuclear weapons against China in the Korean War, as Washington repeatedly threatened to do.

The Beijing bureaucracy, by aiding the destruction of the Soviet Union, has helped bring about the present conditions in which the U.S. is openly preparing for war against China. In the early 1970s, after years of feuding between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow, “Grandpa Mao” allied China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Mao sealed his treacherous “rapprochement” as American warplanes were laying waste to Vietnam. In 1979, just four years after the revolutionary victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, China under Deng Xiaoping acted as a cat’s paw for a vindictive U.S. imperialism, invading Soviet-allied Vietnam in order to teach it a “bloody lesson.” Chinese forces were repulsed by battle-hardened Vietnamese troops.

Chinese nationalism is today serving to

link leftist opponents of imperialism with right-wing advocates for a new Chinese imperialism. This is seen in *China’s Road, Under the Conspiracy of Globalization*, a best-selling compilation of nationalist essays published in the aftermath of the Belgrade embassy bombing. One of the book’s chief editors, Fang Ning, is a professor of “contemporary capitalism” in Beijing who denounces “globalization” in the language of Western academic “Marxism.” The other, Wang Xiaodong, is a former editor of the journal *Strategy and Management*, which is connected to the military establishment. Wang makes no pretense of Marxism or leftism in any sense. He is a mirror image of the most extreme right-wing ideologues of Western and Japanese imperialism, maintaining that U.S. hostility toward the People’s Republic is national and even racial in character.

Wang’s stated goal is to transform China into “a post-development great power” on a par with the U.S., Germany and Japan. The aim of transforming China, with its relatively weak industrial base and massive rural backwardness, into an imperialist “great power” is not only reactionary but utterly utopian. Just look at Russia in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution: what had been the world’s second-greatest industrial and military power is today a devastated wreck.

The phenomenon exemplified by *China’s Road* is reminiscent of the “red-brown” coalition formed in Russia with



Berkeley anti-ROTC protest, April 21: Trotskyists fight for defense of 1949 Chinese Revolution.

the collapse of the Soviet Union, bringing together Stalinist has-beens with outright tsarists, fascists and the like whose opposition to the Yeltsin regime and “Western imperialism” was centered on agitation for a strong, Russian-dominated imperial state. These chauvinists were virulently hostile to the multinational proletariat of the former Soviet Union. The “red-brown” coalition was the product of the Russian nationalism dominant in the Stalinist bureaucracy, which in its final years split between pro-Western “democrats” and chauvinist patriots who each in their own way contributed to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Likewise, the ideology of aspiring Chinese imperialism (though in fact utopian) is today poison to the forging of class unity with the North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and with the workers of capitalist Asia. In “China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

“It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China’s workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist Party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!” ■



Teamsters president Hoffa (left) pushes protectionist, anti-Communist China-bashing at April 2000 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

about possible informants for the Feds. Among those targeted in the FBI investigation were James Carlini, head of Homicide; John DeBenedetto, head of the Central Division where Faulkner worked; and Inspector Alphonzo Giordano, who was the senior cop at the scene of Faulkner's shooting. These three constituted the chain of command for the investigation of Faulkner's killing.

Several informants or witnesses in the FBI's investigation were murdered. A witness who testified against DeBenedetto was murdered in 1983. A reported suspect in the killing was a former cop and Giordano associate. During a federal corruption investigation of the "Five Squad" narcotics cops in the early '80s, a prosecutor alleged that Philly cops had plotted to kill a witness. Another witness in that case testified that he'd been told that a "Five Squad" cop who had cooperated with the FBI was killed in his home.

In his affidavit, Beverly testifies that he saw police officers in the area where Faulkner was shot: "Two undercover policemen were standing on the west side of 13th St., north of Locust. Also a uniformed police officer was sitting in a car in the corner of the parking lot. They were there while the shooting of Faulkner took place. I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me."

Dan Williams' Book: A Brief for the Prosecution

Jamal's new legal team of Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman and British barrister Nicholas Brown was assembled after Jamal dismissed former lead counsel Len Weinglass and assistant counsel Dan Williams. With the clock ticking on his life, Jamal was forced to fire his longtime attorneys after Williams authored a book purporting to be an "inside account" of his case. Jamal's petition to dismiss Williams and Weinglass correctly indicts the book as "a breach of client loyalty." In its statement supporting Jamal in this action, the PDC wrote: "Even within the loose 'ethics' of the legal profession, publication of such a book by an attorney involved in an active case, much less one in which the client's life hangs in the balance, is an abomination" (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Forced to Fire Attorneys," WV No. 754, 16 March).

A measure of where Williams is coming from can be gleaned from the simple fact that, in his book, Williams acknowledges one Gerald Nicosia as "someone with whom I have spent many hours reflecting upon the case." When Williams was fired, this same Nicosia—who has been working on his own book asserting that Jamal killed Faulkner—called a press conference featuring: Joseph McGill, the prosecutor at Jamal's original trial; Hugh Burns, the lead prosecutor in the 1995 Post-Conviction Relief Appeal hearing; Burns' assistant, Charles "Joey" Grant; and Maureen Faulkner.

Appropriately titled *Executing Justice*,

Williams' book tries to pre-emptively kill the evidence of Jamal's innocence presented in the new affidavits. Both Williams and Weinglass were well aware of this evidence some time ago. Beverly's affidavit was sworn in 1999 before Rachel Wolkenstein, who is PDC staff counsel and was then part of Jamal's legal team. When Williams and Weinglass refused to present it in evidence, Wolkenstein and Jon Piper, another attorney on the case associated with the PDC, refused to be part of this unconscionable suppression of evidence of Jamal's innocence and resigned from the legal team.

An article in the Philly *Daily News* (5 May), whose front-page headline read "Abu-Jamal's Attorneys Drop a Bombshell," reports: "Abu-Jamal's former attorney, Daniel Williams, said that the [Beverly] document had been in the legal team's files but that he and attorney Leonard Weinglass had decided not to use it. He declined to say why, and Weinglass said he would have no comment." Why,



Trade unions representing millions of workers in South Africa and around the world have taken up Mumia's cause. Workers at June 1995 COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg hold up Jamal flyers.

indeed? It is a cardinal rule for any real defense lawyer to use all available means to demonstrate the client's innocence. Here was a signed affidavit from a man confessing to having shot Faulkner. Yet Weinglass and Williams refused to use it!

In his book, Williams makes it clear that to him, maintaining the sanctity of the bourgeois "justice" system stood above presenting evidence proving Jamal's innocence. In a chapter of his book titled "Fighting Ideology," he deprecates any evidence that goes against the grain of his own belief in the ultimate fairness of the capitalist courts, claiming that such evidence could only be the product of deranged conspiracy theories driven by the "ideological zeal" of the PDC. Williams' denunciation of the Beverly testimony is, not surprisingly, now being used by the Philly D.A.'s office, whose spokesman declaimed, "Even his defense team thought it was crazy, and we agree" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 8 May).

Williams trashes not only Beverly's testimony but that of William Singletary,

who witnessed Faulkner's killing and testified at Jamal's 1995 appeal hearing. Singletary said that Jamal was innocent and that the shooter was a black man in a green army coat who fled the site. Williams' central premise is that the cops never could or would knowingly frame up an innocent man:

"I was sensitive to the possibility that Mumia's sympathies with MOVE might have prompted law enforcement to jump to a conclusion about Mumia's guilt. I even believed that law enforcement was willing to fabricate evidence to help in the effort to convict a man they *believed to be guilty*. Rachel and Jon held more extreme views; they were convinced—actually, to them, it was sacrilegious to believe otherwise—that law enforcement knew Mumia was innocent, knew that the shooter fled the scene, and relished that a conviction and death sentence would be a terrific coup in the city's war against MOVE."

Even if one only considers the cases documented by the Feds, it is simply empirically evident that the Philly cops

director J. Edgar Hoover in the 1960s: "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This warning was brought home in blood in the murder of 38 members of the Black Panther Party under the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Those they couldn't kill they tried to frame up. As we wrote in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (WV No. 624, 2 June 1995):

"Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression."

Mumia's role as an articulate young spokesman for the Panthers put him squarely in the sights of the Philly cops and the FBI. The FBI amassed over 800 pages on Jamal in its COINTELPRO files. Jamal was put on the FBI's Security Index of those deemed a "threat" to "national security" and on the Administrative Index of those to be rounded up and thrown into concentration camps in case of a "national emergency."

And such cop frame-ups are hardly confined to Philadelphia, or the United States. British barrister Nicholas Brown, who is on Jamal's new legal team, earlier served as an assistant to the lawyers for the Birmingham Six, victims of a British police vendetta against the Irish Republican Army. Rounded up in 1974 for two Birmingham pub bombings, they were beaten, tortured and put behind bars for 16 years. When the government finally acknowledged their innocence and freed them in 1991, one of the six said: "The police told us from the start that they knew we hadn't done it.... They told us that we were selected and they were going to frame us."

At the time of their conviction, the presiding judge dismissed evidence of torture and forced confessions, arguing that "to believe this...one would have to suppose the existence of a 'conspiracy...unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history' among the officers involved." Shortly before their release, a leading spokesman for the British establishment complained that the mass campaigns resulting in their freedom wouldn't have happened "if they'd been hanged" in the first place. This is the line today of the F.O.P. and others who seek the legal lynching of Jamal.

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Hypocrisy: The Homage Vice Pays to Virtue

A statement in *Socialist Action* (March 2001) on a recent split led by longtime Socialist Action (SA) leader Nat Weinstein asserted that the Weinstein grouping had opposed SA's "major role in building the mass demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal that took place in Los Angeles last August at the time of the Democratic Party Convention." In "An Answer to *Socialist Action* Newspaper" (*Socialist Viewpoint*, May 2001), Weinstein's new outfit, the Socialist Workers Organization, wrote:

"We opposed S.A. participating in the demonstration because it took place at the Democratic Party Convention and many, if not most, protesters sought to improve the program of this capitalist party and promote its good politicians and oppose its bad ones....

"This would weaken the independent character of coalitions formed to defend Mumia and thus impede their ability to continue independent mobilizations, so necessary to an effective defense, after the election."

Oscar Wilde, who famously remarked that hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue, once wrote, "I can believe anything, provided that it is quite incredible." And incredible certainly captures the Weinstein reply, which would have us believe that until the notion sprang full-blown from the head of current SA leader Jeff Mackler, this dyed-in-the-wool refor-

mist outfit would never have promoted illusions in the Democratic Party.

Weinstein might have balked at openly lobbying the Democratic Party convention, but this was merely a more overt expression of SA's politics throughout his tenure. Under Weinstein's leadership, SA's entire strategy since taking up Jamal's cause a few years ago has centered on appeals to liberal Democrats. SA was the chief organizer of the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" demonstration in San Francisco whose central slogan, the call for a new trial, was consciously crafted in pursuit of a bloc with Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson, SF mayor Willie Brown and Board of Supervisors president Tom Ammiano. SA had also heavily built a "Millions for Mumia" conference in Berkeley the month before the demonstration, where Oakland Democratic Party councilman Wilson Riles Jr. grotesquely called for life imprisonment without parole as an "alternative" to the death penalty. Neither SA nor any of the other assembled reformists raised a peep of protest against this capitalist politician, because their aim from the outset was to provide a platform for such Democrats.

Weinstein's outfit was also the central force behind a similar Jamal mobilization in San Francisco last May 13, where

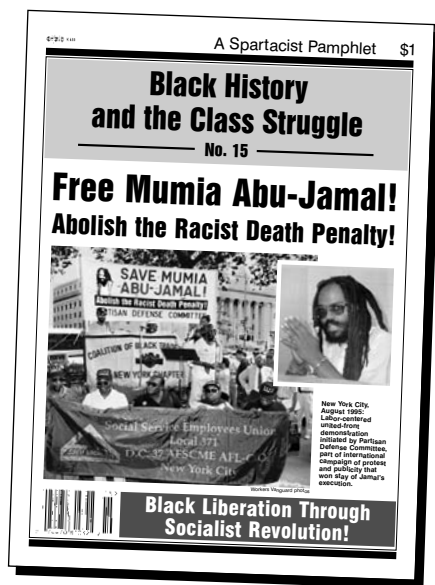
Ammiano proclaimed from the platform that Mumia is "a man who *may* be innocent," rightly drawing boos from the crowd. The appeal for a "new" or "fair" trial is designed precisely to appeal to bourgeois liberals who want a new trial for Jamal *not* to free him, but to try to restore the "integrity" of the capitalist justice system. As we explained in the call for our "Revolutionary Contingent" in that demonstration: "Behind the call for a 'new trial' is a reformist political program premised on the belief that the brutal racist capitalist state—whose sole purpose is to defend the 'right' of the capitalist ruling class to reap profits off the labor of working people—can be pressured and reformed to be 'just'" (WV No. 736, 19 May 2000).

In fact, Nat Weinstein cut his teeth as a reformist politician in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the late 1960s and early '70s, when its hallmark was the building of a class-collaborationist "antiwar" movement aimed at subordinating protest against the Vietnam War to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The nadir of this treacherous policy was a 1971 conference of the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) which featured an appearance by Democratic Senator Vance Hartke. The Spartacist

League demanded that Hartke be excluded. A 300-man goon squad *led by Weinstein* then savagely attacked our comrades and members of Progressive Labor after we shouted down that representative of U.S. imperialism.

The class-collaborationist NPAC that hosted a big-time Democratic politician has been Weinstein's model for success ever since. From the moment SA was formed in the early '80s—advertising itself as the best friends of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—it offered its services to the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy (which was also then providing a conduit for CIA funds to Solidarność). Socialist Action's first public act was to organize a goon squad to assist the union tops in preventing militant picketers in San Francisco from stopping scab buses during a Greyhound strike in 1983.

Where Weinstein et al. promote illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist state and chain workers and anti-racist youth to the Democratic Party, we fight to mobilize labor's power to demand freedom for Mumia and all class-war prisoners as an integral part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the capitalist state through socialist revolution. That is the difference between reformism and Trotskyism, pure and simple. ■



Details Philly cops' frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, \$1. Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

in pursuing every possible legal avenue. Rachel Wolkenstein and Jon Piper served on the legal team and fought, against the resistance of Weinglass and Williams, to follow up every lead that would further demonstrate Mumia's innocence. At the same time, as the PDC's statement of purpose printed on the back page of every issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* says: "We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the 'justice' of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others."

We have organized united-front actions across the country which were infused with the understanding that the social power of labor must be mobilized in Jamal's defense, not only in the U.S. but internationally. We fought to get bigger forces to take up his case, bringing it to trade unions, death penalty abolitionists and others. And we were successful. We recognized that these other forces would seek to silence our revolutionary politics as they tried to keep the protests "safe" for Democratic Party liberals. Their politics are captured in the central slogan of Jamal demonstrations over the past few years—the call for a "new trial." Williams accurately describes the sen-

sibilities behind this slogan in his book: "Mumia may very well be guilty, the agnostics argue, but who is to say? There has been no legitimately fair proceeding to adjudicate his guilt. His trial was a travesty, a besmirchment and stain on 'American justice'."

Such liberal politics are also peddled by various self-proclaimed "Marxist" organizations and black nationalists who have organized Mumia mobilizations over the past several years. This is typified by Socialist Action, whose leader, Jeff Mackler, alibis Williams' dismissal of Beverly's testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory. In an article titled "The Tragic Evolution of Dan Williams & Gerald Nicosia" (*Socialist Action*, April 2001), Mackler writes:

"The reference to mobsters killing Faulkner is also to be found in Williams' book, his 'Inside Account.' According to Williams, this refers to a discussion among Mumia's four attorneys, wherein one raised 'mobsters' as a possible avenue to pursue. But the defense team and Mumia rejected it.

"Aside from this reference, there has not been a single occasion where this notion was raised, either publicly or during the course of Mumia's trial proceedings by any attorney—or for that matter by anyone associated with Mumia's defense. The attorney who Williams attributes the remark to was dismissed from the case more than a year ago."

For Mackler, Williams' great crime was that "he was apparently unprepared to remain a disciplined member of Mumia's legal team and serve his client in pursuing a line of argument that provided concrete evidence that Mumia was denied his constitutional right to self-representation." We, too, believe that Mumia was denied his right to represent himself. But for Mackler the emphasis is on pursuing *only* those angles which violate the Constitution—the bourgeoisie's codification of what rights should be accorded the population. By his lights, any evidence which points to the true nature of the capitalist state, its cops and courts is out of bounds.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

With the Republicans now occupying the White House, the organizers of the upcoming May 12 Mumia demonstrations now occasionally raise the call to "free Mumia." To be sure, it would look more than absurd to call on people to pressure Bush attorney general John Ashcroft, an open sympathizer of the

Confederate slavocracy, for "justice for Mumia." But it never stopped these reformists from arguing that Mumia could get a fair shake from Clinton's attorney general, Janet Reno, who ordered the attack on the integrated Branch Davidians religious sect near Waco, Texas in 1993. In any case, even their call to "free Mumia" is defined by the goal posts set by capitalist "law and order," as they argue that the state should set Mumia free because it violated its own Constitution in not allowing him to represent himself. In this, they serve to demobilize workers, youth and others who want to fight for Jamal's freedom. Why take to the streets if it's simply a matter to be settled in the bourgeois courts?

From Mexico City to Johannesburg, workers who daily experience grinding exploitation and brutality have taken to the streets in support of Jamal because they see in his struggle their own. As the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League argue in the call for a Revolutionary Contingent in the May 12 Mumia demonstration in San Francisco: "Workers unions are the only significant force for integration in racist America. Unlike students, the working class in trade unions has the social power to bring this system based on exploitation and racial oppression to its knees and to shake the foundations of decaying world imperialism. But the working class must be mobilized *independently of the capitalist state* which has worked for years to frame up Jamal."

In his book *Lessons of October*, Leon

Trotsky, leader together with V.I. Lenin of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, pointed to the role of the reformists in "the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." That is the role played by the reformist organizers of the May 12 protests, whose appeals to the state for "justice" simply try to mask the true face of bourgeois democracy, which represents nothing other than the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In contrast, in our class-struggle defense work we seek to *raise* political consciousness regarding the nature of the capitalist state as the machinery for organized violence against the working class and oppressed. At the pinnacle of that machinery of repression in the U.S. is the death penalty, rooted in the legacy of chattel slavery. We oppose the death penalty for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is vivid testimony to this fundamental Marxist understanding. We fight to make the working class conscious that if it does not fight against racial oppression enforced through brutal state repression, so starkly demonstrated in Jamal's case, it will never break the chains of its own exploitation. Our purpose is building, training and steeling the working-class vanguard party needed to smash the rule of capital and turn the wealth of this country over to those who labor to produce it. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal Demonstration

Join the Revolutionary Contingent on May 12th!

March with the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and the Labor Black League for Social Defense under the following demands:

**Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!**

Meet at 10:30 a.m. at Dolores Park (corner of 19th St. and Dolores)
For more information call: (415) 395-9520 or (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

Free Mumia Now!



WV Photo

On May 4, new attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, dropped a legal bombshell with new papers filed in the federal court where Mumia's appeal is pending. Among these papers is a *sworn confession* by a man named Arnold Beverly, who states: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.... I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene."

At about 3:55 a.m. on 9 December 1981 near the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia, Faulkner had stopped a VW driven by Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, which was carrying another passenger. In a sworn statement submitted on May 4, Jamal testifies that while filling out his log sheet in the cab he was driving at the time, he heard shouting and "recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream. As I came across the street I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees."

In his own affidavit, Jamal's brother testifies that when he saw Mumia running to the scene, "he had nothing in his hands. I heard a shot and I saw him stumble.... Mumia was not holding a gun. Mumia never intervened in anything between me and the cop. I had nothing to do with the shooting or killing of the police officer. My brother Mumia Abu-Jamal, had nothing to do with shooting or killing the policeman."

As one of Jamal's new attorneys, Eliot Grossman, said at a press conference following the filing of the affidavits, "Mumia Abu-Jamal was in the wrong

James/Philadelphia Inquirer



Young Spartacus

Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 2000 Jamal rally in San Francisco. Mass labor-centered protest is needed in fight to free Mumia.

place at the wrong time when a hit was in progress on a police officer who was causing problems interfering with police corruption." But for the Philly cops, Jamal was in the right place at the right time. They had been gunning for him since he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in 1969. His later defense of and support for the MOVE organization against brutal police terror, which included a 600-man police siege of its Powelton Village house in 1978, only whetted the cops' appetite to get him. As we wrote in our article "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

"History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose

impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government."

The State's Frame-Up Machine

Mumia's innocence has been evident from the outset. In the 1995 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, we demonstrated that the prosecution's case against Mumia at his original trial was manifestly false. That case rested on three legs: "eyewitness" accounts that were secured through police manipulation, coercion and outright terror; a purported "confession" by Jamal while he was lying near death in the hospital, which didn't surface until *two months* after the killing; ballistics evidence supposedly showing that the bullets that killed Faulkner were fired from Jamal's gun.

In fact, five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the cops on site that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. Four wit-

nesses—including two cops—described a man wearing a green army jacket. Beverly testifies that he was wearing such a jacket the night he shot Faulkner.

In fact, the police officer who was assigned to guard Jamal in the hospital the night of the killing wrote in his official report, "During this time, the negro male made no comments." Jamal's recent affidavit concludes emphatically, "Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to. I never said I shot the policeman. I did not shoot the policeman. I never said I hoped he died. I would never say anything like that."

In fact, there has never been any evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired that night, as the cops did not report performing any one of the standard tests (like smelling the barrel for the odor of burnt gunpowder or testing Jamal's hands for gunshot residue). The police crime lab reported that the rifling of the bullet that allegedly killed Faulkner was "consistent" with Jamal's .38 calibre pistol. Yet there are millions of guns in the U.S. with that same rifling pattern.

With their frame-up of Jamal now completely blown to bits, the Philly prosecutors' office, cops and others who have been screaming for Jamal's death are now denouncing Beverly's affidavit as a "complete fabrication." An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (5 May) titled "Abu-Jamal Lawyers: Killing Was Mob Hit" quotes a spokesman for the District Attorney's office declaring that Beverly's sworn confession to a crime punishable by death is "patently ridiculous on its face." He is echoed by one Michael Smerconish, attorney for an organization set up by Faulkner's widow, Maureen, who is a front for the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) campaign to push for Jamal's execution as an alleged "cop killer." Smerconish sneers, "The only thing they have yet to claim is that the shooter was seen on the grassy knoll and is hiding in Roswell, New Mexico."

It is hardly far-fetched to believe that the cops would hire a hit man to get rid of one of their own, particularly if he were believed to be an informant. Just watch the movie *Serpico*, based on a true story, if you want a small taste of what the cops do to those who snitch on their shakedowns, payoffs and frame-ups. And the Philadelphia cops are notorious for corruption and frame-ups.

At the time that Faulkner was killed in December 1981, the FBI was engaged in at least three investigations of police corruption involving extortion and bribery in connection with prostitution, after-hours clubs, gambling and the Mafia in the Center City district that Faulkner patrolled. An affidavit by a source for the FBI at the time, Donald Hersing, which was also submitted by Jamal's new legal team, testifies that the cops were very concerned

continued on page 10

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
Copy to:	1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia 1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia 1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia 1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia
Report of:	[REDACTED] b7C
Date:	OCTOBER 24, 1969
Field Office File #:	157-3937
Bureau File #:	
Title:	WESLEY COOK
Character:	RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Synopsis:	WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.
- P -	
DECLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED] ON 11/21/94	

Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by FBI's murderous COINTELPRO operation from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman, then named Wesley Cook, for Philadelphia Black Panther Party in 1969.