

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

Iraq Occupation: Imperialist Barbarism

More than four years of imperialist occupation have reduced Iraq to a living hell. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have perished since the U.S. invasion in 2003. In the communal warfare between Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs unleashed by the occupation, more than 5,300 Iraqis were killed in March and April alone as unidentified bodies appear daily throughout the country, often bearing the scars of hideous tortures. Nearly four million people, by UN estimates, have left their homes to seek refuge elsewhere in Iraq or have fled the country altogether.

Conditions have become even more hellish since President Bush announced a "surge" of 20,000 additional troops for Iraq in order to subdue Baghdad. U.S. and Iraqi forces have carried out house-to-house sweeps in the capital, smashing down doors and dragging "suspects" from their homes. By the end of March, the UN estimated that more than 37,000 people were imprisoned throughout Iraq, often subjected to "detainee abuse" (read: torture). Unknown numbers of men, women and children are perishing as U.S. forces attack densely populated neighborhoods with artillery barrages and air strikes by warplanes and helicopter gunships.

Bush's military escalation has been met by increased attacks by Iraqi insurgent forces against U.S. troops—the 104 killed in April represented the sixth-highest monthly toll since the invasion. There has also been a sharp increase in terrorist bombings by Shi'ite and Sunni communalist forces pursuing a gory campaign of "ethnic cleansing" of mixed neighborhoods. On April 18, at least 171 people died in a series of five bomb attacks in the capital. The puppet Iraqi government has simply stopped providing statistics on civilian deaths.

The sectarian bloodletting was the pretext for the U.S. occupation forces to construct a 12-foot-high concrete wall around the mainly Sunni enclave of Adhamiya. On April 23, some 2,000 people demonstrated in Baghdad in outrage over the move to turn the neighborhood into what one banner accurately called "a big prison." Many compared the project to the walls built by Zionist Israel in the West Bank to seal off the Palestinian population. As one resident declared: "We'll be like the Palestinians and we will not accept that" (London *Independent*, 24 April). Since Iraqi security forces heavily overlap with Shi'ite militias and death squads, many



AFP photos

Baghdad: U.S. troops terrorize Iraqi family, February 6 (above). Scene following car bomb in bus station in Sadriya neighborhood, one of several explosions in Baghdad on April 18 that killed at least 171, mainly Shi'ites.



walled-in residents understandably view with fear the soldiers who control the entrance to their communities.

The plan to wall off Sunni neighborhoods in Baghdad is borrowed directly from the bloody history of British imperialism's subjugation of its colonial subjects. An article by Lt. Col. Wade Markel in *Parameters* (Spring 2006), the

quarterly journal of the Army War College, recommends "involuntary internment" for those Sunnis who refuse to be imprisoned in what he cynically calls "gated communities."

Markel's article cites growing interest among U.S. military officials in Britain's crushing of an anti-colonial revolt in Malaysia in the 1950s. About half a mil-

lion mainly ethnic Chinese, the base of the Communist-led insurgency, were forcibly concentrated in "new villages"—concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire and observation posts. What Markel delicately describes as "a substantial element of repression to the strategy" was measured in wanton executions and massacres of villagers. The U.S., in its failed attempt to crush the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, applied similar methods by driving the rural population into "strategic hamlets" while carrying out the "Operation Phoenix" program of assassination on a mass scale.

The Democrats and the Iraq Quagmire

Almost everyone associated with the launching of the Iraq war is scurrying, however lamely, to find cover. Chief among these currently is former CIA director George Tenet, who portrays himself as a scapegoat for the decision to invade Iraq. Tenet was just doing his job when he told his superiors that reports of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction were a "slam dunk." This was just one of the lying pretexts for the war the U.S. imperialists were determined to wage in order to project their overwhelming military might in the strategic, oil-rich Near East at the expense of their rivals and to serve notice on anyone who dared stand in their way.

As the occupation drags on, a large section of the U.S. capitalist ruling class wants to extricate American forces from this imbroglio without further damaging its interests in the region, and beyond. Speaking for this section of the bourgeoisie, Democratic Senate majority leader Harry Reid called the war "lost" while Democrats in Congress passed a bill, promptly vetoed by Bush, purportedly setting a date to begin the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In reality, the bill not only provides more funding for the U.S. military in Iraq than was requested by Bush but would open the door to maintaining tens of thousands

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Break with the Democrats— The Other Party of American Imperialism!

For a Workers Party That Fights for Socialist Revolution!



Labor: Defend Immigrant Rights Demonstrators!

Los Angeles

We print below a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on May 3 protesting the bloody L.A. cop rampage against a mass May Day immigrant rights protest. Spearheaded by the elite Metro Division, which is trained for “potential counterinsurgency or terrorist situations,” the police by their own account fired 148 “less than lethal” rounds. Among those attacked by cops were a *Telemundo* news anchor, a *FOX* reporter and her camerawoman, who has sued the LAPD and the city for damages. Amid the uproar over the cop violence, the L.A. City Council issued a rebuke, the FBI announced it would conduct an inquiry, and the LAPD demoted two commanding officers and pulled 60 cops from street duty. Whatever damage control and spin the authorities put on the situation, the cop riot exemplifies the role of the police as brutal enforcers of capitalist rule over the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed.

* * *

The racist LAPD brutally attacked immigrant rights demonstrators who rallied in MacArthur Park near downtown

Los Angeles on May Day. During a 30-minute cop riot, portions of which were broadcast repeatedly on local and national television, police attacked activists, bystanders and journalists with foam bullets, tear gas, batons and boots. Observers reported that the cop assault took place with little or no warning. Numerous demonstrators and reporters were hospitalized and there are reports of nine people arrested. Women, children, elderly people and entire families were violently pushed and beaten. The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests this racist cop attack. Drop all charges against those arrested!

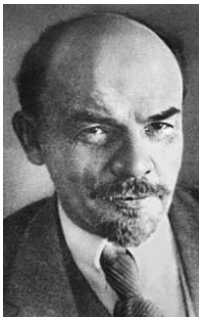
This outrageous police assault was carried out by the same LAPD that is notorious worldwide for beating Rodney King and attacks on blacks and Latinos in the ghettos and barrios. It comes in the context of a vicious nationwide government crackdown on immigrants, resulting last year in the deportation of some 190,000 people. L.A. and Southern California have seen increased I.C.E. raids. Democratic Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa conveniently left town for this year’s protest. Back at home, his cops delivered the city government’s message: don’t march in defense of immigrant workers on May Day.



TROTSKY

The Capitalist State and Proletarian Revolution

Echoing the notion that the state embodies the interests of society as a whole, a pillar of bourgeois ideology, the reformist left puts forward the proposition that the institutions of the capitalist state can be pressured into serving the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Combatting such illusions, the 1938 founding document of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party upheld the Marxist understanding that the emancipation of the proletariat requires a



LENIN

socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist state and replaces it with a workers state.

In any society, the real power is held by those who own and control the means whereby that society lives, the instruments of production, distribution, and communication. In capitalist society, such ownership and control is held and exercised by the big bourgeoisie, by the bankers and industrialists. Through its hold on the major natural resources, the factories, mines, banks, railroads, ships, airplanes, telegraph, radio, and press, the big bourgeoisie effectively dominates capitalist society, runs society in such a manner as to secure and maintain its own interest and privilege, and upholds the system of the exploitation of the great majority. The state or government, far from representing the general interests of society as a whole, is in the last analysis simply the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power, enforces the property relations which guarantee its privileges, and suppresses the working class. In these essential functions all of the organs and institutions of the state power cooperate—the bureaucracy, the courts, police, prisons, and the armed forces. The particular political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) in no way affect the basic social dictatorship of the controlling minority, and are only the different means through which that dictatorship expresses itself. The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society, in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion...

Since the capitalist state is the political instrument of capitalist dictatorship, and since the workers can carry out socialization only through the conquest and maintenance of political power, the workers must, as the necessary political phase of the change of ownership and control of the productive mechanism, take control of state power through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own workers’ state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Opportunities for the workers to take power have come and will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. When the profound social discontent generated by the crisis of capitalism extends to a decisive majority of the working class and of the productive sections of the population generally, and when these have been won to the perspective of revolutionary change, the workers will be in a position to take power and to put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

—“Declaration of Principles” (1938),
reprinted in *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party* (1982)



Loomis/L.A. Times

May 1: KCBS cameraman attacked in MacArthur Park during cop riot against immigrant rights protest.

Having unleashed the armed fist of the state to intimidate immigrant rights protesters, the mayor and police chief William Bratton now plan an “investigation.” Bratton said some of the police actions were “inappropriate,” while reiterating Villaraigosa’s statement that the police were supposedly provoked by “instigators.” The fact is that masses of cops in full riot gear provocatively surrounded MacArthur Park and brutally attacked peaceful demonstrators. The chorus of calls for an “independent investigation” of the police is intended to reinforce the illusion that the police can be reformed to be “just” and will only whitewash

the cops’ actions.

It is urgent that the multiracial labor movement defend all those targeted by government repression including under the rubric of the “war on terror” which domestically is a war on immigrants, blacks, and labor. Defense of immigrants is crucial to defense of the working class as a whole. The situation demands a class-struggle fight to organize immigrant workers and bring them into unions with full union wages, rights and protections. An important first step would be for unions to protest this vicious cop assault. Labor must demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!■

Protest I.C.E. Raid in Chicago!

The following letter, addressed to U.S. attorney Patrick J. Fitzgerald, was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 30.

The PDC vigorously condemns the 24 April raid on the Little Village shopping mall, in the heart of Chicago’s Mexican American community. While hundreds of people, including children and the elderly, conducted their business, the whole shopping mall was locked down by a heavily armed and armored team of I.C.E. (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) and FBI agents, ostensibly to break up a “bus-

ting counterfeit identification document business.” At least 160 Latino shoppers were rounded up at gunpoint, handcuffed and lined up against a wall, and four were arrested. That same day, eight more people were arrested in the Chicago area.

These raids are an outrageous act of blatant intimidation in anticipation of this week’s immigrant rights rallies, and part of the pattern of increasing numbers of raids, arrests and deportations being carried out nationwide by the federal government. We demand: free all those arrested and drop the charges now!■

Letter

On JetBlue and Outsourcing

20 March 2007

Dear Comrades,

In reading the article “Labor: Organize JetBlue!” (WV No. 888, 16 March) I noticed that the question of organizing workers at “third party” contractors does not take up the international dimension of this task. In our article on the 2005 strike by the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) against Northwest Airlines, we wrote: “The AMFA leaders, and

many mechanics on the picket lines, combine their protests against the outsourcing of mechanics’ jobs with chauvinist statements against ‘illegal’ immigrant workers and foreign mechanics in Latin America, China and Singapore, which is depicted in AMFA statements as a haven for terrorists. The AMFA tops buy right into the government’s phony ‘war on terror’” (WV No. 853, 2 September 2005).

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WORKERS VANGUARD



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

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Spartacist Group of Poland Refounded

For New October Revolutions! Reforge the Fourth International!

The following is translated from the *Spartacist Group of Poland's* *Platforma Spartakusowców No. 23 (May 2007)*, which was distributed at May Day demonstrations in Warsaw.

We are proud to announce the refounding of the Spartacist Group of Poland as a sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The SGP will be part of our disciplined democratic-centralist international. We are committed to the fight for new October Revolutions worldwide, the fight for an international socialist society that will put the entire world's wealth at the disposal of humanity. The decision to refound the SGP was made earlier this year by the delegates of the Fifth International Conference of the ICL.

The SGP was first founded in October 1990 as a result of the fusion between the

that can only be achieved on the basis of a qualitatively higher level of economic development and an international division of labor, requiring a series of workers revolutions around the world. Building “socialism in one country” was a Stalinist lie that pandered to nationalism and went hand in hand with promoting “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. Thus the Stalinists vehemently opposed the struggle for socialist revolutions in the West. Within Poland the Stalinists granted enormous rights to the Catholic church and accommodated the politically and socially backward peasantry. Throughout the 1970s the Stalinists mortgaged Poland's wealth to the Western bankers and massively subsidized the landowning peasants, ruining the Polish economy.

The aspirations of the working class were frustrated time and again by the Sta-

Platforma Spartakusowców No. 23 (May 2007) and back issues can be ordered for \$50 each from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116.

deformed workers states against internal and external counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic castes and replace their rule with that of democratically elected workers councils based on the defense of collectivized property forms, the planned economy and an internationalist perspective.

The RML started to break from Stalinism under the impact of the events in Poland. They rediscovered and upheld a fine tradition of the early Communist International that had almost been forgotten in Poland by the late 1980s: to honor in the month of January the “Three L's,” Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, outstanding leaders

of Trotskyism.” It noted that Trotskyism has nothing in common with such purveyors of anti-Sovietism as the followers of Nahuel Moreno or the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel, who in 1983 hailed the Solidarność leadership as “the best socialists in the world.” To this day our pseudo-Trotskyist opponents defend their support to counterrevolutionary Solidarność. In striking contrast to the pro-Solidarność left which capitulates to poisonous Polish nationalism, we declared that “Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!” (see *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 1, October 1990 and WV No. 513, 2 November 1990).

In the following years the SGP published *Platforma Spartakusowców* and actively intervened in class and social struggles, such as the 1992 coal miners strike and in defense of Roma immigrants against racist deportations in 1996. Uniquely on the left, we opposed both the bourgeois parties that came out of Solidarność and the ex-Stalinist, social-democratic SLD [Democratic Left Alliance], which led alliances with capitalist parties. Such formations on the basis of an agreement between bourgeois workers parties like the SLD (a party with a working-class base and a pro-capitalist leadership) and bourgeois parties are “popular fronts”—political blocs based on the program of administering capitalism, thus subordinating the working class directly to the parties of the bourgeoisie. *PS* also published ICL articles on broad international issues.

In 2001, the International Executive Committee of the ICL decided to dissolve the SGP. The objective political situation in Poland was mistakenly viewed as bleak for the ICL in contrast to workers' and

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Platforma Spartakusowców

Young Left Movement (RML) of Poland and the ICL, following on the heels of the capitalist reunification of Germany and the ICL's fight against counterrevolution. The RML was a group of subjectively communist militants that originated in the late 1980s from the Stalinist youth movement in the Polish deformed workers state. The comrades of the RML started to come to an understanding that what existed in the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) was not socialism, but rather that Poland was a deformed workers state. While the Polish bourgeoisie was expropriated in the mid-late 1940s following Poland's liberation from German occupation by the Soviet Red Army, Poland was ruled not by democratically elected workers councils but by a parasitic bureaucratic caste—much as in Stalin's Soviet Union—deriving its privileges from the collectivized property forms. The Stalinists of the Polish United Workers Party lied to the working class that it was committed to building socialism. In reality they carried out a program that was directly counterposed to the interests of international proletarian revolution.

The RML came to understand that socialism is a classless egalitarian society

linists, so that by 1980 the majority of the historically pro-socialist Polish proletariat was driven into the arms of the Catholic church. Workers flocked to Solidarność, whose leader Lech Walesa wasted no opportunity to declare himself to be a true son of the Polish church. By September 1981, Solidarność had consolidated itself around a program for capitalist counterrevolution, as demonstrated by its calls for “free trade unions”—a war cry of Cold War anti-Sovietism—and for “free elections,” which would have meant capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government. It received active support from a wide range of reactionary forces, such as the Vatican under Polish Pope Karol Wojtyła (John Paul II), the union-busting U.S. president Ronald Reagan, Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and the anti-communist Social Democratic Party of Germany. The ICL's predecessor, the international Spartacist tendency, described Solidarność at the time as a company union for the CIA and bankers, raising the call “Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!” and stressing that the Polish working class needs a Trotskyist party.

When in December 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski suppressed Solidarność's bid for power, the iSt supported this measure. At the same time, it warned that the Stalinists were capable of selling out the Polish workers state to capitalism, which they eventually did in 1989-90. The iSt's position was a direct application of the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically

of Russian, Polish and German communism. In honoring the Three L's, the RML effectively broke from the Polish nationalism promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy and set itself apart from other left organizations which at the time actively promoted Solidarność counterrevolution.

What particularly attracted the RML to the ICL was the ICL's fight for a Red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe in the unfolding proletarian political revolution in the German Democratic Republic [East Germany] in 1989-90. The ICL was the only organization internationally that fought against the capitalist reunification of Germany. A May 1990 “Letter to Polish Workers” issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAd), German section of the ICL, made clear the ICL's unflinching opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution. The RML shared this understanding and embraced the ICL's Trotskyist program. In July 1990 the RML noted in a letter to our German section: “In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists who have a ‘Solidarność’ pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in ‘Solidarność.’... It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them.”

Counterrevolutionary Heritage of Solidarność

In 1990, the SGP was founded on the basis of the Agreement for Common Work between the RML and the ICL. The Agreement rejected the idea of a “family

Platforma SPARTAKUSOWCÓW 4

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Spartakusowska Grupa Polski odbudowana

Z dumą ogłaszamy panowne założenie Spartakusowskiej Grupy Polski (SGP) jako sympatyzującej sekcji Międzynarodowej Ligi Komunistycznej (Czwartomiedzynarodowców). SGP będzie częścią naszej zdyscyplinowanej, opartej na zasadzie demokratycznego centralizmu międzynarodówki. Jesteśmy oddani walce o nowe Rewolucje Październikowe na całym świecie, walce o międzynarodowe, socjalistyczne społeczeństwo, które odda bogactwo całego świata w ręce ludzkości. Decyzję o odbudowie SGP podjęli delegaci na Piątą Międzynarodową Konferencję MLK, która odbyła się na początku tego roku.

SGP została założona po raz pierwszy w październiku 1990 r., w wyniku fuzji Ruchu Młodej Lewicy (RML) z Polską i MLK, niedługo po kapitalistycznej reunifikacji Niemiec, przeciw której MLK walczyła. RML był grupą uważającą się za komunistów działaczy, wywodzących się ze stalinowskiego ruchu młodzieżowego w polskim zdefiniowanym państwie robotniczym pod koniec lat 80-tych. Towarzysze z RML zaczęli rozumieć, że to co istniało w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej (PRL) nie

pracy. Wymaga to szeregu rewolucji socjalistycznych na świecie. Budowanie „socjalizmu w jednym kraju” było stalinowskim kłamstwem, które sprzyjało nacjonalizmowi i towarzyszyło promowaniu „pokojowego współistnienia z imperializmem”. Tym samym stalinowcy wszystkimi siłami przeciwstawiali się walce o rewolucję socjalistyczną na Zachodzie. W samej Polsce stalinowcy nadali niezwykle szkodliwą hierarchię katolickiej i doprowadzili się do politycznie i społecznie zubożonego chłopstwa. W latach 70-tych stalinowcy zadłżyli polską gospodarkę u zachodnich bankierów i na wielką skalę dopłacali do chłopów posiadających ziemię, co zniszczyło kraj ekonomicznie.

Stalinowcy nie pozwolili spełnić aspiracji klasy robotniczej, dlatego w 1980 r. większość tradycyjnie prosocjalistycznego proletariatu Polski została wciągnięta w objęcia kościoła katolickiego. Robotnicy masowo wstępowali do „Solidarności”, której przywódca Lech Wałęsa nie przepuszczał żadnej okazji, by deklaruować się jako oddany syn polskiego kościoła. Do września 1981 r.

Spartacist Group Refounded...

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social struggles occurring in West Europe at the time. However, the Fourth ICL Conference in 2003 undertook a critical review of internal problems stemming from the impact of capitalist counterrevolution on our organization. The document of this conference noted soberly:

“Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat, and the absence of the Soviet Union as an active and defining factor in politics, have led to disorientation. Frustration and impatience over the disparity between our small size and slender roots in the working class and our proletarian internationalist purpose have led both to opportunist lunges and sectarian moralism.”

—*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 58, Spring 2004

The conference concluded that an inability to deal with the world created by the fall of the USSR, and the consequent retrogression in consciousness, lay at the root of the ICL's crisis in 2003. The weight of the defeats and the ensuing social catastrophes of capitalist counterrevolution flattened the understanding of our cadre that the ICL was, and is, the party of the Russian Revolution, of new Octobers, leading the way to the coming transformation of the world. At bottom, what was posed was whether “we will fight to maintain our revolutionary continuity or buy into and ultimately surrender to the worldview of our opponents. To these opponents, the issue of revolution, the Russian question, is an ‘old’ question that does not fit into their ‘new world reality’.” Following our 2003 conference we undertook a further re-examination of past practices and political questions.

One of the questions that came under review was our propaganda on Solidarność in the 1990s. After the destruction of the Polish deformed workers state in 1989-90, Solidarność had served its purpose as the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution. Its peasant sector and many intellectuals decamped and founded their own bourgeois parties. Thus, Solidarność (and its offshoots like Solidarność 80 and Sierpien 80) became more akin to a trade union in social composition. During the first tenure of the SLD-led government in post-counterrevolution Poland we observed that the “official Solidarność union now poses as a champion of working-class interests while revving up its anti-Communist demagoguery and making overtures to openly fascistic forces” (WV No. 614, 13 January 1995; PS No. 5, Spring 1995).

However, taking into account only the latter, we argued one-sidedly in a 1998 article in PS that “the function of Solidarność has nothing to do with ‘trade unionism’ of any kind, ‘militant’ or otherwise.” Following internal discussion within the ICL, we corrected this formulation in our 2005 arti-



Fabian/Sygma

Above: Solidarność leader Lech Wałęsa with Pope Wojtyła in 1981. Right: Spartacists in front of NYC Solidarność office, September 1981, expose Wałęsa's outfit as company union for CIA and Vatican.

cle “Right Wing Wins Polish Elections” (WV No. 857, 28 October 2005 and PS No. 13, December 2005), noting that it wrongly denied the fact that Solidarność is *both* a trade union and a reactionary clericalist organization: “It organizes workers at the point of production, sometimes leading defensive economic struggles; at the same time it functions as a political movement closely allied to the Catholic hierarchy and explicitly right-wing nationalist parties.” This article, which summarized the ICL's proud record of fighting against counterrevolution against the backdrop of the obscene 25th anniversary festivities for Solidarność, was written in close collabo-



July 2005: 5,000 Polish miners demonstrated outside Parliament in Warsaw to defend pension rights.

ration between the ICL and its sympathizers and supporters in Poland.

Despite the SGP's dissolution, the ICL, especially through the SpAD, continued to intervene in leftist events and class struggles in Poland, and pursued discussions with militants who were interested in our program and repelled by the Polish left's embrace of anti-Communism and Polish nationalism. This work was facilitated in large part by a founding cadre of the SGP who continued to closely collaborate with the ICL. We consolidated another ICL sympathizer and won new ones.

For a Leninist Vanguard Party!

The organizational disappearance of the ICL in Poland in 2001 created a vacuum



WV Photo

that was filled with various counterfeits—albeit limited to the Internet, as many such leftists share an illusion that posting texts and chatting on the Internet can substitute for the hard work of forging a Trotskyist party through polemical struggle against all varieties of opportunism and through active intervention in class and social struggles. Our principled fight [in 2005] against one of these counterfeits, *Platforma Proletariacka* (PP), paved the way for the refounding of the SGP.

PP was a creation of a former SGP member who for a period of time postured as a Spartacist. The extent to which he broke with the ICL program was seen in

were posed at the time of the founding of the SGP in 1990. The capitalist counterrevolution, spearheaded by Solidarność and embraced by the disintegrating Stalinist gravediggers of revolution, meant attacks on the living conditions of the working class, intensified national chauvinism, anti-Semitic attacks and persecution of Roma people and immigrants. As we had warned, women were hit particularly hard—they were the first to be sacked, they receive lower wages than men for the same work, and they are confronted with a reactionary ban on abortion. Catholic and Polish-nationalist values are being imposed on youth in schools. The ex-Stalinist social democrats of the SLD demonstrated their loyalty to the bourgeoisie during two terms of administering the capitalist state. Their attacks on the gains of the working class paved the way for electoral victories of right-wing reactionary parties in 1997 and 2005. Today the SLD is attempting to cohere yet another alliance with liberal-bourgeois democrats with the aim of administering Polish capitalism again after the next elections.

The Polish bourgeoisie continues its military alliance with U.S. imperialism. In 1999 Poland joined NATO, and since 2003 it has participated in the colonial occupation of Iraq. Poland has recently sent more troops to Afghanistan. In 2004 Poland joined the European Union (EU), a consortium of imperialist states formed on the basis of anti-Sovietism and maintained to facilitate competition with its American and Japanese imperialist rivals.

The recent extensions of the EU to East Europe are aimed at exploiting the poorly paid and well-trained labor there and expanding the markets and spheres of influence of the European imperialist bourgeoisies. At the same time, the EU pursues austerity measures against the working class aimed at destroying “welfare state” measures in West European countries. It unleashes cop terror against the minority populations of Turkish, Asian, Arab, African or Roma origin and has drastically increased measures to seal the EU off from further immigration. While Germany is its strongest element, the EU is lacking a cohesive political or economic center. The EU is riven with rivalries among its bourgeoisies. The British have lined up with the American bourgeoisie against German and French imperialist interests. The newer East European members, including Poland, often ally themselves politically with U.S. imperialism. We counterpose to the imperialist EU our struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe!

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The present government of the arch-reactionary Lech and Jaroslaw Kaczynski twins has been viciously attacking gay rights activists while presiding over the current attempts to restrict abortion even more severely, including in cases of rape and health problems. They have strengthened the power of the capitalist state by introducing a more severe penal code and fast-track courts. As dissatisfaction with the government grows among the older generations of the working class and their children—who still remember the social gains destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, such as employment for all, free quality medical care and education systems accessible to all—the Kaczynskis unleash *lustracja*, a McCarthy-style anti-Communist witchhunt.

Lustracja threatens large numbers of the older generation with being purged from their jobs for their recorded cooperation or contacts with the Stalinist secret services—a crime in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie persecutes members of the Security Office for suppressing the anti-Communist Home Army (AK) and has put Jaruzelski on trial for his successful spiking of Solidarność’s counterrevolutionary bid for power in December 1981. Jaruzelski and other representatives of the former PRL are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes! The witchhunt against them is ultimately aimed at criminalizing anyone fighting today for a socialist future. ***Down with the anti-Communist witchhunt! Hands off Jaruzelski!***

Our new members were recruited mainly on the proud record of the ICL’s fight against capitalist counterrevolution and for Trotskyism in Poland. One of our comrades encountered the ICL at a march for women’s rights on International Women’s Day and was attracted to the ICL because of our fight for women’s liberation through socialist revolution and for full democratic rights for homosexuals. Our left opponents talk to striking workers only about economic demands and refuse to combat reactionary prejudices like anti-Semitism, male chauvinism or anti-gay bigotry; when these opportunists go to demonstrations for women’s rights, they promote bourgeois feminist ideas. In contrast, we intervene in all struggles and among all layers of society with the revolutionary program. We tell striking workers that for the proletariat to advance, it must



1945: Poles greet Soviet Red Army troops following liberation of Poland from Nazi scourge.

actively champion the rights of the oppressed; and we tell women’s rights activists that they must turn to the proletariat, which is the only class in society with the social power and the objective interest to overthrow the capitalist system to which the oppression of women is inherent. We fight to build a revolutionary party that must be, in Lenin’s words, a tribune of the people.

Trotskyism and the Second World War

On the way to re-establishing a Polish section of the ICL we discussed the Trotskyist position on World War II. The cynical propagandists of the capitalist class portray World War II as a war between democracy and fascism. Nothing could be further from the truth! In fact, World War II was a war between competing gangs of imperialist robbers. Our revolutionary predecessors, Trotsky’s Fourth International, took no side in the war between the imperialist Axis powers of Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan and the Allied imperialists of Britain, France and the U.S., who disguised their desires for world hegemony and unbridled imperialist exploitation of colonies with “democratic” rhetoric. During the Second World War, the Polish bourgeoisie was a lackey of French and British imperialism. It is for this reason that the Trotskyists did not take a side in the 1939 war between imperialist Germany and Poland, which was merely, to use Trotsky’s words, a “‘crippled’ gangster of imperialism.” In clarifying this question,

we referred back to Trotsky’s powerful 1938 article “A Fresh Lesson,” written at the time of the Munich accords upon which Hitler’s troops dismembered and annexed the Czech parts of Czechoslovakia:

“Even irrespective of its international ties, Czechoslovakia is an absolutely imperialist state.... A war, even on the part of isolated Czechoslovakia, would thus have been waged not for national independence but for the preservation and, if possible, the extension of the borders of imperialist exploitation.... “An imperialist war, no matter in what corner it begins, will be waged not for ‘national independence’ but for a redivision of the world in the interests of separate cliques of finance capital.”

In the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, *we did have a side*. We stand in the tradition of the brave Trotskyists in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw, who declared, “We defend the workers state, notwithstanding the Stalinist regime, like we defend every workers organization from blows of the class enemy, notwithstanding the reformist regime ruling it.... LONG LIVE THE RED ARMY! LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION!” (*Czerwony Sztandar* [Red Flag] No. 6, July 1941).

While Polish patriotism has constantly been whipped up by the capitalist regimes after counterrevolution, the rule of the Kaczynski twins is particularly pernicious in combining virulent anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism with anti-Communism. This may well be motivated by holding up their family “honor,” as their father was a fighter in the

Home Army, an outfit notorious for mostly engaging in battle with Communist forces, killing Jews and standing by idly when the Nazis crushed the heroic 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Upon the advance of the Soviet Red Army on Warsaw in 1944, the AK staged an uprising in Warsaw to prevent Poland from falling under the influence of the Soviet Union (see “The Warsaw Uprising of 1944” in WV No. 294, 4 December 1981; *PS* No. 9, Spring-Summer 1999). When this uprising ended in complete failure, the AK cynically accused the Red Army of refusing to liberate Warsaw. This old anti-Communist myth has become official history in Poland’s schools and universities today.

We are inspired by the Trotskyists, who during World War II upheld the banner of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. They stood for the fraternization of the soldiers fighting in the imperialist armies, including organizing Trotskyist cells among Wehrmacht soldiers in France and the Netherlands. They saw in the German proletariat the instrument to overthrow the Nazi regime, to expropriate the bourgeoisie that brought Hitler to power and to build a socialist Germany. They solidarized with defense of the German proletariat against retributions and opposed the mass expulsions of the German population from the areas east of the Oder and Neisse rivers, Poland’s new border with Germany. They exposed the lie of “collective guilt” of all Germans. As a statement of the European sections of the Fourth International declared in 1945:

“The treatment of the German people on the principle of collective guilt provides the fascists precisely with new possibilities to fish in the murky waters of nationalism. The danger is all the greater since if the German people are collectively guilty then the Nazis who are the real guilty ones can logically hope to escape punishment....

“Fascism and imperialism can only be ended with the downfall of capitalism and the victory of international socialism. *Long live the German proletarian revolution! Long live the Socialist United States of the World!*”

—“International Solidarity With the German Proletariat,” 1945

By re-establishing the SGP, the ICL is provided with an important window into East Europe. This is an important step toward reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ***Workers of the world unite! For new October Revolutions! Join us! ■***

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

Safety and Health Administration protect industry bosses, not the workers, and rarely enforce their own workplace safety rules, even in the face of life-threatening violations. Whether it’s the thousands of poor and black people along the Gulf Coast left to die in the face of Hurricane Katrina or those working to keep NYC transit running, lives are expendable for a ruling class intent on squeezing out every penny it can in the name of the bottom line. The government at all levels knew for decades about the dangers facing New Orleans, but did nothing about the city’s inadequately built and crumbling levees. The NYC transit system and much of the rest of the country’s infrastructure is rotting because the obscenely rich capitalists refuse to spend the money to maintain and upgrade it.

Track workers have for years demanded radios for everyone working in the dark, filthy, dangerous subway tunnels, so that

they can be connected with train crews and control centers. But for the MTA, a worker’s life is not even worth the cost of communications equipment. Safety technology far more sophisticated than radios and lanterns has long existed—deploy it today! The way to establish and enforce safety on the job is through mobilizing union power. The TWU must fight for *elected union safety committees with the power to shut down unsafe worksites on the spot*. Indeed, Marvin Franklin might still be alive if the TWU had shut down the NYC transit system *immediately* after Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks.

After the deaths of Boggs and Franklin, NYC Transit head Roberts ordered 6,000 workers to be immediately “reinstucted” on safety procedures. Once again, the transit bosses are blaming the victims when workers are killed on the job. Grotesquely, Local 100 president Roger Toussaint alibis the MTA bosses by speaking of how “transit work is inherently dangerous work,” pushing their safety crash course and trying to sell workers on a toothless “track safety bill” being pushed in Albany. At Franklin’s funeral on May 5, Jeff Hill gave an impassioned speech repudiating the lies being spread that he and Franklin did anything wrong. He explained how the two were following the direct orders of a foreman when retrieving the dolly, declaring, “It wouldn’t have happened if we weren’t doing what we were told to do.”

Following the deaths, WV salesmen outside a transit maintenance facility were mistaken for TWU members by a black

sanitation worker who yelled out: “What’s happening? You guys are dying every day! They’re killing you every day!” Many workers are angry over the deaths of Boggs and Franklin and have real respect for the TWU, particularly following its three-day strike in December 2005 in defiance of the state’s Taylor Law. That strike crippled the financial capital of the world. But it was knifed by the trade-union bureaucrats of the NYC Central Labor Council and the TWU International and called off by Toussaint as the union was showing its muscle. Now Toussaint promotes boss Roberts as a “nice guy” appointed by the MTA’s new management under Democratic Party governor Eliot

Spitzer, whose election the TWU tops supported. This is the same Spitzer who, as state attorney general, threw Toussaint in jail and went after the union with fines for going on strike!

What labor needs is a leadership based on the policy of class struggle, one that would unleash union power independent of and in opposition to the capitalist government and its politicians. We need a workers party that will fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the murderous profit system and replace it with a planned economy under workers rule. Until then, workers will continue to be crushed under the wheels of a system that cares nothing for their lives. ■

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Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist “Justice”

With oral arguments in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal scheduled for May 17 in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the fight for freedom for this class-war prisoner is posed with utmost urgency. This could well be the final legal appeal for Mumia, an innocent man falsely convicted of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. For more than 25 years the cops, prosecutors, bourgeois politicians and their media jackals have howled for his blood because they see in Mumia—a Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth and later a MOVE supporter, an outspoken journalist who speaks of revolutionary change—the spectre of black revolution. The forces of capitalist “law and order” want to kill Mumia or bury him alive in prison, not only to silence his voice but to send a message to minority youth, to union militants, leftists and anyone who would dare defy their system of exploitation and racist oppression.

Mumia’s conviction and death sentence were the result of a political and racist frame-up, the continuation of the government vendetta against the Black Panther Party that led to the murder of 38 Panthers and the frame-up arrests of hundreds of others and part of a crescendo of frame-ups and outright terror directed against the MOVE organization. The police and prosecutors have stopped at nothing in their efforts against Mumia—intimidation of witnesses, suppression and falsification of evidence of Mumia’s innocence, concerted campaigns against any and all who stand in defense of Mumia.

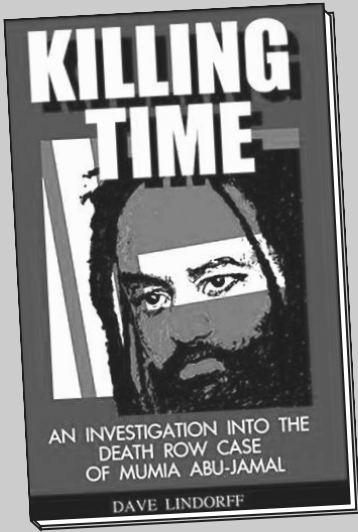
In every legal action since Mumia’s conviction, the courts have denied the evidence of his innocence and of the state frame-up. That includes three evidentiary hearings, three motions and two appeals to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, a *habeas corpus* petition filed in the U.S. District Court and three petitions to the U.S. Supreme Court. The reversal of Mumia’s death sentence in December 2001 by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn was immediately appealed by the prosecution. Mumia remains on death row, where he has languished for a quarter-century.

The history of Mumia’s legal case gives flesh and blood to the Marxist understanding of the bourgeois state and its courts as organs of repression against the working people and the oppressed. They are not neutral but serve and protect the capitalist ruling class and its profit system. There is no justice in the capitalist courts for those who stand in opposition to and defiance of that system and its manifold horrors.

It took mass international protest—protest that crucially included trade unionists—to stay the executioner’s hand in August 1995. What is needed now, as the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have repeatedly stressed, is to rekindle such mass protests behind the call for Mumia’s freedom, based on the understanding that he is an innocent man and the victim of a racist political frame-up.

This task not only entails combatting the bourgeois media that dutifully repeats every lie dished out by the Philadelphia D.A.’s office and the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.). It also requires exposing those who claim to support Mumia while denigrating the massive evidence of his innocence and the state frame-up. Representative of such types are David Lindorff, author of *Killing Time: An Investigation Into the Death Row Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (Common Courage Press, 2003), and Michael Schiffmann, author of *Wettlauf gegen den Tod* (2006, available in English on the Internet as *Race Against Death*).

David Lindorff, Michael Schiffmann: Undermining Mumia’s Fight for Freedom



David Lindorff’s *Killing Time* and Michael Schiffmann’s *Race Against Death*.

Both authors reject the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner and cast doubts about Mumia’s own statement that he had nothing to do with the shooting. Schiffmann has denounced the Beverly evidence as “divisive” and “distracting,” while Lindorff intones that to push it risks alienating potential supporters of Mumia. Their bottom line is to plead for a new, “fair” trial by the same legal system that railroaded Mumia to death row. Thus, in the guise of “exposés” on behalf of Mumia, these books serve to *undermine* the fight for Mumia’s freedom.

Various reformist left groups—from the Workers World Party (WWP) to the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action (SA)—have embraced either or both of these books, and for a reason. Each of these organizations has peddled the same illusions in capitalist “justice” and thus worked to *demobilize* the mass protest movement for Mumia that must now be revitalized.

Evidence of Innocence: Too Hot to Handle

Both Lindorff’s and Schiffmann’s books provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the holes in the prosecution case, the falsification of evidence and coercion of witnesses, the bias that oozed from every pore of Judge Albert Sabo during Mumia’s 1982 trial. *Killing Time* starkly depicts the racist jury-rigging at the trial, and *Race Against Death* presents ballistics and other evidence refuting the lying police account of how Mumia supposedly shot Faulkner.

All this, and more, had long ago been established as fact, due principally to investigative work by Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee and, along with the PDC’s Jonathan Piper, a member of Mumia’s legal team from 1995 to 1999. Wolkenstein and Piper repeatedly fought in the defense team to bring forward evidence of the police frame-up and of Mumia’s innocence. It should not have taken a Marxist understanding of the capitalist state and its legal system to pursue the evidence in a case that was such an obvious frame-up, moreover one that was so loaded with racist bias and political motive. A detailed account of this evidence is included in Wolkenstein’s July 2001 affidavit submitted by Mumia’s

then attorneys Marlene Kamish and Eliot Grossman to both Pennsylvania state and U.S. federal courts. The affidavit, along with Beverly’s 1999 confession and other crucial documents, was printed in the September 2001 PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* (reprinted in the updated July 2006 pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*).

But while the Lindorff and Schiffmann books lean heavily on this work (a point they fail to acknowledge), their core purpose is to *undermine* the fact of Mumia’s innocence and the extent and depth of the frame-up carried out by the forces of the state, who want to see him dead. Both equivocate on the life-and-death question of whether Mumia shot Faulkner. While Lindorff writes that he would “lean towards innocence” in regard to the first-degree murder charge against Mumia, he

adds, “I’m not convinced that Mumia Abu-Jamal was simply an innocent bystander.” Asking whether Mumia shot Faulkner, he concludes: “The answer has to be maybe.” While Schiffmann states that Mumia is innocent of murder and points to Kenneth Freeman as the shooter, he nevertheless offers that “even if Abu-Jamal did fire the shot that killed Faulkner, he did so in self-defense.”

Lindorff attacks *Mumia’s own declaration* that “I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent” (see box, page 7). Schiffmann does the same thing by implication.

Both writers are quite explicit in their dismissal of the confession of Arnold Beverly. In a 1999 affidavit, Beverly declared: “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.” As Wolkenstein stated in her 2001 affidavit:

“Beverly’s confession not only established Jamal’s innocence but also laid bare the extent and consciousness of police and prosecutorial misconduct in prosecuting and convicting Mumia Abu-Jamal and sentencing him to death for a crime he did not commit. Beverly’s account of the shooting did not stand alone but was supported by a wealth of information in the record.... Beverly’s account of being hired to kill Officer Faulkner was consistent with the fact that there were at least three ongoing FBI investigations of police corruption in the Center City area where Faulkner worked at the time of his murder, and that at least one other informant in those investigations was murdered. Beverly’s account of the shooting was also more consistent with the available physical evidence than the prosecution scenario of the shooting (which was physically impossible). Moreover, the claim that police hired Beverly (along with police political bias against Jamal) helped to explain the gross police and prosecutorial misconduct permeating the case.”

For Lindorff, Beverly’s confession “strains credulity.” Schiffmann recounts that while he was initially inclined to believe the confession, under the influence of Lindorff and others he was con-



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal (Wesley Cook) as 15-year-old Minister of Information of Philadelphia Black Panther Party, 1969. Mumia was target of FBI’s murderous COINTELPRO operation.

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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
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.

b7C

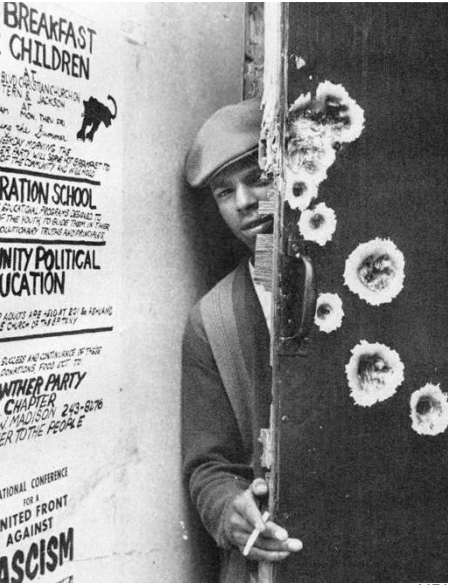
verted to rejecting the account as an “unnecessary complex scheme” (while opining that the courts should have at least heard this evidence). In this, the authors are following in the footsteps of Dan Williams. In 2001, Williams, who was then serving on Mumia’s legal team with lead counsel Leonard Weinglass, published an unauthorized and lying account of the legal defense, appropriately titled *Executing Justice*. Williams told Weinglass that his book was a “pre-emptive strike” against the Beverly confession—which they had suppressed for two years—ever being used in Mumia’s defense in court.

Calling the confession “insane” and any effort to use it “bona fide lunacy,” Williams’ assertions in his book provided the sole basis of prosecution arguments for excluding this evidence from court. Mumia fired Williams and Weinglass when he learned of the publication of the book, which outrageously tried to make Mumia complicit in burying the Beverly testimony. The lie that Mumia rejected the Beverly evidence was echoed in a *Socialist Action* (April 2001) article by Jeff Mackler. Thanks to Williams’ treachery, the courts summarily excluded the Beverly evidence, and the cops and prosecutors have never had to try to refute it. Nor *could* they refute it, as Beverly’s confession throws light on the web of cop corruption that led to the conviction of a number of police officers and higher-ups.

Why would Lindorff and Schiffmann, two self-proclaimed advocates for Mumia, follow Williams by tearing at the Beverly confession, doing the prosecutors’ work for them? At bottom, it is because the Beverly evidence shows that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, bad prosecutor or racist judge but of an entire “justice” system in which the cops, prosecutors and courts act to uphold the class interests of the capitalist rulers. This Marxist understanding is anathema to the liberal Lindorff and the anarchoid liberal Schiffmann, who embrace the very “justice” system that at every level has declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case, that Mumia has no rights it is bound to respect.

Liberals and Capitalist “Justice”

Lindorff, whose columns appear in *CounterPunch* and the *Nation*, scorns those convinced that Mumia had nothing to do with Faulkner’s shooting as “true believers,” a timeworn anti-communist epithet. He outrageously equates those “absolutely convinced” of Mumia’s innocence with the F.O.P., which clamors for Mumia’s blood, saying that “one of those two bitterly opposed sides may be in the right, though I have my doubts about both.”



Chicago Black Panther Party residence shot up in 1969 FBI/police raid that killed Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Nevertheless, Lindorff has made himself a minor celebrity on the liberal left as an “independent” authority on Mumia’s case, embraced by such reformists as the ISO, which enthused over *Killing Time* for “exposing the flaws in Mumia’s case” (*Socialist Worker*, 16 December 2005). The Web site of Refuse & Resist, which is associated with the Revolutionary

Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal
3 May 2001

The declaration below is reprinted from the July 2006 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!

I, MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, declare:

1. I am the Petitioner in this action. If called as a witness I could and would testify to the following from my own personal knowledge:
2. I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent.
3. At my trial I was denied the right to defend myself, I had no confidence in my court-appointed attorney, who never even asked me what happened the night I was shot and the police officer was killed, and I was excluded from at least half the trial.
4. Since I was denied all my rights at my trial I did not testify. I would not be used to make it look like I had a fair trial.
5. I did not testify in the post-conviction proceedings in 1995 on the advice of my attorney, Leonard Weinglass, who specifically told me not to testify.
6. Now for the first time I have been given an opportunity to tell what happened to me in the early morning hours of December 9, 1981. This is what happened:
7. As a cabbie I often chose 13th and Locust Street because it was a popular club area with a lot of foot traffic.
8. I worked out of United Cab on the night of 12/9/81.
9. I believe I had recently returned from dropping off a fare in West Philly.
10. I was filling out my log when I heard some shouting.
11. I glanced in my rear view mirror and saw a flashing dome light of a police cruiser. This wasn’t unusual.
12. I continued to fill out my log/trip sheet when I heard what sounded like gun shots.
13. I looked again into my rear view mirror and saw people running up and down Locust.
14. As I scanned I recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy.
15. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream.
16. 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.

17. I closed my eyes and sat still trying to breath.
18. The next thing that I remember I felt myself being kicked, hit and being brought out of a stupor.
19. When I opened my eyes, I saw cops all around me.
20. They were hollering and cursing, grabbing and pulling on me. I felt faint finding it hard to talk.
21. As I looked through this cop crowd all around me, I saw my brother, blood running down his neck and a cop lying on his back on the pavement.
22. I was pulled to my feet and then rammed into a telephone pole beaten where I fell and thrown into a paddy wagon.
23. I think I slept until I heard the door open and a white cop in a white shirt came in cursing and hit me in the forehead.
24. I don’t remember what he said much except a lot of “n-----s”, “black motherfuckers” and what not.
24. I believe he left and I slept. I don’t remember the wagon moving for a while and when it did for sometime.
25. I awoke to hear the driver speaking over the radio about his prisoner.
26. I was informed by the anonymous crackle on the radio that I was en route to the police administration building a few blocks away.
27. Then, it sounded like “I.D.’d as M-1” came on the radio band telling the driver to go to Jefferson Hospital.
28. Upon arrival I was thrown from the wagon to the ground and beaten.
29. I was beaten again at the doors of Jefferson.
30. Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler.
31. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to.
32. I never said I shot the policeman. I did not shoot the policeman.
33. I never said I hoped he died. I would never say something like that.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the above is true and correct and was executed by me on 3 May, 2001, at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

(signed)
MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Communist Party (RCP), runs articles by Lindorff, whom they also trumpet as an authority on Mumia’s case, and Lindorff will be speaking at the May 12 “Writers for Mumia” co-sponsored by the WWP’s International Action Center and the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition of New York City.

In the afterword to *Killing Time*, Lindorff makes clear that the question for him is not whether Mumia “‘did it,’ but whether he received a fair trial and a fair appeal of his conviction.” Mumia’s case, he writes, “is nothing less than a test of the American justice system.” In fact, Mumia’s case is a testament to the racist and political frame-ups that are integral to the capitalist “justice” system. They are not aberrations staining the reputation of U.S. democracy, as Lindorff and other liberals would have it, but are just as much a part of the fabric of the bourgeois state as are the torture chambers at the Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo prison camps. Where *Killing Time* pleads for a “fair trial” for Mumia, *Race Against Death* spends several pages lauding celebrities and others demanding that Mumia get a new day in court.

Both of these books serve as tools for those whose strategy revolves around the call for a new trial. For years, this call has been a centerpiece of protest actions organized by the reformist left, sometimes with an admixture of calls to free Mumia. At a January 1999 “Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting,” representatives of some reformist left groups—SA, WWP, Solidarity, the RCP’s Refuse & Resist—along with the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and others adopted a strategy and slogans for the April 24 “Millions for Mumia” demonstrations and beyond. With abundant evidence of Mumia’s innocence, and no less proof of the frame-up methods used to send him to death row, there should have been no question that a movement on his behalf

would raise the demand for his freedom, just as earlier generations were mobilized around the calls to “Free the Scottsboro Boys!” and “Free Angela Davis!” But following a debate, the call to “free Mumia” and opposition to the death penalty were rejected in favor of call-

Mumia in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops on 9 December 1981.



ing for a new trial in order to reach out to “the American mainstream.” For the reformists, who sought to forge a class-collaborationist alliance with Democratic Party politicians and other bourgeois liberals, that “mainstream” included those who were agnostic on Mumia’s innocence.

At bottom, the “new trial” slogan is an appeal to liberals who see Mumia’s case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated “miscarriage of justice.” The program put forward by the WWP, RCP, ISO, SA et al. masks the true face of bourgeois democracy, which represents nothing other than the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In *Lessons of October* (1924), Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, pointed out the role of such reformists in “the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state.” This is precisely the role of the refor-

mist “socialists” who rely on the courts to bring Mumia “justice.” These groups *obstruct* the development of a defense movement based on the understanding that it is the class nature and racial bias of the capitalist state that is behind the cops’ and courts’ virulent hatred of Mumia, and

that the road to winning his freedom lies in class-struggle defense.

Since the PDC and Spartacist League took up Mumia’s case in 1987, we have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings on his behalf. But in doing so we place no faith whatever in the “justice” of the capitalist courts. The PDC’s efforts in publicizing Mumia’s case, raising funds for his legal defense and initiating united-front protests helped make Mumia a household name and laid the foundation for the upsurge of mass protest on his behalf in the 1990s. It is only the pressure of a mass movement, with the power of the organized working class brought to bear, that can make the courts respond. A demonstration of the social power of the working class, which can bring production, transport and communications to a halt, was seen in the December 2005 strike by New York City transit workers that crippled the financial

continued on page 8

Capitalist
“Justice”..

(continued from page 7)
center of U.S. capitalism.
The groundbreaking investigative work by Wolkenstein and Piper proved that Mumia is an innocent man victimized by a wide-ranging, multi-layered frame-up. In our class-struggle defense work, we seek to imbue militants with the understanding that the bourgeois state, consisting at its core of the armed forces, the cops, the courts and the prisons, is an apparatus of violence designed to protect the profits and rule of the capitalist class against the working class and the oppressed. And as Mumia’s case so amply demonstrates, in racist America, this repression, carried out under both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, falls heavily on the black population, segregated in the main at the bottom of society.

The rulers’ murderous disdain for black people is a thread connecting the mass incarceration of minority youth, mainly due to the “war on drugs,” and the racist atrocity in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, when the government at all levels left thousands to die. In capitalist America, “justice” means that it is the black people, workers, immigrants and the poor who are thrown into the depths of the vast network of prisons and death rows across the country. Over two million men, women and even children are behind bars, over half of them black or Latino. The racist bias inherent in the capitalist legal system was underscored in the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1987 McCleskey v. Kemp decision upholding the death penalty despite overwhelming evidence of the racist disparity in its application. To do otherwise, the court ruled, would throw into question “the principles that underlie the entire criminal justice system.” Indeed it would!

We call to abolish the racist death penalty—a barbaric institution and, in the U.S., a legacy of chattel slavery. We fight for proletarian socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous state apparatus and the capitalist profit system it serves and to replace it with a workers state based on a planned, collectivized economy.

The Courts’ “Mumia Rules”

The state’s determination to kill Mumia, and why, was displayed at his sentencing in 1982, when the prosecution held up his prior membership in the Black

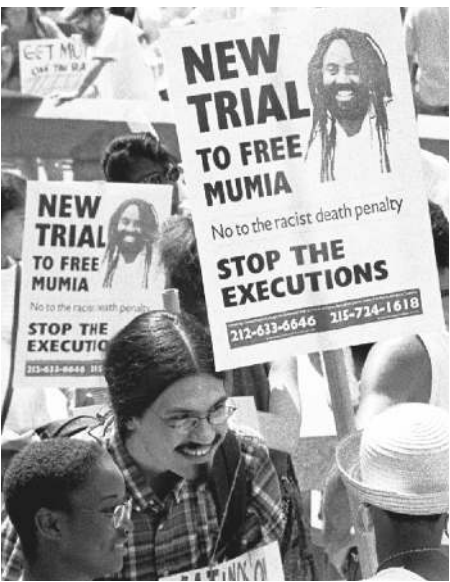
Panther Party to secure a death sentence. As the PDC documented in “Mumia Abu-Jamal: The FBI COINTELPRO Files” (Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 22, Summer 1995), as a teenager Mumia was a target of the FBI’s program to destroy the Black Panther Party. The cops and courts further had it in for Mumia when he won prominence as a journalist, whose searing exposés of racism and police terror earned him the title “voice of the voiceless,” and became a supporter of Philadelphia MOVE. The Philly cops’ murderous campaign to destroy MOVE was capped by the 13 May 1985 fire-bombing of MOVE’s Osage Avenue commune by the police and the Feds, killing eleven and burning down a predominantly black neighborhood.

Our earliest defense efforts on behalf of Mumia included explaining the numerous legal issues in his case, much of which is recounted by Lindorff and Schiffmann. In early 1989, the PDC produced a legal dossier, “The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Handbook of Constitutional Violations,” detailing the many ways in which the right to a fair trial was violated.

It is clear that the courts operate by special “Mumia rules” akin to the frame-up methods used to persecute earlier fighters for black rights, labor militants, communists and others deemed “subversive.” In 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to take up the legality of making Mumia’s membership in the Panthers the basis of his death sentence, a clear violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of speech and association. But the court did take up and overturn the death sentence of a member of the Aryan Brotherhood, a racist prison gang, based on the same legal argument! And every court to which it has been presented has refused to consider the Beverly confession and mountains of supporting evidence.

Faulkner was shot early in the morning of 9 December 1981 on the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia’s Center City red-light district. Mumia was critically wounded, shot through the lungs and into the liver. As Mumia has made clear, the cops beat him at the scene and at first planned to take him to police headquarters to finish him off. At the hospital, they tried again to kill him.

To secure Mumia’s conviction, cops and prosecutors coerced witnesses into providing perjured testimony and terrorized others into not testifying at all. The latter included William Singletary, who had told police immediately after the killing that he saw someone other than



Philadelphia, August 1995: Reformist left’s call for new trial for Mumia subordinates fight for his freedom to reliance on racist capitalist courts.

Mumia shoot Faulkner. Fearing for his life, Singletary left town during the trial.

The prosecution’s case against Mumia rested on three legs, all lies, as detailed in the 1995 PDC pamphlet The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal. First, the prosecution claimed that three eyewitnesses identified Mumia as the shooter. But not one witness ever testified to seeing Mumia shoot Faulkner. As other eyewitnesses have testified, the key prosecution witness, prostitute Cynthia White, was not even on the scene at the time of the shooting. Another prosecution witness, cab driver Robert Chobert, admitted in 1995 that he had not been parked behind Faulkner’s police car, as he claimed at the 1982 trial, and could not see the shooting. This is confirmed by photos Schiffmann discovered that had been taken by freelance photographer Pedro Polakoff minutes after the shooting clearly showing that Chobert’s cab was not parked behind Faulkner’s car.

Second, the prosecution claimed that Mumia confessed to the shooting when he arrived at the hospital to be treated for his wounds. This was a cop/prosecution fabrication pure and simple. Gary Wakshul, the cop who guarded Mumia that night, wrote in his report that Mumia “made no comments.” At a 1995 Post Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing, held as the threat of execution was hanging over Mumia, Wakshul testified that he did not manage to report the “confession” for two months, when this tale was concocted at a roundtable meeting called by the prosecutor to prepare for trial.

Lastly, the prosecution argued that the

fact that Mumia’s gun was found at the scene showed that he did the shooting. There is not a shred of evidence that Mumia’s gun was ever fired that night, let alone that Mumia had fired it.

The story cooked up by the cops and the D.A.’s office is that Faulkner had made a routine traffic stop of a VW he saw driving erratically, with Mumia’s brother Billy Cook behind the wheel. Cook emerged from the car and a scuffle took place. Mumia, parked in the cab he drove, saw his brother beaten by Faulkner, ran across a parking lot and shot Faulkner first in the back and then emptied his revolver straight down at a prone Faulkner. It was while Faulkner was falling, the prosecution claims, that he shot Mumia. This is a totally false story.

The essential premise of the prosecution case was that only three men were on the southeast corner of 13th and Locust when Faulkner was shot—Faulkner, Billy Cook and Mumia—and that since the shooter was not Cook, it must have been Mumia. This scenario was refuted by no fewer than five witnesses who have testified that a black man ran away from the scene to the east.

At the 1995 hearing, it was revealed that police had found a driver’s license application belonging to one Arnold Howard in Faulkner’s uniform. At this hearing, Howard testified that he had given the document to Kenneth Freeman. Billy Cook, in a 1999 declaration submitted to Wolkenstein, included in The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, declared that Freeman was in the Volkswagen with him at the time, and that “Freeman told me after that night that there was a plan to kill Officer Faulkner, that Freeman was part of that plan, that he was armed that night and participated in the shooting.”

Schiffmann strenuously argues that it was solely Freeman who killed Faulkner. Freeman’s involvement is certainly a crucial part of the picture. Suspiciously, and conveniently for the cops, he was found dead on 13 May 1985, just hours after the bombing of the MOVE commune. But it is the confession of Arnold Beverly that ties Freeman’s role and other evidence into a coherent picture of what happened on 9 December 1981.

Doing the Prosecution’s Work: Smearing Arnold Beverly

Beverly recounts that he had been waiting on the north side of Locust Street and had a partner on the south side, with cops positioned to make sure the hit went off. Beverly states that when Faulkner pulled over Cook’s VW:

“I heard a shot ring out coming from east on Locust Street. Faulkner fell on his knee on the sidewalk next to the VW. I heard another shot and it must have grazed my left shoulder. I felt something hard on my left shoulder. I grabbed at my shoulder and got blood on my hand. I ran across Locust Street and stood over Faulkner, who had fallen backwards on the sidewalk. 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.”

Beverly states that he escaped through a station on the Speedline subway with help from the cops. The fact that he himself had been shot in the hit on Faulkner helps explain why he came forward with his confession.

A vitally important part of Beverly’s statement is that he was wearing a green army jacket at the time of the shooting. No less than five witnesses, including two cops and two prosecution witnesses, said that someone at the scene thought to be the shooter was wearing a green army jacket. Dessie Hightower’s friend Robert Pigford, who never testified at the trial and later became a cop, told police that immediately after hearing shots he saw a man in an army jacket standing over the fallen cop. Billy Cook said that Freeman was wearing one, and William Singletary confirms that the shooter who got out of the VW was wearing one. The person or persons wearing a green army jacket could not have been either Mumia or Billy Cook. Mumia was wearing a blue and red striped quilted jacket, and Billy wore a blue Nehru-style jacket.

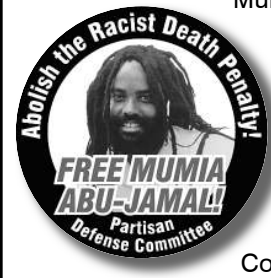
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to “National Lawyers Guild Foundation” (earmarked for “Mumia”) and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia’s freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia’s case in your union or organization’s newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent! This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia’s freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC button: “Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!”—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal—\$10 for DVD, \$15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Philadelphia Bulletin

At August 1978 press conference following cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home, racist Philadelphia mayor Rizzo lashes out at "new breed" of journalists such as Mumia (far left).

Beverly's account also answers the critical question of how Mumia was shot. His claim that Mumia was shot by a backup cop and not by Faulkner is supported by the account of a homicide cop named Westerman, included in a medical examiner's report, that Mumia was shot by "arriving police reinforcements." This accords with the testimony of Dessie Hightower that Faulkner's gun was in his holster as police removed him from the scene. The trajectory of the wounds Mumia suffered—traveling down through his chest from his lung and into his liver—blows apart the prosecution's claim that he had been shot while standing over Faulkner, i.e., from below.

Other elements of Beverly's testimony have been corroborated as well. When Rachel Wolkenstein first located Beverly in 1989, he said that a black officer, "Boston," was involved in the shooting. Wolkenstein pointed out in her affidavit that "the existence of a police officer named 'Boston' was confirmed when reviewing the records of a 1979 federal law suit concerning police brutality in Philadelphia." Wolkenstein noted that Beverly's account was backed up at a 1997 PCRA hearing for Mumia by the testimony of a prostitute named Pamela Jenkins, who had been an FBI informant in an infamous corruption scandal involving Philadelphia's 39th police district. Wolkenstein stated: "Jenkins testified that in 1982, while a prostitute and lover of P.O. [Police Officer] Thomas Ryan, she learned that a black police officer named Boston and other police officers, including 'Sarge' and Det. Richard Ryan, were present during the shooting of Officer Faulkner."

In 1999, Wolkenstein and Piper resigned from Mumia's legal team when it became clear that Weinglass and Williams refused to use the explosive evidence provided by Beverly and the supporting evidence of the police frame-up and of Mumia's innocence, after suppressing it for two years. It was finally introduced in 2001, after Mumia had fired Weinglass and Williams. That Beverly's confession tied together previously unexplained loose threads and that he passed two lie detector tests is fact. But from the moment it was introduced, the confession has been met with a frenzied attack, by both those leading the charge for Mumia's legal lynching and by individuals and groups who consider themselves to be supporters of Mumia's legal battle.

It was when Mumia was trying to

prevent the publication of Williams' *Executing Justice* and found himself under renewed attack by the F.O.P. and the press that Lindorff popped up with an article in Salon.com (23 March 2001) titled "Mumia Sues to Halt Book." Having written very little about Mumia's case previously, Lindorff claimed that Williams' treacherous book, which concluded that Mumia may have been guilty, "makes a forceful argument that Abu-Jamal deserves a new, fairer trial." Three months later, when Mumia and his new attorneys introduced the Beverly confession, Lindorff denounced it as "a kind of legal 'Hail Mary' pass" while scurrilously attacking Mumia's lawyers ("Mumia's All-Or-Nothing Gamble," Salon.com, 15 June 2001).

Lindorff continues his attack on Beverly's testimony in *Killing Time* without offering a single fact to refute it. Nowhere does the "award-winning investigative reporter" Lindorff even mention the repeated descriptions of the green army jacket.

Schiffmann's tack in *Race Against Death* is to distort the facts and neatly discard what he finds inconvenient. Much as Williams did in regard to the Beverly confession itself, Schiffmann does the work of the prosecution by arguing that the fact that five people saw someone in a green army jacket on the scene, and that this could not have been Mumia or Billy Cook, is irrelevant. He argues that these sightings must have been mistaken due to "weak memory," "bad light at the scene" and "obstructed" views. Though he repeatedly cites and gives credence to testimony from Robert Pigford, Schiffmann fails to mention Pigford's telling the police that he saw a man with a green army jacket standing over Faulkner.

Cop Corruption and the Killing of Faulkner

Schiffmann's book has been hailed for reporting "new" ballistics evidence that had already been uncovered by Wolkenstein and set forth in her affidavit. This includes the lack of divots in the sidewalk at the scene of the shooting, which contradicts the cops' tale that Mumia fired repeatedly as he stood over Faulkner.

Schiffmann, however, like Lindorff, simply disappears facts that back up Beverly's account. Neither writer mentions that Beverly's reference to a cop named Boston is corroborated, although Lindorff covers Pamela Jenkins' testimony in depth. Nor do they make any

reference to Westerman's report, instead repeating ad nauseam that Mumia was shot by Faulkner. They ignore the evidence in Wolkenstein's affidavit that, according to the police ballistics report, the gun reputedly used by Faulkner to shoot Mumia "contained powder fouling, dirt and lint in the chambers," could "not cock as designed" and "had a bent hammer spur"—i.e., was inoperable. In buttressing Schiffmann's case that Freeman was the sole killer, *Race Against Death* cites evidence that the bullet trajectories do not accord with the prosecution's account of how Faulkner was shot. In fact, as Wolkenstein's affidavit demonstrates, those trajectories point to more than one shooter.

Schiffmann questions why no witness described Beverly disappearing into the Speedline subway entrance. This is hardly a mystery. According to Beverly (and others), the street was swarming with cops who were keeping witnesses at bay. Schiffmann also disputes Beverly's testimony regarding the presence of two

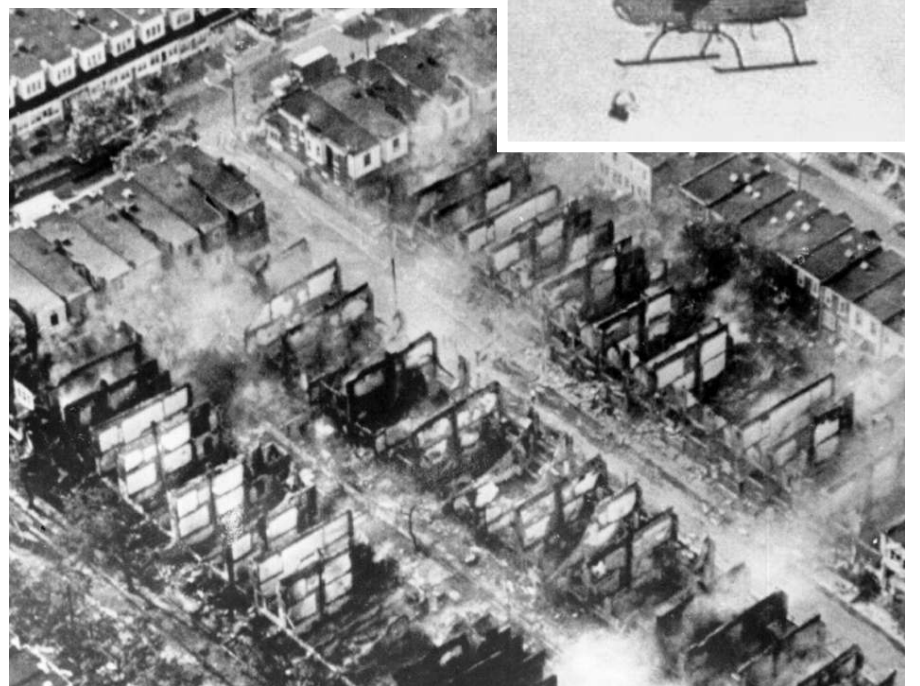
tion, with Lindorff noting that "one-third of the 35 cops involved with the case had compiled a record of deceitful behavior and even evidence tampering." He even notes that Faulkner's FBI files could be consistent with his being an FBI informant—the motive for the hit!

The history of Philly cop corruption is a matter of public record. Virtually the entire chain of command for the "investigation" of Faulkner's death was under suspicion in federal corruption probes, including the head of the Central Division, John DeBenedetto (convicted), and the head of Homicide, James Carlini (unindicted co-conspirator). Inspector Alfonzo Giordano, who pled guilty in 1986, was senior officer at the scene after Faulkner's shooting and played a key role in initiating and orchestrating the frame-up. Giordano certainly knew who Mumia was in December 1981, having been the right-hand man of the racist police chief Frank Rizzo during the cops' vendetta against the Black Panther Party and having helped lead a police siege of MOVE's

We Will Not Forget!

Philadelphia, 13 May 1985: Police helicopter dropping bomb on Osage Avenue MOVE home. Eleven people, including five children, were killed and an entire black neighborhood was destroyed.

Barger/WCAU-TV



UPI

undercover cops and a uniformed police officer in a car nearby, claiming that "one would expect them everywhere else in order to be able to plausibly deny any involvement in the crime." Schiffmann does not mention that in late 1996, *three years before Beverly's confession*, "an eyewitness named Marcus Cannon came forward with the information that he saw two white men who appeared to be undercover police officers present on the scene during P.O. Faulkner's shooting" (Wolkenstein affidavit). Singletary has also testified that he saw two police "white shirts" and a number of uniformed cops at the scene.

What Lindorff and Schiffmann's arguments against Beverly boil down to was summed up by Schiffmann in a November 2006 interview with journalist Hans Bennett, posted online, in which he remarked, "The scenario Beverly describes is certainly not one *I* would resort to if I wanted to kill a fellow cop," with "too many people in the know, too many imponderables in its planned execution, and far too much traffic, pedestrian and otherwise." Those who actually do this for a living might beg to differ. In one of the most famous mob hits of all, in 1985 Paul Castellano was gunned down in front of a crowded Midtown Manhattan restaurant by a group of converging hit men. All were wearing trench coats and Russian fur hats to create confusion and make identification nearly impossible, which might indicate why Beverly and Freeman were both wearing green army jackets.

Lindorff and Schiffmann concede the overwhelming evidence of cop corrup-

Powelton Village home in 1977-78, when Rizzo was mayor.

But Lindorff and Schiffmann reject any connection between this history and the possibility of a mob/police hit on Faulkner, which Lindorff declares to be incredible. He admits that it is not uncommon for cops to kill their own, but claims that "the standard modus operandi for police executions has been for them to occur in a dark part of a park or alleyway, out of view of anyone—often with the officer's own gun used so as to make it look like a suicide."

Well, sometimes yes, sometimes no. Consider the case of sheriff-elect Derwin Brown of DeKalb County, Georgia, gunned down in December 2000 in front of his house after he vowed to clean out corruption in the sheriff's department. Or take the well-known case of Frank Serpico, a New York City cop who worked as an informant against police corruption in the 1970s and was set up by his fellow officers to be shot during a drug raid. Under that scenario, the cops could claim that street thugs shot Serpico, just as the Philly cops could cover their tracks by hiring Beverly and Freeman to do the job on Faulkner.

Ever so naively, Lindorff asks how the cops could have thought they'd get away with a hit on Faulkner. Lindorff himself provides a clue, writing that Deputy Police Commissioner James Martin was "overseeing that entire department" and was responsible for all major investigations, "a responsibility that included the case of Officer Faulkner and Abu-Jamal."

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Spartacist League/Labor Black League Forum

The Road to Black Freedom: Revolutionary Marxism vs. Black Nationalism

The Racist Rulers' Vendetta Against the Black Panther Party from COINTELPRO to the Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, May 12, 4:30 p.m.

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BAY AREA

With an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Capitalist “Justice”...

(continued from page 9)

The same Martin was later convicted of extortion and sentenced to 18 years.

Mumia Is an Innocent Man!

Against all the evidence, Lindorff writes that Mumia could have “shot Faulkner, but simply as a matter of self-defense. It could be he wounded the officer and someone else finished the job off.... If he was defending himself but over-reacted after being shot, or after seeing his brother being beaten, it could be the charge should have been manslaughter.” He even accepts as a possibility the grotesque prosecution scenario that Mumia “stood over the officer and fired more shots at him.” Schiffmann, in contrast, names Freeman as the likely killer and absolves Mumia of any involvement—sort of. In Schiffmann’s scenario, upon hearing Mumia run up behind him, Faulkner turned and shot him “in putative self-defense,” prompting Freeman to fire at Faulkner. But for good measure, Schiffmann echoes Lindorff in arguing that Mumia may have killed Faulkner, writing that “even if Abu-Jamal did fire the shot that killed Faulkner, he did so in self-defense.”

Attacking Mumia’s May 2001 declaration, Lindorff claims that his account of running toward the scene after hearing shots being fired and then being shot by a cop “flies in the face of much of the testimony at the trial and at the PCRA hearing—testimony which, rightly or wrongly, has already been affirmed by state and federal courts as being credible and believable.” Sanctifying a key component of the prosecution’s lying account, Lindorff asserts that “all the main witnesses in this case, for both the defense and the prosecution, say that all of the shooting happened *after* Abu-Jamal began crossing the street or as he was crossing it to come to his brother’s aid.” Lindorff is so committed to “proving” that Mumia “could be” involved in the shooting that he relies on the coerced, fraudulent testimony featured at Mumia’s

frame-up “trial”—testimony that Lindorff’s own book lays out as false!

Schiffmann’s account likewise goes against Mumia’s testimony that he ran up only after hearing a gunshot. Schiffmann and Lindorff both accept as fact that Mumia was shot by Faulkner as part of their contention that Mumia may have shot Faulkner in self-defense. This is all part of their appeal to those who are agnostic on Mumia’s innocence and might rally around the call for a new, fair trial. The reformist left trumpets Lindorff and Schiffmann’s “exposés” with the same intent.

As an idea of the bourgeois forces they seek to appeal to, look at Pennsylvania Democratic Congressman Chaka Fattah. Last December, Fattah voted along with 367 other Democrats and Republicans for a House resolution condemning the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street in honor of Mumia, a resolution intended to grease the skids for Mumia’s execution. His vote evoked outrage among those of Mumia’s supporters who recalled his earlier assistance in obtaining a Congressional Black Caucus resolution calling for a new trial. But as Fattah himself noted, there was no contradiction between these acts. In a statement posted on his Web site, Fattah declared: “While I remain unconvinced that justice has been served in this case, I am voting for the Resolution because the glorification of anyone who stands convicted of so terrible an offense is an affront to those who risk their lives on a daily basis to serve and to protect.” He continued by reaffirming his “hope” for a new trial.

Lindorff criticized those who voted for the resolution “without any real knowledge about this complex case,” but followed up with a jab at Mumia’s supporters, who “sometimes equally ignorant of the facts, have lionized him and honored him with honorary citizenships and street names” (*CounterPunch*, 7 December 2006).

There can be no clearer display of the role played by Lindorff and Schiffmann in undermining the fight for Mumia’s freedom than their attacks on the Beverly confession and those who have publicized it. Lindorff intones that the Beverly evidence “could risk losing some of the



WV Photo

South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding, “Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.”

enthusiasm that had made Jamal something of a symbol of the national and international campaign to abolish capital punishment in the U.S.” In fact, it was the liberal strategy of reliance on the capitalist courts that demobilized Mumia’s army of supporters around the world. That outlook meant rejecting the very reasons that millions had taken up Mumia’s cause: revulsion over the poverty, racial oppression, war and injustice that are inherent in the capitalist system. There was broad identification with Mumia’s fight against the “system”—rather than liberal concern for repairing the damaged reputation of the system.

The claim that you cannot win widespread support for Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man is refuted by the many who have signed the PDC statement that says just that and cites the Beverly confession. Signatories include Nobel Prize winning author Nadine Gordimer, black intellectuals Manning Marable and Henry Louis Gates Jr., and numerous trade unionists around the world. (The statement appears in WV No. 880, 10 November 2006; for a full list of signatories, see the PDC Web site, www.partisandefense.org.) The crux of this statement was echoed by the March 2007 issue of *Shopsteward*, published by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which warned: “The state is as determined as ever to execute

Mumia, an innocent man.... Mumia’s freedom will not be won through relying on the capitalist rigged justice system. What can really turn the tide is the power of united millions across the world—working people united in struggle to free an innocent man.”

Indeed, labor’s power must be brought to bear on behalf of Mumia. But it is self-evident that this can only be done by mobilizing independently of the forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man. Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Mumia. That these millions have not been mobilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up is the responsibility of the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who shackle the unions to the political parties and state agencies of the capitalist class. Serving to reinforce those shackles are Lindorff, Schiffmann and reformist leftists who would subordinate Mumia’s fight for freedom to reliance on the capitalist courts.

The fight to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners is an integral part of the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party. Acting as the champion of all the exploited and oppressed, such a party is the necessary instrument to lead the fight to overturn the capitalist order through socialist revolution and open the road to black liberation and the liberation of us all. ■

Free Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

misdirect the struggle for Mumia to a call for a “new trial” is a *political program* premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for his freedom. This political program of tying the masses to their class enemies and pushing faith in the capitalist state demobilized millions who once filled the streets in support of Mumia.

Mumia’s case lays bare the workings of the capitalist state. His frame-up conviction was not the act of one “rogue” cop or prosecutor or judge, but that of an entire system that cannot be reformed. Mumia’s innocence has been attested to by mountains of evidence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Arnold Beverly stated that he was hired to kill Faulkner, whose interference with prostitution, gambling and payoffs made him a problem for the mob and corrupt cops. More than five years ago, Mumia’s attor-

ney submitted this confession to the courts, but to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about: a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. With the execution in December 2005 of Stanley Toookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the ruling class sent a signal that they are deadly serious that Mumia will soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty.

In the international fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, James P. Cannon of the International Labor Defense pointed out, as the rulers geared up in 1927 for the legal lynching of the two anarchist workers: “It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions.” He emphasized: “We must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world

who are the highest court of all.” This is the class-struggle defense strategy that the Partisan Defense Committee stands on.

The worldwide movement for Mumia must be revived on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man who must be freed now, that his conviction is a racist, political frame-up, that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. The capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. Mumia’s freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged “justice” system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green.

The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down. That is why our contingents in Philadelphia and the Bay Area on May 17 are based on the need for *class-struggle defense* to free Mumia and the understanding that the capitalist state serves the interests of the racist ruling

class. Labor must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man! The road to victory in Mumia’s case begins with the understanding that the class enemy is determined to carry out his execution. The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome, which would further bolster the machinery of capitalist state violence whose ultimate target is the working class.

We are building contingents in Philadelphia and the Bay Area as a step toward the labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations needed to free Mumia. Such mobilizations must send the court the message: We will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison! Free Mumia Now! ■

Join the PDC Contingents at the Philadelphia and Bay Area Rallies!

**Philadelphia: 8:30 a.m.
6th and Market Streets**

(Outside Third Circuit Court of Appeals)

For more information and round-trip transportation
from New York City call the PDC: (212) 406-4252
or e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

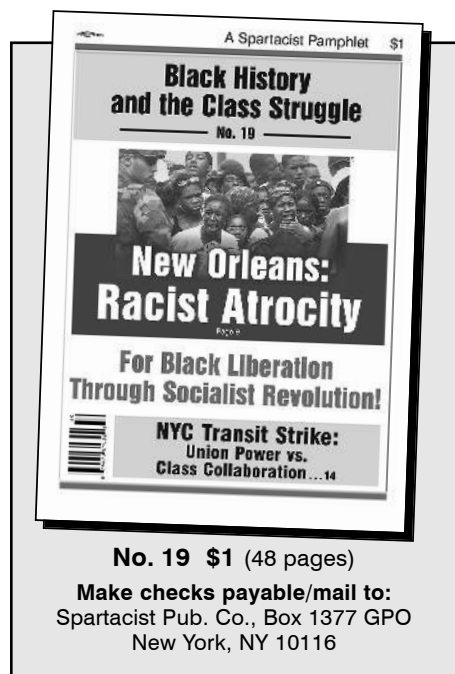
**Thursday
May 17**

**San Francisco: 4-6 p.m.
7th and Mission Streets**

(Outside U.S. Court of Appeals Bldg.)

For information on Bay Area contingent
call: (510) 839-0852
or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Visit the Partisan Defense Committee Web site: www.partisandefense.org



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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

of troops in Iraq for “protecting” other U.S. forces, “training” Iraqi security forces or engaging in “targeted special actions” against terrorists.

In opposing Bush’s policies, the Democrats are acting as the responsible alternative party of U.S. imperialism. Hillary Clinton and John Edwards, two of the Democratic presidential contenders, in different ways express regret over having voted to authorize the Iraq invasion. Barack Obama, meanwhile, can bask in the “antiwar” limelight since he had not been elected to the Senate at the time of the vote. But the Democrats’ vote to attack Iraq was simply the logical extension of the blank check they had given the Bush administration to carry out the “war on terror,” the rulers’ pretext for imperialist rampages around the world and for a massive assault on democratic rights at home.

The Democrats who oppose Bush’s Iraq occupation embrace the murderous occupation of Afghanistan as a “just” retaliation for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In just one example of the devastation wrought by U.S./NATO forces in the name of fighting “terror,” the U.S. military slaughtered more than 40 Afghan civilians and wounded 50 more in a bombing attack in western Afghanistan late last month, touching off furious protest. Meanwhile, Special Operations forces continue to terrorize villagers. We say: U.S. occupiers out of Iraq and Afghanistan now!

As Marxist revolutionaries, the Spartacist League took a side militarily in defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein’s bloody capitalist regime and the Taliban cutthroats. We have a side in the current conflict in Iraq: against the U.S. occupiers, their allies and Iraqi lackeys. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist aggressors, we call for their *military defense* against U.S. imperialism. This entails absolutely *no political support* to Islamic fundamentalism or nationalism. We vehemently oppose the communal violence—kidnappings, car bombings, suicide bombings—racking the Iraqi population.

A number of bourgeois pundits are comparing the Iraq quagmire to the U.S. war in Vietnam. This comparison is also made by such reformist leftists as the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and its ANSWER coalition—a main organizer of the March 17-18 national antiwar protests—who argue that it was the liberal peace movement that forced the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam.

The crucial difference with Iraq is that in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists, beginning with the Democratic Kennedy and Johnson administrations, fought against the forces of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese National



Castelnuovo/NY Times

Liberation Front, whose historic victory over U.S. forces resulted in social revolution in the South. It was the battlefield victory of the Stalinist-led forces that defeated U.S. imperialism, not the peace crawls “at home.” The Spartacist League at the time raised the call: All Indochina Must Go Communist! We unconditionally defend the Vietnamese deformed workers state, as well as those of China, Cuba and North Korea, against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

In Iraq today, the insurgent forces are composed of religious reactionaries and bourgeois nationalists who are more likely to attack other religious or ethnic populations than the U.S. occupation forces. In one stark example, gunmen in northern Iraq on April 22 stopped a bus of textile workers, checked their identifications and identified 23 members of the Yazidi religious minority. The Yazidi were then lined up against a wall and shot.

When the Iraqi proletariat, which has been largely decimated by the occupation, raises its head, it will come up against not only the imperialist forces but the domestic forces of reaction. In Iraq and throughout the Near East, Marxist workers parties must be forged in combat against imperialism and in opposition to all manner of nationalism and religious reaction. We fight for workers revolutions to overthrow all the bourgeois regimes of the region, not least including the Zionist state: For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Essential to this perspective is the understanding of the necessity of socialist revolution in the centers of imperialism. In our opposition to the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, we have stressed the need for *class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers at home*. Imperialist wars and occupations are the concentrated expression of a profit system that daily slaughters workers on the job, that consigns millions of the jobless to the scrap heap, that metes out brutal cop repression against racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants. Imperialism is capitalism in its death agony, where a handful of advanced powers compete for control of markets,



AP

Above: Residents of Baghdad’s Sunni Adhamiya neighborhood march on April 23 to protest attempt by U.S. occupation forces to seal them off with wall (left) and checkpoints.

raw materials and access to cheap labor. This, and not particular governments or government policies, is the cause of imperialist war. To rid the world of war, poverty and oppression, the entire capitalist profit system must be torn up by its roots, through proletarian revolutions in the U.S. and internationally.

Reformist Left: Water Boys for Democrats

The Democrats’ November Congressional victory, from which they aim to launch a run for the White House, was assisted by the “antiwar movement” built by the reformist left. The various antiwar coalitions built and supported by the PSL, Workers World Party (WWP), International Socialist Organization (ISO), Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Socialist Action et al. pleaded with the imperialist rulers to bring peace to the Near East and to reorient their priorities. With their timeworn calls for money for schools and jobs and not war, these reformists demand that the rulers of the capitalist profit system serve the interests of those they exploit and oppress.

The reformists’ groveling appeals to the bourgeoisie were exemplified by the signs carried by the WWP’s Troops Out Now Coalition reading: “Attention Congress! Don’t Manage the War—End It! Cut Off the Funding!” As always in the U.S., this program boils down to promoting the “liberal” party of American imperialism. And in fact, the clearest message delivered by the protests was the call to impeach George Bush, with the RCP taking the opportunity to peddle the book, *Impeach the President*.

As is usually the case, the ISO provides the crudest expression of the reformists’ pressure politics. The ISO’s *Socialist Worker* (4 May) applauds that “the Democrats—all too quiet about the war even a year ago—are finally giving voice to the frustration” in the population about the war but “need to feel more pressure from outside Washington before they act.” Along these lines, at a February 11 rally

for Obama at the University of Illinois-Chicago, protesters including ISO members unfurled a banner that read: “Obama: Stand Up! Cut the Funding!”

Those taken in by the ISO’s appeals to this “antiwar” candidate might look at how Obama addressed the political elite assembled at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs on April 23, where he called for the “strongest, best-equipped military in the world,” including “by adding 65,000 soldiers to the Army and 27,000 Marines.” Obama stated that “more American forces are needed” in Afghanistan and bemoaned the fact that Iran “has been strengthened by the war in Iraq.” He threatened that “the world must prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and work to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear weapons program,” declaring, “We must never take the military option off the table.”

Obama, Hillary Clinton and John Edwards have all insisted on keeping such “options” open—a scarcely veiled reference to possible nuclear attack. We say that Iran *needs* nuclear weapons, one of the few ways for a country to deter imperialist attack. In the event of a military attack by the U.S. or any country acting on its behalf, we call for military defense of Iran while giving no political support to the mullah regime. We also support the development and testing of nukes by China and North Korea as part of our unconditional military defense of those workers states.

The only way to get rid of the barbaric capitalist-imperialist system is through the revolutionary mobilization of the social power of the working class—independent of and in opposition to all capitalist parties. And that requires a struggle to break the political chains forged by the labor misleaders, and reinforced by the reformist left, that tie the working class to the class enemy, chiefly through support to the Democratic Party. In the belly of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party—section of a reformed Fourth International—that is necessary to lead the proletariat to power.■

JetBlue...

(continued from page 2)

Officials at other industry unions, including the Machinists and Teamsters, AMFA’s main rivals, also openly imbibe in this national chauvinism. The AMFA strike article calls for unions to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to organize the unorganized, citizen or not. It goes on to say: “The America-first protectionism pushed by the union tops, which promotes the lie of a commonality of interests between the U.S. working class and its exploiters, is utterly suicidal in an industry that is inherently international in scope.”

Unlike at Northwest Airlines, JetBlue mechanics have never performed heavy maintenance on the company’s aircraft. According to JetBlue, most of its major overhauls are done in El Salvador or in Canada. Still, JetBlue’s contracting out this work is an issue for many workers across the industry. It is part of what

makes JetBlue a “low-cost” carrier, and its example is often used by other airlines as the pretext to accelerate the outsourcing of their own maintenance work.

Much of the objection to maintenance in developing countries like El Salvador is presented in the guise of safety considerations, since mechanics there are not required to have an FAA license (or the equivalent) and safety oversight relies heavily on company supervisors and quality control personnel. So there is a safety issue. But the bureaucrats’ solution is not to aid in organizing mechanics in other countries and in enforcing union-run training and safety rules, but to instead rely on U.S. government “safety” inspectors and promote protectionist legislation. This chauvinist outlook and program divides the working class, setting it up for defeat, and is an obstacle to successful union organizing. It should at least have been mentioned in the article.

Comradely,
Steve H.

Spartacist Forums

With updates on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mexico: For Labor Mobilizations Against Starvation Policies, Repression! No Support to the Bourgeois PRD, PRI, PAN!

Saturday, June 2, 4 p.m.

322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor
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Mount Pleasant
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For more information: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail:
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

VANCOUVER

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

The following leaflet was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 26.

On May 17 in Philadelphia the Third Circuit Court of Appeals will hear oral arguments in what could well be the final legal appeal in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Shot and arrested on 9 December 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal—a talented journalist known as the “voice of the voiceless,” a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an outspoken opponent of racist oppression—was framed and falsely convicted for the murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Any ruling by the Third Circuit, which could come within weeks or months, will likely be appealed to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court.

Mumia is the victim of the forces of racist capitalist “law and order,” who see in him a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. In the last week, the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) harassed and made threats of terror that forced a change of venue for a birthday celebration for Mumia in Philadelphia on April 24, as well as of a hip-hop event for Mumia in New York City on April 15. The state’s determination to carry out his execution is a warning to all who challenge cop repression, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq and elsewhere around the world.

From the unions to the campuses, all out to support Mumia’s fight on the day of oral arguments! The kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multi-racial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now. It is with

Join PDC Contingents!



Philadelphia & San Francisco Thursday, May 17

PDC contingent at Philadelphia march on 25th anniversary of Mumia’s arrest, 9 December 2006.

this understanding that we are mobilizing Partisan Defense Committee contingents for the May 17 rallies which are called by Mumia supporters, including, in Philadelphia, International Concerned Family and

Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the New York Coalition to Free Mumia and, in San Francisco, the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Join the PDC’s contingent under the slogans: “Mumia

Abu-Jamal Is Innocent—For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Him Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!”

In August of 1995, Mumia won a stay of execution based on worldwide protests, crucially involving the labor movement. From 1995 through 1999, new evidence was revealed in his case that further blew the state’s frame-up to bits. All the evidence proving Mumia’s innocence, including the testimony of William Singletary and Veronica Jones who saw the shooter run away, was rejected by the courts. Around this same time a number of reformist socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party (and their front groups), raised the call for a “new trial” for Mumia. Instead of mobilizing to free Mumia as an innocent man and victim of a political and racist frame-up, these groups mobilized on the basis that Mumia could get a new and fair hearing in federal court, leading to a new and fair trial in the same Philadelphia courts that sent him to death row. These fake socialists promote illusions that Mumia can get justice from the same capitalist state that killed some 38 Panthers under its murderous COINTELPRO operations, and that massacred eleven black people, including women and children, in the 1985 fire-bombing of MOVE’s Osage Avenue home in Philadelphia.

Many of these so-called socialist organizations now raise “freedom for Mumia” in conjunction with calls for a “new trial.” However, their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state. Behind the attempts to

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NYC Transit: Murder by Speedup

On the night of April 24, 41-year-old subway track worker Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks beneath Columbus Circle in Manhattan, hit by a rerouted No. 3 train. Just five days later, 55-year-old track worker Marvin Franklin was struck and killed by a G train entering a station in Brooklyn; his co-worker Jeff Hill was hit by the same train and seriously injured. These were not “accidents” but *industrial murders*, caused by the bosses’ relentless drive for greater “productivity” through speedup in an antiquated subway system maintained by triage.

Boggs, who was of Irish descent and grew up in the Bronx, had worked since 1992 in the transit system. He was popular with his workmates, the go-to guy who

could get the tough jobs done. Shortly before Boggs died, management had rerouted a train but did not bother to alert his crew. Believing service had been stopped for the night, Boggs stepped out onto the express tracks to place a warning lantern and was struck by the unexpected train. He was dragged, still alive, and wedged against the third rail. When the train stopped, workers desperately sought to cut off third-rail power but could not. The nearest emergency box was broken, as was a second one, so the workers had to run to a station booth—which the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) wants to eliminate systemwide—to try to cut power. Daniel Boggs died with 600 volts of electricity surging through his body. He is survived by his wife and three children.



Robert Kalfus

Daniel Boggs



WABC-TV News

Marvin Franklin

On the afternoon of April 29, while other Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members were attending the wake for Boggs, track work was being rushed to completion in the Hoyt-Schermerhorn station on the A and C lines in Brooklyn. NYC Transit president Howard Roberts was driving to get the project finished a week ahead of schedule. Franklin, a black worker with 22 years on the job and an accomplished painter who taught art at a Brooklyn school, was working overtime. He and Hill were ordered by a supervisor

to retrieve a dolly across live tracks. Safety lights apparently had not been placed on the tracks to warn train drivers of their presence. A split second before the train struck the two, Franklin shouted his last words—“Man under!”—as much to get help for Hill as for himself. Franklin leaves behind a wife, a son and two stepdaughters.

Twenty-five NYC track workers have been killed in “accidents” since 1980. Government agencies like the Occupational

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