

Democrats Vie with Republicans in China Bashing

Defend, Extend Gains of Chinese Revolution!

We print below, in edited form, a presentation by Paul Collins of the Spartacist League at a September 27 New York City forum.

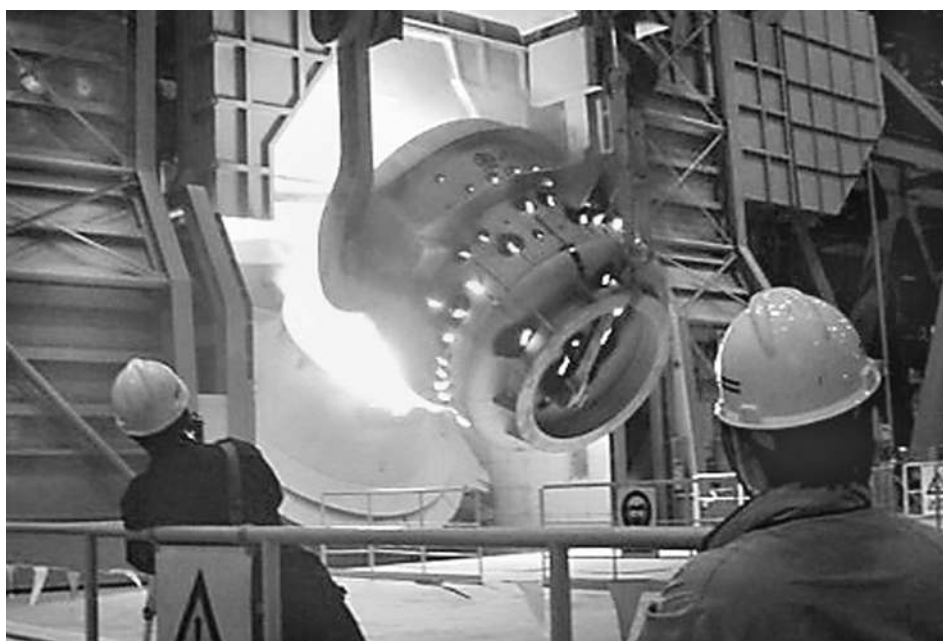
I noticed in reading Sunday's *New York Times* that it looks like Hillary Clinton is running away with the Democratic Party nomination. We are Trotskyists—revolutionary communists—so we don't really care that much. Who can stomach Bush? But as we keep telling the "Anybody but Bush" crowd, supporting the capitalist Democratic Party and building a vote for Clinton means building support for a party whose candidate will be anti-working-class, anti-communist and will possibly get us all killed in a thermonuclear war. We tell them: labor must break with the Democrats. We need to build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

I remember back in December 2005 that Senator Clinton and then New York State attorney general—and now governor—Eliot Spitzer condemned the just and powerful, though too brief, Transport Workers Union Local 100 strike by New York City transit workers. They relished bringing down the Taylor Law on the strikers. Hillary Clinton, Eliot Spitzer, the Democrats—these are enemies of the working people.

I looked up Clinton's position on China, since China is the topic of the forum. And she is very consistent. She is part of a strident anti-China cabal in the U.S. Senate. She says China is eroding U.S. economic sovereignty, holds too much U.S. debt—China apparently now holds about \$407 billion in U.S. Treasury bonds. This has been helping to keep the U.S. economy afloat, and now the dollar is going down. She condemns China for manipulating its currency and demands the "rule of law," which is an imperialist code word for: "we have to have a capitalist counterrevolution in that country and get things squared away." She also condemns China on "human rights" and yearns to be the imperialist Commander-in-Chief who presides over capitalist counterrevolution in China. The Democratic Party is the enemy of working people here, and of 1.3 billion people in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

China is not a capitalist country. The economy is primarily based on collectivized property, not on capitalist private property and production for profit based on the exploitation of labor. It is the most populous country on earth, with an economic growth rate that has been outstripping that of any capitalist country for years. It has an industrial sector that has created the largest and one of the most militant proletariats in the world, an industrial sector sufficiently developed to

For Unconditional Military Defense! For Proletarian Political Revolution!



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Above: Workers at Baosteel plant in Shanghai, part of China's collectivized industry. Below: Migrant workers in Chongqing. Chinese Stalinists' "market reforms" have spurred economic growth while increasing inequalities.



Imaginechina

build a nuclear deterrent to the imperialist mass murderers in Washington, London, Berlin and Tokyo and to put a man in space.

The People's Republic of China is ruled by a nationalist, bureaucratic Stalinist caste. It is a caste that fears and hates the working class but whose rule derives from the existence of collectivized property forms. We characterize China as a deformed workers state. And we draw certain programmatic conclusions from that.

We are for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We are for proletarian political revolution to oust the

ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy and install the rule of workers and peasants soviets. We are for the extension of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution to the rest of Asia, in particular to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia, and beyond to the rest of the world. We are for forging the revolutionary working-class internationalist party to lead that world revolution.

A Bureaucratically Deformed Workers State

To understand China today, you have to begin with 1949 and the revolution that transformed China, which made possible

the huge industrial and social leap. The state in China under Mao Zedong was the dictatorship of the proletariat, a workers state, but despite its great gains, it was deformed from birth.

The 1949 Revolution occurred under exceptional historical circumstances. An essential ingredient in the birth of the Chinese deformed workers state was the existence of the Soviet Union, a workers state that provided military and economic support to the young People's Republic. In a civil war after the end of World War II, the thoroughly corrupt capitalist Guomindang regime of Chiang Kai-shek collapsed and was smashed by the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The motor force of the revolution was a peasant uprising, and the CCP, which stood at the head of it, was a peasant party. In China, historical development had intermeshed the landlord and the capitalist class to an unusual extent, so the impact of the peasant insurrection was felt in the cities by the urban bourgeoisie with great force.

The proletariat was not a factor in the Third Chinese Revolution in 1949. It had been smashed and atomized in 1927 with the bloody defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution by the Guomindang and then subjected to fierce repression under the Japanese occupation. In fact, the Maoist PLA tried to make certain that the working class was not a factor in 1949. As the CCP was driving out Chiang, it responded to workers uprisings, of which there were a few in Shanghai and other cities, by putting a ban on strikes, instituting compulsory arbitration, slashing wages and lengthening the working day.

Mao's CCP had called for forming a "democratic coalition government" with the "nationalist bourgeoisie." But the Chinese bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan, under the protection of U.S. imperialism. Formerly divided and horribly exploited by imperialism, mainland China was unified. Land was distributed to the peasants and later collectivized. Women, who had been basically chattel for a thousand years (historically symbolized by the barbaric practice of footbinding), advanced by many orders of magnitude beyond that oppression.

Although it was a workers state, the state that issued out of the 1949 Revolution was governed by an anti-working-class, privileged, petty-bourgeois, nationalist bureaucracy. The CCP regime was based on the reactionary Stalinist dogma of building socialism—i.e., a classless society of material abundance—in one country. China ended up with collectivized property forms without workers democracy. We call for workers political revolution to oust that bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of soviets dedicated to defending and extending the collectivized property forms, the gains of the revolution.

continued on page 6



Jamal Hart Denied *Habeas Corpus* Appeal

Free Him Now!

On October 4 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit summarily turned down Jamal Hart's *habeas corpus* petition, which would have freed him after more than ten years in prison. The judges affirmed the decision of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania, which denied Hart's petition on February 26. Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges. He was framed up for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father, whose own federal appeal is currently

before the same Third Circuit court.

Hart was first charged under Pennsylvania state laws, which would have resulted in probation. However, the Justice Department under Democratic president Bill Clinton intervened to use federal laws to exponentially extend the sentencing range for Hart. The draconian sentence was due to the prosecution's labeling Hart a "career criminal." Hart's petition argued that this outrage was based in part on a *non-existent* 1995 assault conviction, and that his maximum sentence should have been at most eight years—time he has already served. In denying Hart's appeal, the Third Circuit court upheld a lower court's specious argument that it lacked jurisdiction.

The October court ruling goes out of its way to attack Hart's attorneys for affirm-

ing that Hart was targeted because of his well-known efforts on behalf of his father. Hart's attorneys argued: "As Mr. Hart grew more vocal and his father's case continued to make its way through the courts and into national and international headlines, Mr. Hart became a target of police harassment. This harassment culminated when he was arrested on false charges of weapons possession and receipt of stolen property, and the state charges were then federalized." In response, the judges stated, "We are deeply concerned by counsel's making such serious allegations without providing any proof."

But proof of such persecution is hardly difficult to find. Recently, one Walter Whalen, Hart's case manager at the Schuylkill Federal Correctional Institution, openly displayed a provocative poster declaring Mumia Abu-Jamal guilty. Whalen had also improperly adjusted Hart's security level to prevent him from being transferred to a lower-level security facility. The Partisan Defense Com-

mittee sent a letter of protest against the provocations. Eventually, the prison administration removed the poster and, on review, conceded that Hart is eligible to be considered for transfer to a low security institution.

It is noteworthy that Robert E. Cowen, one of the judges who this month denied Jamal Hart's appeal, is on the panel that will pass judgment on Mumia Abu-Jamal's federal appeal, a decision that could come at any moment. As we wrote after Hart's first run-in with the Third Circuit court in "Racist Court Throws Out Jamal Hart Appeal" (WV No. 708, 5 March 1999): "Those who promote illusions in the racist 'justice' system by calling for a new trial for Mumia should consider the following: it is the Third Circuit court, which just approved the sentence of his son to more than 15 years of prison hell, which will play a critical role in the outcome of Mumia's final appeal. Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!" ■

Letter

The New SDS: A Correction

3 October 2007

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

The introduction to "Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics" in WV 897 wrongly describes the new Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as a "liberal talkshop whose main purpose so far seems to be drawing in youth to aid the Democrats' prospects in the 2008 elections." In our experience in New York, many SDS members have been repeatedly arrested in direct action protests. In March, for example, 23 SDS members were arrested after occupying a military recruiting center in lower Manhattan for two hours. Different SDS chapters have different characters—some are more explicitly anti-communist and anarchoid, some are more social-democratic, and some are influenced by ostensibly socialist organizations like the reformists of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization and Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (the Workers World Party's youth organization).

What binds SDS together is lowest-

common-denominator bourgeois liberal pressure politics. This means seeking to reform racist U.S. imperialism through appeals to the Democratic Party. This was illustrated at the SDS workshop at this spring's Left Forum, where we exposed Manning Marable, the chair of the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS—SDS's "non-student" affiliate), for calling for a vote to John Kerry in the 2004 elections. We also pointed to the lessons of the Russian Revolution as a model for how to end capitalist exploitation. These two arguments evoked a hysterical uproar as MDS and SDS members in the room denounced us and the model of the Russian Revolution and "ideology." This hostility toward "ideology" is an expression of anti-communism. What we want to argue with SDS members about is our revolutionary politics—not whether or not they are a talkshop.

Comradely,
Hal S.
New York Spartacus Youth Club

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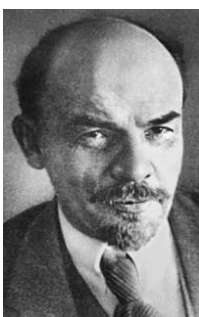
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Leon Trotsky on the Soviet Workers State

The Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, led the struggle against the usurpation of political power in the Soviet Union by the Stalinist bureaucracy beginning in 1923-24 and the degeneration of the Third International (Comintern). Writing in 1936, Trotsky insisted that revolutionary Marxists must fight for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. Today, we apply this program to the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.



LENIN



TROTSKY

tion to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. Today, we apply this program to the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The decision of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, according to which socialism in the Soviet Union has "finally and irrevocably" triumphed—regardless of the low level of labor productivity as compared with the advanced capitalist countries and independently of the course of development of all the rest of the world!—is a crude and dangerous lie....

The principal mass of the means of production in the industry of the Soviet Union has grown tremendously and remains in the hands of the state—in agriculture, in the hands of the kolkhozes, which stand between state and private property. But not even *state property* is as yet *socialist* property, for the latter has as its premise the dying away of the state as the guardian of property, the mitigation of inequality and the gradual dissolution of the property concept even in the morals and customs of society. The real development in the Soviet Union in recent years has followed a directly opposite road. Inequality grows and, together with it, state coercion. Given favorable domestic and international conditions, the transition is possible from the present state property to socialism; given unfavorable conditions, however, a reversion to capitalism is also possible....

If a *social counterrevolution*—i.e., the overthrow of state ownership of the means of production and of the land as well as the reestablishment of private property—is necessary for the return of the USSR to capitalism, then for the further development of socialism a *political revolution* has become inevitable, i.e., the violent overthrow of the political rule of the degenerated bureaucracy while maintaining the property relations established by the October Revolution. The proletarian vanguard of the USSR, basing itself upon the toiling masses of the whole country and upon the revolutionary movement of the whole world, will have to batter down the bureaucracy by force, restore Soviet democracy, eliminate the enormous privileges, and assure a genuine advance to socialist equality....

The USSR is a state which bases itself upon the property relationships created by the proletarian revolution and which is administered by a labor bureaucracy in the interests of new privileged strata. The Soviet Union can be called a workers' state in approximately the same sense—despite the vast difference in scale—in which a trade union, led and betrayed by opportunists, that is, by agents of capital, can be called a workers' organization. Just as revolutionists defend every trade union, even the most thoroughly reformist, from the class enemy, combating intransigently the treacherous leaders at the same time, so the parties of the Fourth International defend the USSR against the blows of imperialism without for a single moment giving up the struggle against the reactionary Stalinist apparatus.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union" (July 1936)

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

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

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

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

The closing date for news in this issue is October 9.

No. 900

12 October 2007

The Logan Dossier

We reprint below the Preface to The Logan Dossier, produced by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League in August 2007. All references not otherwise cited refer to documents published in the bulletin.

This bulletin documents the facts and findings leading to the expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency, now International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), at our first delegated International Conference in August 1979. Logan had been national chairman of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (now Spartacist League/Australia) during its formative period, 1972-77, national chairman of the Spartacist League/Britain at the time of its founding in 1978 and a member of the International Executive Committee (IEC), the leading body of the iSt/ICL. Logan was investigated by an International Control Commission, tried and found guilty of crimes against communist morality during his tenure as SL/ANZ national chairman and shown to be a “proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism” (“Motion and Vote on the Findings of the Trial Body”). By a unanimous vote, the conference delegates resolved that Logan had no place in the iSt and “cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization.”

Following Logan’s expulsion, we took the unusual step of publicly releasing three internal bulletins titled “On the Logan Regime” (*International Discussion Bulletin* No. 10, Parts I and II, January 1979; Part III [*International Information Bulletin* No. 16], November 1983). The first and second of these deal with the fight against Logan’s abusive regime in the SL/B and some initial re-examination of the Logan period in the Australian section. The third contains materials related to the SL/ANZ charges and the trial, including the reports from the trial body to the conference and excerpts of the floor discussion. Some of the material in this bulletin was originally assembled for inclusion in one or more additional bulletins at the time, but has remained unpublished until now. Other materials in this bulletin were retrieved from our party archives or transcribed from the tape recordings of the trial proceedings.

What Logan did to the Australian comrades first emerged at a national gathering of the SL/ANZ in January 1979. A couple of months before that, in October 1978, Logan had been ousted as national chairman of the SL/B, resigning from the post after a sharp political confrontation. During his 18 months in Britain, Logan had shown himself to be unfit to lead the section. He was duplicitous in his dealings with the iSt center, the Interim Secretariat (I.S.—now International Secretariat), and with his peers on the IEC; abusive in his treatment particularly of women comrades, and heavy-handed in his response to criticism or disagreement from SL/B members. At the time, the Logan regime in Britain was seen as a bureaucratic aberration, the result of an insecure, trigger-happy leader who was in over his head. Logan remained on the IEC and, at considerable party expense, he and his wife and collaborator, Adaire

Hannah, were transferred to New York to work in the I.S.

No one could then imagine that a leading member of our communist organization could be the monstrous sociopath Logan was soon proved to be. Logan’s abusive practices were constrained in the SL/B by its frequent contact with the international leadership and its core of mature cadre. The SL/ANZ, on the other hand, was a distant section with relatively inexperienced young comrades. But the fight in Britain unlocked and catalyzed a process of re-examination by the SL/ANZ membership. This came to a head at the SL/ANZ national gathering, as comrades began revealing to each other and to the visiting I.S. representative, Reuben Samuels, painful experiences they had long kept to themselves for fear of being “disloyal.” The SL/ANZ conference saw an outpouring of traumatic recollections and accusations.

Those accusations were subsequently codified in a resolution of the SL/ANZ Central Committee (see “Charges from the SL/ANZ Central Committee”). An International Control Commission (ICC) was appointed by the IEC. It was charged with amassing and weighing the evidence and was constituted as a trial body to pursue further testimony and reach a verdict in the case. This trial body was made up of comrades from throughout the international who were highly regarded for their integrity and had had no significant previous involvement with Logan. It was chaired by comrade Martha Phillips (Piper) from the SL/U.S., who was murdered in Moscow in 1992 while fighting to cohere a Trotskyist nucleus in the face of the counterrevolutionary tide that destroyed the Soviet Union. The trial body included other comrades from the SL/U.S. and from the Canadian and German sections of the iSt. Also serving on the trial body was the veteran Sri Lankan Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, whose organization had until then been engaged in fraternal relations with the iSt for some time. Comrades Toni R. and Rachel W. served as recording secretary and support counsel, respectively, for the Commission. Comrade Dave Reynolds of the SL/ANZ Central Committee acted as prosecutor on behalf of the Australian complainants.

In the months before the trial, over three dozen statements and documents totaling hundreds of pages were submitted by SL/ANZ members and other comrades offering detailed testimony of Logan’s acts, and by Logan and Hannah in his defense. More than 30 witnesses testified in person at the trial, which took place over a period of four days immediately preceding the formal opening of the International Conference. Several hundred pages of documentary evidence from the period of the Logan/Hannah regime—minutes, memoranda, political correspondence and extracts of some personal correspondence—were also available to the Control Commission. Logan had the right to cross-examine witnesses and dispute the documentary evidence. The findings of the trial body were then reported to the conference and were the subject of an extensive discussion involving two reporters and more than 40 speakers.

We publish here essential documents submitted as written testimony to the trial body as well as certain correspondence and other materials from the period of the Logan regime in Australia demonstrating



THE LOGAN DOSSIER

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from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against
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August 2007

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how it flouted existing Spartacist norms and corroborating the testimony. Additionally, we are including substantial extracts of the transcripts of the proceedings of the trial body, where such testimony does not largely replicate the written materials. It should be stressed, as it was at the outset of the trial by comrade Martha P., that in a Leninist party trial written and oral testimony are given equal weight. For the sake of convenience, the current bulletin includes some items previously published in *IIB* No. 16: the SL/ANZ CC resolution detailing the charges, Dave R.’s summary presentation to the trial body and the ICC motion expelling Logan adopted by the International Conference.

* * *

As Marx understood when he put aside other critical work for the better

part of a year in 1860 in order to expose the dubious and slanderous Herr Vogt, necessary tasks of political sanitation cannot long be avoided without paying a price. In the years after his expulsion Logan resurfaced in New Zealand and managed to insinuate himself back into the left internationally, in good part through the instrumentality of a clot of embittered ex-members of ours in North America who in October 1982 declared themselves an “External Tendency of the iSt” (ET—renamed Bolshevik Tendency, BT, in 1985). In its October 1982 founding “Declaration of an External Tendency of the iSt,” the ET made Logan the poster boy for the launch of a vendetta against our party, portraying him as a scapegoat of our allegedly bureaucratic “regime.” Yet, to our knowledge, the

continued on page 5

Earlier Bulletins

On the Logan Regime

(Three parts)

As a service to the workers movement we have made these internal international bulletins documenting Logan’s crimes publicly available.

Part I (January 1979) **\$3** (82 pages)
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BT's Anti-Soviet Embellishment of German Imperialism

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 167, Summer 2007, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). It incorporates corrections published in Spartakist No. 168, Fall 2007.

SPARTAKIST

In the last two issues of its newspaper, the Gruppe Spartakus, German affiliate of the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT), propagates anti-Communist nostalgia about the Bundeswehr [German army]. Their latest issue informs us that “the army was made smaller, in order to change it from a defensive army into an offensive army of attack” (*Bolschewik*, January 2007). This was not simply a slip of the tongue. Already a year ago they had written: “After the end of the Cold War, there was a change in the duties of the German Bundeswehr, which was supposed to function as a defensive army during the bloc confrontation” (*Bolschewik*, January 2006). The impulse to describe the functions of the army of German imperialism as “defensive” during the “bloc confrontation” with the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies flows straight from the Cold War mythology that the “democratic” West was threatened by “Soviet expansionism.”

The BT took this line from the books of the Left Party of Gregor Gysi and Oskar Lafontaine, which presents itself as a “peace-loving” opponent of foreign deployments of the Bundeswehr, *if* they are not covered by a UN mandate. Just recently, Lafontaine complained that the armament plans published in the Bundeswehr’s *White Book* would threaten “to turn the Bundeswehr from a defensive army into an armed force for protecting raw materials and trade routes” (press release, 25 October 2006). What the social-patriotic ideologues of the Left Party stand for is an alternative strategy for German imperialism: to obtain more independence from its U.S. imperialist rival through a closer alliance with imperialist France and Russia.

The BT’s glorification of the Bundeswehr’s role before capitalist reunification of Germany as a “defensive army” is further evidence of its deep-seated anti-Sovietism. Taken to its logical conclusion, this position leads to siding with the German bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union and the DDR [German Democratic Republic; East Germany], i.e., for the defense of the capitalist fatherland. As the American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon observed about the defense of Soviet Russia: “Defensists at home were

The Bundeswehr—A “Defensive Army”?!



Peter Thomann

West German army celebrates 25th anniversary of anti-Soviet NATO alliance, May 1980.

defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home” (“Speech on the Russian Question,” 15 October 1939).

In 1945, the heroic Soviet Red Army smashed the Nazi regime. With the presence of Soviet troops in the eastern parts of Germany after 1945 and the onset of the imperialists’ Cold War against the USSR, the DDR, a deformed workers state, was established, and the German bourgeoisie was expropriated in those areas. In the West German occupation zones, the allied imperialists of the U.S., Britain and France propped up the rule of the German bourgeoisie as a bulwark against the “Red Hordes” from the East.

The Bundeswehr was created by Hitler’s former Wehrmacht generals and officers. This tank-heavy army was designed to put military pressure on and tie up the Soviet troops in Germany in the overall context of NATO’s plans for “containment” and ultimate conquest of the Soviet Union, including through a U.S. nuclear first strike. In this confrontation between the imperialist powers and the USSR, we Trotskyists stood unflinchingly for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack.

Not so the BT, whose founding members are an assortment of embittered ex-members of our organization who got cold feet about our Soviet defensism in the early 1980s when the winds of Cold War II were blowing. They hated our call “Hail Red Army! Extend Social Gains of Octo-

ber Revolution to Afghan Peoples!” with which we greeted the Soviet intervention against the CIA-sponsored *mujahedin* in 1979. In 1981 we responded to the counterrevolutionary bid for power by the anti-Semitic, clerical-reactionary Solidarność in Poland with the call to “Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!” Flinching from this position, a founder of the German BT’s predecessor, the GIVI (Gruppe Vierte Internationale), argued on his way out of our organization that “the smashing of the counterrevolutionary forces around Walesa/Wojtyla and [then chancellor] Schmidt and [then U.S. president] Reagan requires the overthrow of the Russian and Polish bureaucrats.” He placed the condition of overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracies before the necessary defense of the workers states. We stand with Leon Trotsky who argued on the eve of WWII against the petty-bourgeois opposition in the then-revolutionary American SWP [Socialist Workers Party]:

“We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.”

—“The USSR in War,” September 1939

In order to justify its cowardly flight from our Trotskyist program, the BT tends to accuse us of Stalinophilia, as in a 2003 leaflet in Britain, which declared that our statement of military support to the Krem-

lin Stalinists, should they have intervened to stop Solidarność counterrevolution in 1981, was a “Stalinophilic perversion of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratized workers states.” Au contraire—it is the BT that perverts Trotskyism! Theirs is the politics of *Stalinophobia*. As Cannon described this phenomenon:

“The sentiment of hatred and fear of Stalinism, with its police state and its slave labor camps, its frame-ups and its murders of working class opponents, is healthy, natural, normal, and progressive. This sentiment goes wrong only when it leads to reconciliation with American imperialism, and to the assignment of the fight against Stalinism to that same imperialism. In the language of Trotskyism, that and nothing else is Stalinophobia.”

—“Stalinist Conciliationism and Stalinophobia,” 6 April 1953

The German BT affiliates were molded in the climate of the 1980s resurgence of German nationalism in Green colors. The huge “peace movement” at the time was directed against the stationing of nuclear-armed American Pershing 2 missiles [in West Germany] and the stationing of Soviet SS-20 missiles [in the DDR]. At bottom, the “peace movement” reacted in opposition to the possibility of a nuclear war carried out on *German* soil. This attitude corresponded to the German bourgeoisie’s aims at the time, which were to gain more independence from U.S. imperialism in order to pursue their “Ostpolitik”—first pronounced by SPD [Social Democratic Party] leader Willy Brandt in the 1970s—of economically undermining and even-

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Logan...

(continued from page 3)

ET/BT then maintained a public silence on Logan for more than eight years, until the sudden announcement in 1991 of its 1990 “fusion” with his New Zealand Permanent Revolution Group (PRG). At that point, not only did these political desperadoes publicly embrace Logan, they actually anointed him principal leader of their new “International Bolshevik Tendency.” As we will detail later, while pursuing its own brand of Stalino-phobic, social-democratic politics, over the years the BT has engaged in all manner of provocation and slander against us in its drive to destroy our party.

This same Logan, while masquerading as an “international Bolshevik” leader, has simultaneously maintained a real-life practice in Wellington, New Zealand, as a professional “celebrant”—a New Age version of evangelical preacher and spiritual healer. As detailed below in the section titled “A Postscript on Bill Logan and the BT: Garbage Doesn’t Walk by Itself,” various public accounts by former members of the PRG and BT attest that Logan has continued some of the same kinds of practices for which we expelled him 28 years ago. For more on the question of the BT’s peculiar political physiognomy, we refer readers to the above-cited bulletins; several editions of *Hate Trotskyism*, *Hate*

the Spartacist League, our bulletin series consisting mainly of reprints of anti-Spartacist polemics by our opponents; the ICL pamphlet, *The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?* (August 1995) and numerous articles dealing with the BT in our indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* (see, for example, “Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham,” WV No. 827, 28 May 2004).

In publishing the documentary record of the Logan trial, we aim to make clear to a new generation of leftists that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement, to expose his opportunist “Bolshevik” Tendency for the suspect outfit it is and to demolish its lying smears and slanders against our party. Hopefully, the belated release of this bulletin will serve a broader purpose as well. In braying over the alleged “death of communism” in the years since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the very same bourgeois propagandists who apologize for a system of imperialist mass murder denounce those who seek to liberate humanity from class exploitation as evil incarnate—power-hungry, corrupt, pathologically violent and hostile to all human sensibilities. As this record of our fight to rid the workers movement of Logan shows, such attributes are inimical to the very essence of authentic communism.

But the features that made Logan the

repulsive creature he is are not unusual in *bourgeois* society. The accumulation of wealth and the administration of power necessary to maintain and perpetuate that privileged status often attract people who have qualities like Logan’s. The British ruling class, particularly in its Tory embodiment, has long been notorious in its appetite for blood sports, capital punishment (most recently mere hanging), corporal punishment in its schools and associated sado-masochistic sexual proclivities. All these things, taken together, serve an important social purpose. They outfit the rulers of the country and the late empire to properly administer their holdings, both in regard to the downtrodden and exploited, and in defense against imperialist rivals.

Logan was a product of this system in the small, neo-Victorian dominion of New Zealand. His political origins, amid the radicalization of the 1960s, lay in the right wing of New Zealand bourgeois politics, the then ruling National Party (see Bill Logan, “Never Exactly One of the Lads...,” ed. Michael King, *One of the Boys?* [Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann, 1988]). His social and educational background lay in New Zealand’s English-style “public school” (elite private school) culture, steeped in imperialist elitism and misogynist sadism. Numerous people have revolted against such backgrounds to become Communists, not least heroic Soviet spies

like Kim Philby. But even as an avowed communist, Logan boasted of clinging to “the style of a New Zealand private schoolboy who was almost always a class captain, cub-scout sixer or school prefect” (“Personal Notes in Preparation for a Discussion re the Sharpe Problem,” 23 August 1978, “On the Logan Regime,” Part I). He relished the low cunning and quiet self-confidence that enabled him to play on the vulnerabilities of others.

We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose. The Leninist party demands a monopoly on the *political* activities of those who join our movement. All the more so do we draw a hard line against interference in comrades’ personal lives. Driven by considerations of power and control, Logan was a malicious puppet-master who was sadistically destructive of people’s personal lives—making people live together who did not want to do so, causing people who did want to live together to break up. There is no place for the likes of a William King Logan in our movement. ■

tually destroying the workers states of East Europe. Imbibing this climate of anti-Sovietism and German nationalism, the GIVI coalesced around a petition campaign in late 1982 against us for excluding one Ulrich Sandhaus from one of our public forums. Sandhaus, a proto-fascist who wallowed in Nazi memorabilia, had earlier been expelled from our party for his racist proclivities. In 1984 Sandhaus planned and oversaw a brutal physical attack against a woman comrade of ours in Berlin.

If the BT simply hated us because we are the contemporary embodiment of the program of international proletarian revolution, it would make them but one among many opponents of revolutionary Marxism. But there is a unique and truly sinister quality about the BT, which eagerly tries to serve the purposes of those who would like to destroy us. For instance, their slanderous smears of our party as an “obedience cult” combined with tales of corruption and worse were picked up in 1995 by the mouthpiece of the American capitalist ruling class, the *Wall Street Journal* [WSJ], in order to undercut the growing domestic and international protests against the threatened execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. It did not escape the WSJ that these protests happened in large part as a result of the efforts of our fraternally allied legal defense organization in the U.S., the Partisan Defense Committee (see also “BT: Renegades for Hire,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 807, 1 August 2003).

The BT slanders of our organization as an “obedience cult” took no small amount of chutzpah, given that the 1982 founding declaration of the BT’s predecessor, the ET (External Tendency), portrayed one Bill Logan as a victim and scapegoat of our allegedly bureaucratic regime. Logan, whom the BT later openly embraced as its anointed leader, had been expelled from our organization at the first International Conference of our tendency in 1979 for being “a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism.” In an August 1979 party trial, the trial body found Logan guilty among other things of “inhuman torture of a mother, rendered suicidal in his attempt to destroy and take away her baby.”

In our article “Bolshevik Tendency: Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham” (*Work-*



Spartakist

ICL fought to forge party to provide Trotskyist leadership to incipient political revolution in DDR in 1989-90. December 1989 Spartakist banner at Berlin demonstration: “For the Communism of Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!”

ers Vanguard No. 827, 28 May 2004), we observed:

“The BT’s politics, such as they are, are fully in keeping with its hoary ‘darkness at noon’ depiction of our communist organization as a Stalin-style gulag and personality cult. So central and intertwined are social-democratic anti-Communism and a hostile obsession with us to the BT’s existence that, by its own admission, the ‘focal point’ of the German group’s fusion with the tiny Gruppe Leo Trotzki in 2002 was shared hostility to any possibility of a revolutionary outcome in East Germany in 1989-90 and to the one organization that fought to realize this, the ICL.”

In the autumn of 1989, hundreds of thousands of workers took to the streets of East Germany to demand a genuinely egalitarian socialist society. We mobilized our resources internationally in the effort to provide Trotskyist leadership to that incipient political revolution and to fight for revolutionary reunification—for a Red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. We did not prevail, but we fought! The BT’s “intervention” into those revolutionary events was to smear the ICL as a bureaucratic cult akin to the Stalinists. In their May 1991 *Trotzki-stisches Bulletin* No. 1, titled “The SpAD in the DDR: Opportunism in Revolutionary Disguise,” they sneer that we had invented an “imaginary political revolution.” Only those in thrall to the anti-Communist myth that “Stalinist totalitarianism” had rendered the workers in the deformed workers states mindless automatons incapable of struggle could

so blithely dismiss any outcome other than capitalist counterrevolution (see also “Antispartakisten im Sog der Sozialdemokratie” [Anti-Spartacists in the Vortex of Social Democracy], *Spartakist* No. 87, June 1991).

An entire chapter of the BT bulletin is devoted to “The Phobia of the SpAD Against the Social Democracy.” They complain that we did not invite the SPD to the 250,000-strong united-front protest in East Berlin’s Treptow Park on 3 January 1990. That united front, initiated

by us and taken up by the ruling Stalinist SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism], was called to protest the fascist desecration of the memorial to the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Berlin in 1945. This rally was pro-Soviet and in defense of the workers states—an objective that was directly counterposed to the SPD’s campaign for capitalist reunification of Germany.

In our struggle against the capitalist reunification of Germany, we made strong efforts to bring about fraternization between East German workers and soldiers of the NVA [East German National People’s Army] and the Red Army troops in the DDR. The BT had only scorn for these attempts and accused us of “disappear[ing] in a criminal way that there is a *blood line* between the ordinary soldiers and their officers” in an army of a deformed workers state (emphasis in original). Thus, in the immediate aftermath of capitalist reunification, the BT contributed its share to the anti-Communist witchhunt against former DDR bureaucrats who were tried by the vengeful German bourgeoisie for acts of defending the DDR against capitalist counterrevolution.

One only needs to compare the poison and gall that the BT spits in the direction of the Red Army and the NVA to their embellishment of the Bundeswehr, whose hardware is decorated to this day with the blood-drenched Iron Cross of German imperialism, to understand the truly anti-Communist fiber of this organization. ■

A talk by Bryan D. Palmer
author of *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928*

**James P. Cannon:
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From Wobbly to Bolshevik**

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China...

(continued from page 1)

The PRC was modeled on the Soviet degenerated workers state. But the Soviet Union in 1949 was not the Soviet workers state of 1917 to 1924. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat and took Russia out of World War I, which had savaged the people and resources of the country. The new regime then had to fight a three-year civil war, which it won, during which the country was invaded by 14 capitalist powers. The Civil War further depleted the country and, importantly, decimated the ranks of the class-conscious proletariat. With the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution, the tide of revolution in Europe that had emerged at the end of WWI ebbed. Young Soviet Russia faced the world alone and hungry. A conservative mood gripped the country.

There was a political counterrevolution led by a bureaucratic caste, which began its consolidation of political power to the exclusion of the working class in 1923-24. We say that what took place was a political counterrevolution because the collectivized property forms remained intact but the working class was politically expropriated. The Stalinist regime introduced the “theory” of “building socialism in one country,” which had no currency among the Bolsheviks before that time. The defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution occurred in great measure due to the policy of Stalin’s Communist International, which subordinated the CCP to the bourgeois Guomindang.

But despite the bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR remained a workers state. The Soviet nuclear shield saved China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba, which are also deformed workers states, from nuclear incineration by the imperialists. Even in isolation and despite bureaucratic mismanagement, the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward, overwhelmingly peasant society into a modern industrial power, showing sharp economic growth even as the capitalist world reeled under the chaos of the 1930s Great Depression, stagnating and sinking. This shows the overwhelming superiority of the collectivized property forms and planned economy over capitalism. This validates the superiority of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the rule of the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union provided an economic and military counterweight to imperialism. But imperialist encirclement, combined with the rule of a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste, eventually led to the social counterrevolution in 1991-1992, which destroyed the homeland of the October Revolution (see Spartacist



June: Workers mass outside U.S.-owned Bao Ji Crafts Factory in Shenzhen on tenth day of strike by mainly female workforce.

pamphlet *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*).

“Market Reforms” Exacerbate Social Contradictions

Maoists and neo-Maoists *outside* China believe that China is capitalist and has been for some time. Neo-Maoists *within* China want to reform the bureaucracy by changing its policies. They are opposed to the “market socialist” economy, though they believe that China is still socialist. The Chinese “New Left” is heterogeneous. Most support the market economy, but they are critical of the ramifications of the market: corruption, the growing gap between rich and poor and so forth. Some, like Wang Hui, a prominent spokesman of the “New Left,” say that after the suppression of the Tiananmen protests in 1989, China “has completely conformed to the dictates of capital and the activities of the market.” That’s a long way of saying that it has gone capitalist. We Trotskyists sharply disagree with all these views.

And if you are talking with Chinese students on a college campus now, you might well get two different views of the question. One answer would be to look back fondly to the period of Maoist egalitarian rhetoric. These students would likely claim that the “market reforms” are a total betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. The second answer, which is much more widely held, is that the “market reforms” are overwhelmingly good. Both these views capture only part of the reality, however, and are fundamentally false.

Under Mao, China was able to build a substantial industrial base. But without

massive aid from socialist revolution in one or more imperialist countries, there could be nowhere near a sufficient industrial development to revolutionize the countryside. China at the time of Mao’s death remained a largely rural, peasant country. Agriculture remained backward. Agricultural output could not keep pace with industrial growth, and low agricultural productivity in turn became a barrier to increased industrialization.

Mao promoted a policy of nationalist autarky—or self-reliance—which is a profoundly unreal conception that China could achieve socialism purely through its own methods in an economically backward and resource-poor country. The results of the command economy under Mao were inefficiency, poor productivity, poor quality and scarcity.

Deng Xiaoping, who came to power in 1978, asserted his “market reforms”—the reintroduction of elements of the capitalist market economy into China, which he, like a good nationalist, called “building socialism with Chinese characteristics.” These measures were an attempt by a Stalinist bureaucracy viscerally hostile to proletarian democracy, which is necessary for the healthy operation of a planned economy, to use the whip of the market-

place to correct the inefficiencies of the command-planned economy. Over time, the regime abolished what was known as the “iron rice bowl,” which was based on lifetime job security. It opened the country to imperialist investment and eventually relinquished the state monopoly of foreign trade. The planned economy was supplanted by market mechanisms, and agriculture was decollectivized, with peasant families getting their own small plots on the basis of long-term leases.

The “market reforms” did result in growth. That’s indisputable. The proportion of the population living in cities has doubled. There has been a vast increase in industrial capacity, and over half the workforce works in manufacturing, transport, construction and the service sector. Up to 150 million peasants during this period became proletarians, which is a step of great historic progress and importance.

By every economic measure, development in China has greatly outstripped growth in the capitalist neocolonies, for example, the former “tiger” economies like Indonesia and South Korea. It is useful to compare China’s growth to that of capitalist India, the imperialists’ favorite “emerging giant” in Asia. India has a gross domestic product per capita that is barely half that of China. China’s poverty rate is half that of India’s. The rate of malnutrition of children is three-quarters less. Female adult literacy in China is nearly 90 percent, almost double that in India.

Although we are quite aware of the danger posed by imperialist economic penetration, we fight against the notion that the “market reforms” mean that China has gone capitalist. In fact, the core of the economy remains collectivized. The private sector, including foreign companies, is made up mostly of light industry. Heavy industry—steel, nonferrous metals, heavy machinery, telecommunications, electric power, oil extraction and refining—is concentrated in state enterprises, and these are strategically far more important. The nationalization of the land has prevented the development of a stratum of wealthy large landowners dominating the countryside. And the state’s control of the financial system has to date shielded the PRC from the disastrous effects of the rapid movement of speculative money capital, which has played havoc with so many neocolonial countries.

Young Spartacus

Darfur: Campus Crusade Against China

We print below, edited for publication, the intervention of New York Spartacus Youth Club member Jonah Roshak at the September 27 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club forum, “Defend, Extend Gains of Chinese Revolution.” A central part of protests over the carnage in Darfur has been calling for divestment from the Chinese state-owned oil company PetroChina, which has interests in Sudan. We oppose these calls and say: All UN/African Union forces out of Sudan! U.S.: Hands off the world!

I want to draw the attention of everyone here to another threat against the Chinese workers state. The talk covered military threats from U.S. imperialism and Australia and Japan. It covered economic threats. But there’s also a third one—it’s very big now on college campuses among the left, which is very class-unconscious and influenced by the theory of the “death of Communism” following the collapse of the Soviet Union. This threat is rooted in basic anti-Chinese anti-Communism, couched in human rights talk. I’m speaking, of course, about the movement focused on the Darfur region of the Sudan. It’s a very sinister lash-up of forces

between those who are genuinely disgusted by what’s going on there and those who are attempting to use this as a bludgeon to attack China with.

This is very cynical. When Sudan launched a war against the peoples of the South, the U.S. government had absolutely no problem with that and said the southern Sudan People’s Liberation Army was Communist-backed. Right now the “save Darfur” movement is comparable in a way to the cynical use of cases of Soviet Jews as a rallying cry for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Counterrevolution made the conditions of everyone, especially minorities, that much worse.

One of the imperialists’ interests is to remove Chinese influence from Sudan, the largest country in Africa, and extend imperialist penetration even further into that part of the world. But they also aimed to isolate the Chinese workers state and to launch a counterrevolution against the 1949 Revolution. Right now what’s needed is to expose movements like the “save Darfur” movement as a bludgeon to be used to further imperialist interests in Africa and to isolate and weaken the Chinese workers state.■

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But China’s recent development, this progress, is contradictory, and it has a downside that undermines the strength of the workers state. In China, the contradiction between bourgeois norms of distribution (i.e., inequality) and collectivized property is not mitigated through careful planning, education, training and the industrialization of agriculture, as it would be in a healthy workers state under a Bolshevik leadership. To gain the necessary level of productivity, the revolution would have to be internationalized, a perspective that the Stalinist bureaucracy opposes.

The “market reforms” have created a wealthy new class of capitalists with links to the CCP officialdom and the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere. The children of some top CCP officials have become wealthy capitalists in their own right. At the same time, the CCP’s market measures have impoverished millions of workers, hollowed out crucial social gains like health care and created tens of millions of unemployed. Workers forced to find new jobs in the private sector generally work for lower wages, with none of the benefits provided by the state enterprises. And 150 million migrant workers have moved to the cities, where they labor under terrible conditions with few political rights and are looked down on by workers with urban residence permits.

There has been plenty of struggle as a result—workers protesting over unpaid

Collapse of the Soviet Union Communist Party.”

There is tremendous social tinder for a proletarian political revolution. But to carry that out, the Chinese working class needs a revolutionary internationalist leadership.

Stalinist Bureaucracy Undermines the Workers State

I said that we are for the unconditional military defense of China. What does that mean? It means that we defend China militarily without placing any conditions on the bureaucracy or demanding its prior overthrow. But at the same time we give no political support to the Stalinist regime.

The anti-revolutionary nature of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is shown by its policy toward U.S. imperialism, which is one of the ways that it has most weakened the deformed workers state. In 1972, when the U.S. was raining bombs down on Vietnam, Mao sealed his anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, which was a logical outcome of the bureaucracy’s working for “peaceful coexistence” with Washington. Mao’s policy was extended under the regime of Deng Xiaoping, who in 1979 invaded Vietnam, acting as a cat’s paw for U.S. imperialism. The Chinese, by the way, were soundly beaten by the seasoned Vietnamese troops. In the 1980s, Deng’s regime supported the Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Red Army. In many ways, the



Peter Turnley

Workers and students fraternize with troops called in to suppress 1989 Tiananmen uprising, which marked incipient political revolution against Stalinist regime.

China/North Korea alliance. Over the past decade, the Pentagon has strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim region. With its incursion into Afghanistan and Central Asia, the U.S. has significantly strengthened its military vise around China. Japan’s “Self-Defense Force”—i.e., its military—is now rebuilding to the tune of about \$40 billion a year. The Pentagon is developing new weapons to enhance its ability to neutralize the PRC’s small nuclear arsenal. Defense of China against imperialist military threats necessarily includes support to the PRC’s possession and development of nuclear weaponry. By its appeasement of imperialism and its suppression of the Chinese working class, the Stalinist bureaucracy shows itself to be an obstacle to the defense of the Chinese Revolution and to the necessary international workers revolution.

Potential for Political Revolution

With China’s huge population and its pivotal position in the world economy, a proletarian political revolution there would truly shake the world. It would restore revolutionary Marxism to its rightful place in the eyes of the world proletariat. It would spur revolutionary reunification of Korea through political revolution in the North and social revolution in the South. It would spark revolutionary upsurges in the ASEAN countries of Southeast Asia. It would shine a revolutionary beacon to the proletariat of Japan and reverberate internationally, including right here in the heartland of American imperialism.

The social tinder in China is accumulating, and when it blows, the regime will shatter, posing either capitalist counter-

revolution or proletarian political revolution. The potential for the latter was shown in the May-June events of 1989 in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Student demonstrations against bureaucratic corruption and for political liberalization were soon joined by masses of workers protesting high inflation and raising other grievances. They began to hold mass meetings and to form workers assemblies that had the potential to become workers councils. Workers protests occurred in cities around China.

June 1989 illustrated a crucially important point about the army in a workers state in contrast to the capitalist military—i.e., that it can be split vertically during a workers political revolution, with sections of both the rank and file and the officer corps making common cause with the insurgent workers. Initially, army units sent in failed to suppress the demonstrations because they solidarized with the students’ and workers’ demands and fraternized with protesters. The Tiananmen events terrified the bureaucracy, some of whose elements sided with the students. For two weeks the regime could not implement its martial law decree. Ultimately, however, it responded with savage repression. The massacres of June 1989 overwhelmingly targeted the workers and could only be carried out when the regime brought in army units considered more loyal.

The International Communist League intervened from afar with our press, calling to “Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin’s Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!” (WV No. 478, 26 May 1989). After the massacre, *Workers Vanguard* headlined: “Defend Chinese

continued on page 8



Magnun

Mao’s anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, sealed by 1972 meeting in Beijing with war criminal Nixon, helped lay basis for imperialist penetration of China.

wages, job losses and working conditions; peasants fighting against corruption, environmental damage and unlawful land seizures. According to the bureaucracy’s own statistics, in 2005 there were 80,000 such “mass incidents.”

Trotsky makes the point in *The Revolution Betrayed*, his 1936 analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet workers state, that the bureaucracy defends the collectivized property forms only to the extent that it fears the working class. And you can see that in China today. The regime of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao is working on a program called “the harmonious society,” which will be showcased “harmoniously” at this year’s CCP National Congress. Of China’s 31 provinces, 29 increased their minimum wage last year. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security recently instructed local governments to raise minimum wages because inflation was 3.4 percent in May alone. This is not exactly the way a capitalist government works. An article in *The Australian* (16 July) notes that the All China Federation of Trade Unions, which is very much the creature of the bureaucracy, has been gaining recognition from many of the major foreign investors in China, most famously Wal-Mart, which has never before recognized unions anywhere it has operated!

The bureaucracy is clearly divided over how to proceed. Some elements want the economic reforms to progress unabated. Others want to curb the ravages of the market while stifling discontent. Still others want a return to the command-planned economy. But the bureaucratic caste is acutely aware of the counterrevolution that took place in the Soviet Union and its effects. In December 2006, *The Australian* reported that the 70 million members of the Chinese Communist Party have been watching a series of eight DVDs titled “Think of Danger While Living in Safety: The Lessons From the

Beijing bureaucracy directly aided U.S. imperialism in the destruction of the Soviet Union. And the alliance with U.S. imperialism helped prepare the economic penetration of China.

Today Hu Jintao carries on this traitorous tradition in supporting the global “war on terror,” under which banner the U.S. imperialists occupy Iraq and Afghanistan and threaten Iran, one of China’s main oil suppliers. And Beijing has helped orchestrate the six-party talks aimed at disarming North Korea, even supporting a United Nations resolution in October 2006 imposing sanctions on North Korea. As was already starkly shown in the Korean War, any weakening of North Korea in the face of imperialist militarism also weakens the military defense of China. It is clear that North Korea needs nuclear arms, and we are all for that. In a world dominated by the U.S. imperialist madmen, one guarantee of national sovereignty is the possession of nuclear weapons.

Another important question is Taiwan, which since 1949 has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism’s counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs. We oppose those who clamor for Taiwan’s supposed right to independence. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with capitalist Taiwan or with imperialism. We are opposed to the Stalinists’ plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in the “one country, two systems” slogan. Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution on the mainland and a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie. We also call for the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists.

The U.S.-Japan imperialist rivalry at this point is subordinate to their anti-

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TORONTO

Wednesday, October 24, 6:30 p.m.

**Marxism and the State—
The Paris Commune of 1871**

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VANCOUVER

Wednesday, October 24, 6 p.m.

**Imperialism and War—
U.S./UN/Canadian Imperialism:
Out of Iraq, Afghanistan and Haiti!
Not One Person, Not One Penny
for the Imperialist Military!
All Cops, Military Recruiters and
CSIS Off Campus!**

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China...

(continued from page 7)

Workers! Stop the Executions!” (WV No. 480, 23 June 1989).

While we were not able to intervene in China directly, six months later we had the opportunity to intervene in another workers’ upsurge that posed a proletarian political revolution in a deformed workers state: the German Democratic Republic (DDR). When the East German population rose up against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its privileges and mismanagement, the regime began to disintegrate. Up to a million people rallied in protests, raising slogans like “For Communist Ideals—No Privileges!” We undertook the biggest intervention in the history of our tendency, fighting for workers and soldiers councils to be forged and to take power. We called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—for a red Germany of workers councils in a Socialist United States of Europe!

Despite our small size and lack of roots in the DDR, the program of the ICL resonated among the East German proletariat and sections of the Soviet armed forces stationed there. Workers came to us and asked, “How do we build these workers councils?” When fascists desecrated a Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park in East Berlin, we initiated a united-front demonstration against the Nazis and in defense of the Soviet Union, which the ruling East German Stalinist party, the SED, felt compelled to join. On 3 January 1990, a quarter of a million workers and soldiers turned out, and for the first time ever, Trotskyists were able to address a mass audience in a deformed workers state. Our speaker called for “Workers and soldiers soviets to power!”

Two programs were competing: the Trotskyist program of defending and extending the gains of the workers state and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution. The Treptow demonstration frightened the powers that be, and the forces of counterrevolution went on to overwhelm the situation. The Soviet Stalinist regime quickly surrendered the DDR to capitalism. But the lessons of this struggle must be assimilated by the international working class, including and most especially in China. Our intervention showed how, when an accumulation of events finally produces an upheaval and a crack in bureaucratic rule, it is possible for a revolutionary internationalist program to have a massive impact.

Labor Tops, “Left”: Accomplices of Counterrevolution

I now want to talk a little bit about the anti-Communist China-bashing that’s going on and the stance toward China taken by the labor bureaucrats here in the belly of the imperialist beast, as well as the reformist left groups that tail them. The bottom line is this: the labor tops



Above: ICL banner raised in 1991 demonstration in Moscow on anniversary of October Revolution. ICL leaflet mass-distributed in USSR proclaimed: “Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!” Below: Homeless people scavenge for food in garbage outside Moscow, 2003. Graph shows plunging population figures in Russia since 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution.

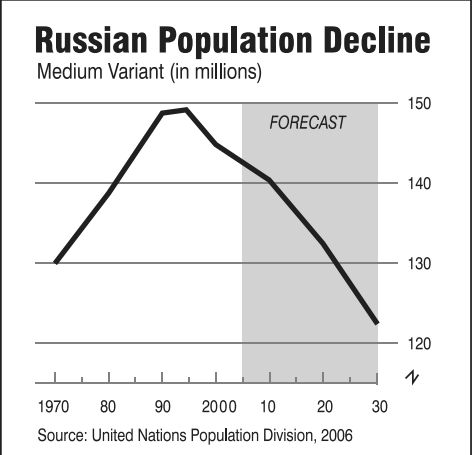


Getty

and fake socialists stand with the imperialists. In supporting all manner of anti-Communist campaigns against China, they are reprising their dirty work in backing the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union.

I want to start with the question of protectionism. Everybody in this room knows that the capitalists have been looting the working class of this country. In the last two decades, the wealth amassed by the banks and corporations has soared while workers and the poor have seen huge cuts in real wages and social services. Hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs are gone, especially in the Midwest. Despite some outbursts of labor struggle, the union leaders have repeatedly capitulated to the capitalists’ giveback demands. Instead of using class-struggle weapons like strikes, they whip up “America first” nationalist protectionism, claiming that workers abroad are “stealing jobs.” At the same time, the same labor bureaucracy pours millions from the union treasuries into the coffers of the Democratic Party.

One example of this is the United Steelworkers union misleaders, who regularly demand that the U.S. act against Chinese steel imports. Then there’s the UNITE



WV Graph

HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union tops, who have a long history of collaborating with the textile bosses in trying to pressure the government to limit imports from China. Protectionism underlines the pro-capitalist character of the labor bureaucracy—a thin, privileged layer at the head of the unions. Its calls to ally with the U.S. capitalist state against foreign competition are flatly against the workers’ interests, which lie in common, internationalist class struggle against capitalism.

Protectionist calls are coupled with demands that the U.S. rulers take a stand against China on the issue of “human rights.” And you’re going to see a lot more of this as we get closer to the 2008 Olympics. To look to the U.S. capitalists as a progressive force for “human rights” anywhere is absolutely grotesque. This is the same ruling class that has murdered millions in wars throughout the world, from Korea to Vietnam to Iraq, that has visited unspeakable devastation on the American Indian population and rules a country whose very foundation is based on the legacy of human slavery and the racist oppression of black people.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy was forged through vicious purges of reds from the unions from the 1940s up into the 1960s. In the 1980s, the AFL-CIO tops hailed Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement masquerading as a union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. The AFL-CIO channeled millions in CIA money to Solidarność. And the AFL-CIO sponsored a “Labor Committee for Free Cuba,” a collection of *gusano* counterrevolutionaries and CIA Cold Warriors who dream of smashing the Cuban Revolution and retaking the island for their imperialist masters. Today, the union tops promote pro-imperialist “labor activists” like Chinese exile Han Dongfang, who broadcasts on the CIA’s Radio Free Asia and is a darling of American right-wing circles. Political struggle against the pro-capitalist program of the labor tops, which ties the working class to its class enemies in the Democratic Party, is central to the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party in this country.

Now I want to talk briefly about a couple of so-called socialist groups that claim to stand to the left of the labor bureaucracy. Almost all of them claim

that China is a capitalist country. This is not a mistaken analysis. This is an *anti-Communist political program*.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) claims China has never been a workers state but has been “state capitalist” since 1949. This absurd “theory,” which they also apply to the other workers states, is a fig leaf for decades of anti-Communist practice on behalf of imperialism. The ISO’s former parent group, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), originated when its founder, Tony Cliff, bowed to bourgeois hysteria accompanying the Korean War. In a craven capitulation to the Labour Party government, which had sent troops to Korea, Cliff refused to defend North Korea, China and the Soviet Union against U.S. and British imperialism.

Cliff and his followers went on to hail every manner of imperialist-backed movement against the workers states. This included the pro-capitalist rabble in Moscow in August 1991 around Boris Yeltsin, whose triumph paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union. The SWP proclaimed, “Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing” (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). One doesn’t even have to be a communist for the callous stupidity and inhumanity of that stance to make your blood boil! The return of capitalist exploitation to Russia produced armies of the unemployed and homeless, plummeting life expectancy, murderous nationalism and the destruction of women’s rights. Unfettered by what had been the industrial and military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the U.S. has felt free to launch military adventures all over the world, while capitalist governments everywhere have accelerated their attacks on workers and the oppressed.

Then there are the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Their draft program speaks of “great revolutionary achievements of our class in this past century—especially in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1956 and then in China, where the proletariat seized and held power between 1949 and 1976 and made great advances on the socialist road.” 1956 is when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a speech exposing Stalin’s crimes, or some of them. 1976 is when Mao died. A speech, a change of regime—the class nature of the state changes, thank you very much and let’s move on. It’s absurd. The RCP coyly omits that its slavish following of the Beijing Stalinist regime led it to denounce as “social imperialist” the Soviet degenerated workers state, which the Maoists claimed turned capitalist in 1956.

I want to conclude by returning to Leon Trotsky, leader of the Russian Revolution along with Lenin and founder of the Fourth International. The last major political struggle Trotsky waged, before being struck down by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico City in 1940, was against a renegade and sizeable minority in the American Socialist Workers Party that abandoned defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism in the face of anti-Communist public opinion on the eve of World War II. In one of Trotsky’s polemics against them, he wrote in “Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events” (April 1940):

“The workers state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a ‘socialist’ professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.”

If the working class in the United States, Japan and the other capitalist countries does not come to understand the historic significance of the Chinese Revolution, like the collectivized economy, then it will never understand the importance of making a revolution against its own bourgeoisie. Comrades and friends, it is for the purpose of providing the necessary leadership to the proletariat that the International Communist League seeks to reforge Trotsky’s Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Industrial Murder on the Docks

ILWU Must Enforce Safety Rules!

OAKLAND—Half an hour before the day shift at the Port of Oakland ended on September 24, 39-year-old Reginald Ross was struck and killed by a 15-ton container being loaded onto the *Stuttgart Express* by a crane at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminal. As the news spread, stunned International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 members walked off the job and refused to resume work, shutting down the port for the next 36 hours. In response, the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) rushed to obtain an arbitrator's ruling against Local 10 for stopping work to mourn Ross' death. Some 150 port workers later turned out for his funeral on October 5.

Ross, a black "casual" worker whose father and grandfather were Local 10 longshoremen, is dead because he was made to work in open violation of the safety code. He was fully conscious as rescuers struggled for an hour to remove him from the ship, with his pelvis crushed and ribs broken. Ross later died at the hospital, leaving behind his wife, girlfriend and four daughters.

Ross had been dispatched as a lasher. Lashers use heavy metal rods and connectors to fasten containers to the deck of the ship. Ross was standing in the ship walkway when fatally injured. The Pacific Coast Maritime Safety Code, which is

part of the contract between the ILWU and the PMA, says that lashers should never be anywhere in the area under or adjacent to where a crane is loading or unloading containers. But a number of Local 10 longshoremen told *Workers Vanguard* that this essential safety rule is routinely violated in the Oakland port, where companies expect lashers to work under the crane. That the ILWU Local 10 tops allow such a situation to continue is criminal.

An Oakland port spokeswoman insisted in the *Oakland Tribune*, "In more than seven years, this is the first time I'm aware of a fatal injury accident of a longshore worker." In reality, the shipping bosses create the conditions that make longshore work dangerous and *accept* and *expect* a high rate of injury and death. Local 10 member Robert Padgett was killed in January 2005 when a walkway collapsed under him and he plunged 30 feet onto the deck of a cargo ship (see "Shipping Booms, Longshoremen Die," WV No. 842, 18 February 2005). But that death occurred across the Bay, in Redwood City, so the Oakland shipping bosses choose to disappear it.

The San Francisco Bay Area ports moved a record 1,651,811 TEUs (20-foot container equivalents) last year, compared to 1,208,830 in 2002. In order to move more containers at a faster pace, the PMA bosses ride roughshod over safety

rules. There were 10 fatalities in the West Coast ports from 2002 to 2005, and 6,035 injuries resulting in time lost on the job. Ross' death is at least the sixth fatality in the West Coast ports (including Canada) in the last two years, according to accounts in the ILWU *Dispatcher*.

Longshore workers on the West Coast, through the hard class battles of the 1930s, won the union hiring hall and some control over job conditions, making the work qualitatively safer. But the PMA has been trying to reverse those gains ever since. Containerization in the 1960s and '70s sped up the loading process while massively reducing the workforce and prolonging shifts from six to eight hours. With heavy equipment moving huge containers rapidly around the docks, the rate of serious injury has increased.

In the tug-of-war between protecting workers' lives and boosting capitalist profits, the main weapon workers have to defend themselves is the union. The work stoppage in honor of Ross resulted in a major cargo backlog, pointing to the enormous social power wielded by port workers. But far from using the union's power to defend the safety of the membership, the ILWU bureaucrats have done precious little to ensure safety codes are enforced. Instead, Local 10 officials blame the workers for "ripping and running" (working fast in violation of safety rules). Meanwhile, longshoremen tell us that there aren't any ILWU safety reps on the job, and the local safety committees are joint PMA-union.

The situation on the docks is made worse by divisions of the workforce by seniority classification for access to jobs. Only "A" men are members of the union. The "B" men are left with the jobs not



Reginald Ross

taken by the "A" men, who routinely work double or triple shifts before "B" men get out. In addition, there are highly skilled "steady men" on permanent contract with a particular employer in return for guaranteed hours and pay. Unregistered casuals are dispatched behind "B" men only when there are a lot of jobs to fill. Thus, casuals like Ross work much less, have much less experience and often get the most onerous jobs. All working longshoremen should be full members of the union! No doubling! Shorten the work shifts back to six hours work for eight hours pay! Steady men back to the hiring hall!

Across the country, every year thousands of workers are killed on the job, and millions more are injured. For the profit-hungry capitalists, the lives of their wage slaves are cheap. Only when the working class rips industry from the hands of the capitalists and establishes a planned socialist economy will safety govern working conditions. ■

ILWU...

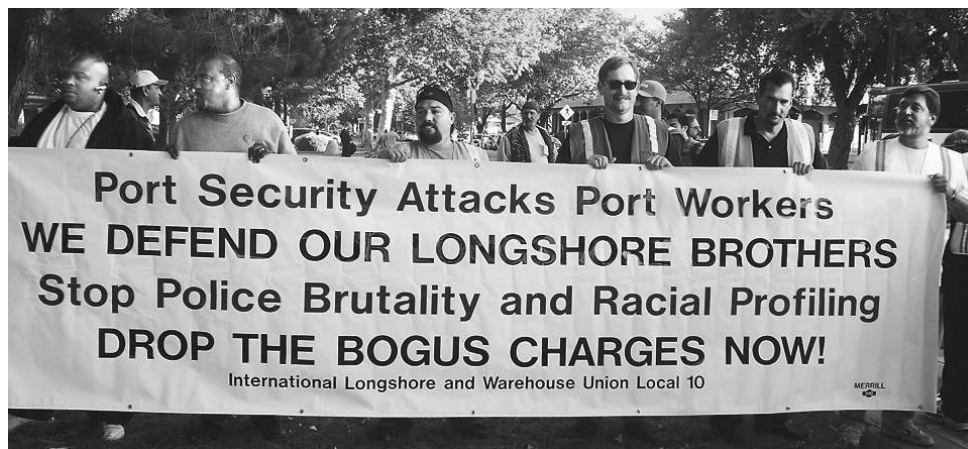
(continued from page 12)

mistake of doing this to members of a union" (*Daily Democrat*, 5 October). That Local 10 mobilized in defense of their victimized union brothers outside their court hearing on October 4 was an important display of union solidarity.

The government's "war on terror" has long had the ILWU in its cross hairs. During the 2002 contract battle, the head of the Department of Homeland Security warned the ILWU International President that a strike would "threaten national security." Black longshoremen from Local 10 were at the core of a 300-strong protest in Oakland on 9 February 2002, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, demanding "No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!"

Yet, outrageously the leadership of the ILWU has *supported* government maritime security measures. What this has meant was conveyed to *Workers Vanguard* by a member of the Sacramento ILWU local who said that guards routinely make random searches of longshoremen's cars there. We were also told that another member of Local 10 who had been harassed by the security guards and cops while working in Sacramento had his name put on a government "terrorist watch" list, which he discovered only when he was pulled aside at an airport!

The ILWU leadership's support to "national security" is premised on the false view that workers and their capitalist exploiters have common interests, a deception that is the basis for chaining the unions to the Democratic Party. Testifying at a 2006 Senate hearing, the ILWU's own "director of port security" complained that the 2002 Maritime Transportation Security Act was being "honored in the breach" and urged the government to "correct the immediate, major deficiencies of security that exist today in America's ports." He claimed that "port security



October 4 ILWU demonstration at Yolo County courthouse in Woodland, California, protests arrest of longshoremen at Port of Sacramento. Right: Labor Black League supporters at protest.

equates to workers safety in its most fundamental sense." This is a lie! The purpose of "maritime security" is to further regiment and police the workers, to shackle the unions' power to take on the shipping bosses. The union tops are demanding the enforcement of the very regulations that gave the security guards and cops license to assault and arrest Harrison and Ruffin! Meanwhile in the Bay Area, the security guards on the docks whose job is to police the workforce and enforce the government's anti-union laws are members of the ILWU. *Security guards out of the union!*

Several speakers at the October 4 rally pointed to the absence of any representative of the ILWU International which, to date, has said not one word in protest against the vicious assault on its own union members. Yet the International's support for "port security" is also echoed by the leadership of Local 10, albeit often with a more "progressive" veneer.

In an opinion piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 March 2006) Jack Heyman, one of the more left-talking members of the Local 10 executive board, opined: "Real port security means inspecting all containers offloaded and ending imperialist wars abroad that spawn terrorists, not stifling the free-speech rights of those who work in the ports." Under the cover of the seemingly radical call to end imperialist wars, Hey-

man lends his support to the war against labor at home in the name of "real" port security. In so doing, he echoes many capitalist Democratic Party politicians, who have pushed container inspections as a part of their bid to outdo the Republicans on "national security."

In addition to demanding better inspection of containers, most ILWU bureaucrats call for more vigorous screening of the largely immigrant, non-union port truckers. This not only is an attack on these workers but undermines the ILWU itself by maintaining a vulnerable, grossly underpaid, non-union workforce on the docks. Instead the union should be fighting to organize these workers and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The "war on terror," which first took aim at immigrants of Muslim descent, is also used to build up a battery of new laws directed at the whole of the working class. In racist America, where the segregation of black people at the bottom of society is central to maintaining the system of capitalist exploitation, it is no surprise that port security and the cops targeted two black longshoremen. But black and immigrant workers are not helpless victims; they have power as a critical part of the multiracial working class.

Addressing the October 4 rally, both Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrison spoke to



WV Photos

their new understanding of the power of the union. But for that power to be realized, the unions must be organized in *class struggle* against the employers and their state, as opposed to the policies of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. As the LBL and PDC wrote in the call for the 9 February 2002 protest against the "war on terror":

"To fight for its interests the working class must stand independent of all agencies and parties of the class enemy. The trade-union misleaders who have shackled labor's power to support for the Democrats now offer to help implement 'security' on the docks and elsewhere.... "There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregation America, to break from the Democrats and build a class-struggle leadership which will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. The working class needs its own party—one that fights for a workers government. Those who labor must rule!"

—"Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!" WV No. 773, 25 January 2002

* * *

Harrison and Ruffin's next court appearance will be on October 22 in the Yolo County Superior Court, 213 Third St. in Woodland, CA. Although the charges of trespassing have been dropped, they remain charged with obstructing a police officer. All out in solidarity! Drop the charges! ■

Paris Rally...

(continued from page 12)

Alleg recalled repeated cases during the Algerian War when nationalist and Communist militants were sentenced to death, often on the basis of false confessions extracted under torture. Noting the widespread use of torture by many countries, including the U.S. in Iraq and elsewhere, Alleg declared: “Today, I would say that in some ways it is worse...since it is no longer denied that there has been torture. Rather, laws are adopted that consider it normal!” Alleg concluded:

“I believe that more than ever voices must be raised everywhere to link what is happening in the particular case of Mumia, who has been sentenced despite his absolute innocence, who has been sentenced because he is black, because he is a revolutionary, because he fights, because he has the talent to explain what is taking place....

“It is the duty of all of us to speak of all this to those around us and to participate, whatever our fundamental philosophy, even if there are things and people—there are some here—with which and with whom I personally do not agree. But the thing I do agree with is to fight along with you so that Mumia gets justice.”

The participation of trade unionists served to highlight the kind of working-class social power that can and must be mobilized to secure Mumia’s freedom. From the chair, Benoît read several union statements, all of which underlined Mumia’s innocence. In his remarks, Duclos reported that many of his fellow railway workers are easily convinced that Mumia is a political prisoner and victim of racist repression. “But,” he continued, “when it is a question of denouncing the racism that exists in France, when we speak of the justifiable revolt of the *banlieues* that took place in 2005 following the deaths of Zyed and Bouna [youths of African origin], here the coworkers express their disagreement.” Duclos noted a certain tendency, especially among older workers, to see France, where the death penalty has been abolished, as more democratic than the U.S.

Responding to a question from the floor, the LTF’s Xavier Brunoy declared that the death penalty in France “was officially abolished in 1981 by the government of [Socialist president] Mitterrand. But if you look at the number of youth who have died since 1981 in the police stations of France, you see that the death penalty is concretely applied by the cops.” A woman who has been active in housing *sans-papiers* (undocumented workers) recalled the recent case of an immigrant youth who almost died when he fell from a window while trying

to escape a police roundup.

In his speech, Brunoy emphasized: “Exploitation and racist oppression are integral to the capitalist profit system. The phony socialists and pseudo-revolutionaries would have the workers believe that capitalism can be reformed so that it serves the interests of all classes.” Brunoy warned against illusions in the popular front which ties workers to their class enemy, the bourgeoisie, noting: “In France, alliances of bourgeois workers parties like the PCF and the Socialist Party with bourgeois parties, whether it is the Radicals in 1936 or the Greens and today the Chevènementistes [followers of ultra-chauvinist politician Jean-Pierre Chevènement], have for decades been the archetype of class collaboration.” He also exposed PCF senator Nicole Borvo for joining in the anti-Communist chorus against China, in which the imperialists and their lackeys bleat about “human rights” as a pretext for “a program of capitalist counterrevolution in China which would liquidate the gains of the 1949 Revolution.”

Brunoy stated that “the working class in this country will never be able to carry out a revolution if it does not hold high the banner of the struggle against racist terror and defense of immigrants and their children,” concluding that what is necessary above all is “united struggle of the multiethnic working class under the leadership of a multiethnic revolutionary party. The French section of the ICL is dedicated to building such a party.”

The social power of labor must be mobilized behind Mumia’s cause based on the massive evidence of his innocence and the understanding that he is the victim of a racist, political frame-up. Yet many of the liberals and reformists active around Mumia’s case have sought to block developments toward class-struggle defense based on a Marxist understanding of the capitalist state and its legal system. A September statement on the Web site of the PCF-supported United National Committee to Support Mumia Abu-Jamal makes this plain. It states that the organization “declined the invitation to speak at this meeting, judging it inappropriate to publicly polemicize with an organization which denounces ‘attempts to misdirect the struggle for Mumia toward the bourgeois injustice system’.” As the CDDS rally call pointed out, such misdirection is precisely the program behind the February 2006 call in the PCF’s *L’Humanité*, signed by hundreds of notables and politicians, for “a new fair trial.” For good measure the United National Committee statement expresses the pious hope that “the Federal Appeals Court recognize the denial of justice



Le Bolchévik

Henri Alleg, author of 1958 book on French torture during Algerian War, speaking at CDDS rally.

which led to the death sentence.”

We vigorously oppose the strategy of reliance on the capitalist state. At the same time, we have always supported scrupulous legal work on Mumia’s behalf. The PCF and other groups have tried to pass off their strategy of building protests around the “new trial” call as in accordance with Mumia’s wishes. At a May PDC rally in London, Wolkenstein refuted this argument: “I have known and worked with Mumia Abu-Jamal since February 1987. I visit him regularly—before I became his lawyer, when I became his lawyer, after I stopped being his lawyer, including a week ago. He knows perfectly well every word I said here.” As Carreno declared in his remarks at the CDDS rally, “To demand a new trial is to accept the hypothesis of Mumia’s guilt despite the multiple proofs of his innocence.”

The United National Committee’s statement complained that Mumia’s struggle “has nothing to gain by political quarrels of this type.” In fact the opposite is the case. It’s unfortunate that this group did not participate in the rally and argue for its views, as such debate is necessary to clarify the way forward in the fight for Mumia’s freedom. They bleat about “unity,” but what they mean by this has nothing in common with genuine united-front defense: mobilizing in action on agreed-upon slogans with full freedom of criticism. At a forum at the PCF’s September *L’Humanité* Fête, the moderator tried to prevent Myriam Benoît from speaking when she began to announce the September 29 CDDS meeting. Some PCF members spoke of freedom for Mumia, but the forum title put it differently: “80 Years After the Execution of Sacco & Vanzetti, Will Mumia Abu-Jamal Finally Get a New Trial to Defend His Innocence?”

At the CDDS rally, Wolkenstein exposed the deadly illusions in the capitalist state that underpin the calls for a new trial:

“The argument is made by these liberals and reformists that the political movement for Mumia must be restricted to what the lawyers do, to the confines of bourgeois court proceedings. They argue that to demand Mumia’s freedom, to assert his innocence and that he should not have spent one day in jail, that bourgeois legality is class and race biased, is divisive.”

The policy of class-struggle defense means no illusions in capitalist injustice and all faith in the power of the masses. This understanding is the key to victory in the struggle for Mumia’s freedom. We print below excerpts, slightly edited for publication, from Wolkenstein’s presentation.

* * *

Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee

In the history of the working class, the causes of class-war prisoners have often defined entire political generations. August 23 marked the 80th anniversary of the

executions of Italian immigrants, anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the U.S. in 1927, a case that reverberated, and continues to do so, around the world. Today, we are on the eve of a legal decision in the case of Mumia, whose cause as a black radical activist and journalist sentenced to death for his political beliefs and activities is the cause of our generation. Mumia’s case parallels that of Sacco and Vanzetti, both legally and politically. It is at our peril and at the risk of Mumia’s very life that we do not learn from that history. [See “Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti,” WV Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September.]

Sacco and Vanzetti were among the anarchists targeted for repression by the U.S. government during the Red Scare following the Russian Revolution. Mumia had been targeted by the FBI and Philadelphia cops from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panthers, also earning their wrath for his later defense of the MOVE organization. Mumia’s frame-up conviction was part of the legal and political offensive of the U.S. government following its defeat in Vietnam and the onset of the Reagan years.

Both cases featured trials presided over by judges openly biased against the defendants. In 1924, after denying a motion for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, Judge Webster Thayer said, “Did you see what I did with those anarchistic bastards the other day?” At the time of Mumia’s 1982 trial, Judge Albert Sabo was overheard by a court reporter boasting, “I’m going to help them fry the n---r.”

Everything used to convict Sacco and Vanzetti—jury-rigging, concealment of evidence, coercion of witnesses, phony ballistics, use of the defendants’ political background to inflame the jury—would be replicated in Mumia’s trial 60 years later. Prosecutor Joseph McGill argued to the nearly all-white jury that Mumia’s Black Panther Party membership 12 years earlier proved that he had been planning to kill a cop.

The most spectacular evidence that Sacco and Vanzetti and later Mumia did not commit the crimes for which they were sentenced to death consisted of the confessions of professional criminals exonerating them. And in both cases, the courts threw out the evidence. In November 1925, Celestino Medeiros, in prison awaiting an appeal for his 1924 conviction for murdering a bank guard, passed a note to Sacco stating, “I hear by confess to being in the south Braintree shoe company crime and Sacco and Vanzetti was not in said crime.” Medeiros subsequently swore an affidavit stating that the robbery was carried out by a gang, which was wanted for a series of freight train robberies. Although the gang members fit the descriptions given by the witnesses to the robbery, the appeals court dismissed Medeiros’ confession.

In 1999, Arnold Beverly swore a confession that he, and not Mumia, shot and killed Officer Faulkner. According to Beverly, he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly’s testimony is supported by a mountain of evidence and ties together loose threads previously unexplained: the trajectory of the bullets, how Mumia was shot, the person wearing a green army jacket seen by five witnesses, including two cops, and much more. Beverly had sworn his confession in 1999 to me, while I was on Mumia’s legal team and in charge of the investigation. I resigned that year when

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

1. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.
2. Publication no.: 09-8770.
3. Filing date: 24 September 2007.
4. Issue frequency: Bi-weekly, except skipping 3 alternate issues in June, July, August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December.
5. No. of issues published annually: 22.
6. Annual subscription price: \$10.00.
7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.
8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.
9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Editor—Ray Bishop, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Managing Editor—Alan Wilde, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.
10. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Co. (Unincorporated Association), 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.
11. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.
12. Tax status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates): Not applicable.
13. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.
14. Issue date for circulation data below: 14 September 2007.
15. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 9,955; b. Paid circulation (by mail and outside the mail): (1) Mailed outside-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 1,536; (2) Mailed in-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Paid distribution outside

the mails including sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other outside USPS: 5,582; (4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS: 266; c. Total paid distribution [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 7,384; d. Free or nominal rate distribution: (1) Outside-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 169; (2) In-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Copies mailed at other classes through the USPS: 187; (4) Distribution outside the mail: 0; e. Total free or nominal rate distribution [Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3) and (4)]: 356; f. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 7,740; g. Copies not distributed: 2,215; h. Total (Sum of 15f and 15g): 9,955; i. Percent paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 95.40%. No. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 12,000; b. Paid circulation (by mail and outside the mail): (1) Mailed outside-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 1,027; (2) Mailed in-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Paid distribution outside the mails including sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other outside USPS: 7,453; (4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS: 302; c. Total paid distribution [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 8,782; d. Free or nominal rate distribution: (1) Outside-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 127; (2) In-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Copies mailed at other classes through the USPS: 216; (4) Distribution outside the mail: 0; e. Total free or nominal rate distribution [Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3) and (4)]: 343; f. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 9,125; g. Copies not distributed: 2,875; h. Total (Sum of 15f and 15g): 12,000; i. Percent paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 96.24%. 16. This statement of ownership will be printed in the 12 October 2007 issue of this publication. 17. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner: (Signed) Ray Bishop (Editor), 24 September 2007. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

Contact the Partisan Defense Committee

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

Mumia's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, suppressed Beverly's confession. Two years later, Weinglass was fired by Mumia for violating client confidences. In 2001 Mumia's new lawyers submitted the Beverly confession and supporting evidence to state and federal courts, which would not even consider it.

Up to the day of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, the International Labor Defense (ILD), the U.S. affiliate of the International Red Aid, which was established by the Communist International, waged a tireless fight for unity in action, based on the class struggle, on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD supported using any legal means available for Sacco and Vanzetti. But as James P. Cannon, a leader in the Communist Party and head of the ILD, insisted, the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti had to be taken to the "supreme court of the masses." Those who relied on bourgeois justice carried out an offensive against the ILD and CP with slanders, exclusion of the ILD and CP supporters from events called by others and even physical attacks.

The ILD publicized Sacco and Vanzetti's struggle and organized rallies and political strikes to demand their freedom. The ILD mobilized on the basis of the united front, seeking maximum unity in struggle of the various organizations standing for defense of Sacco and Vanzetti while giving a thorough airing of the political differences between the CP/ILD and others. The slogan "march separately, strike together" embodies the two aims of the united-front tactic: class unity and the political fight for an authentic communist program.

The ILD waged a hard political battle against those who threw up obstacles to class-struggle defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Today we face similar obstacles, and then some, in our effort to mobilize labor-centered protest to demand Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man. The Sacco and Vanzetti case occurred in a period marked by the October Revolution, which inspired militant fighters around the world and drew a sharp dividing line between those who defended the Soviet Union and those who sided with the capitalist rulers.

Today's world is profoundly shaped by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state

in 1991-92, following decades of Stalinist betrayal. As the bourgeois rulers proclaim the lie of the "death of communism," the bulk of the left, which in the main joined in the imperialists' anti-Soviet campaigns, places its political activity solidly within the framework of the so-called "democratic" capitalist order.

Thus, whereas in Sacco and Vanzetti's case it was the prosecution who vilified the Medeiros confession, today many liberals and reformist leftists among Mumia's professed defenders sling mud at the Beverly confession and even cast doubt on Mumia's own statement that he did not shoot Daniel Faulkner. Why would Mumia's ostensible defenders be agnostic on Mumia's innocence and attack the Beverly confession? It is because the Beverly evidence makes clear that Mumia's frame-up was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice.

Liberals want to "clean up" the capitalist system and get rid of its "excesses." But in Mumia's case, the frame-up of a black activist is no "excess"—it's what the death penalty in racist America is all about. The Marxist understanding is that the courts, cops, prisons and armed forces are core components of the capitalist state—a machinery of organized violence to protect the rule and profits of the exploiting class. This understanding is directly contrary to the bourgeois-liberal framework of those who embrace the very "justice" system that at every level has declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case upholding slavery in the U.S., that Mumia has no rights that it is bound to respect.

In 1995, when the first death warrant was issued, there were protests around the world based on support for Mumia's cause, heavily based on trade unions that represented millions. From South Africa to France and even in the U.S. there were mobilizations built on the basis that Mumia's frame-up conviction was political and racist, that his death sentence was the call for racist legal lynching. Out of those mobilizations and with each new piece of evidence of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up, a powerful labor-centered, international campaign demanding Mumia's freedom could have been built. The very particulars of Mumia's

case provide powerful lessons that his struggle for freedom must be based on the independent action of the working class, acting with consciousness of its social power to withhold its labor, to shut down industry, communications and transportation. Mumia's case has the power to deepen workers' militancy, class soli-



Workers World
Dedication of street named in honor of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Saint-Denis, outside Paris, 29 April 2006.

arity and the recognition that the fight for black rights, immigrant rights and to end exploitation and oppression is *one* fight.

Instead, the campaign for Mumia was demobilized by left organizations and reformist groups by subordinating the call for Mumia's freedom to the call for a new trial. 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." They have sought to appeal to those in the "mainstream" who see the legal hell that Mumia has been put through as a stain on the image of American "justice." Or in Europe, to counterpose the supposed greater democracy of the European bourgeoisie to that of the U.S.

"New trial" is shorthand for a program of reliance on the capitalist class, its politicians and its courts to afford justice to fighters for the oppressed. This retarded the political understanding of those who joined the struggle, and ultimately it demobilized the movement for Mumia's freedom. By preaching that the next court would be *the* court that would give Mumia a new, fair trial, it also demoralized those youth and workers who initially joined the fight for Mumia seeing in his fight their own fight against "the system" as they understood it. And it is the role of the reformists on the left—from the Communist Party in France to the minuscule left groups in the U.S.—to keep the working class and its allies tied to the idea of the inviolability of the state.

The reason that Mumia is still facing death or the living death of life imprisonment is that the capitalist injustice system—supported by both parties of American capitalism, Democrats as well as Republicans—is intended to intimidate, silence and punish those who raise their voices and actions in opposition. This is another lesson of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The determination of the bourgeoisie to kill Mumia or imprison him for life is no less than it was for the two anarchist martyrs.

James Cannon noted that "the industrial masters of America" who had carried out the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti to deal a blow to the entire labor movement "were not without allies, both conscious and unconscious, in the camp of the workers themselves." "Sacco and Vanzetti will have died in vain," he wrote, "if the real meaning and the causes of their martyrdom are not understood in all their implications." These lessons are indeed of crucial importance in the struggle against capitalist repression today and are posed with particular urgency *now* in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

We don't need or want any more martyrs. Mumia must not become a martyr to the racist viciousness of American capital. In 1995 it was the international mobilizations, including the working class, that stayed Mumia's death warrant. The power to free Mumia exists in the international working class. Our task is to fight to unleash that power. Free Mumia now! ■

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! FREE MUMIA NOW! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

BAY AREA

**14th and Broadway
Oakland**

Near the Federal Building

4:30-6:30 p.m.

(On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.)

More info: (510) 839-0852 or
pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

**Kluczynski Federal
Building
Northwest corner of
Jackson and Dearborn**

**Weekday: 4:30 p.m.
Saturday: Noon**

More info: (312) 563-0442 or
chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

**Weekday: 5 p.m.
U.S. Federal Courthouse
312 N. Spring St.**

**Saturday: 1 p.m.
Westwood Federal Bldg.
11000 Wilshire Blvd.**

More info: (213) 380-8897 or
partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

**Federal Building
Broadway between
Worth and Duane Sts.**

**Weekday: 5-7 p.m.
Saturday: 1-4 p.m.**

More info: (212) 406-4252 or
(212) 267-1025 or
partisandefense@earthlink.net

TORONTO

360 University Ave.

Across the street from the
U.S. Consulate between
Dundas (St. Patrick station)
and Queen (Osgoode station)

**Weekday: 6 p.m.
Weekend: 1 p.m.**

More info: (416) 593-4138 or
pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

U.S. demonstrations are sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues.

For information on Berlin, Hamburg, London, Mexico City and Paris demonstrations: www.partisandefense.org

Subsequent to the PDC's call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

Philadelphia: 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information.

New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Bldg. (125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.) Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Join the PDC contingent three Saturdays after the decision at the National Demonstration in Philadelphia called by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Paris Rally Demands: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

PARIS—Some 70 people attended a September 29 rally in Paris called by the Comité de Défense Sociale (Committee for Social Defense—CDDS) demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner. A former Black Panther, a journalist and a MOVE supporter, Mumia has spent more than a quarter of a century on death row following his frame-up conviction on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. The CDDS is a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League. The rally was part of an international campaign to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf at what could be the final stage of his legal proceedings.

The main rally speaker was Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999. Wolkenstein led the investigation that uncovered a mass of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot and killed Faulkner. Xavier Brunoy spoke on behalf of the LTF. The meeting was also addressed by Henri Alleg, a widely respected member of the French Communist Party (PCF),

whose 1958 book *La Question* was a powerful account of his own imprisonment and torture by the French imperialists during the Algerian War. Also speaking were Daniel Carreno, assistant secretary of the SUD-TMT postal sorting workers union, and Jimmy Duclos, member of the SUD-Rail railway workers union in Paris.

Mumia's case is at a critical juncture. On May 17, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments on Mumia's appeal; a decision could come at any time. Speakers at the rally—called under the slogans "Mumia Is Innocent! Immediate Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—stressed the urgency of mobilizing now to win Mumia's freedom. Myriam Benoît of the CDDS, who chaired the meeting, began by dedicating it to our beloved comrade Gérard Le Méteil, who died on September 3 in unknown circumstances after having been taken into police custody on a trivial charge. Benoît declared: "This meeting represents his work as well. He fought to the end for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and we are continuing his fight." She continued, "Black oppression in the United States is rooted in slavery. The state seeks to execute Mumia by

a legal lynching in order to send a message to all those who oppose this racist system."

A theme throughout the meeting was the commonality between the fight to free Mumia and the fight against political frame-ups and racist oppression, not only in the United States but in France as well. The right-wing government of Nicolas Sarkozy has thrown down the gauntlet to the workers movement, attacking the very right to strike and threatening to slash workers' gains, from pensions to the state health care system. In timeworn divide-and-rule fashion, the Sarkozy government has stepped up the French rulers' racist anti-immigrant campaign as a way to undercut class struggle against these attacks. While the cops spread racist terror in the *banlieues* (minority ghettos), a vicious law is being prepared that would raise further barriers to immigration and even introduce DNA testing for those seeking to be reunited with family members in France.

Henri Alleg, who had been a longtime member of the Algerian Communist Party and editor of its journal *Alger Républicain*, sharply indicted the "democratic" pretensions of French capitalism. Making a comparison to Mumia's frame-up, *continued on page 10*



September 29 rally called by Committee for Social Defense in Paris.

“War on Terror” Assault on Black Longshoremen

ILWU Rally: “Drop the Bogus Charges Now!”

OAKLAND—Some 200 unionists, overwhelmingly members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), rallied on October 4 in defense of two black longshoremen from ILWU Local 10 in the Bay Area, Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrison. The two had been brutally assaulted and arrested in August by the West Sacramento police under the provisions of the government's bipartisan “anti-terrorist” port security laws. Members of Local 10, and the ship clerks Local 34, boarded busses at 6 a.m. to get to the protest at the courthouse in Woodland, California, a suburb of Sacramento, the state capital.

They were joined by members of ILWU locals from Sacramento, Stockton and Portland, Oregon, as well as members of the Oakland teachers union, the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association and the Inlandboatmen's Union. At the rally, union members bowed their heads in a minute of

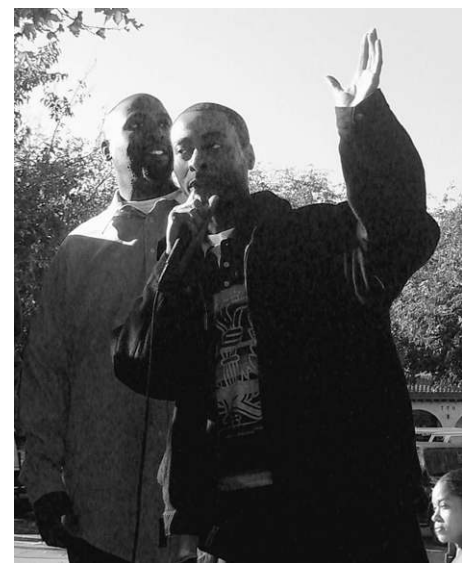
silence for longshoreman Reginald Ross, who was killed on the Oakland docks the week before (see article, page 9). There were several speakers, including Ken Riley, president of the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina, where in January 2000 some 600 cops viciously attacked hundreds of picketing members of the local. The union's actions to defend picketers against scab-herding cops prompted the state's attorney general to compare the fight for union rights to “terrorism.”

On August 23, security guards stopped Harrison and Ruffin at the Stevedoring Services of America terminal in Sacramento as they were returning to work after lunch. The guards demanded to search the car, citing maritime security regulations. These regulations are part of the government's so-called “war on terror,” which is nothing but a pretext for the U.S. rulers' bloody occupations of Iraq

and Afghanistan and for increasing the powers of their state—the cops, courts, prisons, military and their security guard auxiliaries—“at home.”

Harrison and Ruffin called their Local 10 Business Agent for advice. That these two black workers appealed to their union for help obviously enraged the security guards, who called in the notoriously racist West Sacramento police. Harrison and Ruffin were dragged out of their car, assaulted, maced, handcuffed and thrown in jail on charges of trespassing and obstructing a police officer.

As the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, wrote in a September 12 letter of solidarity to the ILWU: “This attack in Sacramento on two black ILWU members underscores the reality of the ‘war on terror’ at home—attacks on immigrants, blacks, minorities, trade unions and the



Jason Ruffin, speaking at October 4 protest against arrests, with his co-defendant Aaron Harrison.

working class as a whole.” At the October 4 rally, Rev. Ashiya Odeye, a local activist against police brutality, remarked that the cop attack on Harrison and Ruffin matched the treatment that these racist cowboys have been handing out to black and Latino youth for years in West Sacramento. He concluded, this time “they have made the *continued on page 9*