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All Out for United-Front Mobilizations!



In response to the March 27 federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding the frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal, emergency protests were held by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues in the U.S. and by the PDC's fraternal organizations internationally (see article, p. 8). The PDC and LBLs have also initiated united-front protests in Oakland on April

New York City, March 28: Emergency demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League at downtown federal building protests Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

19 and in Los Angeles and Chicago on April 26 under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Unitedfront protests under the same slogans have also been called by fraternal organizations of the PDC in London and Toronto on April 19 and Sydney on April 23. Additionally, the Grupo Espartaquista de México has initiated a united-front

protest on April 24 in Mexico City.

In New York City, the PDC and LBL are building a Class-Struggle Contingent for the April 19 rally in Philadelphia initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Class-Struggle Contingent will march under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the continued on page 9

Five Years of Bloody Imperialist Occupation

All U.S. Troops Out of Iraq Now!

APRIL 8—After five years of imperialist war and occupation, Iraq, once one of the more advanced countries in the Near East, has been reduced to a living hell by American rulers with the mindset of "born again" biblical primitives and the technology of 21st-century industrial capitalism. Over one million Iraqis have lost their lives either at the hands of the imperialist occupiers or in the



sectarian and communal bloodbath that was unleashed by "Operation Iraqi Freedom." Four million Iraqis have fled their homes, 70 percent of the population lacks access to clean drinking water, and more than half lives on less than one dollar a day. Following a trip to Baghdad by Republican vice president Dick Cheney in March, such "peace" as the U.S. imperialists had literally purchased through buying an army of 90,000 Sunnis called the "Sons of Iraq" and a ceasefire deal with the Shi'ite Mahdi Army of Moqtada al-Sadr, blew up.

Hoping to piece off the Sunni population, which massively boycotted the

2005 elections, Cheney put the arm on the Iraqi puppet government to call elections that would allow the Sunni leaders to gain control of provinces where Sunnis are a majority. This was followed by the massive assault on the oil-rich Shi'ite city of Basra, Iraq's main export point in the south, by Iraqi government troops backed up with air and artillery bombardment by U.S. and British imperialist forces. The purpose was to disarm and defeat al-Sadr's forces, which would easily sweep any elections in Basra, as opposed to the Shi'ite Dawa party of Iraqi prime minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki and his coalition

partners in the Islamic Supreme Council. Meanwhile, the U.S. military has launched an assault on Sadr City in Baghdad, which is run by al-Sadr's Mahdi Army, in an attempt to stop the mortar and rocket attacks raining down on the U.S.-controlled Green Zone.

Bush hailed the assault on Basra—where tens of thousands of families were trapped in their homes for a week without electricity or water and unknown hundreds killed—as a "positive moment in the development of a sovereign nation" (London *Guardian*, 4 April). This was echoed by British Labour Party

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Protest Government Attacks on Workers in Egypt!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter was sent to the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, D.C., on April 8.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the brutal police attack against protesting workers and residents in the northern industrial city of Mahalla al-Kobra. As baton-wielding riot cops viciously beat protesters, armored vehicles fired tear gas canisters and other projectiles into crowds that included women and children. Reports from Mahalla assert that police also fired live ammunition at protesters, killing at least two people.

Workers at the Ghazl el-Mahalla textile plant, the largest in the Near East and the center of the Egyptian strike wave that began in late 2006, had planned to strike on April 6 over low wages and rising food prices. Before the Sunday shift change

began, plainclothes police took control of the plant and arrested some 150 workers, preventing the strike from proceeding. When thousands of workers and supporters protested later in the day, riot cops launched their murderous assault, arresting hundreds more. Further protests and repression took place the next day.

The PDC stands in complete solidarity with the struggles of Egypt's working masses. With economic conditions deteriorating, solidarity actions with the Mahalla workers were carried out in Cairo and elsewhere despite the massive mobilization of police and security forces that arrested hundreds across the country. Cairo schools were almost completely empty on April 6, while hundreds of students demonstrated at Helwan and Cairo universities in the capital. A long-

time ally of U.S. imperialism and second only to Israel in the amount of U.S. aid it receives, the Egyptian government has responded to the growing militancy of Egypt's workers movement with an iron fist, while cracking down on oppositionists of all political stripes. The PDC demands the immediate release of all the arrested! Drop all charges! Cops out of the plant! Hands off the Ghazl el-Mahalla workers!

The PDC calls on the international workers movement and all opponents of government repression to protest the Mubarak regime's attacks. Send protest letters to: Egyptian Embassy, 3521 International Ct. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008; fax: (202) 244-5131 or (202) 244-4319. ■



Tadamonmasr.wordpress.com

Mahalla al-Kobra, April 6: Protester bloodied as Egyptian police brutally attack demonstration after suppressing strike by workers at Ghazl el-Mahalla textile plant.

Iraq...

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prime minister Gordon Brown, who announced that there would be no further reduction in British troops in Basra with the Orwellian declaration: "What is happening in Basra is a manifestation of our policy to give Iraqis control of their own security" (*Guardian*, 2 April).

But this offensive blew up in the faces of the Iraqi government and its imperialist masters. More than 1,000 Iraqi soldiers and police, including dozens of officers and at least two commanders, deserted. Al-Maliki scrambled to recruit 10,000 more Shi'ite troops, further inflaming the Sunnis, to whom the government has resisted giving positions in the army. It took the intervention of Iran to broker a cease-fire between the Iraqi government

and al-Sadr, who emerged as the victor. Al-Sadr is now calling for mass protests against the occupation on April 9 in order to increase his leverage for a seat at the imperialists' table. Meanwhile, the stage is set for increasing communal slaughter, which is currently measured in a death toll of 1,500 Iraqis a month.

As revolutionary Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Just as we took a side in defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. invaders while politically opposing the Taliban reactionaries and Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime, we have a side today: against the U.S. occupiers and their allies. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their fire at the occupiers and their Iraqi lackeys, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism, while vehemently opposing Islamic fundamentalism, nationalism and the communal slaughter devastating the Iraqi population.

Our starting point is the understanding that wars of imperialist depredation and occupations are the necessary product of the capitalist system. War is the concentrated expression of a profit system that daily slaughters workers on the job, that consigns millions to the scrap heap, that metes out brutal, racist cop repression. Imperialism is capitalism in its death agony, in which a handful of advanced powers compete for control of markets, raw materials and access to cheap labor. To get rid of war, poverty and oppression, the entire capitalist system must be overthrown through workers

revolutions in the U.S. and internationally. Our revolutionary perspective stands in stark contrast to that of the reformists and their various antiwar coalitions. Responding to the launching of the one-sided slaughter of Iraq, the reformists peddled the lie that if millions mobilized, they could pressure the imperialist rulers, particularly in their Democratic Party face, to serve the "will of the people." Contrary to this bourgeois-democratic myth, the policies of U.S. imperialism are determined not by the electorate but by the interests of the capitalist ruling class, as overseen by the Republicans and Democrats alike. There is, indeed, deepgoing discontent over the Iraq occupation among broad sectors of the U.S. population, further exasperated by the deepening economic downturn. But the tens of thousands who came out in protest against the war five years ago have long since evaporated, dissolved by the reformists' "Anybody but Bush," pro-Democratic Party electoralism.

The Democrats' calls for a "phased withdrawal" of "combat troops" from Iraq (while maintaining bases in the country) reflect the understanding of the more rational wing of the bourgeoisie that the Iraq occupation is a quagmire, in which the interests of U.S. imperialism

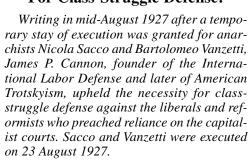
are threatened. At the same time, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, the two contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination, compete in trying to out-Bush Bush as proponents of the "war on terror," with calls to increase U.S. imperialist forces in the occupation of Afghanistan. After the failed assault on al-Sadr's forces in Basra, the Democratic chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Ike Skelton, joined the Bush administration in rattling the nuclear saber against Iran.

The London Telegraph (5 April) cited "a strong statement" by General David Petraeus, commander of American forces in Iraq, that "Iran's intervention in Iraq could set the stage for a US attack on Iranian military facilities." Opining that "there are signs that targeting Iran would unite American politicians across the bitter divide on Iraq," the article pointed to Skelton's declaration that "Iran is the bull in the china shop." In the event of an attack by the U.S. or any force acting as its proxy (Israel, for example), the international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran while giving no political support to the reactionary mullah-led regime. As we have repeatedly stressed, in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail and continuing threats of attack, Iran needs nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems as deterrence. Hands off Iran!

A statement by the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, in response to the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, declared: "With the world's mightiest empire arrayed against neocolonial Iraq, it could not be clearer that the chief means of defending Iraq is through international class struggle, particularly in the United States" (see "Defend Iraq Against U.S./ British Attack!" WV No. 800, 28 March 2003). Now the ILWU longshore union is calling for an eight-hour work stoppage on May 1 in opposition to the war. We are all in favor of a work stoppage to demand that all U.S. troops get out of Iraq. But this action is being built by the ILWU International bureaucracy through social-patriotic appeals to "express support for the troops by bringing them home safely," and comes together with the ILWU's endorsement of Barack Obama.

Labor cannot be mobilized in class struggle against the bloody depredations of the American capitalist rulers abroad when it is chained to the parties and armed forces of U.S. imperialism! The social power of the multiracial working class must be mobilized against the capitalist system that breeds war. To this end, it is necessary to forge a new classstruggle leadership of the unions linked to the building of a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for workers power through international socialist revolution. Break with the Democrats! For a classstruggle workers party! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! ■

For Class-Struggle Defense!





LENIN



The eleventh-hour reprieve for Sacco and Vanzetti was brought about by the thunder-

ous clamor of the laboring masses of the world who demonstrated their international working class solidarity in an imposing manner. It did not for a moment mean, as some naive people believe, that the Massachusetts Bourbons whose whole energy is bent on continuing their horrible torture of Sacco and Vanzetti until they can safely destroy them in the electric chair, have experienced any change of heart. On the contrary, the reprieve only enabled them to create most dangerous illusions and to gain *for themselves* some relief from the aroused world's millions.

To believe otherwise is to fall victim to just those illusions that the reactionaries are anxious to spread. Not to realize that this latest action is a maneuver to gain time, during which to demoralize and split and weaken the protest movement, is to fail to see the fundamental question involved. Those who from the beginning had seen the class issue in the case, and based their activities and confidence on the mass movement of the workers, were entirely correct, and all events have proved this....

The case has always been an issue of the class struggle and not merely one of an exceptional miscarriage of so-called justice. The Massachusetts Bourbons know this well, and they recognize the magnificent protest movement as a distinctly class movement against which there must be, and is being, organized a counter-campaign....

No faith in capitalist justice and institutions! That is the lesson of history confirmed by every development in the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

—James P. Cannon, "Class Against Class in the Sacco and Vanzetti Case," *Labor Defender*, September 1927, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Japan

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against State Repression! Abolish the Death Penalty!

The following article is a translation of a Spartacist supplement published by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), on 18 November 2007.

スパルタシスト

On 23 August 2006, three death row prisoners were legally murdered by the Japanese state in Tokyo and Nagoya prisons, one of whose appeals was still pending. This brings to ten the number of people executed within less than eight months. This year, the number of death row inmates in Japan exceeded 100 for the first time since WWII—twice as many as one decade ago. Having often been locked up for decades in prisons where isolation and terror reign, without any prior warning of their impending execution until about one hour before, death row prisoners wake every morning terrorized by the thought that today could be the day of their execution. The state even robs their families of any possibility of exchanging last words with them; they are only informed after the execution. The execution is carried out by hanging; often death is not instantaneous and prisoners struggle for 15 to 20 minutes or more before being strangled to death. All this simply underscores that the death penalty is a barbaric outrage intended to terrorize and intimidate the whole population, particularly all perceived opponents of this brutal capitalist system.

The death penalty is one of the main cogs of the capitalist state—the capitalists' machine of repression to maintain their class rule and profits. It is a barbaric legacy of the rampant torture and murder by the ruling classes of previous class societies, a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. As communists, we fight against the death penalty as part of our struggle for proletarian revolution to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. We stand for the abolition of the death penalty everywhere on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who lives and who dies: abolish the death penalty!

The state is not neutral. It is a weapon for class rule. At its core are the police, courts, prisons and army. Under capitalism, the very purpose of the state is to enforce the rule of the bourgeoisie through organized violence against the working class and all the oppressed. Currently, the Japanese bourgeoisie seeks to increase the rate of exploitation of workers even further in order to increase its profits, the better to compete with its imperialist



Protesters outside Osaka detention center call to abolish the death penalty.

rivals. In this context, the use of the death penalty is a graphic display of the power of the Japanese state, as a warning to anyone who might undertake class struggle to resist this brutal exploitation.

While Japanese imperialism is enforcing its class interests against the working class at home, it is also accelerating its military buildup. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, based on the concentration of industrial and bank capital in the hands of the most powerful capitalists—in Japan the *zaibatsu*. To further their plunder and exploitation internationally, the imperialists need the state and an army to protect and expand their offshore capital, just as they need the state to enforce exploitation domestically. Thus, in

ing class does not exercise political power, which has been usurped by a privileged Stalinist bureaucracy. We stand for the unconditional military defense against imperialism and internal counterrevolution of such deformed workers states. A workers political revolution is necessary to oust the bureaucracy, establish proletarian democracy and establish an internationalist policy committed to the fight for new socialist revolutions worldwide.)

The Death Penalty: Weapon of Repression Against the Proletariat and the Oppressed

In Japan, historically the death penalty has served the bourgeoisie in its repression of the workers movement and the bourgeoisie's self-confidence had been considerably shaken. As part of its efforts to intimidate the working class and prevent renewed class struggle, the state stepped up its use of the death penalty, with over 90 people executed over the next three years.

In addition to the thousands of poor and working people who have died at the hands of the state through legal murder, the state and its institutions also seek to use murder to decapitate the leadership of the working class whenever the ruling class sees this as necessary and can get away with it. In 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake was followed by pogroms that killed 6,000 Koreans, and the police, army and right wing hunted down and killed hundreds of Chinese, Communists. anarchists and labor leaders. In addition, the capitalist rulers have repeatedly staged exemplary executions of their perceived opponents for the sheer purpose of trying to paralyze protest through instilling terror—from the prominent anarchists Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga (executed in 1911) to the heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi. These latter led a Soviet spy ring during WWII, when the urgent task for all revolutionaries was the military defense of the Soviet Union. Sorge and Ozaki were brilliant and audacious in getting crucial advance information about German imperialism's attack on the Soviet Union, but Stalin ignored their warnings and later betrayed them. In 1944, the Japanese imperialists executed Sorge and Ozaki. The date was November 7—the anniversary of the Russian Revolution—symbolizing the capitalists' fear and hatred of the USSR and their determination to prevent proletarian revolution in Japan.

Significantly, the current law prescribes death for 17 offenses including murder, "assistance to the enemy" in time of war, and "insurrection." While recently the death penalty has been used against those convicted of horrific crimes involving murder, the bourgeoisie will turn murderous state repression against workers, communists and all the oppressed if it sees this as necessary.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against State Repression!

Today's stepped-up "anti-crime" campaign, which includes the execution of people who have been on death row for decades, is a strategy to justify the strengthening of the state apparatus. Manipulating the population's fears about violent crimes like murder and rape, the capitalist class seeks to impose ever more draconian measures of repression. The government seeks to generate a climate of hysteria over an alleged rise in violent crime and, in particular, to identify foreigners with "crime." While pushing this vile racism, the capitalist state carries out daily violence against the oppressed, especially immigrants.

The Japanese prisons and detention centers are notorious for systematic violence by guards against inmates, from suspicious "suicides" to torture and the denial of appropriate medical care. A case in point is Patrick Rashien from Burma: having lived and worked in Japan for 20 years, he was arrested in 2003 and held in a detention center until 2005. Having suffered the terror inside and been deprived of health care, he died two weeks after his release. (P. Rashien's case and other examples of this horrible reality are powerfully documented in the book *Wall of*

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Reformist Left Pushes Illusions in Bourgeois Democracy

the middle of March 2007 the Japanese imperialist state concluded a military agreement with Australia, part of the current imperialist military encirclement of China. This comes on top of enormous expenditures by Japanese imperialism to build up a "missile defense" as part of its counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, directly targeting the deformed workers states of China and North Korea, which the imperialists hunger to turn into giant sweatshops. (A deformed workers state is a state in which the bourgeoisie has been expropriated and a socialized economy has been built, but the work-

oppressed, and to stabilize its rule at critical junctures. In the early 1870s, shortly after the Meiji Restoration, the bourgeoisie sought to lay the basis for a stable capitalist state by executing thousands of peasants for revolting against the bloodsucking landlords. Then, following Japanese imperialism's victory in 1905 in the war against Russia, the bourgeoisie was shaken by a wave of proletarian rebellions—most significantly of the miners in Ashio in 1907—that the army was brought in to crush. Immediately following this, the Penal Code (1907) and the Prison Law (1908) were introduced—the two key regulations for the implementation of the death penalty today, used practically unchanged since they were first introduced. These laws sought to ensure the stable development of Japanese imperialism through more efficient and murderous repression of the proletariat.

After the defeat of Japanese imperialism by American imperialism in WWII, a tremendous upsurge in workers' struggles broke out, leading the powerful Japanese Communist Party (JCP)-led trade union federation Sanbetsu to call for a general strike on 1 February 1947 to oust the right-wing Yoshida cabinet and establish a "people's government." However, the reformist JCP was unwilling and unprepared to fight for power and called off the strike at the last minute, handing the proletariat a huge defeat. Nonetheless, the



Painting of 1907 Ashio copper miners strike. More than 3,000 miners battled military, police.

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Japan...

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Tears—The Real Situation of the "Detention Centers for Foreigners" of the Interior Ministry [2007].) As communists fighting to be a tribune of the people, that champions the interests not only of the proletariat but of all the oppressed, we say: Close all detention centers! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and all those who live here!

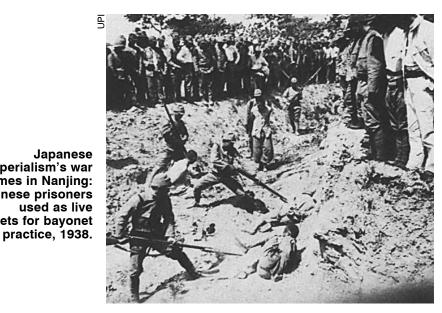
Chosen Soren [the pro-North Korean organization] is being targeted for wholesale destruction by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois courts ordered it to pay the horrendous sum of 62.7 billion yen, and the government has already impounded its headquarters, all under the pretext that Chosen Soren failed to repay debts and taxes that were imposed on it at outrageous rates in order to bankrupt it. This follows a series of raids on its premises around the country over the past year, under cover of investigating alleged "kidnappings" and even "illegal exports" of medicine to North Korea! The bourgeoisie's campaign against Chosen Soren is twofold. It is vile, anti-Korean racism, used to split and weaken the working class in the face of all-sided attacks on living standards. However, it is also an anti-Communist campaign to demonize the North Korean deformed workers state. Japanese imperialism is enraged that its former colony not only got independence, but then went on to overthrow the rule of capitalism in the northern part of the country. While politically ruled by an anti-revolutionary Stalinist caste, the smashing of capitalism in North Korea is a gain for the international proletariat that must be defended against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution (see Spartacist Japan leaflet "Defend North Korea!" 15 July 2006). Down with the economic sanctions against North Korea! Defend Chosen Soren!

Oppressed minorities are frequently the first targets of state repression. The Burakumin [descendants of Japan's lowcaste "untouchables" still facing discrimination] Kazuo Ishikawa, framed by the capitalist state for a murder he did not commit, sentenced to death in 1964 and sent to death row, is a case in point. Having arrested Ishikawa in 1963, the cops employed their standard practice and terrorized Ishikawa into signing the cops' lying deposition. However, this and all the manufactured evidence presented in the so-called "Sayama [city in which the murder took place] trial" could not cover the monstrosity of the frame-up. Among other things, a threatening letter written by the murderer had clearly been written by a highly educated person with the ability to compose correct text. However, because of poverty and discrimination, Ishikawa was able to attend virtually no classes in elementary school and was not able to read and write. In 1974, the Tokyo High Court commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment in order to cover up the frame-up and entomb Ishikawa for life in prison.

Large numbers of Burakumin and non-Burakumin workers took part in the movement to free Ishikawa because they recognized in his frame-up the brutal discrimination and exploitation they encounter daily in the capitalist system. After more than 30 years in prison hell, petitioning by a large number of Burakumin organizations, as well as by Jichirou [public workers union] and other unions, won Ishikawa's provisional release in 1994 to a life he describes as having to wear "invisible handcuffs." Ishikawa and his supporters are campaigning for a new trial to lay bare all facts, demonstrate the frame-up and clear his name. We say: immediately overturn the conviction of Kazuo Ishikawa! This case shows in clear relief the nature of the capitalist state: the conscious collaboration between the police, prosecution, judges and courts with the single aim of legally murdering him or locking him up for life. It shows that the whole purpose of the state machinery is to repress first the most vulnerable layers of the oppressed, then ultimately the proletariat. This is because it is the proletariat's potential power to smash capitalism through workers revolution that the bourgeoisie fears more than anything.

In Japan the bourgeoisie is represented in politics by both the Liberal Democratic

Japanese imperialism's war crimes in Nanjing: Chinese prisoners used as live targets for bayonet



domestically, simply with different tactics than the LDP. The DP already promises massive attacks on public workers as well as further splitting the proletariat by decreasing minimum wages for the very young and very old workers. And, of course, the DP also agrees to escalate state repression, e.g., demanding more police on the streets.

The reformist left either from time to time openly collaborates with the DP (like [the United Secretariat affiliate] Kakehashi in the 2007 Tokyo governor elections) or occasionally grumbles that the DP "capitulates" or has "sold out tremendously" to the LDP (["third campist"

plan in the interests of workers and the oppressed-will lift all of humanity to a living standard above even the most advanced capitalist countries.

However, the key obstacles to mobilizing the workers in their class interest are the bourgeois workers parties of the JCP and Social Democratic Party (SDP) as well as the bureaucratic trade-union leaderships who follow these parties, or are even linked to the capitalist DP directly, like the Rengo federation, which organizes those workers with the most social power. Both the JCP and SDP are organically linked to the working class but have a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership and program—and thus are programmatically based on the defense of the capitalist order. While occasionally using slightly more militant rhetoric, reformist groups like Kakehashi or Chukaku and [the "third campist"] Kakumaru push fundamentally the same reformist lie that capitalism can be made to work in the interest of the oppressed. In contrast, we in the Spartacist Group Japan struggle to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party that fights for workers revolution to overthrow the rule of the Japanese imperialists, as part of the struggle to uproot capitalism by workers revolutions worldwide.

Mobilize Labor to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Our organization, the International Communist League, has been campaigning internationally to free American death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, the U.S.'s foremost political prisoner. Targeted by the FBI at least as early as 1969 when he was a 15-year-old spokesman of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, Mumia is an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. Based solely on his political history and beliefs, he was railroaded to death row in 1982 on false charges of killing a police officer. The state seeks to silence this powerful "voice of the voiceless." In the U.S., the racist death penalty is rooted in the slave system—it is the slaveholders' lynch rope made legal. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! (See Spartacist Japan sup-

plement, 13 June 2006.) Mumia's case is at a critical juncture. Following a hearing earlier this year in May [2007], the U.S. federal appeals court will pronounce on Mumia's fate, and a decision could come at any time. Now more than ever it is urgent to mobilize protest based on the power of the international working class. Now more than ever there must be no illusions in the proceedings of the "justice system" (the capitalist injustice system). Abu-Jamal was railroaded to death row in a trial that was a concerted travesty of justice—from the notorious "hanging judge" to the racist jury selection, from the fabricated "confession" to the invented ballistics evidence, from the prosecution's buying or naked coercion of witnesses to the multiple violations of Mumia's constitutional rights. For the past 25 years, the U.S. courts have rejected or even refused to consider the overwhelming evidence of his innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed the police officer. The American bourgeoisie sees in Mumia the spectre of black revolt. Thus, they are determined to legally lynch him or bury



Following 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, which devastated Tokyo, some 6,000 Koreans were massacred in state-sponsored pogrom.

Party (LDP) and the Democratic Party (DP). The LDP government is particularly vile, chauvinist and justly hated by many workers and youth. A taste of this was given recently, when LDP justice minister Hatoyama demanded that all executions proceed automatically by eliminating the need for a minister's signature. But we must be clear that the Democratic Party, which won a majority in the July [2007] elections to the Upper House, is no less a committed enemy of working people and the oppressed. The DP is a capitalist party aiming to pursue Japanese imperialism's interests abroad and

group] Chukaku, Zenshin No. 2103). In contrast, as Marxists, we draw a class line against the DP, explaining to workers that it also represents the class enemy. Instead of looking for some nonexistent "lesser evil" wing of the capitalist exploiters, it is necessary to mobilize the social power of the proletariat in class struggle against the bosses' attacks on working people and the oppressed.

Capitalist society is divided into classes with irreconcilable interests centrally the capitalists and the workers. Capitalism is based on the capitalists' exploitation of the working class. The capitalists own the means of production —the factories, machines and transportation—and their objective, rather than to produce for people's needs, is to maximize their profits. Exploitation, poverty, racism and war are inherent in this system. What's more, the nation-state, on which capitalism is based, is an obstacle to the further development of the productive forces of humanity. It is impossible to reform capitalism to make it function in the interests of the workers and the oppressed.

However, workers are not simply victims. In the words of Karl Marx, the working class is the "gravedigger of capitalism." It uniquely has the social power, because of its position in production, its numbers and organization, to overthrow the rule of the capitalists, establish workers states and build an international planned economy run in the interests of the workers and oppressed. This planned economy will abolish the anarchy of the capitalist profit system, which leads to periodic economic crises and large-scale misery. The consequent development of humanity's productive forces—directed not in the interest of mutually competing capitalists, but rather by the whole society operating according to a definite

- SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. -**Local Directory and Public Offices** Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860 Chicago Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441 chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23) Los Angeles..... Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239 slsycla@sbcglobal.net Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215 New York Box 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008, (212) 267-1025 nysl@tiac.net Public Office: Sat. 1-4 p.m., 299 Broadway, Suite 318 Oakland Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851 slbayarea@sbcglobal.net Public Office: Sat. 1-5 p.m., 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor San Francisco... Box 77494, San Francisco, CA 94107, slbayarea@sbcglobal.net TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

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WORKERS VANGUARD

him in the living hell that is prison. That must not happen!

When Mumia was facing an execution warrant in 1995, it was worldwide protests initiated by efforts undertaken by the Partisan Defense Committee—a classstruggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S., section of the ICL—and supported by labor unions representing millions of workers that won a stay of execution for Mumia. However, this movement was demobilized by the reformist left, who pushed illusions in the capitalist state with their calls for a "new and fair trial." As if the bourgeoisie would ever give him a "fair" trial! While standing for pursuing every possible legal avenue on Mumia's behalf, we must not put any faith in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. It will take an international mobilization of the masses, centrally the workers movement, to win Mumia's freedom. Now is the time; mass protest to demand Mumia's immediate freedom has to be rekindled!

For reformists, the evidence of Mumia's innocence is uncomfortable, because it proves that his case is not an aberration, that it is not about one racist judge or one bad cop. In fact, the case is about the whole racist capitalist system that will do anything it can to silence its most militant opponents. Reformists seek to hide the nature of the state and preach reliance on the very same courts that framed Mumia to begin with. Thus our fight to rekindle the mass movement centered on the labor movement centrally involves fighting the illusions in the capitalist state pushed by the reformist organizations. No illusions in the capitalist courts! Mumia is innocent! Labor must mobilize to free him now! In the context of the increased state repression here in Japan, it is clear: the fight for Mumia's freedom is the fight against capitalist tyranny and injustice not only in the U.S. but here in Japan and everywhere. It is an integral part of the fight to finish off capitalism once and for all through international workers revolution.

Reformist Left Pushes Illusions in Bourgeois Democracy

The bourgeoisie and its political representatives have their differences on the death penalty, but these differences are entirely tactical: what works best to maintain an efficient apparatus of repression against the oppressed. The DP in 2003 supported a motion in the Diet [parliament] for a "moratorium on executions until the conclusion of the death-penalty investigation committee comes out," while "conducting a full discussion" and establishing a "lifelong prison term" without any possibility for provisional release (which currently does not exist in Japanese law). The DP underlined, "As the Democratic Party, we decided to support this law, since its aim is not abolishing the death penalty itself, and it is important to establish a parliamentary investigation committee and hold wideranging discussions including on the pros and cons of the death penalty." Recently Yoshihiro Yasuda, one of the country's most outspoken anti-death penalty lawyers, who has braved intimidation and death threats for his position, has started supporting the idea of establishing a "lifelong prison term" replacing the death penalty. This is also the position of the "League of Parliamentarians for Abolishing the Death Penalty," which is headed by former cop Shizuka Kamei. However, in contrast to the DP, the significance of this latter group's position is that it has members from the LDP. DP and from the SDP and JCP! While we can expect that parts of the bourgeoisie will seek to "discuss the pros and cons" of the death penalty (like the DP) or abolish it (like Kamei) in the interests of what method of state repression works best, for members of the JCP and SDP to join in proposing to the bourgeoisie the alternative of entombing people for life in prison hell is a fundamental betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. As communists, the SGJ would welcome any spanner thrown into the state machinery of legal murder, but we do not seek to advise the bourgeoisie on alternatives!

Such betrayals are part and parcel of the reformist program of the JCP, which outrageously intones that "in case there are not enough police officers, we are for the minimum necessary increase of the number of police officers" and that "the increase of the number of judges cannot be postponed" (JCP 2007 election brochure). Police are not "public workers" as the JCP declares. They, as well as judges, are an integral part of the bourgeois machine of repression. Increasing their numbers can only mean increased repres-



Top: Prominent anarchists Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga, executed along with ten others in 1911 for alleged plot to kill the emperor. Heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge (top right) and Ozaki Hotsumi, executed in 1944. Below: Spartacist Group Japan public meeting commemorates 90th anniversary of the Russian Revolution at the graves of Sorge and Ozaki, November 2007.

tal human rights." But Kakehashi pushes the same kind of line more subtly, in its recent articles (*Kakehashi* No. 1992, No. 1980) saying not one word on how the death penalty is connected to maintaining the class rule of the bourgeoisie. While the SDP grotesquely praises the "anti-death penalty" rhetoric of the UN, Kakehashi follows along by printing the report of the UN "anti-torture" body in its pages (*Kakehashi* No. 1980), without a word of criticism or characterization of what the UN is. In reality the UN is a den of imperialist thieves and their victims





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sion against the working class and all the oppressed. Consistent with this disgusting capitulation, the JCP is conspicuously silent in not protesting the recent executions, even though on paper the JCP stands for abolishing the death penalty. Characteristically, a key document by the JCP stating its opposition to the death penalty is...its 1946 proposal for a capitalist constitution for Japan based on the rule of the blood-soaked bourgeoisie! With this perspective of class collaboration, it is no wonder that the leadership of the JCP has refused to mobilize their working-class base against attacks by the bourgeoisie and in particular against the death penalty.

Both the SDP and the Kakehashi group have openly denounced recent executions, participated in protests, and Kakehashi openly calls to abolish the death penalty. But the hallmark of reformist groups like Kakehashi is that they cannot manage to correctly oppose concrete measures of bourgeois repression without at the same time building up illusions that capitalist imperialism can be made to operate in a truly democratic manner on behalf of the oppressed. Perhaps most grotesque in this regard is a recent comment by Chukaku about the proposed "citizen judge" system, where they write (Zenshin No. 2271) that its introduction would be "an attack transforming the legal system under the current constitution—which has as its pillar fundamenand—among other crimes—responsible (with the full support of the Japanese government) for starving over 1.5 million Iraqis to death through its economic sanctions

In fact, sowing illusions that the UN could act in the interests of the oppressed is totally in line with both SDP and Kakehashi pushing the lie that if only the death penalty were abolished and maybe some other "corrections" made, the capitalist system could function in the interests of the oppressed. But most advanced capitalist states, such as Germany and Britain, have abolished the death penalty and are no less committed to maintaining exploitation and oppression through brutal state repression. Of course, neither group men-

tions that under Socialist Party prime minister Murayama in the '90s two executions were carried out. This underlines how the violence of the bourgeoisie and its state against the working class and oppressed cannot be eradicated short of workers revolution.

As for its ultimate perspective, Kakehashi states: "Since our 19th conference in 2002, our position, in order to promote the anti-capitalist alternative...has been to stand for the realization of 'global peace, justice, human rights, democracy" (Kakehashi No. 1958-59, 1 January 2007). Even occasionally calling this program "socialist" cannot cover the fact that it is fundamentally a liberal conception that one can achieve "human rights" or "democracy" within the framework of the capitalist state. Consistent with its deeply social-democratic program, Kakehashi presents the death penalty as largely a moral question, divorced from the class struggle. The book What Is the Death Penalty? (1992) by Murano, uncritically publicized by Kakehashi, says: "Of course, outstanding personalities in the fields of both religion [!] and education...will be able to lead the people in a good/sane direction, by explaining how the death penalty itself is demeaning to the human heart. People who face the death penalty in reality like prosecutors, judges, people working in the prison system, and the Minister of Justice will be even more capable of doing this." Instead of seeking to mobilize the proletariat in opposition to the capitalist state and its representatives, this directly appeals to the state apparatus to be more humane, and "lead the people in a good direction"!!

By pushing the reformist lie that violence by the capitalist state is not an inherent part of this exploitation system but simply a bad policy, Kakehashi sows illusions in reforming the capitalist state, and it is such illusions that politically paralyze the proletariat. Kakehashi is thus a political obstacle to mobilizing the proletariat in class struggle against state repression, and thus also for the overall struggle for workers revolution. The current situation cries out for a generalized counteroffensive by the working class at the head of all the oppressed. If mobilized independently of the bourgeoisie in class struggle, the many-millioned proletariat would be a powerful force in defense of its own interests.

The SGJ seeks to intervene in class and other social struggles to win workers and youth to the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party. This party will be forged in political struggle against the reformism of the JCP, SDP and their tails like Kakehashi. We fight for a revolutionary transformation of this country, a proletarian social revolution that will end the savage exploitation and brutal racial oppression of capitalist class rule and the barbarism through which it is enforced. The revolutionary party we struggle to build will be internationalist, joining together the struggles of the proletariat and oppressed in the imperialist centers like Japan with the struggles of those of the oppressed nations. Our objective is the working class taking power, smashing the capitalist state and establishing its own state—the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will be the first step toward a world free of war, racism, poverty and exploitation. Join us in this struggle!■

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Venezuela: Break with Bourgeois Populism! For Workers Revolution! U.S. Hands Off!

Saturday, April 26, 7 p.m. International Student Centre 33 St. George Street (north of College Street)

TORONTO

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11 APRIL 2008 5

Open Letter to Fighters for Mumia's Freedom

For Mass Labor Mobilizations to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! For United-Front Action!

The Partisan Defense Committee issued the following open letter on April 8.

The March 27 Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision condemns Mumia to either execution or the living death of life in prison. This ruling should make clear to all who are committed to the fight to free this innocent man that he can get no justice at the hands of the very forces that framed him up and sentenced him to die. At every step, the courts have made clear that Mumia has no rights that they are bound to respect and that innocence does not matter. Even those who have mobilized for many years on the basis that Mumia could get a "new, fair trial" now proclaim that there should be no illusions in the American injustice system. Now more than ever, mobilizing mass militant protest in the fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on rejecting any reliance on the courts.

The Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal defense organizations internationally have put out a call for united-front action, centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement, from Oakland and L.A. to Chicago, London, Sydney and elsewhere under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" These protests have been endorsed by trade unions, such as United Auto Workers Local 3212 in Chicago, the New York City chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Finsbury Park Branch of the RMT rail and transit workers union in England; by former Black Panther Party militants, including Emory Douglas and David Hilliard as well as Ray Boudreaux and Richard Brown, two of the "San Francisco 8" who are being dragged through the courts on frame-up charges of killing a cop that had been dismissed 30 years ago.

But when we went to an April 5 meeting of the San Francisco Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal to propose that they endorse the Oakland mobilization initiated by the PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense, they outright refused. Jeff Mackler, a leader of Socialist Action and director of the Mobe, pointed to the PDC/LBL mobilization call and denounced the criticisms there of Socialist Action and others who have subordinated the fight for Mumia's freedom to the call for a "new trial." He said that he would not want the "good name" of the Mobe tarnished by endorsing the Oakland demonstration. He accused us of being sectarian. In fact, the Spartacist League, with which the PDC is associated, gave critical support to Mackler's 2006 Senatorial campaign.

Over two years ago, when the Third Circuit Court allowed Mumia to raise a paltry three—out of over two dozen—issues on appeal, Mackler declared that the ruling was "a major blow to the Pennsylvania legal establishment." When the recent court ruling burst his bubble, Mackler conceded that his Mobe was in a "demoralized state." Indeed, this meeting, which was to plan for a protest announced by the Mobe for April 20 in defense of Mumia, made clear that they have no concrete plans for a protest.

On April 6, PDC representatives at-

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tended a New York planning meeting called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) for the April 19 demonstration in Philadelphia. Unlike their past appeals for a "new trial," the Coalition's flyer for the Philly protest declared, "We Say Free Mumia Now!" Recognizing that this opened the possibility of building a united-front action to mobilize the broadest number of forces on the basis of fighting for Mumia's freedom, we distributed a letter signed by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein (printed below) and sought to present a motion motivating the need for united-front action. In response, Suzanne Ross, a leader of the New York Free Mumia Coalition, declared there would be no united front and physically excluded us from the meeting. What are they afraid of?

Ever since the PDC took up Mumia's case over 20 years ago, we have sought to mobilize the broadest forces in his defense. Rallies and protests initiated by the PDC for Mumia's freedom have always welcomed organizations and individuals representing diverse political viewpoints and encouraged them to air their points of view, including political differences. Indeed, we had offered the New York Coalition a speaker at the PDC/LBL-initiated emergency protest in lower Manhattan on March 28 (an offer they rejected). We also recognized that these forces were very far removed from our class-struggle perspective. Our fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty is part of our struggle to bring working people and the oppressed to the conscious understanding that the capitalist state, its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency that serves society as a whole, but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those whom they exploit and oppress. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a stark expression of the class and race bias of the capitalist courts and underlines the need for the multiracial working class to champion the fight for black liberation.

We fight for mass protest for Mumia's freedom based on labor's social power, which lies in its ability to choke off the profits that are the lifeblood of capitalism. To that end, the PDC has fought for genuine united-front action in Mumia's defense i.e., unity in action based on agreed-upon slogans and complete freedom of criticism. That means an open debate about what strategy is needed to rebuild the movement for Mumia and fight for his freedom. The call for a "new trial" is based on a political program of reliance on the capitalist class, its politicians and courts to afford justice to fighters for the oppressed. Nobody ever called for a "new trial" for Angela Davis, Huey Newton or Nelson Mandela. Had the political counterposition between our call to "Free Mumia" and those advocating a "new trial" been openly debated over the past decade, the movement for Mumia today would have been stronger and firmly based on the need to mobilize to free this innocent man

Our exposure of how the liberals and reformists have undermined the fight for Mumia's freedom with their calls for a "new, fair trial" has earned us the wrath of those who are hostile to the perspective of

a class-struggle movement for Mumia's freedom. The rejection of our urgent call for united-front action by the Mobe and the New York Coalition is political cowardice. At this urgent hour, they are subordinating the fight for Mumia's freedom to their fear of political debate.

The call for a "new trial" was consciously tailored to appeal to liberals whose concern lies with preserving the fraud of American "democracy," not with Mumia's freedom. A prime example is journalist David Lindorff, who openly stated in his book, *Killing Time*, that "I'm not convinced that Mumia Abu-Jamal was simply an innocent bystander" and that Mumia may have shot officer Faulkner. Lindorff is welcomed with open arms by the reformists while the PDC, which has fought for 20 years to prove Mumia's innocence and win his freedom, is excluded.

When Mumia was faced with imminent death at the hands of the state's executioner in 1995, mass protests, including by unions and other organizations representing millions, were mobilized around the world and stayed the executioner's hand. Before this, Socialist Action and others had little to say about Mumia's case. Court hearings that summer to overturn his frame-up conviction revealed more and more evidence of Mumia's innocence, much of it uncovered by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, who served on Mumia's legal defense from 1995 to 1999. But rather than using this evidence to arm Mumia's supporters and win new activists to the fight for his freedom, the reformist left adopted the call for a "new trial." As each new witness gave further proof of Mumia's innocence—William Singletary, Veronica Jones, Pamela Jenkins—the reformists deepened their commitment to promoting illusions in American "justice." This demobilized a movement of millions —the clear message was: Why mobilize on the streets and in the unions if Mumia can get justice in the courts?

By 2001, the reformists were actively burying evidence of Mumia's innocence. In March of that year, Dan Williams, then cocounsel to Leonard Weinglass on Mumia's legal team, published Executing Justice, which denigrated evidence of Mumia's innocence, denouncing the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed officer Faulkner, before that evidence was filed in court. For this betrayal, Mumia fired Weinglass and Williams. In May 2001, Mumia's new legal team filed the Beverly evidence in state and federal courts along with sworn declarations by Mumia and his brother, Billy Cook, that Mumia had nothing to do with Faulkner's shooting. These statements only amplified the mountains of evidence of Mumia's innocence. But they were too hot for the reformists and liberals to handle. Speaking to them, Mumia wrote in May 2001: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go."

Four months later, in the face of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the liberals and reformists recoiled under the pressure of increased repression and "national unity" patriotism. In December 2001, federal

district court judge William Yohn overturned the death sentence while affirming Mumia's frame-up conviction. This was a demoralizing blow to the advocates of a "new trial," who had long preached that Mumia would find justice in the federal courts. But rather than mobilizing on the call to free Mumia, they told activists to look to the next federal appeals court. Protests that once drew tens of thousands were reduced to a few hundred at best.

Time is short. Mumia has nearly reached the end of the legal road, and there is no reason to believe he can receive a better outcome before the full Third Circuit Court or from the neo-segregationist U.S. Supreme Court. Mumia's struggle embodies the struggle against this system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression. This underlines the urgent need to mobilize the social power of labor in his defense. There can be no flinching on Mumia's innocence, on the need to fight for his freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty. We call on all fighters for Mumia's freedom to mobilize now and join in genuine mass united-front protests. Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

We print below in full the letter, signed by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, that was distributed at the April 6 New York Free Mumia Coalition meeting.

We were pleased to see a leaflet calling for the 19 April demonstration in Philadelphia under the slogan "We Say Free Mumia Now!" The fight for Mumia's freedom is at an urgent juncture. The recent court decision illuminates for any who continued to have such illusions that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. As Pam Africa stated in her "Call for 19 April Mobilization" that was published in Workers World on 3 April: "We have absolutely no faith in the judicial system, but if Mumia does have a court proceeding, we will continue to mobilize to pack the courtroom and the streets in support of Mumia, just like we have always done whenever there was a courtroom proceeding for Mumia, whether he was present or not. However, we know that if Mumia gets justice, it will not come from the courts, but only from the pressure generated by the people."

We need to bring out all the forces who agree to fight for Mumia's freedom in a mass united-front action in Philadelphia on 19 April. We are already working to that end and are building a contingent for that demonstration. This is an urgent situation since the racist rulers are still committed to putting Mumia to death or entombing him for life—which we cannot allow. The March 27 decision by the Third Circuit Court is a wake up call to any activist who thought that the federal courts could be equitable and fair to Mumia. 25 years of legal proceedings starkly show that there is no middle ground—it's either fight for Mumia's freedom or accede to his legal lynching or life in prison.

As the Partisan Defense Committee argued in Philadelphia at the 31 March planning meeting, we are renewing our appeal that the 19 April demonstration b built on the basis of a united front: unity in action while having freedom of criticism. That means all participating organizations agreeing with the slogan "Free Mumia Now!" should be encouraged to put forward their own views in their leaflets, placards and chants to build for the 19 April rally under their own names. Every endorser should be encouraged to put out their own statement for the rally with which other endorsers would not necessarily agree. Endorsers would only agree with the united front slogan-Free Mumia Now!-and the time, date and place of the rally. No endorser would be affiliated with the content of the leaflets of any other endorsing organization. All endorsing organizations would be able to have a speaker at the podium as well. This way, the maximum number of organizations representing the most diverse opinions can be united against this racist frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal and fight for Mumia's freedom! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

PDC Press Release

Free Mumia Now!

Third Circuit Court Upholds Frame-Up Conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Orders Hearing to Reinstate Death Penalty or Entomb Him for Life

We print below a March 27 press release issued by the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.

Emergency Protests, March 28 in cities across the U.S., internationally on March 28 and 29: Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC for local information or go to www.partisandefense.org.

The federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled today to uphold the frameup conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. The court's ruling means that Mumia faces either execution or the living death of life in prison. In upholding federal district court Judge William Yohn's 2001 decision reversing Mumia's death sentence, the court has ruled that either a new sentencing hearing take place, where the death sentence could be reinstated, or that Mumia automatically be sentenced to life imprisonment. Both sides are likely to appeal the ruling.

Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, stated today: "The court's decision is an outrage, a slap in the face to all opponents of racist injustice. This ruling shows that no justice can be expected from the capitalist courts. It shows yet again that the cops, prosecutors and courts—with the support of capitalist politicians, Democrats as well as Republicans—are determined to carry out Mumia's legal lynching or bury him for life in prison. We must not let this happen! Mumia must be freed now!"

Wolkenstein added: "After barring evidence of Mumia's innocence, today's court decision retailed as fact the prosecution's long-discredited lie that Mumia killed Officer Faulkner. Every leg of the prosecution's case against Mumia has been proven time and again to be a fabrication, from Mumia's alleged 'confession' on the night of the killing to the prosecution witnesses who were coerced into false testimony to the supposed murder weapon that was not even tested to see if it was fired.

"There is a mountain of evidence proving that Mumia is the victim of a racist political frame-up. Every piece of evidence in the case, from the forensics to the ballistics to the eyewitnesses, proves that Mumia is innocent. This includes the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Officer Faulkner. The Beverly evidence was submitted to federal and state courts in 2001, but they have refused to consider it. The continued on page 11

Pam Africa, coordinator of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, at March 31 press conference called by ICFFMAJ in Philadelphia.

Mobilize Now For United-Front Protests!

Oakland

Toronto

Chicago

Los Angeles

Sat., April 19, 2:30 p.m.

14th and Broadway

(near the Federal Building) More info: (510) 839-0852 or pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing and Organizing Meeting Thursday, April 17, 5 p.m. SFSU, Cesar Chavez Student Center

Rosa Parks A, San Francisco More info: (510) 839-0851 or

Sat., April 19, 1 p.m.

Across the street from the U.S. Consulate, 360 University Ave.

between Dundas (St. Patrick Station) and Queen (Osgoode Station) More info: (416) 593-4138 or pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

Spartacus Youth Club Organizing Meeting

Saturday, April 12, 4 p.m. U of T, Room 2105, Sidney Smith Hall 100 St. George Street

Sat., April 26, 12 noon **Federal Plaza**

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

Labor Black Struggle League **Discussion and Organizing Meeting**

Saturday, April 12, 4 p.m. Spartacist Public Office: 222 S. Morgan St. (at Jackson), ring #23 on buzzer (312) 563-0441 or chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Sat., April 26, 1 p.m. **Westwood Federal Building**

11000 Wilshire Blvd. More info: (213) 380-8897 or pdc-la@sbcglobal.net

Labor Black League Organizing Meeting

Saturday, April 12, 2 p.m. 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215 (across from Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station) **UCLA Organizing Meeting** Tuesday, April 15, 6 p.m., Royce Hall, Rm. 152 (213) 380-8239

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! **Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

Partial list of endorsers of these various protests as of 8 April 2008:

Afrikan Liberation Day Organising Committee, London, England Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL Charles Barron, Councilmember, New York City Council,* New York, NY

Black Action Defense Committee Inc., Toronto, ON, Canada Dave Bleakney, National Union Representative, Canadian Union of Postal Workers,* Ottawa, ON, Canada

Richard Brown, member, Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (SF 8),* San Francisco, CA

Cardiff Nexus Innocence Project. Cardiff. Wales Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) New York City

Chapter, New York, NY Monique Code, spokesperson for Jamal Hart, New York, NY Colectivo Rebeldía, Mexico City, Mexico

Emory Douglas, Revolutionary Artist/Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party,* San Francisco, CA Michael Eric Dyson, Professor, Georgetown University,*

Washington, D.C.

Mike Elliot, Chair, UAW Standing Committee, United Auto Workers Local 551,* Park Forest, IL

Christiane Ensslin, Editor, Cologne, Germany

Professor Dr. Heinrich Fink, Chairman, VVN-BdA (Association of the Victims of the Nazi Regime – Coalition of Anti-fascists),* Berlin, Germany

Gay Liberation Network, Chicago, IL Goldii, daughter of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philadelphia, PA Marty Goodman, member, former Executive Board member,

TWU Local 100,* New York, NY Keith Hamilton, Executive Board member, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10,* Oakland, CA

Stuart Hanlon, attorney, San Francisco, CA Jack Heyman, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10*; member, Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, San Francisco, CA

David Hilliard, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, Oakland, CA Michael Hoard, Co-chair, African American Longshore Coalition,* Seattle, WA

International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422, Charleston, SC

Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Oakland, CA José Rosario Marroquín Farrera, Coordinator of the Communication and Analysis Area, Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustin Pro,* Mexico City, Mexico

Horacio Mena, Alternate Steward, AFSCME Local 444,* Berkeley, CA

Piergiorgio Moro, Workplace Delegate, Australian Services Union-A&S,* Melbourne, Australia

National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers Finsbury Park Branch, Hertfordshire, England Navenda Civata Demokratika kurd e.V., Berlin, Germany Darryl "Mike D." Payne, President, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1526,* Fort Lauderdale, FL

Gilles Perrault, writer, France

José Antonio Ramos-Collazo, Delegate of the Utuado Local Board, Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico,* Utuado, Puerto Rico

Region 4 Area Women's Caucus United Auto Workers, Maywood, IL

Kenneth Riley, President, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422, Charleston, SC

San Francisco Bay View National Black Newspaper, San Francisco, CA

Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808,* Long Island City, NY

Donald A. Smith, Trustee, Executive Board member, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA SSEU Local 371, New York, NY

Bernhard Stietz-Leipnitz, member of the Hamburg Executive Board, ver.di (Public Service Workers Union),* Hamburg, Germany Toronto Forum on Cuba, Toronto, ON, Canada

UAW Local 3212, Chicago, IL Henry Walton, Host/Producer, Labor Review - KPFK,*

Los Angeles, CA

Standish E. Willis, Chair, National Conference of Black Lawyers Chicago Chapter,* Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation listed for identification purposes only. We want to make it very clear that the endorsers of the unitedfront protests do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the PDC/LBLs printed on page 1.

Join the PDC/LBL Class-Struggle Contingent in Philadelphia

at the National Demonstration called by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Contingent Slogans:

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! • Free Mumia Now! • Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! • Mobilize Labor's Power—For Mass Protest!

Saturday, April 19, 11 a.m. Federal Building, 6th Street and Market

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

Saturday, April 12, 2 p.m.: Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing and Organizing Meeting for Philly April 19th PDC/LBL Contingent Spartacist Public Office: 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York City (take any train to City Hall or Chambers St.); (212) 267-1025 or nysl@tiac.net

U.S. united-front demonstrations are initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues. For information on Berlin, London, Mexico City, Paris and Sydney demonstrations, visit: www.partisandefense.org

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

11 APRIL 2008

7

Worldwide Emergency Protests Against Federal Court Ruling

After the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case last May, the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues, along with the PDC's fraternal defense organizations worldwide, announced emergency protests for the day after a negative court decision. After the federal court's March 27 ruling upholding the frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal while ordering a new sentencing hearing, on March 28 the PDC and LBLs held emergency protests in New York, Chicago, Oakland and

Los Angeles. Defense organizations linked with the International Communist League's sections also held protest rallies in Toronto, Berlin, London on March 28 and in Paris, Hamburg and Sydney on March 29. On March 28, our comrades in Mexico City organized a rally at UNAM (the National Autonomous University of Mexico), while in Vancouver, Canada, comrades held a united-front speakout at the University of British Columbia. The protests brought out trade unionists, students, anti-racist activists as well as spokesmen from some of our political opponents on the left. These demonstrations were launching pads for the united-front protests that have been called for April in cities around the world (see campaign announcement, page 7), part of the fight to revive the movement for Mumia.

In New York, some 130 protesters joined the picket line called by the PDC and LBL in lower Manhattan. PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein called the decision an outrage, adding: "Once again, Mumia's case proves unquestionably the injustice that exists in the capitalist legal system." As Wolkenstein noted in a statement to a March 31 press conference in Philadelphia called by Pam Africa, coordinator of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal: "The Third Circuit decision created another set of 'Mumia rules'—those exceptions to well-established judicial precedent." Her statement continued: "Every possible legal avenue must be vigorously pursued to challenge the Court of Appeals' decision. But we cannot afford to have any illusions. The pressure that can make the courts yield is that of mass international protest, crucially based on the power of labor."

At the New York City protest, Mumia's daughter, Goldii, gave a powerful speech, calling to continue the fight to free Mumia:

"Mumia Abu-Jamal is guilty of *nothing*. He is an innocent man and his life is at stake by the state for *nothing*, because of his political beliefs. We need to let people know, all the people out here on the

"Labor Has the Power to Make the Courts Bow! Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now!"



Mumia's daughter, Goldii, addresses over 100 demonstrators in lower Manhattan at March 28 emergency protest initiated by PDC and LBL.

streets, Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! We will not let him die!... The evidence to prove that he is innocent is there. But they want to deny it because they are afraid of him, because of his eloquence, his intelligence....

"People on the street, you need to take action! You need to read some real stuff from the Partisan Defense Committee, read some information for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Please, we are not going to let this happen!"

Monique Code also spoke at the New York rally, on behalf of Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, who was framed up and sentenced in 1998 to 15-and-a-half years in prison on bogus firearms possession charges—the state's revenge for his devotion to the campaign to free his father. Charles Jenkins, member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and Second Vice President of the NYC chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, called to mobilize labor: "We have some

brothers from the TWU and, along with myself, we intend to put the leadership on the spot—to raise the issue of not putting money into the politicians' pockets but to fight for the social issues that affect every one of us. Free Mumia! Labor has to do its part in this struggle."

Tom Cowperthwaite spoke for the LBL and pointed to the social power shown by his union, TWU Local 100, when it went on strike in December 2005 in defiance of anti-strike laws, crippling New York City for three days. He said: "Imagine if one of our demands had been 'Free Mumia!" He stressed the need to combat illusions in capitalist Democratic politicians, such as Barack Obama, that are an obstacle to the consciousness necessary to mobilize labor's independent power.

Several PDC and Spartacist supporters also attended a protest held the same day in Harlem, which had been called by the New

York Free Mumia Coalition after the PDC/LBL had already announced plans for emergency protests. That rally, which had no speakers and was attended by nearly all the left groups in the city, drew about 200 people. It was followed by a planning meeting for the April 19 Philadelphia demonstration, where coalition leader Suzanne Ross stated: "If we can bring enough pressure in the streets, then Hillary Clinton might support Mumia—for one minute to get the black vote"! Several people groaned in disbelief and

a PDC supporter blurted out, "Are you out of your mind?!" Ross' statement is the crystallized (and inane) expression of the reformists' subordination of the fight to free Mumia to liberal pressure politics.

At the Oakland PDC/LBL protest, which drew over 100 people, Fred Hampton Jr., the son of the Black Panther Party leader killed in 1969 by the Chicago cops working with the FBI, addressed the crowd: "We made it clear that the same U.S. COINTEL program that targeted Fred Hampton when he was 14 years old, the same COINTELPRO that targeted Mumia Abu-Jamal when he was 16 years old, the same COINTELPRO that has increased the bounty on the head of Assata Shakur, our modern-day Harriet Tubman..., that same counterinsurgency, the same vicious COINTELPRO continues." Also speaking in Oakland, along with other unionists, was Jack Heyman, a representative of the ILWU Local 10 longshore union.

At the Berlin emergency protest, called by the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), Steffen Singer, speaking for the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League, pointed to the way reformist organizations in Germany covered the new court decision in Mumia's case. Citing the headline of a column in the paper of Linkspartei (Left Party), "New Hope for Mumia," Singer explained: "What this headline meant was: stay at home, trust the courts, you don't have to go into the streets, everything will be okay." Those class-collaborationist politics, Singer said, are what we "have to fight consistently if we want to get a mass movement on the streets again."

The KfsV has issued an April 3 leaflet to mobilize a class-struggle contingent for a Mumia protest called by the Berlin Coalition for Mumia for April 12. The leaflet explains: "Not only the multiracial working class in the U.S., but also the multiethnic working class in Germany and Europe, has every interest in fight-

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159. Donations earmarked "Mumia" as well as collections at PDC or other events for Mumia's legal defense are receipted and transferred in full to the above NLG account as has

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

been designated by Mumia's lawyer for this purpose.

Get the facts! New PDC fact sheet pamphlet, Big Lies in the Service of Legal Lynching (available in English, German and French—\$.50 each, \$10 for 30) is a detailed refutation of the recent book Murdered by Mumia by right-wing journalist Michael Smerconish and Maureen Faulkner, whose lying tract is a rallying cry not only to execute Mumia but for the death penalty itself. The PDC's other Mumia pamphlet, The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent! (\$1), lays out the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and provides additional detail on the explosive evidence that shatters the decades-long frame-up of this fighter for black freedom. Both these PDC pamphlets politically arm activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom.

PDC Button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each.

PDC Video: From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal—\$10 DVD, \$15 VHS.

Bundles of the 4-page brochure: *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—\$2 for 25 copies.

Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

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
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ing for Mumia.... The capitalist rulers in Germany use racist oppression to split the multiethnic working class in Germany, with its central component of Turkish and Kurdish workers.... A union that defends Mumia, defends itself." The leaflet raises the call to defend the Turkish leftist DHKP-C and the Kurdish PKK, targeted by the German government as "terrorists."

Everywhere, the emergency protests-in their speeches, chants and placards—demanded freedom for all class-war prisoners. In New York, chants rang out for freedom for the Cuban Five and the eight surviving members of the MOVE 9. The MOVE prisoners have spent some 30 years in prison on frameup charges stemming from the death of a Philly cop who was killed in the police's own cross fire during the vicious police assault on MOVE's home in Powelton Village in August 1978. A parole hearing for Debbie Africa, Janet Africa and Janine Africa is scheduled for April 10. Free all the MOVE prisoners now!

At the London protest, Steve Hedley from the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers union took on the question of calls for a new trial, noting: "There was never ever any arguments that the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four should have another trial. These people were innocent...it was a frame up. We all know that Mumia

Abu-Jamal was framed up, there's absolutely no need whatsoever for another trial. He's an innocent man."

At the Toronto protest, Fred Loft, a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, said: "We, the aboriginal people, have the same issue going on with Leonard Peltier. Leonard Peltier was an innocent man that was said to have killed two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reser-









Clockwise from top left: WV Photos, Spartakist, Workers Hammer

Emergency protests called by PDC and LBLs in U.S. and by fraternal defense organizations internationally denounce Third Circuit Court ruling, demand Mumia's immediate freedom.

vation. All fabricated evidence." He noted that Mumia "belonged, at one time or another, to the Black Panther organization. Leonard Peltier, again, belonged to AIM [American Indian Movement]."

At every protest, speakers for the SL and other sections of the ICL emphasized that the fight to free Mumia is central to our defense of the working class and oppressed and to the fight for socialist

revolution. In Los Angeles, SL speaker Diana Coleman noted that "the fight against capitalism at home, including for Mumia's freedom, also means fighting against imperialism abroad." Against the reformist left's support to the counterrevolutionary calls to "Free Tibet," speakers underlined our unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Workers Vanguard salesmen high-

lighted the article, "Counterrevolutionary Riots in Tibet," in WV No. 911 (28 March).

Mumia is hated and feared by the ruling class as "the voice of the voiceless" and a symbol of black revolt. That is why the capitalist ruling class has marked him for death. As the PDC has underlined, Mumia fought for all of us; now we must rededicate ourselves to fight until he is set free.■

All Out...

(continued from page 1)

Racist Death Penalty! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Mobilize Labor's Power—For Mass Protest!"

We print below the April 4 call by the PDC and LBL for the April 19 united-front mobilization in Oakland.

* * *

America's racist rulers want to silence the powerful voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The March 27 Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding Mumia's frame-up conviction for the 1981 killing of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner proves, again, that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. It is a slap in the face to all opponents of racist injustice. Mumia now faces the prospect of another sentencing hearing—not a new trial—where the death sentence could be reinstated or where he could be entombed in prison for life. We must not let this happen! Mumia must be freed now! All out on April 19 in Oakland. Join the unitedfront mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

The court's ruling is just a newer version of the December 2001 decision of federal district court judge William Yohn, which overturned Mumia's death sentence while upholding his conviction. As Mumia stated in 2002 after Yohn's decision: "I continue to be innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty.... Another year of struggle, another year of fighting, not for life in a cage, but for freedom."

Mumia was framed up because of his lifelong struggle against racist oppression and police terror—first as a Black Panther Party spokesman, then as a MOVE supporter and an outspoken journalist renowned as the "voice of the voiceless."

The cops, prosecutors and courts—with the support of capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans—see in Mumia the spectre of black revolt, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. It is notable that the March 27 decision comes just before the Pennsylvania Democratic Party primary, in which both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton support the death penalty. A key supporter of Clinton is Democratic governor Ed Rendell, who was the district attorney of Philadelphia during Mumia's 1982 trial and who has vowed to sign a death warrant if the death sentence is reinstated. It is hardly a coincidence that the court's decision comes just before the parole hearing scheduled for April for the eight surviving members of the MOVE 9, who have spent 30 years in prison. Free the MOVE prisoners now!

It is all the more urgent today to revitalize mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is innocent, the victim of a racist and political frame-up, and to link his fight to the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. Mumia's struggle is the struggle against the injustices inherent in capitalism: poverty, racist oppression, war. The fight for Mumia is the fight for black rights, for workers' rights, for the rights of all the oppressed. The rulers' vendetta against him is a vendetta against all who challenge cop repression, trade unionists who defend their picket lines, those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. After more than 25 years on death row, Mumia still stands defiant, writing commentaries in defense of the rights of black people, immigrants, unions. Workers, blacks, immigrants and all opponents of racist oppression must mobilize now for Mumia's freedom.

Mumia is the victim not of one rogue cop, "overzealous" prosecutor or racist judge, but of the entire capitalist injustice system. His freedom will not be won through reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians, but through the independent mobilization of the social power of the working class. It was international protest, involving the labor movement worldwide, that won Mumia a stay of execution when a death warrant was signed in 1995. But a movement of millions was demobilized by reformist left groups such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party—and all the various coalitions these outfits set up and support. These groups subordinated the fight for Mumia's freedom to the call for a "new trial," promoting the lie that Mumia could get a fair hearing from the courts that have kept him behind bars and rejected every appeal.

To the millions of activists who saw in Mumia's struggle their own struggles, the reformists' message was not to fight but instead to look to the "next court." According to the reformists, the same capitalist state that killed 38 Panthers, that massacred eleven black people in the 1985 firebombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home in Philadelphia, that has incarcerated nearly a million black men and women, was going to give Mumia justice! Behind the call for a "new trial" is a political program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for Mumia's freedom. The March 27 decision should be a wake-up call to any activists who bought into the reformists' lies about the "fairness" of the courts. We emphasize that while every legal avenue must be pursued in the fight to free Mumia, the pressure that can make the courts yield is that of mass international protest, crucially based on the power of labor.

What is necessary is *class-struggle defense* based on the understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two hostile classes—the capitalist exploiters and the working class—and that the capitalist state and its courts are organs of repression against working people and the oppressed. We fight for genuine united-front defense: mobilizing in

action organizations representing different political viewpoints based on agreedupon slogans with full freedom of criticism, where the contending strategies in the fight for Mumia's freedom can be debated out in the open.

The rulers know Mumia is innocent. Starting over 15 years ago, PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, who served on Mumia's legal defense from 1995 to 1999, uncovered additional massive evidence of his innocence. This included witness William Singletary who said Mumia was not the shooter; witnesses Veronica Jones and Pamela Jenkins who testified that prosecution witnesses were coerced into lying; forensic evidence that proved that the prosecution's story of the shooting was fabricated; the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot officer Faulkner. But time and again, the courts have rejected or refused to even hear this evidence.

The fight for Mumia's freedom cuts to the core of racist American capitalism and its state. We fight for Mumia's freedom as part of the broader struggle for black liberation based on the program of revolutionary integrationism. Combatting every manifestation of racist oppression, we underline that full equality for the black masses requires that the working class rip the economy out of the hands of the racist capitalist rulers and reorganize it on a socialist basis. Only then will it be possible to eliminate the material roots of black oppression through the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society based on a collectivized economy with quality jobs, housing, health care and education for all. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting for Mumia. Mass united-front mobilizations are urgently needed to free him and to send a message to the racist capitalist rulers and their courts: We will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison! Free Mumia now! All out on April 19!

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Capitalism...

(continued from page 12)

to be based on the fact that the core sectors of the industrial economy remain collectivized while the banking system remains effectively state-owned. These factors have been key to the prodigious expansion of industrial capacity in China in recent decades and with it a corresponding increase in the social weight of the urban working class. China has also developed a large technical intelligentsia. The expansion of industrial capacity has not been one-sidedly concentrated in labor-intensive light manufactures. China is now the world's largest producer of steel and is becoming a major producer of a wide range of industrial goods—for example, automobiles and other motorized vehicles, ships and port cranes involving relatively advanced technologies, though China's productivity is substantially lower than that of advanced capitalist countries.

Significantly, during the East Asian financial/economic crisis in the late 1990s, China uniquely maintained a high level of economic growth and industrial development. State ownership of the banking system effectively insulated China from the volatile movements of speculative moneycapital that wreaked havoc on the capitalist countries of the region from Indonesia to South Korea. China did experience a decline in exports to the region and also a reduction in investment by offshore Chinese capitalists. However, the Beijing regime was able to offset these losses by expanding and redirecting government and state-owned bank expenditure to industrial construction and infrastructure. While a prolonged international economic downturn today would negatively impact China, the fact that it is a workers state gives the Beijing regime the option of intervening into the economy outside the framework of the global capitalist market to at least partially offset the effects of an economic slowdown. For example, China has the capacity to counteract a steep decline in export earnings by rechanneling investment for domestic purposes.

Smashing the Chinese workers state is a strategic goal for the capitalist powers, centrally the American imperialists, who seek to turn China into a vast sphere of untrammeled exploitation and superprofits. To that end, they are increasing the military pressure on China while pursuing a policy of internal economic and political subversion. The U.S. has continually maintained capitalist Taiwan as a dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, while promoting counterrevolutionary insurgency such as in Tibet in the name of "human rights." An 8 March article in Asia Times by Hampshire professor Michael T. Klare points out that on February 4, Bush announced a baseline military budget of some \$515.4 billion for the next year, which did not include funds for the Iraq and Afghanistan occupations. While China is not mentioned by name in the Pentagon's fiscal year request, the largest in inflationadjusted dollars since World War II, Klare notes, "Probe a little deeper into Pentagon thinking, and only one potential superpower emerges to justify all this vast

Hu Jintao, now Chinese president, visiting Wall Street, April 2002.



spending: the People's Republic of China."

As Trotskyists (i.e., genuine Marxists), we stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, just as we stand for the military defense of the other remaining deformed workers states: Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. Defense of the Chinese workers state is undermined by the rule of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy whose policies are encapsulated in the anti-Marxist dogma of "building socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism.

Along with the Indonesian Communist Party, the Chinese Stalinist regime (as well as the Stalinists in Moscow) offered political support to Indonesian president Sukarno, subordinating the proletariat to his capitalist government. The result of that treacherous policy was the 1965-66 slaughter of over a million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese carried out by an alliance between the army and Islamic fanatics and with the direct involvement of the American CIA and its Australian junior partner. For 32 years afterward, Indonesia was ruled by the blood-drenched Suharto regime. In 1972, when the U.S. was raining bombs down on Vietnam, Mao sealed his anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. Mao's policy was extended under the regime of Deng Xiaoping, which in the 1980s supported the Afghan mujahedin against the Soviet Red Army. Today, in signing on to the U.S.led "war on terror," the Beijing Stalinist bureaucrats have encouraged U.S. imperialism in its counterrevolutionary drive.

We call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the venal and oppressive CCP regime and replace it with a government based on democratically elected workers and peasants councils and revolutionary internationalism. Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, China remains a majority-peasant country with a relatively low level of productivity at its industrial base. A rational collectivization and modernization of Chinese agriculture and industry will, in the final analysis, hinge on the aid that China would receive from a socialist Japan, Europe or America, underlining again the need for international proletarian revolution.

U.S. Imperialism: Military Superpower, **Deteriorating Economic Base**

The current commercial and financial relations between the U.S. and China are not just governed by calculations of shortterm economic advantage but must be understood in the broader context of American imperialism's drive to restore capitalism and reduce China to semicolonial subjugation. By opening its domestic market to manufactured goods from China on a massive scale, the U.S. ruling class has sought to foster economic dependency on the part of elements of the CCP officialdom, newly fledged Chinese capitalist entrepreneurs and a section of the administrative and technocratic petty bourgeoisie. By helping to finance the U.S. government debt, the Beijing Stalinists seek to counter moves toward anti-China trade protectionism and otherwise appease the masters of Wall Street and Washington.

However, the sheer magnitude of the U.S. trade deficit on the one side and the enormous stock of depreciating U.S. Treasury IOUs in the coffers of the People's Bank of China on the other make this arrangement increasingly untenable. Pressure is mounting in Washington for anti-China trade protectionism, especially since the Democrats won the 2006 Congressional elections. Liberal politicians and union bureaucrats use China-bashing to deflect working-class discontent over stageconomist with the China Academy of Social Sciences, warned that if China accedes to the U.S. demand to sharply appreciate the yuan against the dollar, the central bank would be forced to sell dollars, "which might lead to a mass depreciation of the U.S. dollar against other currencies" (Washington Post, 9 August 2007). Subsequently, the central bank, in an attempt to reassure Washington, announced it had no plans to sell off its dollar assets. Regardless of the short-term policies of the Chinese Stalinist regime and also the Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie, conditions exist for a major international financial crisis disrupting trade and leading to a worldwide recession.

For Workers Revolution!

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. ruling class declared its state to be the "world's only superpower" that would henceforth dominate the rest of the world. At the same time, the post-Soviet period is marked by the reduced weight of American capital in international commodity and financial markets. This gives the American imperialist ruling class an especially irrational, destructive and dangerous character. Witness the murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan on the international scene and the escalating attacks on the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed "at home."

War, poverty, economic crisis are all endemic to the capitalist system, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production—the factories, electrical power plants and grids, airlines, oil fields, mines, means of transport, etc. It is a system in which production is based on profits for a few wealthy capitalists, while the rest of the population is faced with increasing assaults on its living standards or utter poverty. But capitalism also creates its own gravedigger:



December 2007: U.S. and Japanese warships practice anti-submarine maneuvers in Pacific. U.S.-Japan military alliance is directed against Chinese deformed workers state.

nant wages and corporate attacks on health care and pension benefits. In reality, China has little to do with the U.S. trade deficit, much less the immiseration of the American working class. A large fraction of the goods China exports to North America and West Europe consists of components made in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. If the U.S. ruling class resorted to general protectionist measures, this could serve to trigger a global trade war, sow chaos in world financial markets and greatly heighten tensions between the major imperialist states, as well as with the Chinese deformed workers state.

For its part, the Beijing Stalinist regime faces a situation in which anti-China sentiment is on the rise in the U.S. while the financial costs of accommodating U.S. imperialism are also increasing. The Chinese central bank has begun, albeit on a very small scale, to shift its foreignexchange reserves from dollars into other currencies and more lucrative dollardenominated assets. Last summer, Xia Bin, director of the financial research department of the State Council, suggested that China's \$400 billion in U.S. Treasury securities could be used as a bargaining chip in negotiations with Washington over trade and currency realignment.

Along similar lines, an opinion piece in the official China Daily by He Fan, an the working class, which is forced to sell its labor power in order to survive. Despite the decline in American manufacturing jobs, the U.S. share of global manufacturing has remained around 20 percent since 1982, underlining the strategic importance of this country's industrial proletariat.

Only the proletariat has the social power and objective interest to sweep away this deeply irrational and inhumane system through social revolution and replace it with a planned economy in

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, April 26, 4:30 p.m. **Counterrevolutionary Riots in Tibet** Defend China Against Counterrevolution and Imperialist Attack! For Workers Political Revolution to

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Chinese auto workers in Haikou, Hainan Province. China is the world's third-largest producer of motor vehicles after Japan and U.S. Right: Workers demonstrate outside paper products factory in Shenzhen to demand back pay, October 2007.

which production is based on the human needs of all, rather than profits for the few. The only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system lies in the struggle for socialist revolutions internationally to sweep away the bourgeois ruling classes and their capitalist states and forge in their place workers governments where those who labor rule.

As the impending recession signals even greater immiseration for working people in the U.S. and throughout the capitalist world, the need to struggle

against this destructive and exploitative system becomes even more urgent and compelling. Key to such a perspective is a political struggle against the labor bureaucracies of the AFL-CIO and Change to Win trade-union federations, which tie the multiracial American proletariat to its class enemy, especially through support to the capitalist Democratic Party, of which the trade-union bureaucracy is a component.

The fight to build a new, class-struggle leadership in the labor movement must be linked to the struggle to forge a revolu-

tionary, multiracial workers party in the U.S., section of a reforged Fourth International. Such a party would be formed in opposition to all capitalist parties and their politicians and built in political struggle against labor bureaucrats who bind the exploited and oppressed to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street. As Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International:

"The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

Press Release...

(continued from page 7)

Partisan Defense Committee recently put out a Fact Sheet pamphlet—Murdered by Mumia: *Big Lies in the Service of Legal Lynching*—that details the evidence of Mumia's innocence." The pamphlet is available at: www.partisandefense.org.

Wolkenstein underlined: "The real reason Mumia was convicted and sentenced to death was his lifelong commitment to the fight for black freedom from the age of 14. The racist rulers see in Mumia the spectre of black revolt. The Philly cops and FBI carried out a vendetta against him from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party. That vendetta continued when he became an outspoken journalist known as the 'voice of the voiceless' and a supporter of the MOVE organization, which was also in the cross hairs of the Philly police. In repeatedly ruling to uphold Mumia's conviction, the courts have flouted precedent after precedent, including the 1986 Supreme Court Batson decision, which stated that prosecutors could not exclude jurors based on race.

"Mumia should never have been arrested, tried or spent a minute in prison. In the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case that sanctified slavery, the Supreme Court said that a black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect. The capitalist state and its courts have made clear that Mumia has no rights that the courts are bound to respect."

Pam Africa, head of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, told the PDC: "Speaking on behalf of the movement and Mumia, it should be evident to people that there is no way Mumia can have a fair hearing in the courts. From day one, we have called to release Mumia now! This is based on the evidence that keeps mounting of Mumia's innocence, and that the whole world knows. Mumia wants to be released from prison, he does not want to spend the rest of his life in prison. Do for Mumia what he has done for us. Stand up!"

Referring to today's decision, Wolkenstein noted: "The court dismissed the overwhelming proof of racist jury-rigging that marked Mumia's 1982 trial, where the prosecution used eleven of its 15 peremptory challenges to get rid of black jurors. Purging blacks from juries was so ingrained in the Philadelphia District Attorney's office, that they even produced an instructional video in 1987 to

train prosecutors in the practice."

Responding to the majority's argument that the D.A.'s "instructional video" was irrelevant because it was made five years after Mumia's trial, Judge Thomas L. Ambro, the one dissenting judge, stated, "I find it difficult to believe that the culture in the Philadelphia D.A.'s Office was any better five years before the training video was made." Ambro argued that Mumia should receive a new hearing in

whatever we can" to free Mumia.

PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson stated: "It is necessary to turn words into labor actions to fight for Mumia's freedom. While we support utilizing every legal recourse, we have no illusions in the capitalist court system. It was mass international protest, crucially including trade unionists, that stayed the executioner's hand in August 1995, after a death warrant for Mumia was signed. The multi-

May 1985: Police helicopter dropping bomb on MOVE's Osage Avenue house. Eleven people, MOVE members and their children, were killed and an entire neighborhood destroyed in the ensuing inferno.

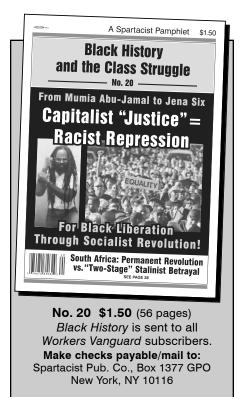
federal district court where the prosecution would be required to justify its exclusion of black jurors, noting that "this was a racially charged case."

More than 900 individuals and organizations, including unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, have signed a PDC statement titled, "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man," that also calls for the abolition of the death penalty. Signatories include the Maritime Union of Australia Sydney and Victorian branches, the National Union of Mineworkers in Johannesburg, South Africa, 1199 SEIU in New York City and International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina. Responding to today's ruling, Sadie Sanders, Political Action Chair of the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, said, "We should all be outraged about this decision" and noted that her organization "will do racial labor movement must be mobilized independently of the forces of the capitalist state.

"Today's decision makes it all the more urgent to revitalize mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man, and to link his fight to the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty." Herson added, "Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged 'justice' system or on capitalist politicians, including Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama who both support the death penalty. The power that can turn the tide is the power of millions—working people, anti-racist youth, death penalty abolitionists—united in struggle to demand Mumia's freedom."

Herson contrasted the PDC's classstruggle perspective to "those groups who have focused on calling for a new trial for Mumia. That call means relying on the same racist courts that at every level have upheld Mumia's frame-up conviction. It means illusions that Mumia can get justice from the same state that killed 38 Black Panthers as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO, and that massacred eleven black people, including women and children, in the 1985 firebombing of MOVE. It is hardly a coincidence that this decision comes just before the parole hearing scheduled for April for the eight surviving members of the MOVE 9, who have spent 30 years in prison." The MOVE 9 were framed up on conspiracy and murder charges stemming from the killing of Philadelphia officer James Ramp, who was killed in the police's own cross fire during the vicious police assault on MOVE's home in the Powelton Village neighborhood of Philadelphia in August 1978. Free the MOVE prisoners now!

Tom Cowperthwaite of the Labor Black League for Social Defense stated, "The racists in black robes have spoken. It's long past time for the court of the masses to have their say." Pointing to the December 2005 New York City transit strike, which crippled the financial capital of the world for three days, Cowperthwaite, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, added, "That's the same power we need to mobilize to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners. In every workplace, the words 'Strike!' and 'Free Mumia!' should ring out in the same breath. Mobilize labor's power to free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!"■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Foreclosures, Unemployment, Union Busting:

Capitalism U.S.A.

Parts One and Two of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV Nos. 910 (14 March) and 911 (28 March).

PART THREE

The ongoing economic crisis in the U.S. continues to deepen. Poor and minority families are being driven out of their homes through mortgage foreclosures. Meanwhile, the investment bank crisis—exemplified by the near implosion of onetime financial giant Bear Stearns—continues to shake Wall Street and beyond. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, some 80,000 jobs disappeared in the month of March alone, the largest job loss since March 2003. Since the start of the year, over 230,000 jobs have been lost. This sustained job loss points to a deep, impending recession.

Compounding the crisis in the U.S. is the federal budget deficit; the world's wealthiest country is also the biggest debtor nation. Right after George W. Bush took over the White House, he and the Republican majority in Congress pushed through a major tax cut, over 40 percent of which went to the wealthiest 20 percent of U.S. households. At the same time, the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 2001 provided a pretext for the U.S. imperialist ruling class to rev up its military spending in the name of "the war on global terror." From 2000 to 2007, the federal government went from running a surplus of \$236 billion to a deficit of \$162 billion.

Both the Reagan and Bush II tax cuts were deliberately *intended* to produce large federal budget deficits. Why? In order to increase the political pressures for slashing social programs. The late Milton Friedman, dean of U.S. right-wing economists, bluntly stated this strategy in the premier mouthpiece of American capital, the *Wall Street Journal* (19 January 2003):

"How can we ever cut government down to size? I believe there is one and only one way: the way parents control spendthrift children, cutting their allowance. For government, that means cutting taxes. Resulting deficits will be an effective—I would go so far as to say, the only effective—restraint on the spending propensities of the executive branch and the legislature."

While using different rhetoric and argumentation, the Democrats' "solution" to the budget deficit is substantially the same. They contend that the two big entitlement programs—Social Security and Medi-

care—are an unsustainable burden on the U.S. economy. Thus Alice M. Rivlin (director of the White House Office of Management and Budget under Clinton) and Isabel Sawhill (a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution) insist, "Although few elected officials are willing to say so, retirement programs must be



Los Angeles: SEIU Local 660 members and community activists protest against threatened closure of King/Drew hospital's trauma unit, September 2004.

modified to avoid their consuming the entire federal budget" (Restoring Fiscal Sanity: How to Balance the Budget, Brookings Institution [2004]). Concretely, these liberal economic advisers to the Democratic Party propose to cut Social Security pension benefits by various mechanisms (increasing the age eligibility for full benefits, adjusting downward the cost-of-living escalator) while reducing spending on Medicare programs.

This country is more than wealthy enough to provide good-paying jobs, a decent living standard and quality medical care, housing and education for everyone who lives here. But for that to be realized requires that the rule of the rapacious capitalist class be overthrown by a proletarian socialist revolution.

Defend the Chinese Deformed Workers State!

In the mid 1960s, manufacturing output was 27 percent of the U.S. gross national product and its share of employment was 24 percent. By the early 2000s, the weight of manufacturing had been reduced to 14 percent of national output while employing 11 percent of the labor force. Three years ago, a mainstream bourgeois academic economist, Ronald McKinnon, pointed to the connection between the deindustrializa-

tion of the U.S. economy and its increasing international indebtedness:

"The United States is the world's champion borrower in international markets. Foreign central banks, which hold more than half the outstanding stock of U.S. Treasury bonds, have become the principal source of finance for the federal government's burgeoning fiscal deficits.... Besides this massive government dissaving, meager saving by American households forces U.S. corporations also to borrow abroad to supplement finance for domestic investment."

-"America's Financial Mess: It's Time to Eliminate the U.S. Saving Deficiency," The International Economy, 22 September 2004

Since then, the conditions described by McKinnon have gotten worse. Expending more than it produces, the U.S. consistently runs large balance of trade deficits concentrated in manufactured goods. Over the past few years, the dollar has undergone a substantial depreciation against the euro and more recently also against the Japanese yen and to a lesser extent the Chinese yuan. However, the "cheaper" dollar has had little or no effect in reducing the country's yawning trade deficit. What then has to date prevented a free-fall plunge of the dollar in world currency markets and/or a quantum leap in global interest rates as investors guard against that risk? Mainly the willingness of the Japanese and Chinese governments to accumulate an ever larger stock of U.S. Treasury bonds and bills as a major component of their foreign-exchange reserves.

The business press sometimes treats the economic motivations of Japan and China in relation to the U.S. as if they were basically similar. That is, both seek to prevent a too sharp appreciation of their respective currencies against the dollar in order to maintain a competitive advantage in world commodity markets. However, Japan and China are two fundamentally different kinds of states and societies and therefore have fundamentally different relationships to U.S. imperialism. Japan is an imperialist country that is both an economic rival and a politicalmilitary ally of the U.S., an alliance primarily directed against the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

The 1949 Chinese Revolution overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and ripped the world's most populous country out of the clutches of the imperialist powers that had long held China in their grip. Emerging from the military victory of peasant-guerrilla forces led by the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the People's Republic of China was and remains a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Despite Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement, the collectivization of the economy has resulted in enormous social gains for workers, peasants and women.

Following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the CCP regime introduced a series of market-oriented policies in the economy. These included attracting largescale investment, concentrated in manufacturing, by Western and Japanese corporations and offshore Chinese capitalists in Hong Kong and Taiwan. There has also emerged a sizable class of capitalist entrepreneurs on the mainland. As a consequence of these developments, there is now a widespread belief, extending across the political spectrum from right to left, that China has become capitalist or is rapidly and irreversibly becoming so. Pseudo-Marxist groups that promote this illusion do so in the service of lining up with their "own" bourgeois rulers' drive for capitalist restoration in China.

In maintaining that China continues to be a workers state, we do not deny or minimize the growing social weight in China of both the newly fledged capi-

talist entrepreneurs on the mainland and the old, established offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan and Hong Kong. However, capitalists in China are still prevented from organizing themselves politically and vying for power. At the same time, the political power of the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy continues continued on page 10

Break with the Democrats!
For a Revolutionary Workers Party
That Fights for a Workers Government!

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