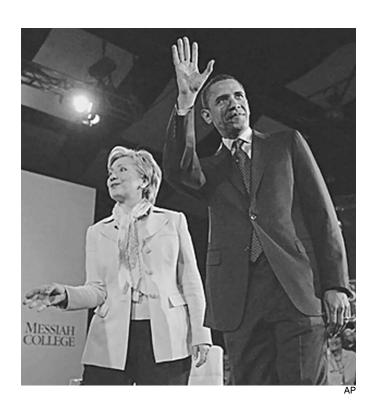
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No. 913 25 April 2008

# Obama, Clinton: No Friends of Workers, Blacks, the Oppressed



The following article was issued by Workers Vanguard on April 17. It was distributed at the Philadelphia April 19 "Free Mumia" demonstration initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and at the Partisan Defense Commit-

tee/Labor Black League-initiated unitedfront protest for Mumia's freedom in Oakland the same day.

The 2008 presidential elections have been called "historic." For the first time, the nominee of the Democratic Party will either be a black man, Barack Obama, or a woman, Hillary Clinton. As the second term of the oddly demented and widely despised Bush administration comes to a close—with the bloody and unpopular Iraq occupation, the Abu Ghraib and other torture scandals, an impending recession, foreclosures, job losses, union-busting, escalating attacks on civil liberties—there is a desire among the populace for "change."

Trade-union bureaucrats, black bourgeois politicians, reformist leftists and others have seized on social discontent to peddle the lie that support to the "lesser evil" capitalist Democratic Party—the other party of war and racism—will serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. But as we wrote in "The Obama Campaign and the 'End of Racism' Myth" (WV No. 906, 18 January):

"If this deeply racist country, where religious obscurantism and anti-woman bigotry are pervasive, ever sees a black or female president, it would certainly be a significant development. But it would do nothing to change the oppression of women, which is rooted in the institution of the family in class society, or of black people, which forms the cornerstone of American capitalism. Simply put, the liberation of black people and women will not happen short of the destruction of the capitalist system through socialist revolution."

As Trotskyists (i.e., genuine Marxists), we fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy. We do not extend any political support on principle to any capitalist politician—Democrat, Republican, Green or "Independent." In his 1917 work, *The State and Revolution*, Bolshevik leader



# Break with the Democratic Party of Imperialist War and Racism! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

V.I. Lenin underlined that bourgeois democracy means voters get to "decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people." The bourgeoisie uses the facade of "democracy" to mask its class

dictatorship, to give a democratic veneer to decisions made, as Lenin said, in the stock exchanges, clubs and dinner parties of the big bourgeoisie. In this, the rulers are aided by the reformist left, which promotes the lie that Democratic



Above: Desperate victims of Hurricane Katrina trying to escape hellish conditions in New Orleans Superdome, September 2005. Below: UAW picket line at GM plant in Flint, Michigan, during September 2007 two-day national strike.



Party "lesser evilism" serves the interests of working people and the oppressed.

The capitalist state—consisting at its core of the police, military, prisons and courts—is an instrument of repression that exists to defend the rule and profits of the bourgeoisie.

It cannot be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed, and the history of working-class struggle confirms this basic fact, not least the 1871 Paris Commune. After France, under the regime of Napoleon III, was defeated by Prussia in 1870, a right-wing government was formed, acquiring a "democratic" sanction through the electoral support of the mass of peasant petty proprietors, then the majority of the populace. When that government sent the army into Paris to disarm the predominantly workingclass National Guard, the proletarian forces drove out the army. This led to the formation of the Commune, which governed the city for nearly three months before the army crushed it, slaughtering over 20,000 people.

As Lenin pointed out, Karl Marx found only one point from the 1848 Communist Manifesto that he considered out of date. Based on the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx wrote in The Civil War in France that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." As Lenin underlined in The State and Revolution, "The working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery,' and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it." The working class must rule with its own state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As a direct consequence of our revolutionary position, we Marxists do not run for executive office-such as mayor, governor or president—although Marxists can and sometimes do run for parliamentary office as a tactic to propagate our revolutionary program. The U.S. president is the chief executive responsible for the biggest military power in history and for the domestic machinery of repression that maintains social oppression and exploitation. To run for executive office means to aspire to be the next Commander-in-Chief, to decide who gets tortured, bombed and invaded (see Spartacist [Englishlanguage edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007).

With its hands directly on the means of production—factories, mines, transport continued on page 9

# The Inedible in Defense of the Unspeakable

11 April 2008

Dear Comrades,

Evidently the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) couldn't find sufficient ammunition in its well-stocked arsenal of lies against our organization to answer The Logan Dossier, which thoroughly documents the only-too-true and proven crimes of the BT's international leader, Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our international tendency by the unanimous vote of the delegates at our first international conference in 1979 as a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism." Thirty years after the fact, the BT now charges that there was "a definite whiff of homophobia in the motion motivating Bill's expulsion"! This allnew malicious invention introduces the BT's "On the Logan Show Trial." Its notso-subtle purpose is to distract from their studious evasion of the mass of factual

evidence of Logan's cruel, sadistic and cult-like practices in his capacity as National Chairman of our Australian section in the mid-1970s, compiled in the nearly 200 pages of *The Logan Dossier*.

The charge that we are "homophobic" will surely shock the sensibilities of those leftists, feminists and others who have slandered us as "child molesters" and

worse for our forthright, and rather elementary, opposition to the intervention of the capitalist state into consensual sexual relations of whatever type. It is a telling indictment of the BT's own attitude toward homosexuality that they associate "aberrant appetites and compulsions" with homosexuality. Such is in keeping with the contemptuous indiffer-

Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency

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THE LOGAN DOSSIER



#### Mobilize Labor's Power to Free All Class-War Prisoners!

Founded by the early Communist Party, the International Labor Defense and its paper Labor Defender were based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is a machinery of organized violence to protect the rule and profits of the bourgeoisie. This understanding is vital today in the fight to mobilize labor's social power for the cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom. The Labor Defender article excerpted below, published shortly before the 1928 presidential elec-



LENIN

tions, underscores the link between the struggle to free all class-war prisoners and the fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist order, its state and all its parties.

The election campaign is in full swing. The candidates of the two capitalist parties are competing with each other in seeking the favor of Wall Street. Reactionary labor leaders at the head of the American Federation of Labor refuse as yet to take a stand for or against either of the two chief capitalist standard bearers—Al Smith and Herbert Hoover. They prefer to bargain for themselves individually. Each labor leader may now hunt for himself and if he brings home a kill it will be his own.

The two big parties of capitalism are interested in labor—to exploit it. In their platforms there is no plank, no promise that could satisfy even the most conservative worker. A sop on the injunction, a meaningless jumble of words....

Unlike the two other parties claiming to represent labor, the Socialist and Socialist Labor Parties, which carry on no concrete or militant struggle for the release of class war prisoners, the Workers (Communist) Party has raised the slogan of "Release the Class War Prisoners" and endorsed a vigorous campaign in behalf of the men behind the bars; against the bourbon savagery of lynchings; against injunctions and the use of troops in strikes; and a well rounded-out program of class struggle.

Every militant worker who is conscious of his interests is prepared to organize around the banner of the class struggle, in and out of elections, and mobilize his forces to smash the oppressors of labor and to build on the ruins of the present robber system a social order that will give the worker his due social share of the product of his toil and will force the parasite to work or starve.

When that day comes there will be no class war prisoners.

—"The Class War Prisoners and the Elections," Labor Defender, September 1928

ence of this outfit to the fight against special oppression, from their sneering denunciation of a memorial meeting we organized in 1985 for the survivors of the police/FBI's bombing of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia-in which eleven black people, including five children, were killed—to their Maple Leaf, Canadian-chauvinist opposition to independence for Quebec.

Our defense of those persecuted by the bourgeois state, which has included the North American Man/Boy Love Association, is an expression of our communist purpose. In 1977, the Spartacist League/U.S. carried out a unique fusion with the Red Flag Union, a collective that developed out of the New Leftist gay liberation milieu, and in the early '70s, a number of activists from the East Oakland Women as well as others in the left wing of the feminist women's movement were won to our communist program for women's liberation.

Bill Logan was expelled because he was the antithesis of the very essence of the liberating goals of communism. As we wrote in the Preface to The Logan Dossier (reprinted in WV No. 900, 12 October 2007):

"We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the gravedigger of

the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose. The Leninist party demands a monopoly on the political activities of those who join our movement. All the more so do we draw a hard line against interference in comrades' personal lives. Driven by considerations of power and control, Logan was a malicious puppetmaster who was sadistically destructive of people's personal lives—making people live together who did not want to do so, causing people who did want to live together to break up. There is no place for the likes of a William King Logan in our

At the time of Logan's trial, no one, including Logan himself, had or had given any intimation that he was gay. On the contrary, he and his companion Adaire were in appearance and attitude the epitome of straight-laced, uptight Presbyterian missionaries, something straight out of the painting "American Gothic." In practice, Logan's twisted and perverse anti-sexual pathology was expressed in his "slogan" for the membership, "Sew up their c--ts, cut off their balls!" Hardly the words of a sexual libertarian! On the contrary, for Logan sex was power, to be wielded for his own control. The most intimate details of comrades' personal lives were manipulated, with couples broken up or sexual relations manufactured by Logan in the guise of "building the party." Children were verboten, and sterilization and abortion were upheld as a party duty by Logan. He sadistically pressured a young woman comrade to have an abortion and, when that failed, to give up her child for adoption, driving her to attempt suicide.

While allowing that perhaps Logan was brutal and even grossly abusive, the BT continues to try to pass off his unspeakable crimes as merely an extension of our organizational practices. In fact, we have drawn a hard line against party interference in comrades' personal lives since the earliest days of our organization, following a dispute with some comrades in our local in the Bay Area, where New Left-derived notions of the "personal is political" were rife on the left. Our policy was codified in our 1969 document, "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," which, under the section "SL Functioning," states: "The SL seeks to regulate personal aspects of comrades' lives only where those aspects themselves intrude decisively in the political or organizational life of the members, particularly in security matters" (reprinted in "Basic Documents continued on page 11

# **On Green Party's Candidate**

Dear comrades,

The WV No. 911 (28 March) article on Obama, "Break with the Democratic Party of War and Racism!" states that as Marxists we do not "extend any political support to any capitalist politician—Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, John McCain or Ralph Nader—Democrat, Republican or Green." This implies that Ralph Nader is the capitalist Green Party candidate for president. However, in February Nader declared that he would not run for or accept the nomination to be the Green

Instead, the front-runner for the Green nomination is a black woman, Cynthia McKinney, who as a Democrat from Georgia was driven out of Congress in 2002 for her criticism of Israel. If you want a real populist who is not a biblethumper, McKinney is as close as you get in America. She calls for amnesty

for immigrants, repeal of the Patriot Act, the Secret Evidence Act and the Military Tribunals Act. A February 6 editorial by Workers World Party enthuses that McKinney "has a program supporting the struggle for Black rights and women's rights, anti-war and pro-worker and in solidarity with immigrants." These reformists previously endorsed McKinney's successful campaign in 2004 to return to Congress on the Democratic Party ticket.

Blacks don't have a lot of illusions in Ralph Nader, but some do in McKinney, especially those who do not support Obama. Of course, she sings the same old song of "money for jobs, not for war" and is running to hold the Democrats "accountable." The role of "progressive" bourgeois politicians like McKinney is to head off and contain any potential social struggle, keeping it safely within the confines of the capitalist system.

Best comradely regards, R.S.

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

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist).

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

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

The closing date for news in this issue is April 22.

No. 913 25 April 2008

2

# **Socialist Alternative: Cheerleaders for Capitalist Counterrevolution**

We reprint below a March 4 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League.

No doubt still high on social-democratic euphoria over [Kevin] Rudd's newly elected federal ALP [Australian Labor Party] government, a band of belligerent Socialist Alternative (SAlt) cadre, screaming and jostling, tried to prevent two supporters of the Marxist Spartacist League selling outside their 2 February Sydney University "public" event on the Russian Revolution (communists were barred from attending). Our supporters completed their sale, at a distance from the anti-communist SAlt honchos, whose despicable attempts at intimidation and political suppression included threats to call campus security. Confronted with the current issue of Australasian Spartacist [No. 200, Summer 2007/08] headlined "Rudd's ALP Rules for Racist Australian Imperialism," what really had these hardened Laborites in a frenzy is our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defence of the deformed workers states—today, China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against Australian and U.S. imperialism. A particular target of their hostility is our defence of China and North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons as a necessary deterrent against the imperialist nuclear cowboys in Washington and their Australian junior partners.

It is laughable for SAlt to present themselves as Marxist authorities on the 1917 Russian Revolution. From their hatred of the former Soviet Union to their treacherous call for workers to vote for the capitalist Greens in the recent elections (an act of class betrayal), SAlt's traditions have more to do with the Menshevik opponents of the Russian Revolution. Led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, the Russian Revolution established the world's first workers state—a historic victory for the international proletariat. Despite its subsequent degeneration under a nationalist parasitic bureaucratic caste, which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in a political counterrevolution beginning in 1923-24 under J. V. Stalin, the proletarian property forms created by the October Revolution of 1917 remained. Based on these collectivised property forms, the Soviet state remained a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, until capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. It was the elementary duty of revolutionaries to stand for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states created in the Stalinist image following World War II—in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution.

Not so for Socialist Alternative. Their political origins go back to the late Tony Cliff and his followers in Britain, who were expelled from Trotsky's Fourth International in 1950 for reneging on this program of unconditional military defence. Bowing to the pressure of anticommunist Cold War hysteria during the Korean War, Cliff capitulated to the British bourgeoisie and the then-ruling British Labour Party, refusing to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against the imperialist attack. Cliff's claim that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist" (promoted by earlier social democrats who had opposed the Russian October Revolution of 1917) was the "theoretical" justification for his pro-imperialist program. Today SAlt continue to rehash this bogus "theory," ranting about an imagined capitalist "North Korean ruling class" while actually falling in behind blood-drenched "democratic"

Ever since the Korean War ended in

# Defend China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba!

a stalemate, the strategic aim of U.S. imperialism, backed by Britain and Australia, has been to isolate and destroy the Stalinist-led North Korean deformed workers state, on the road to overturning the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Today this includes the encirclement of China with imperialist military installations from South Korea to northern Australia to Central Asia. Backing the imperialists' drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China, in every issue of

occupation of East Timor with placards proclaiming "East Timor-blood on Howard's hands." They enthusiastically supported the union bans on Indonesia that were organised by the Laborite tradeunion misleaders to speed up the Australian imperialist military intervention. During the imperialist war on Iraq beginning in 2003, SAlt refused to take a side in military defence of neocolonial Iraq. Showing faith in the capitalist rulers, they instead helped build popular-frontist

SPARTACIST We Said: No Vote to Labor or Bourgeois Greens! **Rudd's ALP Rules for** Racist Australian Imperialism

Spartacist League of Australia contingent at protest against Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Sydney, 8 September 2007.

their paper, in their "who are Socialist Alternative?" column, SAlt pushes hostility to China labelling it an exploitative society "essentially no different from the West." They have promoted the CIA's "Free Tibet" rallying cry for counterrevolution and lauded pro-imperialist "trade-union activist" Han Dongfang who has been featured on radio broadcasts of official mouthpieces of U.S. imperialism, Voice of America and Radio Free Asia.

SAlt have a long history as anti-Marxist opponents of the revolutionary workers movement and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the 1980s as thenmembers of the Cliffite International Socialist Organisation, SAlt cadre tailed the anti-Soviet, union-busting Hawke/ Keating Labor regimes. They sided with the woman-hating, CIA-funded mujahedin cutthroats against the liberating forces of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan and championed the anti-Semitic. anti-abortion and reactionary Solidarność -the chosen instrument of the Vatican, Wall Street and Western social democracy for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. They cheered the Yeltsin/Bush capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which ushered in mass unemployment, starvation and nationalist fratricide.

SAlt's loyalty to capitalist "democracy" and "human rights" imperialism was also demonstrated in September 1999 when they participated in the chauvinist "troops in" rallies for the Australian military

"antiwar" coalitions with "peace lovers" from all classes to appeal to the bourgeoisie for an end to the subsequent occupation. A key demand of these coalitions, "Bring the troops home," dovetails with the bourgeois Greens and ALP push for a more aggressive role for the Australian imperialist military in the Asia-Pacific region, including against North Korea

Peddling the lie that the capitalist rulers can be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed, class-collaborationists like SAlt sow reformist illusions in the capitalist state. However this state, consisting at its core of the police, courts, prisons and military, exists to uphold the rule of the bosses over the working class and oppressed. It cannot be reformed—it must be shattered through workers revolution. Key to this perspective is the fight to mobilise the working class in independent class-struggle opposition to the capitalist rulers at home and abroad. We demand: Australian troops and cops get out of Aboriginal communities! Australian imperialist troops/cops get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Pacific and East Timor!

Our unconditional military defence of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution is a cornerstone of our revolutionary program. Within this framework we also fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist caste that sits atop these workers states and whose

appeasement of imperialism paves the way for capitalist restoration. Our defence of the deformed workers

states is a defence of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. To abandon defence of the deformed workers states is to abandon the cause of international proletarian revolution.

The International Communist League has fought, and will continue to fight, tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution. When Solidarność made its counterrevolutionary bid for power in Poland in 1981, we forthrightly said: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" In late 1989, the ICL intervened to fight to bring revolutionary leadership to the incipient workers political revolution in the East German (DDR) deformed workers state, fighting for a government of workers councils. Against the capitalist anschluss that eventually swallowed up the DDR, we uniquely fought for workers political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, as the road to a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe. In Moscow in 1991-92, we fought to mobilise proletarian opposition to the impending capitalist catastrophe including distributing over 100,000 Russian-language leaflets calling for "Soviet Workers! Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" The overturn of the world's first workers state was a historic defeat for the international proletariat, throwing back political consciousness, albeit unevenly, such that today few workers identify their struggles with the fight for socialism. It has also removed the primary military and political counterweight to rampant imperialist pillage across the globe.

In this deeply reactionary post-Soviet world, the bourgeoisie has introduced draconian racist "anti-terror" legislation that shreds the democratic rights of all and ultimately is aimed against the left and labour movement. Finding its echo on the campuses, in recent years Sydney Uni administration has unleashed its security guards to repeatedly harass, censor and drive leftists off the campus. It is in this context that SAlt cadre threatened to call these private cops of the capitalist administration against our comrades on 2 February. SAlt's attempted censorship and threats can only serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, which is hell-bent on promoting its "death of Communism" ideology in the service of erasing all memory of the historic significance and gains of the Russian Revolution.

It comes as no surprise that SAlt has welcomed into its ranks one Azlan McLennan, the Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP) anti-communist thug who punched a female SL supporter in the face at a 2006 Melbourne trade-union rally! (See "We Will Not Be Silenced! Australasian Spartacist No. 196, Spring 2006.) In widely exposing and condemning this DSP thug attack we asserted that, in the polemical traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, we will continue to argue program and principle against pseudo-socialists such as the DSP and SAlt in order to clearly expose and defeat their sellout politics. This is part of the struggle to win workers and others from the poisonous grip of Laborism to the Trotskyist program necessary to fight to sweep away racist Australian capitalism through workers revolution. We fight to build internationalist proletarian vanguard parties like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, which can lead the working masses in new October Revolutions to open the road to a classless communist future. Workers, leftist youth and all those interested in joining this historic fight should check out our revolutionary Trotskyist program.

■



# Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

Afrikan Liberation Day Organising Committee, Brother Ras Bob for the Pan Afrikan Society Community Forum and Brother Otongogara for the George Jackson Socialist League. Jessica Huntley, who helped found Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, spoke, giving a very powerful and vivid picture of Mumia's professionalism and political knowledge as a journalist when she had met him in 1981. She spoke of how Mumia called her after he was arrested, telling her he was in prison for a crime he did not commit.

Speaking for the PDC, Kate Klein explained the PDC's perspective of a class-struggle fight to free Mumia:

"From South African workers battling neo-apartheid repression to the multiracial transport workers in New York City to postal workers here in Britain fighting against union-busting privatisation, we want to see strikes against the capitalists and their governments, and in those strikes, along with the demands that are raised, emblazoned on their banners we want to see: Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! Because like any fight against racist oppression and class exploitation, this is not a fight that will be won in a courtroom but on the streets in mass struggle. And the same vicious system that wants Mumia dead carries out imperialist wars and occupations, starves the African continent and keeps working people the world over in chains."

Chanting "Mumia is innocent! Free him now! Labor has the power to make the courts bow!" the PDC and LBL-organized Class-Struggle Contingent in the Philadelphia protest drew some 150 people, including trade unionists from NYC's powerful Transport Workers Union Local 100. The contingent marched under the 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!" Others at the protest included Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party (through its October 22nd Coalition) and the Party for Socialism and Liberation. The classstruggle perspective of the PDC's contingent stood in stark contrast to the politics of these reformist groups, which have long promoted the illusion that Mumia could get "justice" from the capitalist courts.

In building for this demonstration, on April 18 the PDC raised a banner calling for Mumia's freedom in the vicinity of a Barack Obama rally of some 35,000 people in Philadelphia. Many of Obama's younger supporters were shocked to learn that he—as well as Hillary Clinton—supports the death penalty, and, in fact, a number of youth met at the rally came to the Philly protest. After we raised the PDC banner, an "Obama Country" banner was moved in front of it. A 22 April letter to the Philadelphia Daily News by Bob Hering, an Obama supporter who was at the rally, described how Obama's official volunteers "had been told by the campaign to block the Mumia sign from the view of the stage and the cameras." He noted that a campaign staffer asked him to sympathize with the decision to "limit the distractions," adding, "I can't sympathize."

Unlike the reformists who promote Democratic Party "lesser evilism," currently through either explicit or implicit support to Obama, we fight to break workers and youth from support to all capitalist parties and politicians. At the Obama rally, our comrades distributed copies of our article, "Obama, Clinton: No Friends of Workers, Blacks, the Oppressed," which was issued on April 17 and also distributed at the Philadelphia and Oakland protests (see page 1).

At the Philadelphia Mumia protest, the cops acted to protect fascist vermin who came to attack the demonstration. Marshals from the PDC/LBL contingent effectively repulsed a fascist provocation against the protest. In response to the fascist provocation, marchers in the PDC contingent chanted, "Fascists out!" and "Stop the Nazis! Stop the Klan! Only workers defense guards can!" It is hardly an accident that the race-terrorist fascists—the deadly enemies of labor, blacks and all the oppressed—came forward as the stormtroopers for those who seek Mumia's legal lynching. This affirms that the cause of Mumia is the cause of labor, the cause of black freedom, the cause of all the oppressed.

The fight for Mumia's freedom is at a

critical juncture. The statements in defense of Mumia must be turned into mass action, centered on labor's power. We call on everyone to redouble their efforts to build the upcoming united-front demonstrations, which will take place in Sydney, Australia, on April 23, Mexico City on April 24, and Chicago and L.A. on April 26. Fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom!

We print below the speech delivered by Spartacist League speaker Reuben Samuels at the April 19 Oakland unitedfront protest to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

~ ~ ~

Mumia Abu-Jamal is buried behind bars, facing death because of his lifelong devotion to black freedom and social emancipation. On March 28, I said our task is to assist the international working class in making the cause of this brave class warrior their own so that the demand *Free Mumia* rings out from worker-led protest around the world: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Over the last three weeks, our united-front protests to free Mumia, which you helped build (most of you), have become an internationalist platform for labor and the oppressed throughout the world to express their solidarity with this voice of black revolt and to express their opposition to racist U.S. imperialism. From South Africa to Scotland, more than 300 organizations and individuals, including trade unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, have endorsed our call. Mumia is innocent, free him now!

The racist death penalty is the legacy of chattel slavery; it is the lynch mob deputized and given blue uniforms and black robes. This past Wednesday it was reaffirmed by the nine Supreme Hangmen of the Land. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The decision of the Court of Appeals to bury Mumia alive or subject him to another death penalty hearing is a demonstration, once again, that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. And once again it is a damning indictment of those like the San Francisco Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and Socialist



Congress of South African **Trade Unions** (COSATU) Western Cape endorsed **PDC-initiated** international campaign of united-front mobilizations demanding Mumia's freedom and sent solidarity statement.

Campaign to free Mumia Abu Jamal

COSATU endorses the campaign to free Comrade ABU JAMAL

The campaign has over the years provided strong evidence on why it is important to free comrade ABU JAMAL. It is unacceptable that someone is framed for there convictions and political history of being a voice for the voiceless. As well as questioning the establishment and there attempts to keep the status quo in tack in the USA.

This case does in many respect show the biasness of the USA justice system against the poor. The case itself has thrown up many of the latent racism that exist in the judiciary and the lack of proper procedure being applied in this case. The details of this case are well recorded and the principle must be opposed by all freedom loving people across the world. We know that the Black Panthers have taken up many of the struggles against apartheid and we are honour bound to reciprocate as well as because of our deep seated commitment to social justice.

We will stand with the millions of people across the world that are calling for justice to be done and will join the protest against this travesty of justice.

Compradely greetings.

Tony Enrengich

COSATU Provincial secretary [W Cape- South Africa]

WORKERS VANGUARD

# "For Class-Struggle Defense! For Mass Protest for Mumia's Freedom!"

We print below the speech given by Partisan Defense Committee speaker Debby Spector at the April 19 Toronto unitedfront protest called by the PDC as part of its international campaign for Mumia's freedom.

The racist rulers want to put Mumia to death or entomb him for life. We say no!! Twenty-five years of legal proceedings starkly show there is no middle ground—it's either fight for Mumia's freedom or accede to his legal lynching or life in prison. The question is: how do we fight to win his freedom? What path leads to victory?

Mumia's frame-up is a stark expression of the class and race bias of the capitalist courts. The rulers see in Mumia the spectre of black revolt, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is the cornerstone of American capitalism. The March 27 ruling should

make clear to all that Mumia can get no justice at the hands of the very forces that framed him up and sentenced him to die.

Ever since the PDC took up Mumia's case over 20 years ago, we have sought to mobilize the broadest forces in his defense. Today's protest is one of many internationally that have been endorsed by unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, and by many other organizations and individuals. I want to greet especially the trade unionists who've come out today with their banners: CUPW, the Steelworkers, CUPE, UFCW. I'm a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113. Last year our local too voted to join the fight to free Mumia.

The Partisan Defense Committee fights for *class-struggle* defense—for mass protest for Mumia's freedom based on labor's social power, its ability to choke off

the profits that are capitalism's lifeblood. Genuine united-front action in Mumia's defense means unity in action and complete freedom of criticism. It means open debate about what strategy is needed to rebuild the movement for Mumia and fight for his freedom. It is *not* a peace pact with reformists who push deadly illusions in the bosses' courts, but a struggle against them.

The liberals and the reformists *undermined* the fight for Mumia's freedom by diverting protests into pleas for a "new, fair trial." We say the movement for Mumia must be rebuilt on the basis of a clear understanding that he is innocent; indeed, another man, Arnold Beverly, has confessed to the killing. Mumia must be freed, and the power of labor must be brought to bear on his behalf and that of all the oppressed. The power of millions of working people around the world—that's how



we can make the rulers back down!

Mumia's struggle embodies the struggle against the whole capitalist system of exploitation and racist oppression. He has now nearly reached the end of the legal road. It is urgent that we mobilize labor power in his defense—in the factories, on the shop floors and in the streets. Mumia is innocent! Free him now!

Action, the Freedom Socialist Party, Workers World Party and others who called for this innocent man, Mumia Abu-Jamal, to be retried by the very capitalist courts that framed him up and sought his execution. Retried for what? He should never have spent a day in jail! The Labor Action Committee now says it has always known there is no justice in the capitalist courts, but it was founded in solidarity with the Mobe and its demand for a "new trial." When we asked the Mobe to join this united-front effort to free Mumia, they said, oh no, it would damage their "good name." We wouldn't want that to happen. We won't let the Mobe demobilizers turn us around. Mumia is innocent, free him now! Mumia is innocent! Free him now!

While favoring every legal means on Mumia's behalf, we place all our faith in the social power of the international working class. In 1995 when Mumia was only weeks and days away from execution, we and many others launched a campaign of mass protest based on the power of organized labor that circled the globe and saved his life. At that very moment, his life hanging in the balance, the principal organ of American finance capital, the Wall Street Journal, seeking to sabotage our international campaign to save Mumia's life, got ammo from the socalled Bolshevik Tendency, the anti-Spartacist League slander machine. They branded us as a Jimstown suicide cult.



Lucas Blue Flores Piran

Philadelphia, April 18: As part of building April 19 Mumia demonstration, PDC supporters raised banner calling for Mumia's freedom in vicinity of Obama campaign rally.

just like the bourgeoisie branded the *victims* of the government's 1985 bombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia, murdering eleven men, women and children, and claiming, yes, they were a suicide cult. Anti-communist slander, always vile, is seldom original.

The election of either a black man or a white woman to occupy the White House would be a significant event—no doubt

U.S. imperialism needs a facelift—but it won't change the conditions of women's and black oppression that are rooted in the family and class exploitation. Democratic front-runner Barack Obama *confronts* race to *take race off* the agenda in the service of flag-waving national unity around the so-called "war on terrorism," war on Muslims, war on Palestinians. Oh yes, Obama claims the civil rights movement brought

us 90 percent of the way to racial equality. But the courageous foot soldiers of that era did not stand up to Klan and cop terror in order to see their hopes and dreams washed away in the racist travesty of post-Katrina New Orleans, or after they protested Jim Crow justice in Jena, to see lynch ropes hanging from the halls of Columbia University to the docks of L.A.

Chained to the capitalist Democrats, the civil rights movement could not challenge the economic foundations of black oppression. The best militants, who rejected the liberal pacifism of the so-called "Moses Generation" and wanted radical change, formed the Black Panther Party. But they could not see past the trade-union misleaders who turned their backs on black freedom, and the Panthers rejected the working class as the key agent for social revolution. Instead they embraced black nationalism centered on the ghetto poor and powerless, turning toward community social work or the fantasy of urban guerrilla warfare.

Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. It will not be gotten rid of until capitalism itself is swept away in a socialist revolution. Because of blacks' special oppression and history of social struggle, black workers are destined to be in the forefront of the struggle for revolutionary leadership. Black workers are the vital link between the anger of the ghetto and power of the proletariat.

continued on page 6

## Spartacist League/Labor Black League Forums

Break with the Democrats! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

# Race, Class and the Fight for a Workers America

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Update and report back on the international campaign to free innocent death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the continuing campaign to win his freedom

# BAY AREA

## Saturday, May 10, 3 p.m.

First Presbyterian Church of Oakland Reception Room 2619 Broadway Oakland

(near 27th, 19th St. BART) For more information: (510) 839-0851

slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

#### CHICAGO

#### Saturday, May 17

Time and location to be announced For more information: (312) 563-0441 chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

#### LOS ANGELES

#### Saturday, May 17, 4 p.m.

Mount Hollywood Congregational Church 4607 Prospect Avenue (near Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station) For info: (213) 380-8239, slsycla@sbcglobal.net

# Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

From Chain Gangs to the Racist "War on Drugs"

Mass Black Incarceration
in Capitalist America

With a report on the international campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, May 10, 4:30 p.m.

322 W. 48th St.,1st floor (between 8th and 9th Aves.; A, C or E to 42nd St.)

# **NEW YORK CITY**

For more information: (212) 267-1025 or nysl@tiac.net

## Labor Black League Readers Circle

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

Presentation on Mumia's case and a report back on the international demonstrations of April 19-26

Come to our *Workers Vanguard* Readers Circle discussion on the article on Mumia Abu-Jamal in this issue.

Tuesday, April 29, 6 p.m. 299 Broadway, Suite 318

299 Broadway, Suite 318 (north of Chambers Street)

**NEW YORK CITY** 

For more information: (212) 267-1025

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# From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

# **When Courts Go Wrong**

We're often surprised when courts get it wrong, but why?

It's because we expect them to get it right—and therein lies the surprise.

For, if history is any judge, we should all be surprised when they get it right. For courts are political institutions, and politics is rarely about right or wrong; it's about power. As in who has it; and who doesn't.

Courts were set up to protect the wealth and property of the powerful, not the powerless; and any honest reading of legal history leads one back to that conclusion.

Here in this country courts were places for slavemasters, not slaves, and the words of a "justice" of the North Carolina Supreme Court, Thomas Ruffin, are instructive as he illustrates what underpins the law in 1829: "The power of the master must be absolute, to render the submission of the slave perfect... As a principle of moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it. But in the actual condition of things *it must be so.*"\*

Most of us have heard of the infamous *Dred Scott* (1857) case, but how many of us know that a generation before *Dred* was decided, a Pennsylvania Supreme Court opinion said essentially the same things? In *Hobbs v. Fogg* (1837) the state's highest court ruled that Blacks were not party to the Constitution, and therefore couldn't vote.

And although *Dred Scott* became a cause for war, by war's end, it was the courts, in cases like *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that upheld racial segregation, discrimination and oppression against Black people—*even in stark violation of the words in the Constitution*.

We like to think of this as ancient history; then—

not now. But these are the very foundation stones upon which America was built.

My father was born one year after *Plessy* was decided, and he lived almost all his life under its cruel restrictions.

The law has only moved when people organized to make it so. As that great abolitionist, freedom-fighter, and rabble-rouser, Frederick Douglass has taught, "Power concedes nothing without demand.... It never has—and never will...."

Social movements in the streets brought an end to *Plessy*, not lawsuits.

People, organized, shook the status quo, not neat words typed on crisp white paper.

When people organize, they *make* change.

5 April 2008

 $@2008\ Mumia\ Abu-Jamal$ 

[\*Source: Aptheker, Herbert, American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: International Publ., 1943 [1987]), p. 66]

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

# Mumia...

(continued from page 5)

American workers revolution needs black leadership.

Our program for black liberation is *revolutionary integrationism*. This is counterposed to liberal integration that holds that black equality can be achieved within the capitalist system—founded on the forcible subjugation of blacks at the bottom of society. It is counterposed to petty-bourgeois black nationalism: an ideology of defeat that would deny blacks their birthright—*the wealth and culture of this country that their labor has played a decisive role in creating*. Oh yes, 40 acres and a mule, land compensations, settlements for slavery—better than that, we want it all! The working class has the power to take it all!

Brother Heyman from ILWU Local 10, who spoke at our last rally—and his union has endorsed this rally—spoke of

the stop-work action on April 24, 1999 that shut down the West Coast ports in solidarity with Mumia. That was indeed a real demonstration of the social power that must be mobilized to free Mumia. But this action was politically undermined by tying it to the protests that day whose central call was for a "new trial."

Likewise, a work stoppage on May 1st, the international workers holiday, could be a powerful blow against the bloody imperialist occupation of Iraq. But the ILWU international leadership has wrapped the call for this stop-work action in "support our troops" jingoism. The butchers of Falluja, the torturers of Abu Ghraib are not "our" troops. Just like the courts that entomb Mumia are not "our" courts. The state that wages war on any that would oppose it is not "our" state. And the Democratic Party—whether represented by Clinton or Obama, whose candidacy the ILWU bureaucracy has endorsed—is not "our" party. Like the Republicans, it's the party of imperialist war and capitalist exploitation.

You cannot fight against the bosses' war by the bosses' rules. The pro-capitalist labor tops, their left-talkers included, are the *enforcers* of the bosses' rules in the labor movement. They must be replaced by a leadership devoted to the principles of the class struggle on the *political* and economic plane.

Our struggle to free Mumia and all classwar political prisoners is part and parcel of our struggle to mobilize the working class and the oppressed to storm, yes, storm the hellish prison that is capitalism. That begins with the fight for the political independence of the working class. Break with the big parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, as well as the little party of capital, the Greens. We would defend Obama against any racist blowback from this campaign, but we give no political support to this or any other representative of the capitalist class dictatorship.

Today the Democrats and the reformist left support "Free Tibet" as the spearhead for counterrevolution in China. The extension of the Chinese Revolution to Tibet ended slavery and the status of women as beasts of burden. It opened the road for social progress for this benighted society. We say: Unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist intervention! The working people of China must fight for a political revolution to replace the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy with the rule of workers, soldiers and peasants councils.

Help us build a revolutionary workers party that fights for Mumia's freedom, black freedom, full immigrant rights. Help us impart the understanding that those who labor must rule, in order to expropriate the greed-crazed capitalists before they destroy us all. Forward to the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!

# Outrage! Parole Denied We Demand: Free the MOVE 9 Prisoners Now!

After spending some 30 years in Pennsylvania's prison dungeons, enduring persistent persecution and harassment, Janine Africa, Janet Africa and Debbie Africa, three of the eight surviving members of the MOVE 9, were outrageously denied parole on April 22. Michael Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa and Phil Africa are to be interviewed by the parole board later in April. Chuck Africa is scheduled for later this year. The MOVE members were sentenced to 30 to 100 years in prison, having been framed up for conspiracy and murder stemming from the killing of Philadelphia police officer James Ramp, who died in the cops' own cross fire during a vicious 600-man police assault on MOVE's Powelton Village home on 8 August 1978. In 1998, Merle Africa died in prison, having spent nearly 20 years behind bars.

The MOVE prisoners remain strong and steadfast fighters not only for their own freedom but also for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost death row political prisoner and longtime MOVE supporter. These innocent men and women should not have spent one moment in prison. The Partisan Defense Committee has been sending monthly stipends to the imprisoned MOVE members

since 1986 as part of the PDC's program of support to class-war prisoners. We demand the immediate, unconditional release of the MOVE prisoners!

The city in which MOVE emerged was a racist hellhole lorded over by a police force determined to ruthlessly repress any expression of black dissent. This included targeting the predominantly black, back-tonature MOVE organization, which protested against the "system" and proclaimed their right of armed self-defense. At a press conference following the 1978 siege of MOVE's house, into which police fired thousands of rounds of ammunition, then-Philadelphia D.A. Edward Rendell (who is now Pennsylvania's governor) declared that police would have been "within their rights to have, subsequent to the shooting of Officer Ramp, stormed the house and killed all of the 12 people in the basement."

On 13 May 1985, less than four years after the MOVE 9 were sentenced and three years after Mumia's frame-up trial, the Philadelphia police, under the direction of black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and in league with federal authorities, dropped a bomb on MOVE's Osage Avenue home. Eleven black people, including five children, were burned to death and an entire black neighborhood of more than 60

August 1978: In vendetta against MOVE, nearly 600 Philadelphia cops launched murderous assault on Powelton Village MOVE

homes was incinerated. Ramona Africa was sentenced to seven years in prison for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of this racist atrocity, and she was made to serve every single day of her sentence. On April 14, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 2005 ruling that slashed the damages awarded by a jury to two dozen people who lost their homes in the May 1985 attack, and then vindictively cut them even further! This is the same court that last month upheld Mumia's

frame-up conviction.

In denying parole to Janine Africa, Janet Africa and Debbie Africa, the parole board stated that the MOVE prisoners "refused to accept responsibility" and, according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "lacked remorse" (Philly.com, 22 April). As the PDC noted in a March 6 protest letter to the parole board calling for the release of the MOVE prison-



Wide World

ers (see "Parole Hearing Approaches: Free the MOVE Prisoners!" WV No. 910, 14 March): "We are mindful that a common ruse for denying parole for those who have been falsely convicted is the claimed failure to show 'remorse.' Having committed no crime, the imprisoned MOVE members have no reason to demonstrate any so-called 'remorse'." Free the MOVE prisoners now!

\* \* \*

Letters demanding freedom for the MOVE prisoners should be sent to the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 1101 South Front Street, Suite 5100, Harrisburg, PA 17104-2517. The names for each of the commissioners are at: www.pbpp.state.pa.us. Copies of letters should be sent to: William Phillips Africa, AM 4984, SCI-Dallas, 1000 Follies Road, Dallas, PA 18612-0286.■

6 WORKERS VANGUARD

# **Mumia Abu-Jamal Radio Interview**

# "Frederick Douglass Taught Us That Power **Concedes Nothing Without a Demand"**

The following interview with Mumia Abu-Jamal by Prisoners of Conscience Committee (POCC) Block Report Radio was aired on the Flashpoints program of Berkeley's KPFA on April 7. It was transcribed by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 15. For the audio link, go to http://www.partisandefense.org/media/ Mumia-Flashpoints.mp3.

Minister of Information JR: Today we will be talking to political prisoner of 26 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal, about his response to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals' denial of him a trial, in his first interview about the situation since it has happened.

**JR:** To kick it off, Mumia, we recently suffered a setback in this Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision. What is your response and how do you look at the situation at this juncture?

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Well, I've learned over the years to always look at oral arguments with a degree of skepticism. This has only reinforced that opinion. Years ago, many years ago, in 1987, it may have been, when we were in front of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, several of my lawyers at that time, they came back to me after the oral arguments and they were effusive because they heard how angry the justices were at the Philadelphia D.A.'s office, and they heard the questions and they heard the answers and they were like, "Ah, ah, this is great, Mumia."

Now, this was early, but I held on to my skepticism. You learn that after many years in prison, but also many years in politics, especially black revolutionary politics. And this really was more of the

A reporter who looked at the case called it the "Mumia exception." The fact of the matter is, it's not the Mumia exception; it's the "Mumia rule" because this has happened before, so we shouldn't be

**JR:** I know there's some people out here who have been calling it a victory. Can you explain how it is not a victory but a

**MAJ:** Well, if it was a victory, it's a tiny, small victory, but not a victory. If you look at what the court said and what they did: what they did is, they made up new rules. You see, that is not a victory. That is, again, the Mumia rule. The same thing that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court did. For people who do know and who've read legal cases, there is a case called Commonwealth v. Baker. It was decided in 1986. I know that the Internet is out there so it enables people to do a lot more research in ways that were difficult to do many years ago. But if you look up Commonwealth v. Baker, decided by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1986, and you

Spartacus Youth Club Class

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read the argument that got him off of death row, and then read that same argument made by the same prosecutor, in front of the same judge, in the same courthouse, if not the same room, and

asked questions. Well someone got up and said, "Well, what do you think about Mumia?" And the guy says, "Ah, don't worry about that, he's got a new trial." And as fate would have it about five min-



Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969, age 15, as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

then see how the Pennsylvania Supreme Court created a new rule in Abu-Jamal, and then reinstated the old rule several vears later. So it's the "Mu rule" once again. When a court has to make up new rules and make up new laws to uphold something that was unjust before, that's not a victory. It's not a victory. But we struggle on.

Fred Hampton Jr: Right on, brother. Ona MOVE. Free 'em all.

**JR:** What's up Fred Jr?

FHJ: Same struggle, different round, again, as always it's inspiring to hear you, brother.

MAJ: And you. I saw you actually on PBS about three or four nights ago.

**FHJ:** Oh yeah?

MAJ: Yeah, you were speaking with a group of young kids on a bus.

**FHJ:** Okay, yeah, yeah, I know exactly what program you're talking about. Right on. We're trying to get the word out through every venue possible, you know?

**MAJ:** That's exactly what you said.

**FHJ:** Yes indeed, ves indeed. We're clear that we've got to continue to reiterate the fact that we've got to do our thing out here on the streets throughout the world. It's going to take the pressure from the people to get the desired results, but what tactics do you think that we can tweak, or what should we really touch on or really stress, again upping the ante about this campaign?

MAJ: I think you really hit the nail on the head. I think many people, even people who consider themselves radicals and revolutionaries, got caught sleeping for a moment. I mean, they either heard about or they were present at or they read about the oral arguments, and they said, "Whoa! He's got that."

Let me tell you a story, if I may, that a friend of mine, who is a lawyer, told me several days ago. This was in Pittsburgh, and it was a conference, a discussion given by a very well-known black capitalcase lawyer, who is from Alabama. His name is Bryan Stevenson, and he was speaking to a group opposed to the death penalty generally, but also students and law students and other people. And he gave his speech and it was very nicely received, and at the end people got up and

utes before he said that, someone received a text message. It was around 11 o'clock in the morning on the 27th, and they received a text message telling them what the Third Circuit had done. And this is a guy who is a recognized expert, not just in capital case law but in the Law. He is a famed lawyer. So having read the cases and read the briefs, he was sure, you see, but he was wrong. Because, even lawyers who are very smart and very good, what they don't factor in is politics in the law. What they don't factor in is personality in the law. What they don't factor in is the power of the law to change itself like a chameleon. And many people who are very well-informed or radical or even revolutionary, for a moment, for a moment, said this is good, because what they heard, or what they read, or what they saw at oral arguments gave them the belief that this would be different. Well we've learned otherwise haven't we? So we go back to basics.

I'm not going to tell people what to do or how to organize. They know how to do that. They need to trust in their own instincts. I believe in the people. I've always believed in it since I was a very young teenager. And the people never let you down. I mean, they do what's right because they know in their hearts what's right. And I commend them for it.

I just did a piece, yesterday, about how we have a history that we forget about sometimes. A history of the courts being on the side of repression, being on the side, not of freedom, but of enslavement, literally. That's what Dred Scott is all about. If you look at Plessy v. Ferguson, that's what that was all about.

A lot of people still believe that *Brown* continued on page 8

Komitee für soziale Verteidigung KfsV

Mumia ist unschuldig!

Freiheit jetzt!

Pc Partisan Defense Committee

**Mumia Is Innocent!** 

Free Him Now!

PDC Fact Sheet

in the service

of Legal Lynching

Protesters Counter New Drive to Execute Mumia

Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal

# **JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!**

# Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

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

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 been designated by Mumia's lawyer for this purpose.

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.

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 P.O. Box 74575, Los Angeles, CA 90004 (213) 380-8897 P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 (510) 839-0852

# Interview.

(continued from page 7)

v. Board of Education changed everything. Well it changed some things for some people. If you're well to do and your parent is a lawyer or a doctor or a professor or something like that, then you're OK. You still have problems but you're OK. You have the resources to take care of your family and do what you have to do to live a very good life, one that your parents or grandparents couldn't even think of. But if you're black and poor in this society, things have not really changed for you. In fact, in many ways they've gotten worse. I mean we talk about Brown v. Board of Education, decided in, what, 1955, 1953, which ended segregation in law in the United States. But I went to high school in the '60s in a segregated school. I'd been in a segregated elementary school, a segregated junior high school. The only real integration I received in my schooling was in summer school or in college. And the same schools that I went to as a kid are not very different for people who would be the age of my grandkids or teenagers today. Segregation in law is one thing; segregation in real life is another. So we have to remember what we know and act on what we know. Remember what the elder, Frederick Douglass, taught us: that power concedes nothing without a demand.

FHJ: This has been addressed on a number of occasions, by you and so many other forces. But could vou state to us what the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, what it represents? And why we have every apparatus from rappers being reprimanded when they try to speak about you in their videos, to certain media outlets being reprimanded, to even the fact that the Governor of California, Arnold Schwarzenegger, on his page five of denial of clemency for Stanley Tookie Williams, he pointed out the fact that Stanley Tookie Williams identified with such forces as Field Marshal George Jackson and including Mumia Abu-Jamal. What you represent—is it a symbol? What Mumia Abu-Jamal, what it represents—could you state that for us?

MAJ: I think for many people, especially for those in the establishment, I represent, in many ways, their greatest nightmare, because for many people who don't know, who have not lived...

**VOICE:** This call is from the State Correctional Institution at Greene and is subject to monitoring and recording.

**MAJ:** ...in that period and they don't know about the Black Panther Party and the black liberation movement. They may know tangentially about the civil rights movement. They think that everything is hunky-dory and nice now. Those people who live it, know it, they know otherwise. They know that the life of a black person in the ghetto or the life of a brown person in the barrio today, is unmitigated hell. They're still fighting for their 40 acres and two mules because they ain't got nothing. And on top of that they have the contempt of the black bourgeoisie which is now married with the contempt of the political class. But what they fear is black...

**VOICE:** You have 60 seconds remaining. MAJ: ... What they fear is the black revolution reigniting, you see, and that's why we have the present politics we have, the politics of acquiescence where black people are apologizing for what their preachers tell them in church. And that used to be one of the few sites where people could speak about freedom, could speak truth to power. Now it has to be politically watered down so that outsiders, people who have never been in a black church, are going to dictate...

**VOICE:** You have 30 seconds remaining.

**MAJ:** ... what black people listen to, it's madness. Ona MOVE.

FHJ: Ona MOVE. Free 'em all. You hear that clamor out there in different languages from Scandinavia to Africa and all throughout the world. That loud noise is to let them know that people out there are saying, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free 'em all!"

MAJ: Give my love and tell 'em Ona MOVE!

FHJ: Ona MOVE!

**MAJ:** Thank you all!

**FHJ:** Thank you!

**JR:** You were just listening to the voice of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal as he responded for the first time publicly to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision to not grant him a trial. We are asking our listeners to get involved in the Free Mumia campaign now because your help is needed in getting this former Black Panther out of the cross hairs of the United States government who wants to kill this freedom fighter and prolific journalist who many know as the voice of the voiceless. This is the Minister of Information JR and Chairman Fred Hampton Jr on POCC Block Report Radio signing off.■

**Los Angeles** 

11000 Wilshire Blvd.

or pdc-la@sbcglobal.net

# **Mobilize For United-Front Protests!**

Chicago Sat., April 26, 12 noon Federal Plaza

(Adams and Dearborn) For more information: (312) 563-0442 or chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net



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

This is a partial list of endorsers (as of 22 April 2008) of the united-front protests listed above, and those already held in London, Oakland and Toronto on April 19, and upcoming in Sydney on April 23 and in Mexico City on April 24. For the full listing, visit www.partisandefense.org

Aberdeen Trades Union Council, Aberdeen, Scotland African Liberation Support Campaign, London, England Robert L. Allen, Adjunct Professor, African American Studies, University of California at Berkeley,\* Berkeley, CA

Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, Chicago, IL Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308, Chicago, IL

Asian Communities Council of Canada, East Toronto, ON, Canada Australia Asia Worker Links, Melbourne, Australia

Lydia Barashango, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal

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 Elaine Brown, Brunswick, GA

Canadian Union of Postal Workers — Syndicat des Travailleurs et Travailleuses des Postes, Ottawa, ON, Canada

Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 3902, Toronto, ON,

Cardiff Nexus Innocence Project, Cardiff, Wales

CGT Dockers Union Marseille, Marseille, France CGT Union of Petrochemical Workers at Total in Gonfreville,

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) New York City Chapter,

New York, NY COBAS PT CUB (Postal Workers Union), Milano, Italy Monique Code, spokesperson for Jamal Hart, New York, NY

Colectivo Rebeldía, Mexico City, Mexico Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), Branch 2200,\* Pasadena, CA

Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (SF8), San Francisco, CA Communication Workers Union Eastern Region, London, England Congress of South African Trade Unions—Western Cape, Cape Town,

Day-Mer Turkish and Kurdish Community Centre, London, England Jim Deery, Chairperson, Greater New Lodge Community Forum-North Belfast, \* North Belfast, Northern Ireland

Emory Douglas, Revolutionary Artist/Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party,\* San Francisco, CA

Michael Eric Dyson, Professor, Georgetown University,\* Washington, D.C. iEureka!, Mexico City, Mexico

Vilma Filici, President, Canadian Hispanic Congress,\* Toronto,

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

Freedom Socialist Party Bay Area Branch, San Francisco, CA Gay Liberation Network, Chicago, IL

Goldii, daughter of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philadelphia, PA Aleida Guevara March, Medical Specialist, Ministry of Public Health (MINSAP),\* Cuba

Fred Hampton Jr., Chairman, Prisoners of Conscience Committee, Chicago, IL

Stuart Hanlon, attorney, San Francisco, CA

Noelle Hanrahan, Prison Radio, San Francisco, CA Jack Heyman, Executive Board member, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10\*; member, Labor Action

Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, San Francisco, CA David Hilliard, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, Oakland, CA

Hospital Employees' Union, Burnaby, BC, Canada Rosario Ibarra, National Coordinator, iEureka!, Mexico City, Mexico International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA [Oakland demonstration only] International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422.

Charleston, SC **Dr. John Kani**, Executive Trustee, Market Theatre,\* Johannesburg South Africa

Yuri Kochiyama, member, Asians for the San Francisco Eight,\*

La Raza Centro Legal/San Francisco Day Labor Program, San Francisco, CA

Rachel Laforest, Director of Organizing, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100,\* New York, NY

Darlyne A. Lawson, Recording Secretary, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100,\* New York, NY Chol Soo Lee, Special Consultant, At Risk Asian American Youth

Project at San Francisco State University,\* San Francisco, CA Leonard Peltier Defense Committee Canada, Canada Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo — Contracorriente,

Mexico City, Mexico Frederick Loft, member, Canadian Union of Public Employees\*; member, Six Nations of the Grand River Territory,\* Hamilton,

Manning Marable, Professor, Columbia University,\* New York, NY Maritime Union of Australia Victorian Branch, West Melbourne,

Cynthia McKinney, Atlanta, GA

Kim Moody, National Union of Journalists,\* London, England Jenny Munro, Wiradjuri Aboriginal Nation,\* Sydney, Australia

National Lawyers Guild/L.A., Los Angeles, CA National Union of Mine Workers, Johannesburg, South Africa National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers Finsbury

Park Branch, London, England Navenda Civata Demokratika kurd e.V., Berlin, Germany Kiilu Nyasha, Host of "Freedom is a Constant Struggle," SF Live,\*

San Francisco, CA Oakland Education Association, Oakland, CA
OPZZ Konfederacja Pracy (All-Poland Workers Trade Union
Confederation of Labor), Warsaw, Poland

P.A.M.E. (All-Workers Fighting Front), Athens, Greece Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT),

Mexico City, Mexico

Partisan Defense Committee

Darryl "Mike D." Payne, President, ILA Local 1526,\* Fort Lauderdale, FL Gilles Perrault, writer, France

Region 4 Area Women's Caucus United Auto Workers (UAW),

Kenneth Riley, President, ILA Local 1422, Charleston, SC San Francisco Bay View National Black Newspaper, San Francisco, CA Scottish Trades Union Congress, Glasgow, Scotland

Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) Local 371, New York, NY South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) Gauteng

Province, Johannesburg, South Africa South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU), Johannesburg, South Africa

Spartacist League/U.S.

Lynne Stewart, Founder, Lynne Stewart Organization,\* New York, NY Bernhard Stietz-Leipnitz, member of the Hamburg Executive Board, ver.di (Public Service Workers Union),\* Hamburg, Germany SUD Rail Workers Union of Paris Left Bank, Paris, France

Clarence Thomas, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10,\* San Francisco, CA

Timor Leste Trade Union Confederation, East Timor Trade Union Assembly of the School of Political and Social Sciences UNAM/STÚNAM, Mexico City, Mexico

UAW Local 3212, Chicago, IL United Steelworkers Local Union 675, Carson, CA

United Steelworkers (USW) Local 1998, Toronto, ON, Canada Glenroy Watson, Chair, Rail, Maritime and Transport Union Finsbury Park Branch, London, England **Cornel West** 

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 united-front demonstrations do not necessarily agree in any particular with the calls by the PDC.

# U.S. united-front demonstrations are initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues. For more information 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.

**WORKERS VANGUARD** 8

# Obama...

(continued from page 1)

—the proletariat is the only class with the social power and objective interest to lead all the oppressed in sweeping away the capitalist order. Led by a Marxist vanguard party, the working class can expropriate the bourgeoisie and reorganize society on a socialist basis. But the workers' social power is fettered by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which ties the proletariat to the bourgeois class enemy, especially through the Democratic Party. What is necessary is a political struggle to oust the trade-union bureaucrats and replace them with a class-struggle leadership as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party that fights for workers power.

#### Race and Bourgeois Elections

Illusions in Obama are widespread. notwithstanding his actual policies, many of which are to the right of Clinton. In the face of the history of black oppression in the U.S., the possibility of electing the first black president has propelled many black people to support Obama. He has also been especially popular with liberal-minded college youth, who view Obama as a charismatic, honest politician, above the mudslinging and corruption that define American politics.

In fact, no less than Hillary Clinton (or John McCain, the presumptive Republican nominee), Obama is a mainstream bourgeois politician. In their campaigns, both Clinton and Obama are pandering to backward voters, downplaying or outright disappearing such key questions as abortion rights for women. It is a testament to the grotesque nature of bourgeois politics that Clinton-who with her husband earned over \$109 million over the last eight years—is perceived as the representative of the white working-class vote. while Obama, who has tried to run on an "end of racism" message, is pulling nearly every black vote.

Despite his best efforts, in racist, capitalist America, Obama, the son of a Kenyan man and a white woman from Kansas, could not disappear race in this race. This became clear when the media began playing comments made by Jeremiah Wright, Obama's former pastor at Chicago's Trinity United Church of Christ. After Obama delivered his March 18 "A More Perfect Union" speech, we underlined in "Break with Democratic Party of War and Racism!" (WV No. 911, 28 March): "What Obama gave was, in fact, a 'national unity' speech, putting himself forward as the bourgeoisie's best candidate to run bloody U.S. imperialism and keep working people, blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed down. Obama, linked to the Illinois Democratic machine, seems well qualified to be the chief executive of U.S.



## **Class-Struggle Defense Notes**

# **Just Out!**

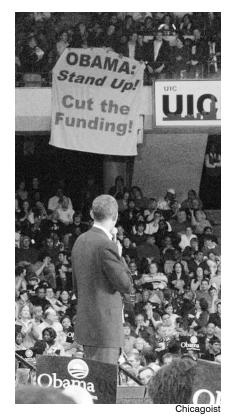
No. 35, Spring 2008

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imperialism, including by refurbishing its credentials in the world arena."

Flanked by eight American flags, Obama in his speech promoted protectionist chauvinism, made clear his support for Israel, denounced "radical Islam" and cheered on the imperialist "war on terror." He denounced welfare and conciliated racist opposition to affirmative action and school integration through busing, while promoting the "quintessentially American—and yes, conservative notion of self-help"—an echo of Booker T. Washington, who over a century ago preached accommodation to the racist status quo by telling impoverished blacks to pull themselves up by their bootstraps (if they owned any). It was a speech completely in line with his lie that the civil rights movement moved this country "90 percent of the way" to ending racism. Obama talked about race in order to disappear the brutal realities of racist American capitalism today, condemning Wright for speaking "as if this country...is still irrevocably bound to a tragic past."

From the racist atrocity of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast in the face of Hurricane Katrina to the mass incarceration of nearly a million black men and women, black oppression has been and remains the bedrock of American capitalism, which is based on the exploitation of the entire multiracial working class. This reality has left its imprint upon the American working class. The U.S. is the only advanced capitalist country lacking a mass workers party representing even a deformed expression of the political independence of the proletariat.

The history of the U.S. workers movement is one of heroic and often bloody economic struggle (for example, proletarian holidays such as May Day and International Women's Day have their origins in the American workers movement). At the same time, the capitalist rulers have long fomented ethnic and religious hatred to keep the proletariat divided and thus politically backward. Well into the 20th century, the rulers pitted "native" Protestants against mainly Catholic immigrant workers. With the mass migration of blacks from the South to the industrial cities of the North, religious and ethnic hostilities in the proletariat came to be supplanted by anti-black racism, serving to obscure the irreconcilable class divide. It is in the vital interest of the entire working class to fight against black oppression. As we underlined in "The Obama Campaign and the 'End of Racism' Myth":

"Contrary to the myth promoted by Obama and other liberals, black oppression continues to be the central defining feature of U.S. society. It is materially rooted in and central to American capitalism. As against both liberal integrationists and black nationalists, our struggle for black liberation is based on the program of revolutionary integrationism. While opposing every manifestation of racist oppression, fighting in particular to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement, we underline that full equality for the black masses requires that the working class rip the economy out

26 MARCH 2008 Yes, Obama's voting numbers present us an opportunity

because they show that young people are now less cynical and more open to "talking politics." But just what politics is crucial. The highly politicized Hitler Youth weren't cynical. is crucial. The highly politicized Hitler Youth weren't cynical. Many earnestly hoped for the better world Nazi imperialism claimed to offer. And Hitler, after all, professing "socialism," was able to rally many well-meaning people seeking change to support German industrialists' deadly schemes for territorial expansion

Unless we actively participate in Obama's campaign and expose his true purposes, any Obama success at the polls will prove deadly to the working class. The fatally deceptive optimism he sells masks imperialist objectives that are the xact opposite of PLP's working-class program. Our longterm goals are waging a revolution to destroy the profit system and its endless wars and making a communist-lec vorking class the rulers of society.

Party "lesser evilism" through Barack Obama. Left: ISO-led protesters unfurl banner at February 2007 Obama campaign rally, University of Illinois-Chicago. Above: Progressive Labor Party calls

Fake Marxists promote Democratic

to "actively participate in Obama's campaign.

> of the hands of the 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 integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society based on a collectivized economy with jobs and quality housing, health care and education for all.'

The way forward in the struggle against the racist capitalist system requires breaking the political chains that bind workers, blacks, and the oppressed to the class enemy, particularly through support to the Democratic Party. It means waging political struggle against the labor tops, many of whom are leading lights in the Democratic Party, as well as against the reformists who have again and again pushed the "fight the right" politics of "lesser evilism."

Such a political struggle for the political independence of the working class and the fight for black liberation must have as its starting point revolutionary internationalism. It was the Bolshevik leaders of the 1917 October Revolution and early Communist International who imparted to the young American Communist Party the necessity of addressing the fight against racial oppression in the U.S. Underlining the link between the struggle for black freedom and opposition to U.S. imperialism, Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander noted in a presentation at a recent gathering of the SL/U.S. CC ("For a Workers America!" WV No. 908, 15 February):

"Our struggle for black freedom is not confined to the national terrain.... We have something special to say to the majority of the oppressed black masses, who in larger numbers historically oppose U.S. imperialist adventures against dark-skinned peoples: the violent and bloody and corrupt and hypocritical ruling class that slaughters Iraqis and Afghanis is the same ruling class whose cops gun down black youth and Latinos on a daily basis...

"We are determined to make clear—not least because in America black oppression is the envelope for class exploitation—that it is in the interest of white, Latino and other workers to fight for black liberation."

#### Mobilize Labor's Power to Free Mumia Now!

The upcoming Pennsylvania primaries, set for April 22, intersect the March 27

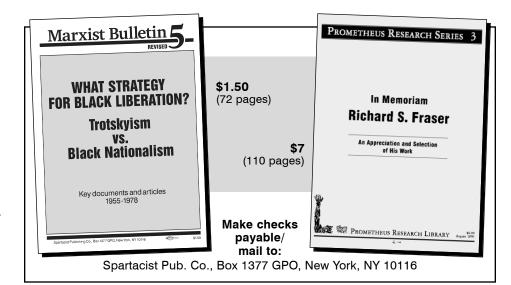
decision by the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals that upheld the frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal for the 1981 killing of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. Mountains of evidence of his innocence exist, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. But the courts have either rejected or refused to hear that evidence. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, a supporter of the persecuted MOVE organization, an eloquent journalist and fighter against oppression known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia represents for the ruling class the spectre of black revolt.

Against the recent court decision, the Partisan Defense Committee—a classstruggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—and the PDC's fraternal defense organizations have initiated and called united-front demonstrations in cities across the U.S. and the world under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" (See ad on page 8.)

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal lays bare the inherent injustices of the capitalist system. It underlines two of the most fundamental questions for the American proletariat: the nature of the capitalist state and its courts as instruments of repression against working people and the oppressed, and the fight for black liberation. What is necessary is a *class-struggle* fight to free Mumia-one based on the understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two hostile classes, the capitalist exploiters and the working class. It is the working classwhich can cut the flow of capitalist profit by withholding its labor—that has the social power to make the courts yield and to win Mumia's freedom. This is the political program that the SL and PDC have consistently advocated in our struggle for Mumia's freedom, not least against the reformists and liberals who have promoted illusions in the capitalist state and its "justice" system, as exemplified by their longtime subordination of the call to free Mumia to the demand for a "new trial."

Crassly expressing the logic behind the illusions promoted by groups such as Workers World Party (WWP) is a statement titled "No Justice, No Peace" by a representative of the New York Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, which stated: "Both Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barack Obama endorse capital punishment, even though they know the system is imperfect and it doesn't deter violent crime. Let's see where they stand on Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has not had a violent past; in fact, it's quite the opposite, as you already know. It's not too late to force them to do right by Mumia and all the other political prisoners rotting in prison."

Who are they kidding?! Clinton's biggest backer in the state is Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, the district attorney who oversaw the frame-up conviction of Mumia. In turn, Obama's praises have been sung by Philadelphia right-wing radio broadcaster Michael Smerconish, who described Obama's March 18 speech as "stunning" and, though a Republican, recently declared, "If I could, I would vote for Obama." Smerconish recently coauthored Murdered by Mumia with Maureen Faulkner, a lying tract aimed at continued on page 10



# Obama...

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greasing the skids for the legal lynching of Mumia.

Perhaps it was more than irony that Obama gave his "Perfect Union" speech in Philadelphia, the city where Mumia was framed up. Not far from where Obama spoke, a brutal massacre took place: the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune, which slaughtered eleven black men, women and children and destroyed an entire black neighborhood. This was carried out by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in collusion with the Feds. In seeking the presidency, Obama is following the tradition of black Democrats who have been employed as mayors and police chiefs of major urban areas—from L.A. to Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and elsewhere. Their job has been to keep working and black people down. Their value to the racist rulers is embodied in the statement by black former New York City mayor David Dinkins: "They'll take it from me." Obama simply seeks to become the overseer for the whole bloody plantation.

The very existence of the death penalty in the U.S.—a legacy of black chattel slavery—underlines the centrality of black oppression to American capitalism. No other advanced capitalist country but Japan continues to use this barbaric practice. As Marxists, we oppose the death penalty 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! No to legal lynching!

For his part, upon taking office in the Illinois state legislature in 1998, Obama voted to expand the list of crimes eligible for the death penalty. While he supported the moratorium on capital punishment by Republican governor George Ryan (who went on to commute the sentence of every death row inmate before leaving office in 2003), Obama's purpose was to refurbish the Illinois killing machine to "make sure you've got the right person before you consider the death penalty."

On April 16, the racist U.S. Supreme Court voted 7-2 to uphold capital punishment by lethal injection, which had been challenged by death row inmates who pointed to cases showing that the condemned victim suffers excruciating pain during their killing while being paralyzed and unable to cry out. In the majority opinion, Chief Justice John Roberts wrote that "simply because an execution method may result in pain" does not mean that it is "cruel and unusual." The spectacle of the Supreme Court "Justices" debating how best to kill a human being is testament to the utter barbarism of American capitalism. It recalls the "debates" in bourgeois circles over what torture techniques to use against detainees. Virginia has already announced that it will lift its unofficial moratorium on executions; the machinery of death is about to start up again.

# "Socialists" in the Service of the Bourgeoisie

Much of what passes for the left in this country has either explicitly or implicitly endorsed a Democratic Party victory over the Republicans in the upcoming election, invariably through accolades for Barack Obama. Having built an "antiwar movement" premised on appealing to bourgeois (Democratic) politicians to "end the war" in Iraq, the liberals and their reformist supporters have now buried that "movement" in the morass of American electoral politics. As reformists, their starting point is *not* the fight for socialist revolution, but rather the lie that capitalism can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

Workers World Party leader Larry Holmes delivered a presentation on "Globalization, Economic Crisis & Obama" (published in a *Workers World* posting, 21 February) that spoke of the Obama campaign posing "a problem for serious leftists or revolutionaries. But I think inevitably it will be more helpful than harmful. Right now, things have been so

difficult, almost anything that shakes things up is beneficial, because at least Obama has a lot of people thinking and talking and debating, particularly all these white people."

To be sure, WWP has not openly endorsed the Democrat Obama; rather, they are enthusing over capitalist Green Party candidate Cynthia McKinney (whom they endorsed when she was a Democratic Party Congressional candidate in 2004). They have, however, gone to great lengths to leave the door open. A *Workers World* (9 January) editorial states:

"With an Obama candidacy, workingclass and revolutionary organizations will have to stay sensitive to the impact of racism on the electoral campaign, even as the left differentiates itself from Obama as well as the Republican. The



named Revolutionary Communist Party

(RCP), which created the "World Can't

Wait! Drive Out the Bush Regime!" proj-

ect—not coincidentally, the same project

of the Democrats this year. During the

2004 elections, they advised: "vote for

Kerry if you feel you really have to" (Revo-

lutionary Worker, 29 August 2004). One

can guess where the RCP will end up this

Meanwhile, the Progressive Labor Party

(PL) has openly declared, with the bizarre

"logic" that only PL can conjure: "Unless

we actively participate in Obama's cam-

paign and expose his true purposes, any

Obama success at the polls will prove

year with the far more popular Obama.

Der Spied

Liberal Democratic politicians, "made men" of the bourgeoisie. Left: Franklin D. Roosevelt signs 1934 crime bill vastly expanding repressive powers of federal agents, as J. Edgar Hoover looks on. Above: President John Kennedy flanked by Attorney General Robert Kennedy and FBI director Hoover.

left will also have to adjust its approach should there be an active intervention of the population in the electoral process, especially if an economic or war crisis arises during the election."

Bettmann

Stay tuned. Workers World supported Jesse Jackson in 1988 and other black Democrats since.

Then there is the International Socialist Organization (ISO), an anti-Communist grouping that supported the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat. In California, the ISO ran its honcho, Todd Chretien, as a U.S. Senate candidate for the capitalist Green Party in 2006. Now, the ISO has geared its ranks to set their sights on the bourgeois electoral prize, ditching their former support to Ralph Nader—Green candidate and "independent" in 2000 and 2004 respectively—as a "poor use of scarce resources for those who want to build a stronger left." While criticizing Obama's policies, the ISO's International Socialist Review (March-April 2008) elaborates:

"If a Democrat wins the White House and the Democrats hold the Congress, will this mark a rebirth of liberalism? The answer is both yes and no. In the sense that both Clinton and Obama stand to the 'left' of McCain on most issues, and a Democratic victory would break years of right-wing Republican dominance, liberalism would receive a boost. What is more, millions of Americans would vote for Democratic candidates hoping that they would act on the issues that concern the majority: ending the war in Iraq, fixing the housing mess, providing universal health care. If the mainstream political system began to raise these 'liberal' issues, people's expectations that something could be done about them would be raised. And just breaking the stifling conservative orthodoxy of the last generation would make liberalism a more viable ideological alternative for millions who want to see real social change.

To the ISO, the aim is to resurrect Democratic Party liberalism, which is based on the maintenance of racist American capitalism (though with the facade of a "human face"). Small wonder that on the ground ISO members in the Bay Area were circulating a leaflet: "Elections '08/The Obama Phenomenon Hope for Change."

Among the groups that have most openly pushed "Anybody but Bush" Democratic Party "lesser evilism" is the mis-

class enemy, PL adds a grotesque twist, comparing Obama's followers to the Hitler Youth: "Many earnestly hoped for the better world Nazi imperialism claimed to offer. And Hitler, after all, professing 'socialism,' was able to rally many wellmeaning people seeking change" (Challenge, 26 March). This is the same group that grotesquely ran on the back page of its paper, Challenge (3 January 2007), a doctored photo of Obama in a Klan suit! After deploying its members into such reactionary outfits as church groups and the imperialist volunteer army, and (again) into "active participation" in Obama's campaign (and now vicariously into the Hitler Youth), one can only wonder what PL will do next.

#### "Made Men" of the Bourgeoisie

While a shell of its former self, the Communist Party (CP) in pushing Democratic Party "lesser evilism," especially support for Obama, does put succinctly what the rest of the left pushes in somewhat more tortured terms. CPUSA Online (10 April) plainly states in regard to Obama and Clinton that "neither candidate is of the left. But history teaches us that when mobilized, labor and people's forces can push through and win progressive gains in a climate like today. Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not run on a New Deal program, but was propelled to create it by the unity in action of millions of unemployed and their allies. A landslide vote gives leverage to organize with the new President and Congress."

Contrary to the dreams of the CP (and the rest of the reformist left), it is not "the people" that gets to decide who will head the U.S. government, but the bourgeois rulers, who vet their candidates to ensure that they fit the criteria. Any bourgeois candidate—regardless of color or gender, or of how liberal or conservative they may be-must be the "made men" of the bourgeoisie, roughly analogous to the Mafia's "made men." For example, liberal icon Earl Warren is best known for his role as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision that ended de jure school segregation and for the expansion of civil liberties under the "Warren Court" during the tumultuous 1960s. Originally, Warren was a little-known California district attorney until winning his spurs through his frame-up prosecution of three officials of the Maritime Firemen's Union on the West Coast. The unionists were charged with conspiring to hire a pair of goons to beat up a chief engineer who had been fighting the union's organizing efforts (and who was later found beaten and knifed to death). Nominated by the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties, Warren became California attorney general from 1939 to 1942, in which capacity he called for the expulsion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

As for Roosevelt, quite the blueblooded patrician, his New Deal coalition in response to the Great Depression included everything from the Stalinized CP to Northern liberals to racist Southern Democratic Party Dixiecrats. Thus, FDR opposed anti-lynching legislation. His New Deal consisted of palliative reforms intended to stifle the huge workers upsurge that created the mass, integrated industrial unions of the CIO in the 1930s, and subordinate the labor movement to the state. In 1942, FDR issued the notorious order to imprison Japanese Americans in concentration camps for the duration of World War II. FDR was supported by the CP, which helped line up many of the more advanced workers behind Roosevelt in World War II. In contrast, our forebears in the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party denounced the Second World War as an interimperialist war in which revolutionaries took no side between the competing "Allied" and "Axis" powers, but stood foursquare in defense of the Soviet Union and its Red Army. For this, 18 of their leaders were imprisoned. The CP's support to World War II included no-strike pledges, smothering the struggle for black rights and support to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is also the case that Roosevelt gave J.Edgar Hoover free rein to conduct domestic surveillance on anything and anybody considered "subversive" after Hoover squelched a coup conspiracy against FDR in 1934. The details of the coup were given away to Hoover by Major General Smedley Butler, ex-commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. He had allegedly been asked by the newly formed fascistic American Liberty League, a group financially backed by a number of prominent capitalists, to lead a march of half a million veterans on Washington in the interest of staging a coup. The free rein

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given to Hoover paved the way for the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTEL-PRO), begun during the 1950s McCarthvite anti-Communist witchhunt. COIN-TELPRO continued through the 1960s, resulting in the killing of 38 Black Panther Party members and the railroading of hundreds more to decades in prison hellholes, including Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Or take the Kennedy clan. In 1954 Robert F. Kennedy served as counsel on Joseph McCarthy's witchhunting Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Robert Kennedy later became counsel to the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field under arch-segregationist John McClellan. That committee, on which then Senator John F. Kennedy also sat, was created in 1957 as an offshoot of the earlier McCarthy committee in order to go after the unions. The powerful Teamsters union was a particular target of the Congressional witchhunters, and Robert Kennedy was infamous for his role in grilling Teamsters head James Hoffa, as captured in the 1992 movie *Hoffa*. Hoffa made no secret of his disdain for the labor-hating, ruling-class twit. After John F. Kennedy was elected president, Robert, as attorney general, set up a special squad in the Justice Department devoted to getting Hoffa, the biggest government operation against a U.S. citizen in the history of the country.

Hoover remained firmly in charge of the FBI under the Kennedy regime. This had something to do with how JFK ended up on a PT boat in the South Pacific during World War II, which he milked to play up his "war hero" credentials. The real story is that FBI surveillance revealed that JFK had an affair beginning in late 1941 with a Danish woman, Inga Arvad, thought to be a Nazi spy. Kennedy's politically influential father, Joe, a wellknown anti-Semite, an admirer of Hitler and until early 1941 U.S. ambassador to Britain, opposed U.S. entry into the war. As Seymour Hersh wrote in The Dark Side of Camelot, "The men at the top-Franklin Roosevelt and J. Edgar Hoover -were interested in payback, in reminding Joe Kennedy to stay in line and to remember that he was dealing with enemies who would be only too happy to hurt him." JFK was duly shipped to the South Pacific as "payback," but returned home a "war hero" after his PT boat was sunk. He then began his political career, winning the presidency in 1960. One of his first

Wounded Palestinians near the car of Fadel Shana, a Reuters cameraman who was killed by an Israeli missile that hit his vehicle in Gaza, where 17 other Palestinians were also slaughtered on April 16. Obama has assured Zionist rulers of his "strong commitment" to Israel.



acts in office was to launch the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, a spectacularly unsuccessful attempt to smash the Cuban Revolution. JFK, to whom Obama is often compared, epitomized the "made man" of the bourgeoisie.

Obama, the first black candidate with a real shot at being selected U.S. president, may not have the level of "experience" that other bourgeois politicians have, but he has made clear through his speeches and policy stances that he will serve his bourgeois rulers faithfully. An article by Doug Henwood in the liberal Left Business Observer (March 2008) notes that "big capital would have no problem with an Obama presidency," adding that many top hedge fund honchos like Obama "because they're socially liberal, up to a point, and probably eager for a little less war, and think he's the man to do their work. They're also confident he wouldn't undertake any renovations to the distribution of wealth."

No less than Hillary, Obama stands on much of the record of the Bill Clinton administration of the 1990s. They both support his destruction of welfare "as we know it," consigning millions of poor women, disproportionately black, to the scrap heap. They both hark back to Clinton's military adventures, especially the bloody U.S./NATO aerial war against Serbia in 1999, as exemplifying the "human rights" interventions that the U.S. should be carrying out.

Needless to say, neither Clinton nor Obama is calling for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq—at most they want a "responsible" withdrawal of "combat troops" while keeping the military bases in that country and in the Near East more broadly. Their opposition to the Iraq occupation is based purely on the calculation that it is a disaster for U.S. imperialism—as opposed to the bloody Afghan occupation, which they both ardently support. Obama has even threatened to bomb Pakistan to go after Al Qaeda.

Most recently, while Hillary Clinton has called for an outright boycott of the opening ceremonies of the Beijing Olympics this summer, Obama has called for a similar boycott if China does not "respect the dignity, security, and human rights of the Tibetan people." The aim of such calls is to further the weight of bourgeois public opinion behind the counterrevolutionary "Free Tibet" movement—a movement notably popular among the reformist left internationally—in order to undermine and ultimately overturn the 1949 Chinese Revolution that overthrew bourgeois rule in that country (see "Counterrevolutionary Riots in Tibet," WV No. 911, 28 March).

Particularly since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, the military-industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, U.S. imperialism has become emboldened in its bloody adventures abroad. The quagmire of the Iraq occupation has bogged down the U.S. imperialists for a time, but their strategic interests require multi-sided counterrevolutionary efforts, not least aimed against the Chinese deformed workers state.

We Trotskyists stood for the unconditional military defense of the former Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, while fighting for workers political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internation-

alism. Today, opposing every act of imperialist depredation by our "own" rulers, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states: China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam.

#### For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In his 1913 essay, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Lenin noted that "people always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." The reformist left and labor tops, in promoting bourgeois "lesser evilism," serve to continue the deception of the working and oppressed masses that lies at the heart of bourgeois democracy.

What is necessary is a political struggle to break the multiracial proletariat from the class enemy. We fight for the mobilization of the proletariat for its own interests and for the interests of all the oppressed-fighting against racist oppression, for women's rights, for full citizenship rights for immigrants—independent of and in opposition to the bourgeoisie and its parties. The multiracial working class needs its own party, a revolutionary party, section of a reforged Fourth International, that acts as the "tribune of the people" and leads the struggle to sweep away the capitalist order through socialist revolution and to establish working-class rule. This is part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist order internationally through a series of socialist revolutions, which can lay the basis for the creation of a communist society free of exploitation, racial and every other form of oppression and war.

As Trotsky wrote in the 1940 Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution:

> "The great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat. The question of tempos and time intervals is of enormous importance; but it alters neither the general historical perspective nor the direction of our policy. The conclusion is a simple one: it is necessary to carry on the work of educating and organizing the proletarian vanguard with tenfold energy. Precisely in this lies the task of the Fourth International."■

# Unspeakable...

(continued from page 2)

of the Spartacist League," Marxist Bul-

Logan willfully flouted our organizational practices. One need look no further than the fact that the malicious manipulation of the personal lives of comrades in our Australian section ended when Logan

left. Chris Korwin, who took over as National Chairman of the section after Logan, attested to this in his greetings to our 1979 international conference. Noting that the section had recruited two gay men, including a prominent leader of the fight for gay rights in Australia, he remarked that this represented "a humanization of the organization that would have been impossible under Logan."

We only learned that Logan was gay

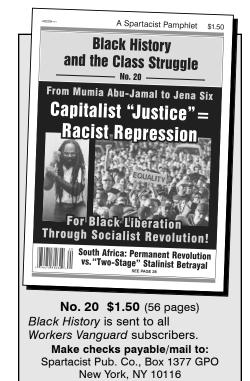
from his memoir, "Never Exactly One of the Lads...," published in One of the Boys? in 1988, nine years after he was expelled. Here, Logan himself allowed that he only began to come to terms with his homosexuality some years after he was expelled. This essay, with its saccharine accounts of his happy childhood and no mention of his ever having been a member of a Leninist organization, was all in the service of promoting himself as coming out of the closet as a "new" allround sensitive man. Caveat emptor (buyer beware). Even in this memoir it is notable that Logan's sexual orientation continues to run a distant third to considerations of power, a word that appears 12 times in some 20 pages. Since then, Logan has moved on to advertise his services as a "celebrant"—a New Age equivalent of a spiritual faith healer-with funeral services for dead babies, a "secular grace" and other ceremonies derived from the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood." Hannibal Lecter reinvented as the soul of human kindness. As we wrote in "Bill Logan: From Krafft-Ebing to Mother Teresa? BT: Renegades for Hire" (WV No. 807, 1 August 2003), "This is one sick puppy."

That Logan is the leader of the selfproclaimed "International Bolshevik Tendency" should also tell you just about all you need to know about them.

> Comradely, Len Meyers

P.S. Remarkably, the BT's Web site features a letter to Logan from one Steve H. with his "Thoughts on the Spartacists'

'Logan Dossier'." The BT opines that Steve H.'s "rather different lens tends to confirm the most important parts of our analysis" of the supposed "degeneration" of our organization. A rather different lens indeed! When Steve H. quit our Australian section in 1986, admitting to "alien faddist pursuits," he was searching for the solace of the lord through spiritual "rebirthing." A fitting new addition to the defense team for the BT's own sordid spiritual leader. ■



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# WORKERS VANGUARD



Philadelphia, April 19: PDC/LBL Class-Struggle Contingent at Mumia protest initiated by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As part of the international campaign initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and built by the sections of the International Communist League to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, united-front protests took place on April 19 in Oakland, Toronto and London under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" The same day, the PDC and the Labor Black League organized a 150-man-strong Class-Struggle Contingent at the protest in Philadelphia initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, which drew some 600 people. In Paris, the Committee for Social Defense, the PDC's fraternal defense organization, organized a 60-man-strong Class-Struggle Contingent at the demonstration called by the Collectif unitaire national "Ensemble, sauvons Mumia," which drew some 200 demonstrators. In Mexico City, 50 people came out for a protest called by Amig@s de Mumia, at which our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the ICL, participated. On April 12 in Berlin, a Class-Struggle Contingent of some 80 people, built by the Committee for Social Defense in Germany, marched in a demonstration of about 300.

The protests were called in response to the March 27 U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding Mumia's frame-up conviction. The court ruled that either a new sentencing hearing take place, in which the death sentence could be reinstated, or that Mumia automatically be entombed in prison for life. A former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an eloquent journalist renowned as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up and sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer. Mountains of evidence of his innocence exist-including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed the cop-but the courts have rejected or refused to hear that evidence.

The protests in Oakland, Toronto and London were built on the basis of *united-front* action. As the PDC emcee underlined at the Oakland protest:

"This rally was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization

whose views are in accordance with those of the Spartacist League—and the Labor Black League for Social Defense. But it belongs to all of you who are committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom, who fight for the abolition of the racist death penalty, the lynch rope made legal, who know that Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. We welcome all who agree with the common slogans of this rally to express their solidarity with the struggle for Mumia's freedom in all its diversity and in all the different political voices and viewpoints that are represented here. That's what a united-front protest means-unity in action and freedom of criticism. That criticism and debate doesn't divide but crucially strengthens the way forward in the fight for Mumia's freedom."

Over 300 individuals and organizations, including trade unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, have endorsed the united-front protests, which were initiated by the PDC and LBLs in the U.S. and by the PDC's fraternal defense organizations internationally (see page 8 for a partial list of endorsers). These protests brought out trade unionists, anti-racist activists, leftists and others. There were tradeunion banners at the Oakland protest from ILWU longshore union Local 10 and AFSCME Local 444, both of which endorsed the demonstration. Former Black Panther Emory Douglas came as well as a number of people from the Prisoners of

Grassroots organization. Throughout the demonstrations, we made clear the link between the struggle for Mumia's freedom and the struggle to abolish the death penalty. We oppose the death penalty on principle everywhere, including in the deformed workers states—such as China—which we unconditionally militarily defend against imperialist attack and counterrevolution.

Among those addressing the demonstrators at the Oakland protest, which drew some 200 people, were Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Francisco Torres and Ray Boudreaux of the "San Francisco 8," former Black Panthers who are now being dragged through the courts on frame-up charges of killing a cop, which had been dismissed 30 years ago. In his remarks, Boudreaux stated, "Mumia has no windows but he sees what's going on in the world. Many of us are asleep. So wake up and stay woke! Free Mumia!" Curly Estremera, a former member of the Black Liberation Army, stated, "I am a soldier, an old soldier. Usually soldiers get but one minute to speak on the program. I thank the PDC for recognizing that some of us soldiers have been here for a long time and we're gonna be here for a long time until we get our brethren free."

A letter to Mumia from class-war prisoner Leonard Peltier, a member of the American Indian Movement, was read to the protest. It stated: "Given the choice of lying down to die or standing up to live, we chose to live. Standing up and living is our only crime." Referring to the courageous Irish Republican fighter who died in 1981 while on a hunger strike in a British prison, Peltier stated: "As hunger striker Bobby Sands once said, you can lock up the dreamer but you cannot place chains around an idea."

In Toronto, some 120 people came out to the united-front protest, which included a number of trade-union banners and several union speakers. Addressing the protesters, Kevin Shimmin, National Representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, underscored:

"The fight to free Mumia from the racist, capitalist clutches of America is our fight. It is the struggle of every worker fighting for dignity; of every immigrant fighting for respect; of every young person fighting against police brutality; of every activist defending their community; of every union fighting for a better society. We know there is no justice in the American courts that have framed Mumia, and we know there is no justice in the Canadian courts that locked away innocent Muslim brothers without charges, and we know that the racist death penalty must be abolished, and those who yearn for a reinstatement of the death penalty in this country must be defeated. Mumia's courage, determination, compassion and perseverance are an inspiration to us all."

A statement by Dave Bleakney, National Union Representative of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, was read to the protest. It concluded: "On behalf of the 55,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, we stand today with Mumia and all those that challenge capitalism head on."

The London united-front protest drew over 100 demonstrators and had a number of trade-union speakers, including Stephen Hedley and Dean O'Hanlon of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, and Paul Moffat, Eastern Region Secretary of the Communication Workers Union. Also speaking were a number of black nationalists, including Brother Minkah from the Marcus Garvey Organising Committee, Brother Omowale on behalf of Galaxy Radio, which had publicized the PDC-initiated protest, Sista Mawasi for the continued on page 4



Spartacist banner at April 19 Philadelphia demonstration for Mumia.