

## Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! No Deportations!

# South Africa: Mobilize Trade Unions Against Anti-Immigrant Terror!

JOHANNESBURG, May 19—As pogromist attacks against immigrants continue into their second week, 22 people in the Johannesburg area have been killed, according to official figures, and many more maimed and raped, while thousands have been driven from their houses, shacks and shops. Three people have been burned to death. The attacks began on May 11 in Alexandra, an impoverished black township of several hundred thousand people, as mobs targeted immigrants mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozam-

## Break with the Tripartite Alliance! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

bique and Malawi. Later in the week, the attacks spread to Diepsloot and other townships before erupting in Johannesburg's central business district yesterday.

In the midst of the anti-immigrant terror, Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, issued a leaflet calling for the country's

powerful trade unions to mobilise in defence of immigrants and to unite all the poor in a fight for jobs and quality housing for all. It was distributed at a May 17 rally that drew a few hundred people protesting rising food prices, the Zimbabwe elections and xenophobia. The rally was called by the Congress of

South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and backed by the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Anti-Privatisation Forum and other reformist and liberal organisations.

Even government spokesmen acknowledge that the root cause of the pogroms lies in anger over the desperate conditions in the townships that persist 14 years after the demise of apartheid. But it is the Tripartite Alliance government of the African National

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# Trotskyism vs. Castroism Defend the Cuban Revolution!

Ever since the government of Fidel Castro expropriated the capitalist class in Cuba in 1960, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the U.S. ruling class has worked relentlessly to overthrow the Cuban Revolution and re-establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—from the 1961 Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs) invasion to repeated attempts to assassinate Castro; from funding counter-revolutionary terrorists in Miami to the ongoing economic embargo. The elimination of capitalist class rule in Cuba led to enormous gains for its working people. The centralized planned economy guaranteed everyone a job, decent housing, food and education. Cubans now enjoy one of the highest literacy rates in the world. The revolution especially benefited women: domination of the Catholic church was broken, and abortion is a free health service. Despite the crippling effects of the U.S. blockade, the free health care system is still far and away the best in economically underdeveloped countries. Infant mortality is lower than in parts of the "First World," and Cuba has more doctors and teachers per capita than just about anywhere in the world.

As Trotskyists (i.e., genuine Marxists), we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea and Vietnam. We



Cuban masses celebrate 2008 May Day at Havana's Revolution Square.

oppose the U.S. economic embargo, a blatant act of war, and demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Guantánamo Bay. We fully support Cuba's right to trade and have diplomatic relations

with capitalist states. However, we recognize that a wing of the U.S. imperialists, represented by the likes of Democratic politician Barack Obama, looks to relaxing the trade embargo and diplomatic isolation

of Cuba as a more effective means to subvert the Cuban deformed workers state. This has long been the policy of the West European and Canadian rulers. Our

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## For Workers Political Revolution!

### Hands Off San Francisco Eight!

Another outrageous chapter in the decades-long government vendetta against former members of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army (BLA) was opened in January 2007, when police charged eight former Panthers, including two already in prison, with the 1971 murder of San Francisco police officer John Young, as well as conspiring to kill police officers between 1968 and 1973 as members of the BLA. Those charged were Richard Brown, Richard O'Neal, Francisco Torres, Ray Boudreaux, Henry W. (Hank) Jones, Harold Taylor, Herman Bell and Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom). Ronald Stanley Bridgeforth is still being sought. This January, the conspiracy charges were dropped against five due to the California statute of limitations, but because the other three were "out-of-state" (i.e., imprisoned!), they are still charged! While charges were dropped against Richard O'Neal in Feb-

ruary, seven of the men still face murder charges.

For 37 years the state has relentlessly tried to pin the murder on these men. In 1973, charges brought against John Bowman (who recently died), Harold Taylor and Ruben Scott (now thought to be a government witness) were obtained through torture by the New Orleans police, including through beatings and the placing of electric probes on their genitals and an electric cattle prod in each man's anus. In 1975 the charges were dismissed after the government's concealment of the grisly coercion was revealed, but year after year the prosecutors continued pursuing indictments. ***Drop the charges against the San Francisco Eight!***

Attorney Stuart Hanlon, representing Herman Bell, compared the state of California's collusion with the FBI in engineering the cover-up of evidence in this case to the 27-year imprisonment of former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), whom he also represented. Pratt was a target of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign, convicted for a

**Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Ray Boudreaux (at microphone) and Francisco Torres of San Francisco Eight address April 19 united-front Mumia protest in Oakland initiated by PDC and Labor Black League.**

PDC



crime that the state knew he did not commit. He won his freedom in 1997.

The PDC has sent a letter of protest to the California governor and contributed to the SF8 defense. Make checks payable to Agape/CDHR and send to: Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, P.O. Box 90221, Pasadena, CA 91109. Go to [www.freethesf8.org](http://www.freethesf8.org) for the SF8's next court date, to be held at 850 Bryant Street, Courtroom 23 in San Francisco.

### Parole Denied— Free the MOVE Prisoners!

Two more of the eight surviving MOVE 9 prisoners, Eddie Africa and Michael Africa, have vindictively been denied parole after enduring some 30 years in the hellish Pennsylvania prison system. In April, Debbie Africa, Janine Africa and Janet Africa were turned down. Phil Africa and Delbert Africa are still awaiting decisions, and Chuck Africa is eligible for review later this year. Merle Africa died in prison in 1998. The MOVE 9, members of a radical back-to-nature group that proclaimed the right to armed self-defense, were sentenced to 30 to 100 years in a frame-up trial for the "crime" of surviving a horrendous police attack on their home (see "Parole Hearing Approaches: Free the MOVE Prisoners!" WV No. 910, 14 March). The MOVE prisoners are innocent and should not have spent a day in jail. ***We demand the immediate, unconditional release of the MOVE prisoners!***

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](http://www.pbpp.state.pa.us). Copies of letters should be sent to: William Phillips Africa, AM 4984, SCI-Dallas, 1000 Folies Road, Dallas, PA 18612-0286.

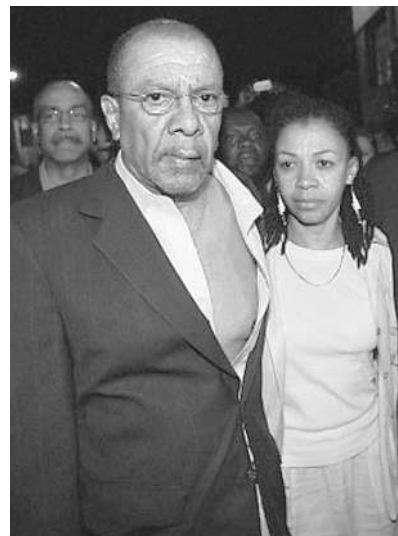
### Drop Charges Against Michael and Evelyn Warren!

On 21 June 2007, well-known black civil rights lawyer Michael Tarif Warren and his wife, Evelyn Warren, also a lawyer, were repeatedly punched and then arrested for witnessing and protesting a cop attack on a black youth in a McDonald's parking lot in Brooklyn. They were outrageously charged with obstructing government administration, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. Michael Warren pointed out that what happened to him and his wife "is just an example of what is happening in this city every day."

It is no accident that Michael Warren, who has a long history of representing former Black Panthers and other victims of racist cop terror, is targeted. He represented the family of 25-year-old Michael Stewart, beaten to death by New York cops in 1983 after being arrested

for spray painting graffiti, and Yvonne Smallwood, who was beaten and died in police custody in 1987. He also represented Abner Louima, who was viciously sodomized with a broomstick by NYPD cops in 1997, and was instrumental in the 2002 exoneration of five black teenagers who completed terms of seven to 13 years in prison after being falsely convicted of raping a young woman in the 1989 case known as the "Central Park Jogger."

The PDC sent protest letters to Mayor Bloomberg and the D.A.'s office right after the Warrens' arrest demanding that all charges be dropped. The trial is scheduled to begin June 16 at the Criminal Court Building at 120 Schermerhorn Street in Brooklyn. We encourage all fighters against racist injustice to come out!



William Farrington

**Civil rights lawyer Michael Warren, lip swollen by police beating, and his wife Evelyn after their arrest for protesting cop attack on a black youth in Brooklyn.**

### Charges Dropped Against Larry Hales

We are happy to report that on April 22 all charges were dropped against Larry Hales, a leader of the Denver branch of Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST), a contributing editor to *Workers World* newspaper and an organizer against police brutality. After Hales was assaulted by ten Denver cops in his home last November, he was charged with interfering with the police. The PDC wrote a letter of protest and made a contribution to his defense.

\* \* \*

We encourage WV readers to support and build the PDC, 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. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Visit the PDC's Web site at [www.partisandefense.org](http://www.partisandefense.org). ■

### Defeat Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

*Writing amid the carnage of the first interimperialist world war, Rosa Luxemburg underlined in "The Crisis in the German Social Democracy," written in April 1915 under the pseudonym Junius while she was in prison for antiwar activity, that there can be no "peaceful" development of capitalism. At the time a leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy, whose chauvinist leaders supported German imperialism in the war, Luxemburg along with*



LENIN



TROTSKY

*Karl Liebknecht went on to found the Spartakusbund and, in late 1918, the German Communist Party. They were both murdered in January 1919 by the reactionary Freikorps as part of the Social Democratic government's suppression of the Spartakist uprising.*

The proletarian movement cannot reconquer the place it deserves by means of Utopian advice and projects for weakening, taming or quelling imperialism within capitalism by means of partial reforms. The real problem that the world war has placed before the Socialist parties, upon whose solution the future of the working class movement depends, ***is the readiness of the proletarian masses to act in the fight against imperialism....***

Imperialism, with all its brutal policy of force, with the incessant chain of social catastrophe that it itself provokes, is, to be sure, a historic necessity for the ruling classes of the present world. Yet nothing could be more detrimental than that the proletariat should derive, from the present war, the slightest hope or illusion of the possibility of an idyllic and peaceful development of capitalism....

Historic development moves in contradictions, and for every necessity puts its opposite into the world as well. The capitalist state of society is doubtless a historic necessity, but so also is the revolt of the working class against it. Capital is a historic necessity, but in the same measure is its grave digger, the Socialist proletariat. The world rule of imperialism is a historic necessity, but likewise its overthrow by the proletarian international. Side by side the two historic necessities exist, in constant conflict with each other. And ours is the necessity of Socialism. Our necessity receives its justification with the moment when the capitalist class ceases to be the bearer of historic progress, when it becomes a hindrance, a danger, to the future development of society. That capitalism has reached this stage the present world war has revealed.

—Rosa Luxemburg, *The Junius Pamphlet: The Crisis in the German Social Democracy* (1916)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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23 May 2008

# Fired by Company, Betrayed by Union Tops



Allen Bradley photos

**Left: Cop called in by UAW officials orders Allen Bradley (at right) and others of Freightliner Five out of union hall in North Carolina. Right: Bradley is arrested.**

## Reinstate Freightliner Five Now!

Fired for leading a strike in April 2007, five activists in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 3520 at the Daimler-owned Freightliner truck manufacturing plant in Cleveland, North Carolina, have been fighting since then to win back their jobs. Known as the “Freightliner Five,” Robert Whiteside, Allen Bradley, Franklin Torrence, Glenna Swinford and David Crisco were all members of the local’s eleven-person bargaining committee that initiated the walkout after the company tried to foist a giveback contract on them. With the battle lines drawn, the UAW International stepped in to do the company’s dirty work, sabotaging the strike and then launching a campaign to drive the Five out of the union. All of labor should take up the cause of the Freightliner Five and demand the reinstatement of their jobs and restoration of their union membership and offices. A victory in this struggle would further the cause of organizing the open shop South.

With the legal proceedings to regain their jobs stalled in arbitration, the Five have toured the country in recent months to build solidarity. In response, union locals have passed motions in support of the Freightliner Five and a number of labor officials, including the AFL-CIO’s head in South Carolina, have spoken out on their behalf. But there has been no real defense campaign by the labor movement, including by mobilizing union members in the region, on behalf of the Freightliner Five.

Meanwhile, surrounded by the likes of Ellis Boal, a contemptible union-suing lawyer with the social-democratic *Labor Notes*, and the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Freightliner Five two weeks ago filed a lawsuit against the UAW in federal court, an act counterposed to their own defense and their fight for union struggle. We oppose on principle suing the unions based on our opposition to any intervention by the capitalist state into the labor movement. Inviting the class enemy to meddle in the labor movement opens the unions up for control by the bosses. In this case, the

### No to Lawsuit Against UAW! Government Out of the Unions!

judge moved quickly to order Local 3520 to produce financial records and other documents. ***Labor must clean its own house! Capitalist government and state agencies out of the unions!***

The UAW bureaucrats’ betrayal of the Freightliner Five stems from the union tops’ class collaborationism. Ever since the plant’s opening in 1989, the volunteer organizing committee, which included four of the Five, had worked tirelessly to bring in the UAW. Local 3520 was

auto bosses slash jobs and shut down plants, the UAW bureaucracy rails against the “outsourcing” of jobs, peddling poisonous protectionist chauvinism. This has served to defeat one strike after another, including by granting concessions to make U.S. companies more “competitive.” For example, ending a 12-week strike at American Axle, the UAW tops signed a tentative sellout agreement containing massive wage cuts, plant closures and other concessions. The way forward is to

was a two-tier wage structure, which pits newer workers against those with more seniority. Such multi-tier schemes also go hand in hand with racist discrimination. At the Cleveland plant, almost all the “top tier” jobs are worked by white men, and management regularly attempts to reinforce divisions along racial and gender lines. Against the labor bureaucrats’ accommodation of such discrimination, the unions must fight to smash the bosses’ schemes to pit workers against each other.

When Freightliner broke off negotiations and informed workers that they no longer had the protection of a union contract, the local bargaining committee initiated the walkout. With the International refusing to sanction the strike, Local 3520 president George Drexel sent a voice mail message to workers calling it off. Soon after, Freightliner terminated the eleven members of the bargaining committee. Six of the eleven were later allowed to return to their jobs, but only after signing “model employee” agreements and a statement that they had been misled by the Five into calling the strike. Meanwhile, workers rejected the proposed contract, which didn’t include the health and safety gains sought by the bargaining committee. To get it passed, Freightliner announced layoffs and Drexel & Co. orchestrated a second vote on company property, from which the Five were barred.

Acting as an agent of the International, Drexel ramped up the attacks on the Five. There was an attempt to suspend them from union office in an internal union trial last November. But they were **acquitted**, showing the wide support for these union leaders among the membership. Earlier this year, Drexel brazenly announced that the Five were no longer union members in good standing, even though they had earlier verified with the local treasurer that their back dues were paid. He barred them from the February 16 local meeting, and even called in cops to eject them. Allen Bradley was arrested for trespassing and still faces jail time. This is an outrage! The union-busting cops, the enforcers of racist American capitalism, have no place at a union meeting or in the labor movement. ***Drop the charges now! Cops out of the unions!***

With the International endlessly delaying an internal union appeal to restore their membership, the Freightliner Five filed suit in the capitalist courts to compel the union to reinstate them. Make no mistake: the cops and courts are both direct agents of the class enemy, the core components of the capitalist state, which

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**Franklin Torrence, Robert Whiteside, Allen Bradley and Glenna Swinford of the Freightliner Five outside UAW Local 3520 union hall.**



finally founded in 2003 after wage cuts and health benefit cost increases spurred workers to join the union. But unknown to the workers, the UAW International had brokered a secret “pre-agreement” with the company, granting significant wage and benefit concessions in exchange for a pledge of management “neutrality” in its organizing efforts at Freightliner’s Carolina plants. At the time, UAW head Stephen Yokich sat on the DaimlerChrysler board of directors, as did his successor Ron Gettelfinger until Daimler sold off Chrysler last spring.

Preaching reliance on company “neutrality” while tying the workers to the class enemy, especially through support to the capitalist Democratic Party, the UAW tops oppose wielding the sort of class-struggle tactics that built the union in the first place: mass pickets, sit-down strikes, secondary labor boycotts. As the U.S.

engage in class struggle and to forge bonds of international labor solidarity.

At the Cleveland Freightliner plant, the UAW tops stabbed their own organizers in the back to enforce the sweetheart pre-agreement deal! The year 2006 was one of record profits for the company. But when the first contract expired in early 2007, the terms of this pre-agreement still applied. With national contract negotiations looming at the Big Three automakers, then including DaimlerChrysler, the UAW International worked behind the scenes with the company to shove a new giveback contract down the throats of the Freightliner workers.

However, the local bargaining committee solidly rejected the company’s “final offer,” which left many health and safety issues unsettled at a plant where workers face dangerous working conditions and high injury rates. Among the concessions

#### CORRECTION

In “International Protests Demand: Mumia Must Be Freed Now!” (WV No. 913, 25 April), the speaker for the Pan Afrikan Society Community Forum at the London united-front protest held April 19 was incorrectly cited as Brother Ras Bob. The speaker was Brother Ras Lloyd.



# Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

defense of the Cuban Revolution is premised on our proletarian internationalism, centrally including the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries.

The Cuban regime headed by Fidel Castro and now stewarded by his brother Raúl is fundamentally nationalist, pursuing the Stalinist dogma of building “socialism in one country” and thus denying the need for proletarian revolution internationally, not only elsewhere in Latin America but particularly in the advanced capitalist world, including the United States. As we will explain below, the Cuban regime, as in the cases of Chile and Nicaragua, repeatedly opposed the need to overturn capitalist property relations.

The Cuban regime is qualitatively similar to the one that emerged in the Soviet Union after the Stalinist bureaucracy usurped political power in a political counterrevolution that began in 1924 and was consolidated over the next several years. After the Cuban Revolution, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) fought for this programmatic understanding against the SWP party majority, which uncritically embraced alien class forces in the form of the petty-bourgeois guerrillas led by Castro and Che Guevara. The RT and its successor, the Spartacist League, were unique in maintaining that Cuba had become a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the summer-fall of 1960. Further progress toward socialism would require an additional revolution, a *proletarian political revolution* to sweep away the Castro bureaucracy, establishing organs of workers democracy and installing a revolutionary internationalist regime. As a document submitted by the RT to the 1963 SWP convention asserted:

“The Cuban Revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement. On the pretext of defense of the Cuban Revolution, in itself an obligation for our movement, full unconditional and uncritical support has been given to the Castro government and leadership, despite its petit-bourgeois nature and bureaucratic behavior. Yet the record of the regime’s opposition to the democratic rights of the Cuban workers and peasants is clear: bureaucratic ouster of the democratically-elected leaders of the labor movement and their replacement by Stalinist hacks; suppression of the Trotskyist press; proclamation of the single-party system; and much else. This record stands side by side with enormous initial social and economic accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution. Thus, Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers’ state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers’ democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a *hardened* bureaucratic caste.”

—“Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International,” reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

Forty-five years on, this Trotskyist anal-



Corbis

**Cuban nurse cares for newborns in hospital maternity ward. Infant mortality rate in Cuba is lower than many parts of the “First World.”**

ysis and program has stood the test of time. The bulk of the pseudo-Trotskyists enthused over Castro; a few, like the late Gerry Healy’s Socialist Labour League in Britain in the 1960s, denied that capitalism had been overthrown in Cuba. But yesterday’s cheerleaders for assorted Stalinist bureaucrats have gone on to join the imperialists’ anti-Communist crusades for “democracy.” Thus the SWP, which has long since explicitly repudiated Trotskyism, along with its offshoots like Socialist Action (SA) and its former international allies in the United Secretariat (USec), enlisted in U.S. imperialism’s drive to destroy the Soviet Union, openly backing the forces of anti-Communist reaction. So, too, did the Militant tendency of Ted Grant, the precursor of the International Marxist Tendency (IMT) led by Alan Woods, which today presents itself as the “Trotskyists” in Cuba. As regards Cuba today, all these forces either continue to give political support to the Castro regime or, worse, attack it from the right.

The question of Trotskyism and of the role of Leon Trotsky himself—co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution—has in recent years been the subject of some discussion in academic and other circles in Cuba. For example, four years ago the Cuban journal *Temas* (No. 39-40, October-December 2004) included a debate on the subject “Why Did Eastern European Socialism Fall?” in which several participants pointed positively to Trotsky’s criticisms of the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Early this year, Trotsky’s seminal book analyzing the rise of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed*, was presented to an overflow crowd at the Havana Book Fair. Celia Hart—the daughter of Haydee Santamaria and Armando Hart, two historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution—has published and spoken out on the island as a professed supporter both of Trotskyism and of the Cuban regime.

It is crucial that youth and others seeking a genuine revolutionary road study and assimilate the revolutionary internationalist program of Trotskyism, which stands in sharp counterposition to the revisionism of the SWP, SA, USec, the IMT et al. That requires a review of Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution and the real history of the Cuban Revolution and the Castro regime.

## The Fight for Trotskyism in the SWP

Following the 1959 victory of Castro’s forces, the SWP majority lionized Castro

and Guevara as “unconscious Trotskyists.” Week after week, the SWP paper, the *Militant*, uncritically reprinted their speeches. According to the SWP, Cuba had evolved from a “workers and farmers government” into a healthy workers state of qualitatively the same order as the Soviet workers state under Lenin and Trotsky. As the RT pointed out in a 1960 document, this was a “‘workers’ and farmers’ government’ in which there are no workers or farmers and no representatives of independent workers’ and farmers’ parties!” (“The Cuban Revolution and Marxist Theory,” reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8).

The SWP line on the Cuban Revolution mirrored a wave of revisionism a decade earlier in the Fourth International (FI). The FI, which was founded under Trotsky’s leadership in 1938, had been profoundly disoriented by the post-WWII overturns of capitalism under Stalinist leadership. Mao Zedong’s peasant-based People’s Liberation Army seized power from the collapsing bourgeois Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek in 1949, leading to the establishment of a deformed workers state. Similar peasant-based social overturns led by Stalinist forces triumphed in Yugoslavia, North Korea and North Vietnam (extended to the South in 1975 after the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese workers and peasants). Capitalism was overturned in several states in East and Central Europe under Soviet occupation following the Second World War. While different processes took place in each of these various countries, what they all had in common was the absence of the working class contending for state power. The result was the creation of bureaucratically *deformed workers states*.

However, Michel Pablo, then head of the FI, responded to the postwar social overturns by repudiating the central importance of a conscious revolutionary leadership. Pablo asserted that “the objective process is in the final analysis the sole determining factor.” Supposedly the “objective dynamic” ensured an increasingly favorable relationship of forces, and in this context the Stalinized Communist parties “retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation.” Pablo projected “centuries” of deformed workers states. The Trotskyists were relegated to liquidating into or at best being pressure groups on various Stalinist or Social Democratic parties. This revisionism led to the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53. The Pabloite revisionists were fought by the

SWP and its leader, James Cannon, albeit belatedly, partially, and essentially on the SWP’s national terrain. In 1953, the SWP and other anti-Pabloite forces internationally split from Pablo (see “Genesis of Pabloism,” *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972).

But with the unfolding of the Cuban Revolution, the SWP then embraced Pablo’s revisionism and carried out a “reunification” with Pablo’s protégés in the “International Secretariat.” The founding document of the “United Secretariat of the Fourth International” proclaimed:

“As I.F. Stone, the acute American radical journalist observed after a trip to Cuba, the revolutionaries there are ‘unconscious’ Trotskyists. With the coming of full consciousness among these and related currents, Trotskyism will become a powerful current.”

—“Dynamics of World Revolution Today” (1963)

The SWP claimed and expected that peasant-based guerrilla warfare would be the wave of the future and the decisive means to overthrow capitalism, writing:

“Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist



WV Photo

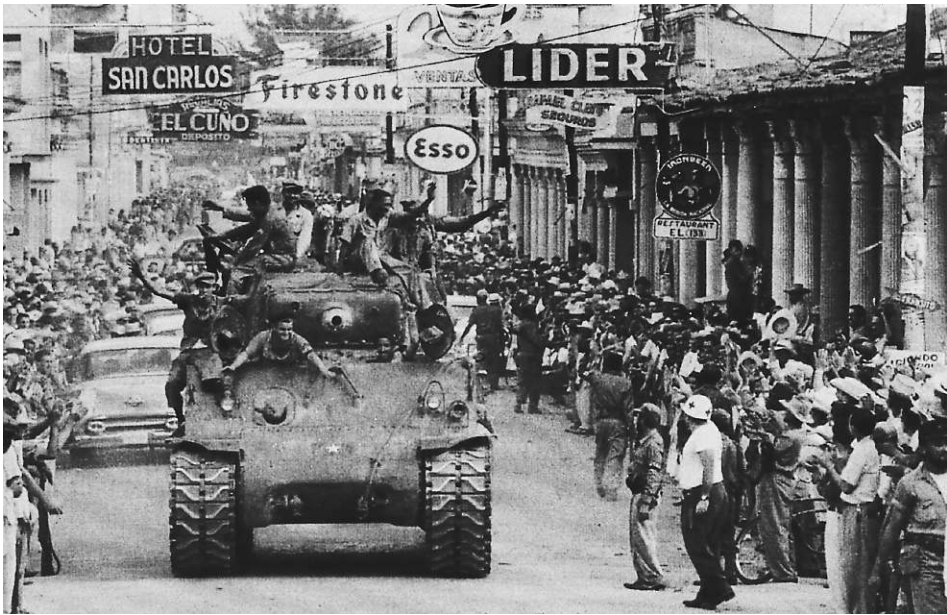
**Spartacists at April 19 Mumia rally in Philadelphia call for defense of bureaucratically deformed workers states.**

property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries.”

—SWP Political Committee, “For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement,” *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 9 (April 1963)

In counterposition to the SWP majority, the Revolutionary Tendency asserted in the programmatic document, “Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International, Draft Resolution on the World Movement,” submitted to the 1963 SWP convention:

“Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for ‘building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries.’ Marxists must resolutely oppose any adventurist acceptance of the peasant-



Glinn/Magnum

**Castro’s petty-bourgeois rebel forces enter Havana, New Year’s Day 1959. Right: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated U.S. oil refinery, 1960.**



Wide World

# Free the Cuban Five!

The Cuban Five have now been incarcerated for almost ten years. Three Cuban citizens and two U.S. citizens who infiltrated and monitored violent anti-communist exile groups in Florida in order to stop terrorist attacks against Cuba, these men were arrested in 1998 under the Clinton administration on bogus charges of conspiracy to commit espionage and murder, as well as lesser charges like failing to register as agents of a foreign power. After being tried in Miami, a den of counterrevolutionary *gusano* (worm) activities, Gerardo Hernández was sentenced to two life terms plus 15 years; Antonio Guerrero and Ramón Labañino to life plus ten and 18 years, respectively; Fernando González to 19 years; and René González to 15 years. They are held in federal maximum security prisons, separated by hundreds of miles from loved ones, their lawyers and each other. As Marxists, we demand immediate freedom for the Cuban Five, whose heroic actions were in defense of the Cuban Revolution against U.S. imperialism and its counterrevolutionary agents.

From the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, to the repeated attempts on Fidel Castro's life, to the ongoing starvation embargo, the U.S. imperialists, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, have never ceased in their drive to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. In 2002, Ana Belen Montes, a Defense Intelligence Agency officer, was sentenced to 25 years for passing military information to the Cuban government.

In their drive to restore capitalism in Cuba, the U.S. rulers have trained terrorists like Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles, who engineered the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner that killed 73 people. In the 1990s, as the Cuban government began to promote tourism, *gusano* groups launched a campaign of bombings that targeted hotels and airport buses in an attempt to cripple the economy. Posada has admitted to masterminding bombings of tourist spots in Havana in 1997 that killed an Italian businessman. We say: Send Posada and Bosch back to



International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5 photos

**The Cuban Five: Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino and René González. Below: Cuban Five supporters march in September 2006 in Washington, D.C.**



National Committee to Free the Cuban Five

Cuba to be tried by their victims!

It was in the context of such terrorist activity that *gusano* activities were being monitored by the Cuban Five, three of whom were veterans of Cuba's military campaign in Angola that in the 1970s and '80s fought the U.S.-sponsored invasion by the South African apartheid regime. In June 1998, the Cuban government shared its intelligence on *gusano* terrorist activity with the FBI. In September of that year, the FBI arrested the Cubans instead of the CIA's "ex"-employees.

The government built its case on "conspiracy to commit espionage" charges, conspiracy charges being the hallmark of political witchhunts when the government has no evidence that an actual crime has been committed. Months after their arrest, "conspiracy to commit murder" was tacked on to the charges against

Gerardo Hernández in connection with the deaths of four pilots from the Brothers to the Rescue *gusano* outfit. The latter were shot down by the Cuban air force in 1996 after repeatedly and provocatively flying into Cuban airspace in a brazen challenge to the country's air defenses.

Held in Miami, the trial was engulfed in anti-communist hysteria and intimidation of anyone not toeing the *gusano* line on Cuba. The judge refused five defense requests for a change of venue. During jury selection, potential jurors asked to be excused, fearing the consequences of rendering an "unsatisfactory" verdict. The impaneled jurors' license plates appeared on nightly news broadcasts. The prosecution claimed that Guerrero, who worked as a janitor at the Boca Chica Naval Air Station in Key West, had endangered secret U.S.

military plans by watching aircraft take off and land in training exercises. As Guerrero's lawyer pointed out, the information he gathered "could've been published in the *Miami Herald*." So inflamed was the atmosphere that the jury even convicted Hernández of conspiracy murder charges that the prosecution itself had already concluded would be an "insurmountable hurdle" to prove!

In 2005, a three-judge panel of the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta threw out the 2001 convictions and ordered a new trial in a new venue because of the "pervasive community prejudice" in Miami. The Justice Department under Alberto Gonzales appealed for a rehearing by the full court, which reinstated the convictions in August 2006. Last August, another three-judge panel heard oral arguments in the case that this time focused on the bogus murder and espionage charges and the gross prosecutorial misconduct.

The brutality these five men endure in prison is designed to break them and echoes the treatment of other class-war prisoners like Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Before their trial even started, the Cuban Five spent 17 months in solitary. Between their convictions in June and their sentencing in December 2001, they spent 48 days in the hole. In 2003 as they worked on their first appeal, they were sent to solitary and denied communication with the outside world, even their lawyers.

Every family visit involves an arduous and arbitrary visa process. Sometimes a relative waits out the precious time they are allotted and never gets to see their loved one. Adriana Pérez, wife of Gerardo Hernández, has been repeatedly denied a visa. Olga Salanueva, wife of René González, was deported on phony spy charges in 2000.

In combatting the degenerate end-products of a decaying capitalism, the Cuban Five have performed a service not only in defense of Cuba but for working people throughout the hemisphere and around the world. ***Free the Cuban Five! Defend the Cuban Revolution!***

guerilla road to socialism—historically akin to the Social Revolutionary program on tactics that Lenin fought. This alternative would be a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement, and perhaps physically for the adventurers."

The SWP was consciously shredding Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which charts the road to national and social emancipation in countries of combined and uneven development. In such countries, the national bourgeoisie is tied by a million strings to the imperialists and fearful of the proletariat. It is therefore incapable of carrying out the tasks historically associated with the classical bourgeois revolutions of England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries. The only path forward is, as Trotsky stated in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930), the fight for "the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." The dictatorship of the proletariat would place on the order of the day not only democratic but also socialist tasks, such as collectivizing the economy, giving a mighty impulse to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist world would ensure against bourgeois restoration and secure the possibility of bringing socialist construction to its conclusion.

Trotsky's theory was confirmed by the Russian Revolution of October 1917. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the revolu-

tionary workers, supported by the peasantry, overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landlords. The decisive insurrectionary force was the Red Guard, the workers militia, as well as military units under the command of Bolshevik-led soldiers and sailors councils. The bourgeois state was shattered and replaced by a workers state based on mass organs of workers democracy, the elected soviets (councils) of workers, soldiers and peasants. The formation of the Communist International in 1919 expressed the Bolsheviks' understanding that the Russian Revolution was only the first, reversible episode of the world socialist revolution. (See "The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," in ICL pamphlet, April 2008.)

## The Cuban Revolution

Cuba under the dictator Fulgencio Batista was essentially a subsidiary of the American Mafia and the United Fruit Company (see, for example, the film *The Godfather: Part Two*). When Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement entered Havana on New Year's Day 1959, it routed the remnants of the army of Batista, who was deeply despised by the masses, isolated from the upper layers of Cuban society and finally abandoned by the U.S. imperialists. The commanders of the Rebel Army were petty-bourgeois intellectuals who, in the course of the guerrilla war, had had their previous direct connec-

tions with oppositional bourgeois-liberal elements broken and had become episodically autonomous from the bourgeoisie.

The initial coalition government with liberal-bourgeois politicians took place in the context of a shattered old bourgeois state apparatus. Castro himself had been a parliamentary candidate of the bourgeois Ortodoxo Party in 1952. The Sierra Maestra Manifesto issued by the July 26 Movement in 1957 proposed "impartial and democratic elections" organized by a "provisional neutral government" and called to "dissociate the army from politics," for freedom of the press, industrialization and a land reform based on the principle of land to the tiller (as opposed

to collective farms), none of which challenged capitalist rule.

The first measures of the petty-bourgeois Castro government were to outlaw gambling, suppress prostitution and seize the holdings of Batista and his cronies. These were followed by a modest land reform in line with the 1940 bourgeois constitution. In this period, Castro not only denied any revolutionary intentions; he explicitly denounced Communism. In May 1959 Castro referred to Communism as a system "which solves the economic problem, but which suppresses liberties, the liberties which are so dear to man and which I know the

*continued on page 6*

## Marxist Bulletin 8-

### CUBA AND MARXIST THEORY

Selected Documents on the Cuban Question

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# Cuba...

(continued from page 5)

Cuban people feel” (quoted in Theodore Draper, *Castroism: Theory and Practice* [1965]). However, this did not satisfy the anti-Communist wing of his own movement. In June 1959 Castro booted out opponents of the agrarian reform within the July 26 Movement.

The new Cuban government was also confronted by U.S. imperialism’s mounting attempts to bring it to heel through economic pressure without corresponding attempts by the contemptuous U.S. Eisenhower administration to co-opt the new government. There followed a process of blow and counterblow in which the Cuban leaders responded to each imperialist attack with increasingly radical measures. When Eisenhower sought to lower the Cuban sugar quota in January 1960, Castro signed an agreement with Soviet deputy prime minister Mikoyan for the USSR to purchase one million tons of sugar yearly from Cuba. Refusal by imperialist-owned oil refineries to process Russian crude, as well as Eisenhower’s elimination of the sugar quota, led to Castro’s nationalization in August 1960 of U.S.-owned properties in Cuba, including sugar mills, oil companies, the power company and the telephone company. In October, the government nationalized all banks and 382 businesses, amounting to 80 percent of the country’s industry. Cuba became a deformed workers state with these pervasive nationalizations, which liquidated the bourgeoisie as a class.

The crystallization of a deformed workers state was by no means the necessary outcome of the Rebel Army’s military victory in January 1959. The existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state provided a model and, more importantly, the material support which made that outcome a practicality. However, the formation of the Cuban deformed workers state was not the product of the alliance with the Soviet Union, but resulted from a process within Cuba itself. Another critical factor in the creation of a deformed workers state was the fact that the proletariat was not a contender for power.

Had there been a class-conscious, combative working class, it would have polarized the petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces, drawing some to the workers’ side and repelling others back into the arms of the bourgeois order. This occurred in Russia in 1917 as the Bolsheviks won the support of the mass of the peasantry, while the right-wing leadership of the Social Revolutionary peasant party sided with the capitalist Kerensky government. But in Cuba, the main workers party, the Stalinist Popular Socialist Party (PSP), was wedded to

**Right: Castro meets with Chile’s Salvador Allende. Castro supported Allende’s capitalist popular-front government, which disarmed combative Chilean proletariat, paved way for 1973 military coup and bloodbath.**



Gerretsen/Gamma



the capitalist order and bourgeois legality. The PSP repudiated Castro’s assault on the Moncada army barracks in 1953 as “putschist methods.” As late as June 1958, the PSP’s National Committee called for an end to violence and settling the strife in Cuba “by means of democratic and clean elections, respected by all, by which the people can effectively decide by means of the vote and the results of which would be honorably respected.”

The Cuban situation was exceptional: in most cases the military victory of petty-bourgeois nationalists ultimately ends with their re-establishing their ties to the bourgeois order. Take, for example, the case of Algeria after the victory of the radical-talking petty-bourgeois FLN following a protracted war of independence against the French imperialists. A key factor in maintaining Algeria as a French neocolony was the de Gaulle government’s pursuit of a more accommodationist policy toward the victorious Algerian rebels with the 1962 Evian Accords. To see the outcome of the Cuban Revolution as the result of Marxist foresight and intent by the Castroites is absurd. Referring to the Castro/Guevara “theory” of peasant-based warfare, the bourgeois historian Theodore Draper com-

mented, “The Cuban theory was an *ex post facto* rationalization of an improvised response to events beyond Castro’s control.”

The Cuban Revolution demonstrated, yet again, that there is no “third road” between the dictatorship of capital and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In that sense, it confirmed the theory of permanent revolution. However, the core of Trotsky’s theory is the necessity of a conscious proletariat, led by its vanguard, standing at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for power and the international extension of the revolution. The ruling stratum of the Cuban deformed workers state is a parasitic bureaucracy, which was created through a fusion of elements of the old July 26 Movement and the PSP (soon suitably purged of pro-Moscow types like Aníbal Escalante, who was seen as loyal to a different “socialism in one country”). The Cuban Revolution verified in a new way Trotsky’s assertion that the Stalinist bureaucracy—a transmission belt for the pressure of the world bourgeois order on a workers state—is a contradictory, petty-bourgeois formation. As we wrote in the 1973 preface to *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8:

“The decisive section of the Castroites could make the transition to the leadership of a deformed workers state because in the absence of the egalitarianism and proletarian democracy of a state directly won by the working people, they never had to transcend or fundamentally alter their own radical petty-bourgeois social appetites, but only to transform and redirect them.”

## The Struggle for Workers Democracy

The SWP and USec were overt apologists for the Castro government’s repression of the Cuban working class and leftists, including the Cuban Trotskyists. The SWP and USec blurred the qualitative difference between a healthy workers state, in which the working class holds political power, and a deformed one, in which political power is held by a bureaucracy. Although very occasionally SWP leaders like Joseph Hansen acknowledged that the “forms of workers democracy” were missing, this was seen as a small blemish; and in any event, the “objective dynamic” would “inevitably” compel the Castroites to see the light. This was reflected in a statement by Adolfo Gilly, a supporter of the Mexican Pabloites. While stating that “Cuba has been influenced by the bureaucratic methods and the non-participation of workers which exist in other socialist countries,” Gilly nonetheless alibied for the bureaucracy, concluding that “there is no country today where there is greater democracy than in Cuba” and that “it is the pressure

from below which is decisive at each point and it ends by imposing itself, thus further broadening the path of the Cuban Revolution itself” (*Monthly Review*, October 1964). Well, it’s been over 40 years and we’re still waiting!

Conveniently, the SWP and USec sought to lay all the blame for Stalinist bureaucracy on the PSP cadre, depicting Castro and Guevara particularly as “unconscious Trotskyists.” For its part, *Socialist Action* (February 2008) claims that “Che was motivated by his concept of Permanent Revolution when he left Cuba determined to contribute to the creation of ‘two, three, many Vietnams’.” Peter Taaffe, head of the Committee for a Workers’ International, recently asserted that “Castro pointedly denies—quite wrongly as Celia Hart has indicated—that Che Guevara had ‘Trotskyite sympathies’.” Castro ought to know. In his autobiography (co-authored with Ignacio Ramonet), Castro responded to an interviewer’s question about Guevara: “I never heard him speak, really, about Trotsky. He was a Leninist and, to a degree, he even recognized some merits in Stalin—you know, industrialization, some of those things” (*My Life: A Spoken Autobiography* [2007]).

While Guevara was a courageous individual who died fighting for his beliefs, his peasant-based guerrillism was counterposed to Leninism and Trotsky’s permanent revolution, which is premised on *proletarian* internationalism. As we explained in “The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road” (WV No. 630, 6 October 1995):

“Despite the revolutionary spirit of Guevara’s battle cry against imperialism, his call for a peasant-based guerrilla war on many fronts was a flat rejection of Marxism, Leninism and the proletarian struggle for power.... His political program was fundamentally elitist in that he rejected outright the need for the working people to express their voice and power through their own class organs, such as workers councils (soviets). Instead, the masses were supposed to submit to the leadership of a self-appointed band of petty-bourgeois radical intellectuals become *guerrilleros* who took to the hills.”

Because of its numbers, its location in the urban centers of finance and manufacture, and its strategic position with its hands on the means of production, where the common experience of the workers creates solidarity and organization, the proletariat uniquely has the social power and class interest to overthrow capitalism. As a mass of small commodity producers, the peasantry is a petty-bourgeois layer whose conditions of existence breed a parochial outlook. Its lower stratum, the landless peasants, is pulled toward the working class, while its upper stratum is more drawn to the bourgeoisie. Its productive labor is based on private ownership of parcels of land; peasants don’t have an independent mode of production. They follow either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

Under the most favorable circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was capable only of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and consequently with no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed in this period.

Guevara was contemptuous of workers democracy. In his essay, “The Role of a Marxist-Leninist Party,” he asserted that the guerrilla leaders in “the mountains” were “ideologically proletarian,” whereas those in “the plains” (i.e., the cities) were petty-bourgeois. From this he concluded that “The Rebel Army is the genuine representative of the triumphant Revolution.” Guevara’s politics were a particularly idealist, voluntarist brand of Stalinism. In “Socialism and Man in Cuba” (1965), he argued that workers’ productivity could be stimulated better through “moral incentives” rather than material incentives, dismissing the workers’ desires for a decent standard of living as bourgeois. Rejecting a proletarian revolutionary internationalist perspective, Guevara accepted the framework of “building socialism” on one small, poor and besieged island. Trotskyists understand that only the spread of

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revolution to the advanced capitalist countries can resolve the problem of material scarcity. Guevara explicitly characterized Trotsky's formation of the Left Opposition against Stalin's political usurpation of the revolution as "counterrevolutionary."

That a ruling bureaucracy was only in the process of formation made Cuba more open initially to the intervention of Trotskyists than other deformed workers states. This was reflected in the fact that for a period a Trotskyist group was allowed to function. The militia, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) and the trade unions all had a mass base. This was a transient opening, but one that had to be tested. The RT thus gave the program of political revolution for Cuba a transitional formulation, calling to "Make the Government Ministers Responsible to and Removable by Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Organizations."

A watershed in the hardening up of the bureaucracy was the arrest of members of the Cuban Trotskyist organization, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), part of an international tendency led by Juan Posadas. In May 1961 the Havana government seized the POR's newspaper *Voz Proletaria* and smashed the type for an edition of Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*. Beginning in November 1963, five leading POR members were arrested. They were charged with distributing an illegal paper, advocating the overthrow of the government and of being critical of Fidel Castro. They were sentenced to up to nine years in prison; in the end, they spent up to a year and a half in jail. Guevara was confronted over the arrests by a Spartacist supporter on a trip to Cuba in 1964. Our comrade pointed out that criticisms of people who stood for unconditional defense of the Revolution should be handled politically, rather than by suppression of views. Guevara responded:

"I agree with your statement, but the Cuban Trotskyists are not inside the Revolution, but only 'divisionists.'... I won't say they are CIA agents—we don't know. *They have no history of support to the revolution.*"

—"Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965

This was a deliberate slander. The arrested members of the POR were participants in all the activities of the Revolution before 1959, when the Stalinists were still waiting to see who would win. Andrés Alfonso fought in the underground against Batista, while Ricardo Ferrera had fought with the Rebel Army since age 16. The POR included members of the trade unions, CDR and militia members mobilized to defend Cuba in the missile crisis of October 1962. The "unconscious Trotskyist" Guevara was in fact a *conscious persecutor* of Trotskyists. He attacked the POR comrades on several different occasions in 1961 as part of his push for a single unified (Stalinist) party in Cuba.

Notwithstanding political differences, the Spartacist tendency was the first—outside of the Posadistas themselves—to defend the Cuban Trotskyists and bring their case to world attention. Sucking up to the Castroites, the SWP leadership didn't say a word about the arrests until after the POR members were released, having signed a capitulatory statement saying they would disband their organization. The SWP et al.'s despicable treatment of the Cuban Trotskyists was reminiscent of the Pabloites' silence over Mao's jailing of Chinese Trotskyists years earlier.

## For Proletarian Internationalism!

One of the central tenets of permanent revolution—and a sharp dividing line between Trotskyism and Stalinism—is the need to extend revolution in a semi-colonial country to the advanced capitalist world. This flows from an understanding of the need for a planned economy on an international level, necessarily including the most materially advanced societies. The workers states are threatened not only by imperialist military intervention, but even more crucially by imperialist economic penetration and the qualitatively higher level of productivity of the advanced capitalist countries.



Pathfinder

The ICL stands on heritage of James P. Cannon (left) and SWP's fight to defend Trotskyist program against Pabloist revisionism. Right: Ernest Mandel (at microphone) and Michel Pablo abandoned Trotskyism in favor of tailing Stalinists and petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces.



Le Bolchévik

Lenin asserted: "So long as both capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. Either the one or the other in the long run will conquer. There will be a funeral chant either for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism" (cited in Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*). The catastrophic collapse of the Soviet Union, undermined by decades of Stalinist mismanagement and betrayal, confirmed the futility of trying to construct "socialism in one country." How much more does this apply to tiny Cuba!

The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies pursue their own arrangements with the imperialists, including at the expense of other workers states (as the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s reflected). In exchange for Soviet economic and military assistance, Castro generally supported the Kremlin line internationally. But Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made perfectly clear his willingness to arrive at a separate deal with U.S. imperialism at Cuba's expense during the missile crisis in 1962, when, in response to U.S. threats, he pulled Soviet missiles out of Cuba. An

ported the nationalist regimes of Jânio Quadros and João Goulart in Brazil during the early 1960s. In 1969 Castro saluted the Peruvian military junta as "a group of progressive officers playing a revolutionary role."

However, the greatest betrayal came with Fidel's political support to Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile. Repudiating the need for revolution in favor of the "parliamentary road to socialism," Castro stated in 1971 that "there was never any contradiction between the concepts of the Cuban Revolution and the path followed by the left movement and the workers' parties in Chile." Allende's popular-front coalition with capitalist Chilean parties politically disarmed the working class, which was asked to place its confidence in the "constitutional" army and the "democratic" bourgeoisie. The result of this betrayal was the 11 September 1973 bloody military coup by Pinochet and the massacre of more than 30,000 trade unionists, leftists and others.

When the Nicaraguan masses smashed the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, the capi-

might sound appealing. Since 2003, Chávez has invested an estimated four billion dollars in various areas of Cuban agriculture, industry, services and infrastructure. In 2006, Venezuela accounted for 35.4 percent of Cuba's total merchandise trade. Domestically, as oil prices climbed, Chávez siphoned off some of the enormous profits to finance a series of social measures at home.

As Marxists, we call for military defense of the Chávez regime in the event of a U.S.-sponsored coup, as we did in 2002. However, we do not lend political support to Chávez. The reformist left perpetuates illusions that Venezuela is "socialist" or on the road to socialism. However, there is a qualitative difference between Cuba and Venezuela. In Cuba, the bourgeois state was smashed and the bourgeoisie expropriated as a class. Chávez came to power through a bourgeois electoral process and rules at the head of a *capitalist state*. The Venezuelan bourgeoisie is alive and kicking, and the imperialists continue to carry on a thriving business with Venezuela. Although Chávez has increased the state's share in industries like oil, electricity, steel and cement production, these piecemeal nationalizations do not challenge capitalist private property. Such measures have typically been carried out by other Latin American populists like Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico in the 1930s, Juan Perón in Argentina in the 1940s and '50s and Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in the 1950s. A former army colonel, Chávez is a bonapartist ruler who employs populist measures not to effect but rather to *deflect* a social revolution—by binding the dispossessed masses more firmly to the Venezuelan capitalist state.

Pro-Castro leftists frequently cite Cuba's interventions in Africa as proof of its internationalism. Following the demise of Portuguese colonialism in Africa in 1974-75, Angola was rent by internecine conflict among rival nationalist forces in which Marxists had no side. But when the South African apartheid army, backed by the U.S., invaded Angola, Cuba dispatched troops, supported by the Soviets, that fought alongside the MPLA Angolan nationalists and succeeded in smashing the South African forces and their Angolan allies. Although we did not politically support the MPLA, we sided militarily with the MPLA, the Cuban forces and their Soviet advisors in what was a proxy war with the U.S. imperialists.

*continued on page 8*

1975 Cuban military intervention in Angola prevented apartheid South African conquest, helped inspire struggles by South Africa's oppressed black masses.



Newsweek

RT statement at the time denounced "the counter-revolutionary role" of the "Kremlin bureaucrats" in the Cuban missile crisis and asserted: "The false policy of the Castro leadership, its political bloc with the Stalinists, has greatly undermined this defense" ("Declaration on the Cuban Crisis," 30 November 1962, reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part I).

Contrary to the myth spread by many leftists, the Cuban line was not more "internationalist" when Guevara was alive. Thus, the Cuban delegation to the Punta del Este (Uruguay) conference in 1961, headed by Che Guevara, offered détente to the U.S. imperialists. As quoted by John Gerassi in *The Great Fear in Latin America* (1965), Guevara said: "We cannot promise that we will not export our example, as the United States asks us to, because an example is a matter of spirit and a spiritual element can cross frontiers. But we will give our guarantee that no arms will be transported from Cuba to be used for fighting in any Latin American country."

The Cuban government's sponsorship of rural guerrilla warfare in certain areas of Latin America, mainly in the years 1964-67, was in fact quite selective. The Castroites supported various "democratic" nationalist bourgeois regimes in Latin America that they imagined would be a counterweight to the imperialists. Cuba's foreign policy follows the logic of Stalin's "socialism in one country," i.e., opposing international revolution in the hope of defusing imperialist hostility, while boosting capitalist regimes willing to be "friends" with one's own non-capitalist state. In particular, Castro sup-

portalist state was shattered, opening the road to a social revolution. We said: "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!" But Castro advised the Sandinista government at the time to "avoid the early mistakes we made in Cuba: the political rejection by the West, premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie, economic isolation." Under a "mixed economy" and the pressure of the CIA-backed "contras," the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie was able to reassert control a decade later, defeating the revolution.

Today it is Venezuelan capitalist strongman Hugo Chávez whom Castro promotes as the new revolutionary of the 21st century. For those living on the island this

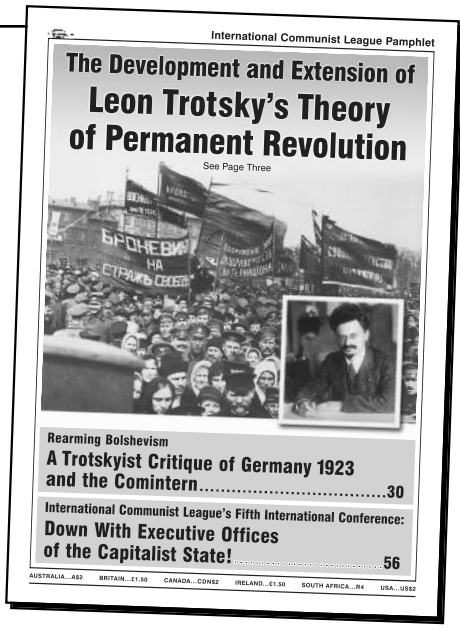
## Just Out!

International Communist League pamphlet comprising three articles from ICL press: "The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," "A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern" and "Down With Executive Offices of the Capitalist State!" These articles together constitute an introduction to the historically founded principles and program of Trotskyism (i.e., genuine Marxism).

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Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

The heroic battles fought by Cuban troops shattered the myth of the invincibility of the apartheid army, helping to inspire the 1976 Soweto revolts and other struggles by the oppressed black masses in South Africa. However, it is important to note that the objective of the Cuban and Soviet Stalinists was never to overthrow capitalism in Africa. As well as sponsoring the corrupt MPLA bourgeois regime in Angola, Cuba and the USSR also supported the brutal Mengistu dictatorship in Ethiopia beginning in the 1970s. In South Africa, which has the largest proletariat in sub-Saharan Africa, the Stalinists have since 1928 supported an alliance with the bourgeois African National Congress (ANC). Today, the apartheid regime is gone, but the black masses remain at the bottom under a neo-apartheid regime administered by the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the COSATU union federation tops.

Although Cuba has been under the gun of U.S. imperialism for almost half a century, Castro’s autobiography makes clear his appetite for “détente” via a “progressive” wing of American imperialism—i.e., the Democratic Party. There are abundant favorable references to Democratic Party presidents. “[Franklin Delano] Roosevelt, in my opinion, was one of the finest statesmen our neighbour to the north has ever had.” “I had always had a high opinion of [Jimmy] Carter as a man of honour, an ethical man. His policies towards Cuba were constructive.” Asked by his interviewer whether Clinton (who twice tightened the embargo on Cuba) was “more constructive,” Castro responded: “Yes, he wasn’t particularly demanding. But Clinton inherited that whole community, he inherited all the campaigns that have been waged against Cuba, and there was very little he could do to behave more decently.” Even Kennedy—Bay of Pigs and all—is alibied: “I think Kennedy was a man of great enthusiasm, very intelligent, with personal charisma, who tried to do positive things.... He gave a green light to the Playa Girón invasion in 1961, but that operation hadn’t been prepared by him—it was put together by the previous Eisenhower-Nixon administration.” Castro is following in the footsteps of the Kremlin Stalinists and the U.S. Communist Party, which since the days of FDR have mainly supported the capitalist Democratic Party.

The Post-Soviet World

Ever sensitive to petty-bourgeois public opinion, the Pabloites beat a retreat from their former enthusing over peasant guerrilla warfare with the first hint of Cold War II in the late 1970s. They voted for the installation of the most viciously anti-Communist popular-front governments, like that of French “socialist” Mitterrand in 1981. Echoing the imperialist campaign for “democracy” and “human rights,” they supported any and every opponent of the Soviet government. This included support to Polish Solidarność in the 1980s, the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. In the U.S., Socialist Action even adopted the

Solidarność logo as the masthead for its paper. The late Ernest Mandel, USec leader, hailed these clerical reactionaries, which were backed by the CIA and Vatican, as “the best socialists in the world.” The USec even retrospectively praised the World War II Estonian Nazi “Forest Brothers” as “freedom fighters.” USec groups, as well as the Militant tendency of Peter Taaffe and Alan Woods, howled with the imperialist wolves in support of Boris Yeltsin’s counterrevolutionary coup in Moscow in 1991. Today, the reformist left cheers on the CIA-backed Dalai Lama and the “Free Tibet” movement against the Chinese deformed workers state. We of the International Communist League fought to the end against counter-revolution in the former USSR and East and Central Europe, as Trotsky demanded of his supporters. In contrast to the refusal of the fake Trotskyists to defend the USSR against the CIA-armed *mujahedin* following the Soviet intervention that began in December 1979, we said, “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!” In a 1991 statement, we called on Soviet workers to “Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution,” urging the proletariat to form soviets under the program of Bolshevik internationalism. In East Germany (DDR) in 1989-90, while the disintegrating Stalinist regime of the SED-PDS whined that capitalist restoration should be implemented in a humane manner, we uniquely opposed the capitalist reunification. We called for a red, soviet Germany, through political revolution in the DDR and socialist revo-



East Berlin, 3 January 1990: Spartakist speaker addresses the ICL-initiated 250,000-strong demonstration at Treptow Park against fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial and in defense of East German and Soviet workers states.

lution in West Germany. We initiated a massive mobilization, which was then supported by the SED-PDS, in Berlin’s Treptow Park on 3 January 1990 against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial and in defense of the USSR and DDR. It was the first time Trotskyists had spoken on a public platform in a workers state since Trotsky’s Russian Left Opposition in the late 1920s. The destruction of the USSR had disastrous consequences for Cuba. The Cuban economy had been heavily subsidized by the USSR, amounting in the 1980s to up to 36 percent of the Cuban national income.

The Cuban economy underwent a dramatic contraction, with a steep 40 percent decline in economic output per capita by 1993. This meant blackouts, deprivation of basic goods and a period of tight food rationing for the Cuban population during a time known as the “Special Period in Time of Peace.” In response, the government instituted a series of “market reforms,” which included legalizing the holding and exchanging of U.S. currency. This “dollarization” led to a sharp and growing income differential, impacting women and black Cubans the hardest. In recent years, the government has sought to reduce dependence on imperialist investment by enacting new trade deals with Chávez’s Venezuela and China. But the economic situation remains dire for most Cubans, who are forced to turn to the black market even for many basic necessities. Seeking to ease the U.S. embargo in order to facilitate economic penetration of the island, former president Carter traveled to Cuba in 2002. In his trip, Carter pushed the Varela petition campaign—launched by pro-imperialist dissidents—which included demands for the right of private enterprise, amnesty for political prisoners and “free elections.” The call for “free elections” is a call to support “bourgeois democracy” against the Cuban workers state, i.e., *counterrevolution*. We are for *workers* democracy. As our supporter made clear to Guevara in 1964, we are for the right of all tendencies who defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution to organize politically. The working class must exercise its rule through soviets. We condemn those like Olivier



Bolshevik leaders V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky at Red Square in 1919 on anniversary of Russian Revolution.

nent and twisted into the most grotesque opposite of what the Bolsheviks intended.” The execution of the hijackers was not a case of summary justice by a workers government in a civil war situation. We know full well that the Castro regime metes out repression to its pro-socialist opponents, including militants like the Trotskyists in the 1960s. And it was in the name of “defending the revolution” that Castro ordered the execution in 1989 of General Ochoa, a war hero in Angola, after a Stalinist show trial recalling the Moscow purges of the late 1930s. We support measures taken in defense of the Cuban Revolution, including the imprisonment of those “dissidents” who are actively collaborating with U.S. imperialism. But we give no credence to the bureaucracy’s ability to clean up the counterrevolutionaries. Castro’s invitation to Carter only served to embolden the reactionaries, just as the continuing search for “détente” with imperialism undermines the Cuban workers state. The fundamentals of what we wrote in 1965 in our article “Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!” remain true today:

“The Cuban Revolution must replace its present nationalist, ‘peaceful coexistence’ ideology...with a revolutionary foreign policy, an orientation to the Latin American Revolution to concretely building and giving leadership to the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America as part of a world movement. Internally, the establishment of genuine workers democracy, building soviets—workers’ councils—elected representative organs of workers’ power, and restoration of the rich internal life that is vital for any revolutionary movement in defeating bureaucracy.” Revolutionaries in the U.S., the bastion of world imperialism, have a special duty to defend Cuba against capitalist restoration and U.S. imperialism. We fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, section of a reformed Fourth International, that brings to the multiracial U.S. working class the understanding that defense of the Cuban Revolution is an integral part of its struggle against the American capitalist exploiters and for the fight for socialist revolution. *Defend the Cuban Revolution! For proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism! For new October Revolutions!* ■

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Besancenot, a prominent spokesman for the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the flagship section of the USec, who earlier this year proclaimed his support to “free elections” in Cuba. To its credit, the Cuban government supports the cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal, America’s foremost death row political prisoner. However, the Cuban government carries out the death penalty, although Raúl Castro recently commuted the death sentences of nearly all of Cuba’s death row inmates. We are opposed to capital punishment as a matter of principle, in Cuba and China as well as in capitalist countries. When three boat hijackers were executed in 2003, the pro-Castro sycophants of Socialist Action tried to justify this by pointing to the executions carried out by the Bolsheviks during the Civil War. We responded in WV No. 805 (6 June 2003): “Marxists—including the Bolsheviks—are opposed to the barbaric institution of capital punishment. The Bolsheviks carried out revolutionary terror in defense of the new workers state, understanding that the war against counterrevolution was a temporary episode which would need temporary and drastic measures. But the penal code was a more permanent feature of the proletarian state. When the death penalty, instead of being an act of war, was made part of the country’s criminal code in 1922, this step was intended to be temporary.... And like so many other measures employed temporarily by the young workers state, with the Stalinist political counterrevolution, these measures were made perma-

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# South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

Congress (ANC) and its partners in the SACP and the COSATU union bureaucracy that is responsible for these conditions. There have been continual protests in townships throughout the country over the lack of service delivery—i.e., electricity, housing, water and sewage systems. The SACP and COSATU misleaders have to date refused to mount any kind of mass protest or labour mobilisation to combat the attacks on immigrants.

The violence has been abetted by the police who, even as they flood into the townships, are carrying out their own vicious attacks in residential areas and on the streets. After hundreds of people swarmed into an Alexandra police station seeking protection, Home Affairs minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula announced on May 14 that the government would not deport “illegal” immigrants at this time. The very next day, police in Olifantsfontein, near the Tembisa township, arrested 32 immigrants they had “rescued” who lacked documentation. Asked about the minister’s statement, a police spokesman replied, “We are only doing our job.” Outside Soweto two days later, police stopped a taxi van and demanded that two women they considered “too dark” to be South African show inoculation marks to supposedly prove their citizenship.

The scope of the attacks points to the danger of far wider violence pitting black African groups against each other and against coloureds [mixed-race] and other minorities. In Alexandra, Zulu speakers have reportedly been involved in attacks against not only immigrants but also South Africans who speak Venda, Xhosa, Shangaan or other languages. Interethnic hostilities were reinforced under white-supremacist apartheid rule. But anti-immigrant terror and tribal divisions are also enduring features of the neo-apartheid capitalist order under the Tripartite Alliance. The Somali Association of South Africa reports that 471 Somalis have been murdered since 1997. Dosso Ndessomin, a refugee from the Ivory Coast who represents the Coordinating Body for Refugee Communities, told the *Mail & Guardian* (16 May): “It starts off as xenophobia and when they’re finished dealing with the foreigners, they turn to tribalism. Trust me, that will be much, much worse than anything we are seeing now.”

In putting forward the call for a black-centred workers government, we noted in our 1997 pamphlet “The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left”:

“Widespread expectations for better housing and jobs cannot be met; even simple democratic demands such as the right to an education for all children or the right of women to birth control and abortion are denied to the overwhelming majority by social inequality and lack of facilities. If the masses’ frustration does not find expression along *class* lines it will fuel and embitter every other kind of division.”

We reprint below the Spartacist South Africa leaflet issued on May 15.

\* \* \*

In the latest wave of anti-immigrant violence sweeping South Africa, lynch mobs in Alexandra township have killed five people and wounded and raped scores of others since May 11. One of those killed, a South African, had refused to take part in the attacks. Thugs demolished shacks and stole personal belongings. After more than 1,000 people, mainly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, fled to the Alexandra police station for protection, the cops announced they would demand identification papers, posing the threat of deporting “illegal” immigrants. From Tshwane (Pretoria) to the Eastern Cape, Somalis, Zimbabweans and others have been killed in similar mob attacks, while the government continues its anti-immigrant roundups and steps up repression along the border with Zimbabwe.

The situation cries out for a mobilisa-

tion of trade-union power to stop these attacks! From the mines and farms to the motor industry, immigrant workers have been integral to the economy and labour movement in South Africa. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), demands: Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! No deportations! The pogroms against immigrants in desperately impoverished Alexandra have spilled over



Above: Injured seek refuge at local clinic after anti-immigrant violence in Alexandra and other townships. Below: Crowd attacks immigrant outside Alexandra clinic, May 12.



into attacks on Venda-speaking and darker-skinned South African blacks. Different layers of the oppressed are put at each others’ throats to deflect anger from the real enemy: the white capitalist class, with its black front men. But for the unions to champion the cause of immigrants and the poor requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist misleaders of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], which is dominated by the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the NACTU and FEDUSA labour federations.

The bourgeois African National Congress (ANC) and the COSATU bureaucrats mouth pious phrases against “intolerance” and the “frustration” of the poor. But it is the ANC/SACP/COSATU Tripartite Alliance government that oversees neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority are locked in grinding poverty and black people remain on the bottom. The poor in this country, and hundreds of millions around the world, are faced with starvation from rising food prices, which are at bottom caused not by shortages but by price-gouging and other capitalist profiteering.

Since 1994, the Alliance government has helped spawn repeated xenophobic outbreaks in which immigrants are used as scapegoats for mass unemployment, poverty and crime. Last year alone some 250,000 people were deported. Actions like the January police raid on the Central Methodist Church, long a haven for refugees, only encourage mob attacks as in Alexandra. At the May Day rally in North West, ANC president Jacob Zuma cloaked the call to crack down on immigrants with empty words of sympathy, saying that “the ANC government will naturally take strong measures to restrict

illegal immigration” in line with the “human rights ethos of our country”!

As under apartheid, the capitalist state in “democratic” South Africa defends the rule and profits of the Randlords—and their senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London—against the oppressed black, coloured and Indian toilers. To hold the popular front together, the SACP reformists provide the ideological glue of the “national democratic

elections, both the Mugabe regime and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) of Morgan Tsvangirai, which is backed by white farmers and the imperialists, represent the class enemy of the proletariat. South African president Thabo Mbeki has been propping up Mugabe, while the COSATU and SACP leaderships implicitly or explicitly back the MDC.

In this context, the Durban SATAWU dock workers union, affiliated with COSATU, refused to unload a Chinese ship carrying arms for Zimbabwe last month. As revolutionary Marxists, we oppose this military aid, whose only purpose would be to aid Mugabe in crushing his internal opposition. But we do not support this boycott, which was anything but the paragon of labour solidarity it was proclaimed to be by left groups and labour bureaucrats around the world. The “labour action” in Durban—carried out jointly *with the cops*—and the subsequent international boycott of the ship were in line with the anti-Mugabe campaign orchestrated by London and Washington. During her recent visit to southern Africa, U.S. assistant secretary of state Jendayi Frazer praised the unions involved for creating a “leadership moment.” This from a mouthpiece of the most murderous state power in history and the foremost enemy of the world proletariat! The hue and cry over the arms shipment also coincided with the reactionary “Free Tibet” campaign against the Chinese deformed workers state. The International Communist League stands for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The South African proletariat, which is exploited by a capitalist class whose holdings extend throughout southern Africa, has the social power to liberate not only the downtrodden masses in this country but those of the entire region groaning under neocolonial misery. But it cannot realise this potential when it is chained to its exploiters through the Tripartite Alliance nationalist popular front. The same COSATU tops who willingly put their union at the service of the bourgeois MDC have done nothing to mobilise union power in defence of Zimbabwean immigrants or the township poor. ***Break with the Tripartite Alliance!*** To unite workers against their class enemy, what’s needed is a class-struggle fight for ***jobs for all*** through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for massive wage increases to combat poverty and rampant inflation, for affordable, quality, integrated housing for all. The burning needs of the masses will not be realised short of the overthrow of South African capitalism, a system based on white privilege and the super-exploitation of black labour. Spartacist South Africa fights to build a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, which would act as a tribune of the people. Defending all of the oppressed and exploited in the struggle for proletarian state power, such a party would cut through the ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by superexploitation.

We fight for a ***black-centred workers government*** which would include a full role and democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and those whites prepared to live under such a government. We do not regard as sacrosanct the borders that were drawn up by the colonialists, which have no correspondence with tribal or ethnic groupings. Our program is for a ***socialist federation of southern Africa***, in which there will be an equal place for all the myriad peoples of the region. As we wrote in “South Africa: For a Black-Centered Workers Government!” (*Workers Vanguard* No. 911, 28 March): “The expropriation of the bourgeoisie would begin to lay the material foundations for social equality. But this perspective can only be fully realised through the extension of socialist revolution to the most advanced capitalist countries and the establishment of a collectivised, planned world economy.” Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!■

Mumia...
(continued from page 12)

It is vital to turn union endorsements and statements into mass labor action for Mumia's freedom. The fight to free Mumia must be based on a strategy of class-struggle defense: the understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two hostile social classes—the capitalist exploiters and the working class—and that the capitalist state and its courts are organs of repression against working people and the oppressed. The diversity of those who endorsed, helped build and participated in the recent protests, especially trade unions around the world, lays the basis for going forward.

In fighting for Mumia's freedom, we seek to reverse the longstanding demobilization of Mumia's supporters. What was once a mass movement that brought tens of thousands into the streets has been demobilized by a host of reformist organizations that promoted the illusion that Mumia could get "justice" in the capitalist courts. This has been expressed in the longtime subordination of the call for Mumia's freedom to the manifestly bankrupt call for a "new trial." In building the protests, the PDC underlined the need for genuine united-front action for Mumia's freedom: unity in action based on agreed-upon slogans and complete freedom of criticism. As the PDC stressed in its "Open Letter to Fighters for Mumia's Freedom" (WV No. 912, 11 April), what is necessary is "open debate about what strategy is needed to rebuild the movement for Mumia and fight for his freedom.... Had the political counterposition between our call to 'Free Mumia' and those advocating a 'new trial' been openly debated over the past decade, the movement for Mumia today would have been stronger and firmly based on the need to mobilize to free this innocent man."

Addressing the NYC emergency protest on March 28, Mumia's daughter, Goldii, said that the rulers want to kill Mumia "because they are afraid of him, because of his eloquence, his intelligence." The capitalist rulers, Democrats as well as Republicans, are determined that Mumia be imprisoned for life or executed. Paula Daniels, speaking for the Spartacist League, stated at the Chicago protest: "Help us build that revolutionary workers party that fights for Mumia's freedom, for black freedom, women's liberation and defense of gay rights, for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.... The first American Revolution gained independence from the British, the second smashed slavery. It's time for a third, a workers revolution."

Working people and all the oppressed have a stake in the struggle to free Mumia. As the PDC emphasized in its 11 April international call for the united-front protests, "The fight for Mumia is the



Trotskyist Group of Greece raises demand for Mumia's freedom at Athens May Day demonstration.

fight for black rights, for workers' rights, for the rights of all the oppressed." We urge Mumia's supporters to publicize his case further in the unions, on campuses and on the streets. Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and other groups demanding Mumia's freedom. Make a contribution to Mumia's legal defense (see ad below), mobilize for the next round of protests, which must number in the many thousands. Help build the PDC and join the struggle to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners.

We print below, in slightly edited form, PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein's speech to the Chicago united-front protest.

\* \* \*

I'm very glad to be here today and I'm very glad to see everyone here. It's truly appropriate to have this rally today, the day after the outrageous decision acquitting the cops who killed Sean Bell. It's very important to recognize that the three police officers who pumped 50 bullets at Sean Bell were acquitted yesterday. It should be a wake-up call for anyone who still has illusions in the capitalist courts, who thinks there can be justice from the courts absent the strength and the social power of labor and mass protest.

We are all here today in protest and opposition to the state's vendetta against Mumia. Mumia should never have spent a day in jail. He is an innocent man. We demand that Mumia be freed, now. Free Mumia now!

It is an outrage that the March 27 federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals decision leaves Mumia still facing a possible death sentence—or at best, spending the rest of his years in the living death of prison hell. It is an outrage—like the infamous Dred Scott decision—in which the black-robed judges declare, yet again, that Mumia, a fighter for black freedom, has no rights that the courts are bound to respect. The decision is an outrage, but

not a surprise—the capitalist state has targeted Mumia since he was a teenager.

From the age of 14, Mumia raised his voice—as a Black Panther Party member and later as an outspoken journalist and as a MOVE supporter. And for that, Mumia was framed up for the killing of a Philadelphia police officer in 1981.

Mumia's only crime is his unbending opposition to racism, police brutality, poverty, imperialist war and colonial depredations and injustices—from Iraq and Afghanistan to Puerto Rico. The "voice of the voiceless" fights not only for the rights of blacks in the U.S., but also for the oppressed around the globe.

When Mumia was just 14 years old, he joined the Black Panther Party and soon became the Philly chapter's Minister of Information. The Black Panther Party was the best of a generation of militant black youth. They were not down on their knees before the American rulers, and they believed in armed self-defense. The U.S. capitalist state, through the FBI and local police, carried out a war of murder, mass arrest and frame-ups against the Panthers. Hundreds were arrested, and some 38 Panthers were murdered, including Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago. Mumia was placed on a government list when he was 15 years old for the "crime"—in the view of the FBI—of being an effective spokesman.

Mumia's recognition that the rights and conditions of blacks in the U.S. are

indivisible from the rights of all the oppressed goes back to his earliest period. He was interviewed in the Philadelphia Inquirer, a mainstream paper, in January 1970, shortly after Hampton and Clark were murdered. There he said: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." In this, he disputed and challenged the state's prerogatives to keep the poor, blacks and all minorities under the jackboot of cop terror. This statement of elementary truth was used against him 12 years later in his frame-up trial. During the sentencing phase of his trial, Mumia described what this meant, saying, "It's very clear that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun or else America wouldn't be here today. It is America who has seized political power from the Indian race, not by god, not by Christianity, not by goodness, but by the barrel of a gun." And for this Mumia was sentenced to death!

The death sentence in the U.S. is the legacy of slavery, it is the lynch rope made legal—part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK fascists and the killer cops in the ghettos and barrios. There are over 3,000 people on death row in the United States. All of them should be released from the spectre of death. We are opposed to the death penalty for all of them. We in the Partisan Defense Committee oppose the death penalty as a matter of principle—the state should not determine who is to live or to die. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty! We are opposed to the entire racist frame-up system.

Mumia's 1982 death sentence and the commitment of the state to see him dead or locked up for life are not the result of the action of one racist judge—though there was a racist judge—nor of rogue cops or of one overzealous prosecutor. This is the workings of the capitalist injustice system. In Mumia, the forces of racist "law and order" see the spectre of black revolt.

The court decision that just happened is just a newer version of the December 2001 decision by a federal court judge. Then, over six years ago, Mumia's death sentence was overturned and his conviction upheld. Mumia responded six years ago, saying: "I continue to be innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty.... Another year of struggle, another year of fighting, not for life in a cage, but for freedom."

The Court of Appeals' decision continues the policy of the state and the federal

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.

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# From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

## Philadelphia: City of Brotherly Thugs



The scene is as common as sunlight: cops beating Black men in the streets.

This time, captured on videotape from a hovering helicopter, a malevolent swarm of cops pull occupants from a car, and they proceed to beat the paste out of the men, kicking, punching, and slamming with a club. At least 15 cops are seen in the broadcast beatdown; an average of 5-to-1.

Within moments of its broadcast came the predictable defense: cops in Philly are “stressed.”

One need not even await such defenses anymore: just put a tape on speed-dial, and repeat.

If ever there was irony, the three car occupants were charged with aggravated assault, and criminal conspiracy.

How much do you wanna bet that the cops, who were caught on film in the midst of aggravated assault, and as they committed the crime in common, criminal conspiracy, are never charged with these crimes—and probably will never be arrested?

How can I dare make such a claim?

Well, I have plenty of practice.

Most folks flash back to the infamous Rodney King case, where cops in L.A. went into a whipping fit, because King had tried to outrun them.

Were they too *stressed*?

It also reminded me of the taped beating of Delbert Africa, a MOVE member who was beaten during the August 8th, 1978 police raid on MOVE’s home.

These cops, too, were easily acquitted by explicit judicial decree.

If tape doesn’t matter, what does?

In the case against three cops who rifle-butted, punched and kicked Delbert, the judge ignored the videotapes, and cited both Delbert’s muscularity, and the claim of a Black TV reporter, who claimed she saw him armed—this, despite the tape showing him shirtless, empty hands opened, and naked from the waist up!

Prepare for the all but inevitable whitewash.

Look at that tape again, and you will see something that you’ll see if you looked at a gang attack. For these are gangsters, pure and simple.

Only it’s the Blue gang.

Welcome to Philadelphia: the city of brotherly thugs.

8 May 2008

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**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.**

courts to refuse to even consider the mountains of evidence proving that Mumia is an innocent man. Mumia was framed up for his politics in a trial that everyone here knows was a travesty of justice—a racist and political frame-up. Every leg of the prosecution’s case against Mumia has been proven time and again to be a fabrication, from Mumia’s so-called “confession” to the prosecution witnesses who were coerced into false testimony, to the nonexistent ballistics evidence.

Beginning over fifteen years ago, the PDC attorneys who were then part of Mumia’s legal defense team, myself and Jon Piper, who is also here today, found and uncovered massive evidence of Mumia’s innocence. This includes witness William Singletary, who said Mumia was not the shooter; witnesses Veronica Jones and Pamela Jenkins, who testified that the prosecution witnesses were coerced into lying; forensic evidence that proved the prosecution’s story of the shooting was totally fabricated; and the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. Mumia’s own declaration in 2001 stated, “I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent.” Yet the Court of Appeals decision repeats every single lie of the cops and the District Attorney.

The Third Circuit decision created another set of “Mumia rules”—exceptions to the well-established precedents that are supposed to govern the court’s

decisions, if law was to be law in this country. While directed at Mumia, the court of appeals ruling is an attack on the rights of all of us. This includes vitiating the applicability of the Supreme Court decision that held that prosecutors should not exclude jurors based on race. The court upheld the exclusion of black jurors and approved the outrageous racist conduct of Judge Sabo. The Third Circuit made “Mumia rules” in order to undermine those rights that are supposed to be in the Bill of Rights for everyone, including the requirement that the government prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. To that end, the Third Circuit gave license to the prosecutor’s unconstitutional argument to the jury that they could convict Mumia because he’d have “appeal after appeal after appeal.”

The decision is an integral part of the “war on terror,” which was launched in its current form after September 11 by targeting Muslims. It is intended to intimidate and persecute black people, immigrants, workers and leftist opponents of the U.S. government. And that includes activists of all sorts, including Andy Thayer, one of the endorsers of this demonstration, who is facing trumped-up felony charges of aggravated battery (see “Chicago Gay Liberation Network Activist Targeted—Drop Charges Against Andy Thayer!” WV No. 914, 9 May).

The ruling in Mumia’s case confirms, again, that no justice can be expected from the capitalist courts. Every possible legal avenue must be pursued vigorously

to challenge this recent court decision. But we cannot afford to have any illusions in fair hearings and impartial judges.

The state has made clear time and again its commitment to see Mumia dead or rotting in prison for the rest of his life. The question is: Why? As Mumia himself said after the recent court decision, in an interview with Fred Hampton Jr., this decision is “not a victory.... For those in the establishment, I represent, in many ways, their greatest nightmare.... Those people who live it...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.” What those in the establishment “fear is the black revolution reigniting.”

There is a pressure and there is a power that can make the courts yield—that is the power of mass international protest, crucially based on the power of labor. This is what stayed the executioner’s hand in August 1995, after a death warrant for Mumia was signed.

It is all the more urgent today to revitalize mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man and to link his fight to the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty—to expose the race and class injustice of the American legal system. Mumia’s freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged “justice” system or through capitalist politicians, whether they be Democrats, Republicans or Greens. It is very notable and not an accident that this decision came just before the Pennsylvania primary, where both Democratic presi-

dential contenders, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, support the death penalty. Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, who is a major force in the Democratic Party nationally, was the D.A. that framed Mumia.

It is hardly a coincidence that this decision also came just before the parole hearings scheduled for the eight surviving members of the MOVE 9, who have spent 30 years in prison. And parole has just been denied to the MOVE women. Free the MOVE prisoners now! Mumia’s oldest son, Jamal Hart, was sentenced to 15 years in prison on frame-up charges for having been outspoken on behalf of his father. We also call to free Jamal Hart!

The social power to free Mumia is in the hands of the workers who can stop production, transportation and communication in demanding: Free Mumia now! The fight for Mumia’s freedom is integrally linked to the fight for every worker for a living wage, for every immigrant for full citizenship rights. It is part of the broader struggle to end every manifestation of repression, exploitation and oppression around the globe.

We stand here together in much smaller numbers than should be out here today, but nonetheless representing in embryo the potential power to free Mumia—organized labor, joined by civil rights activists, radical students, leftists, all committed to fighting until Mumia is freed from the hellhole of living death in prison! Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now! ■

## Freightliner...

(continued from page 3)

exists to defend the bourgeoisie’s rule and profits. If the strike at the Cleveland plant had continued, the cops would have patrolled the pickets, herding scabs, while the courts issued strikebreaking injunctions. It took bitter, bloody struggles against the capitalists and their cops, courts and troops, as well as against armies of private security and the Ku Klux Klan, to build the trade unions.

Four of the Freightliner Five were among those endorsing the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated united-front protests last month demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Glenna Swinford spoke powerfully at the rally in Chicago, observing: “The justice system has failed him, but he still keeps fighting for his freedom, and the Freightliner Five will continue to fight for ours.” The same courts that have kept Mumia on death row for over 25 years are also the enemies of unions and workers who engage in class struggle. It is wrong for the Freightliner Five, union leaders

and civil rights activists, to take their dispute with the corrupt and venal UAW International to the capitalist courts.

In fact, anti-union Freightliner workers filed a RICO racketeering lawsuit against the UAW in 2006. RICO was the main lever by which the capitalist state assumed sweeping powers over a number of unions in the 1980s and ’90s. The 1989 RICO-inspired government takeover of the powerful Teamsters was the culmination of a decades-long union-busting vendetta by the Feds, beginning in the 1960s with Democrat Robert Kennedy, against the union and James Hoffa Sr.

To this end, the Feds were aided and abetted by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) “opposition,” in which the ISO and its predecessor, the International Socialists, were active (see “Association for Union Democracy: Lawyers for Government Union-Busting,” WV No. 738, 30 June 2000). Ellis Boal, a TDU lawyer, has for decades dragged the Teamsters, UAW and other unions into the courts. For its part, the ISO, one of the sponsors of the Freightliner Five’s tours, presents the Freightliner Five lawsuit as if it were a part of “the struggle for democracy

within Local 3520” (*Socialist Worker*, 14 May). The government’s aim in going after the unions is not to eliminate corruption or introduce “democracy,” as the fake leftists would have it, but to cripple them and gut their power. That power was on display in the solid 1997 strike against UPS, after which the government escalated its anti-union crusade by driving TDU-supported Teamsters president Ron Carey out of the union (Carey himself was installed in office in 1991 under the aegis of the federal government).

The Freightliner Five lawsuit was brought under the Landrum-Griffin Act, an amendment to Taft-Hartley that was enacted in 1959 primarily to shackle the Teamsters by rendering illegal those provisions in its contracts that gave workers the right to refuse to handle struck goods. The labor laws in this country are stacked against militant workers and designed to drag the unions into disputes before the courts. When a court rules in favor of a worker’s grievance against a union, the purpose is to increase the state’s stranglehold on the labor movement and to create union leaders who owe their positions to the government.

To reverse the assault on labor requires

a fight inside the unions against the class collaboration of the pro-capitalist misleaders. The starting point must be the *total* independence of the unions from the capitalists, their political parties and their state. This is the precondition for union democracy, which is essential for hammering out the most effective means for the labor movement to go forward. What is necessary is the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government. Down with government intervention in the unions! No to the lawsuit against the UAW! Reinstate the Freightliner Five now! ■

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## Mobilize Labor's Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

### PDC Speaker at Chicago United-Front Rally

In the two months since the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal on March 27, the Partisan Defense Committee, which has championed Mumia's defense for over 20 years, launched two rounds of protests as part of an international campaign to rekindle the mass movement necessary to win Mumia's freedom. Having anticipated that the Third Circuit's ruling would be unfavorable, the PDC—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—and the Labor Black Leagues last summer called for emergency protests to immediately follow the court's ruling. Building on these protests, which took place on March 28 and 29, the PDC called a series of international united-front demonstrations over the next five weeks, initiated under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" The PDC and its international fraternal defense organizations also organized Class-Struggle Contingents in a number of protests called by other groups.

The speech printed below by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who served on Mumia's legal defense from 1995 to 1999, explains how Mumia, a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner and sent to death row solely for his political beliefs. The fight to free Mumia must be based on the understanding that there can be no illusions in the "justice" of the courts, which for over 25 years have shredded Mumia's rights. What is needed is mass protest, crucially based on the power of labor. The hundreds who mobilized for the recent protests must be turned into thousands upon thousands determined to spike the capitalist rulers' plans to reinstate Mumia's death sentence or bury him in prison for life. All efforts on Mumia's behalf must be redoubled. America's rulers must be made to understand that there will be a massive social price to pay if Mumia is not freed.

The PDC-initiated united-front protests brought together individuals and organizations representing diverse political viewpoints—trade unionists, anti-racists, death penalty abolitionists, gay rights activists, leftists and others—united behind the struggle to free Mumia. On April 19, some 200 demonstrators mobilized for the united-front protest in Oakland, while over 100 came out in London and in Toronto. On April 23, 55 people turned out for the united-front protest in Sydney, Australia, and some 100 people protested on the campus of the National Autonomous University (UNAM) in Mexico City the following day in a united-front demonstration initiated by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League. On April 26, 200 people joined



WV Photos

United-front protest for Mumia at Chicago's Federal Plaza on April 26 initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League. Above: PDC speaker Rachel Wolkenstein addresses demonstrators.

## Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

the united-front protest at Federal Plaza in Chicago and up to 150 demonstrated outside the Westwood Federal Building in Los Angeles. Some 50 people rallied in Melbourne, Australia, on May 17.

Additionally, the PDC and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense mobilized a Class-Struggle Contingent of some 150 people for the April 19 demonstration in Philadelphia called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, which drew some 600 protesters. The contingent included workers from New York City's Transport Workers Union Local 100 and other unionists, as well as students from local colleges and others. The same day, the Committee for Social Defense, the PDC's fraternal defense organization in France, also built a contingent of over 60 people at a Paris protest that drew over 200 demonstrators, while our comrades of the GEM participated in a protest of some 50 people in Mexico City. On April 12, the Committee for Social Defense in Germany had mobilized a Class-Struggle Contingent of 80 people in a demonstration called by the Berlin Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition that drew about 300. The contingents 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!"

The PDC campaign for Mumia has been heavily built by the Spartacist League and other sections of the ICL. Over 500 endorsements for the united-front protests were collected from individuals and organizations, including unions representing hundreds of thousands of work-

ers (for a list of endorsers, go to: [www.partisandefense.org](http://www.partisandefense.org)). The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) Western Cape endorsed and issued a statement that declared, "COSATU endorses the campaign to free Comrade ABU JAMAL.... 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."

Some 40 trade-union locals internationally endorsed the united-front protests, including AFSCME DC 37 Local 375 in New York City, Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 in Chicago, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 3902 in Toronto, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina, and United Steelworkers Local Union 675 in Carson, California. Additionally, former Black Panther Party leaders like Elaine Brown and David Hilliard endorsed, as did Rosario Ibarra, National Coordinator of ¡Eureka! in Mexico, South African actor Dr. John Kani, Cynthia McKinney (U.S. Green Party candidate for president) and well-known writers like Cornel West, Gilles Perrault, Robert Allen and Manning Marable. Cuban author Celia Hart endorsed, as did Aleida Guevara March, Che Guevara's daughter. A statement of solidarity from imprisoned American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier declared, referring to himself and Mumia: "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."

Black nationalist groups spoke in London, Chicago and Oakland. The London protest included a speaker on behalf of Galaxy Radio, which had pub-

licized the PDC-initiated demonstration. Jessica Huntley, who helped found Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, gave a vivid picture of Mumia's professionalism and political knowledge as a journalist when she had met him in 1981. She said that Mumia called her after he was arrested, telling her he was in prison for a crime he did not commit. In Oakland, the crowd was addressed by Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Francisco Torres and Ray Boudreaux of the San Francisco Eight, 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. 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!" In Chicago, Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, the Chicago Black Panther Party leader who along with Mark Clark was assassinated by the Chicago cops in 1969, declared: "We know that Mumia is innocent. We know he belongs out here with the people. He's part of the people."

Trade-union officials who addressed the various demonstrations included, in L.A., Rosie Martinez, chairperson of the Latino Caucus of SEIU 721, which represents county and city workers in Southern California. In Toronto, Kevin Shimmin, National Representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, spoke, while at the London rally speakers included 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.

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