

Bosses Step Up War on Workers, Poor

NDP Paves Way for Right-Wing Reaction



SC photo



Robin Bull/Toronto Star

Ontario NDP austerity attacks on labor, public services provoked angry protests from embittered workers.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

TORONTO—For five years, Bob Rae's Ontario NDP government ruled as open agents of the capitalist class. They ripped up union contracts, jailed striking workers, went after welfare mothers, immigrants, students, the elderly and the ill. Then, after their attacks had demoralized and embittered the workers and oppressed minorities who put them in office, Bay Street dumped them in favor of the unvarnished capitalist reaction of Mike Harris' Tories.

Having routed the NDP in the provincial elections, Harris threatens what he calls a "Common Sense Revolution." He says he'll fire tens of thousands of government workers, slash welfare benefits 20 percent, introduce mandatory workfare, elimi-

nate employment equity legislation, and set up boot camps for young offenders. This onslaught is to come on top of the sweeping cuts in health care, UI and other social services being prepared by the Chrétien Liberals in Ottawa.

Toronto Star columnist Rosemary Spiers commented: "From Newt Gingrich in the United States to Preston Manning in Western Canada, and now to Mike Harris in Ontario, a populist anti-government tide is sweeping North America—dismantling social programs and discrediting long-held liberal values as it passes." Today these attacks are particularly intense because Canada's capitalist rulers, like their counterparts worldwide, are on an all-out offensive aimed at rolling back decades of reforms, in the name of "restoring competitiveness" against rival imperialist powers.

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Vancouver Feminists Oppose Protest Against Anti-Abortion Bigot

VANCOUVER—When the Trotskyist League learned on May 18 that notorious anti-abortion bigot Joe Scheidler was to hold a public meeting the next day, we immediately began preparing to join in protest with other organizations. Scheidler was one of the driving forces in the mid-1980s in organizing and stepping up murderous attacks against abortion clinics and providers. Among the members of his Pro-Life Action League was “former” Ku Klux Klansman John Burt who “counseled” Michael Griffin, the murderer of Dr. David Gunn in 1993. In Vancouver in 1990, Scheidler, heading up a gang of anti-abortionists, tried to crash a talk by heroic abortion rights pioneer Dr. Henry Morgentaler. Mobilizing against Scheidler and the entire anti-abortion terror network is an elementary act of self-preservation for all champions of women’s rights.

Outrageously, the self-proclaimed “pro-choice” feminists of the B.C. Coalition for Abortion Clinics (BCCAC) and Every-woman’s Health Centre Society (EHCS) mobilized not against Scheidler and his ilk, but against the TL and the Partisan Defense Committee! In response to a phone call asking about their plans, Joy Thompson and Kim Zander whipped off a fax declaring, “It is our policy...[that] we don’t organize to confront” the anti-abortion terrorists. So they demand “that you not show up at Scheidler’s meeting. Should you proceed with a demonstration, we will be obliged to make our opposition to these actions publicly known.” Signing off with the words “For choice,” they graciously declare that, “If you do not agree..., we will gladly inform you of the appropriate ways for you to present you [sic] position.”

The anti-abortion terrorists are rampaging across North America, firebombing clinics and murdering doctors and staff. But BCCAC/EHCS say that protesting against the bigots “merely gives them more of a public platform.” More, they’re worried that the deadly violent right-to-life terrorists could somehow claim that “we, the pro-choice movement, are violent and attract the violence we receive”!

Thanks to these feminists, Vancouver has got to be just about the only major urban center in North America where the “right

to life” bigots and anti-abortion terrorists go unchallenged. Even after Dr. Garson Romalis, who provided abortion services, was shot and nearly killed at his breakfast table last November, BCCAC & Co. didn’t want to lift a finger. And when they finally felt compelled to organize a protest, their marshals not only tolerated a provocation by a gang of anti-abortion bigots, they tried to restrain outraged demonstrators (see “Defend Abortion Rights!” SC No. 101, January/February 1995).

BCCAC and friends’ entire “strategy” is to pressure the B.C. NDP government to pass laws to “protect” abortion rights. As we go to press, the NDP has done what Thompson/Zander have begged for—they’ve introduced a “bubble law” that supposedly will keep anti-abortionists away from clinics and doctors. Of course it will also prevent abortion rights activists from defending the clinics. But that’s okay for BCCAC (and their sycophants like the Socialist Challenge group) because they really, truly believe that the cops are going to protect women seeking abortions. Never mind that the NDP government recently refused to charge a Delta cop who provided detailed personal information on abortion clinic staff and patients to the anti-abortion Campaign Life Coalition.

The mindset of these consummately middle-class white ladies is captured by Zander’s plaint, cited in the 3 January *Vancouver Sun*, that, “If MacMillan Bloedel can get a protester-free zone” against striking pulp workers, then “why can’t Vancouver’s two free-standing abortion clinics get the same protection?” In fact, the opposition Liberals and the B.C. Reform Party are using the same logic to demand that the “bubble law” be extended to forbid picketing struck companies!

With their deep faith in the capitalist state, BCCAC et al. endanger women, disarming them both literally (by supporting gun control laws) and politically. We Marxists say the capitalist government, whether run by social democrats or anyone else, is not our potential friend but our class enemy. The fight for free abortion on demand, for free quality health care for all, requires organizing the power of labor and others to sweep the anti-abortion terrorists from the streets. ■

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Down With Bill 26!

B.C. NDP's "Family Values" Witchhunt

VANCOUVER—Bouncing from scandal to scandal, Michael Harcourt's NDP provincial government is now trying to boost its chances of re-election by pushing the "family values" hot buttons associated with the religious right. In late May Attorney General Colin Gabelmann introduced Bill 26, known as the Criminal Records Review Act. Under this nightmarish police-state measure, *one-sixth* of the adult population of British Columbia—some 280,000 people—will be subjected to intrusive criminal record checks, all supposedly "to help prevent the physical and sexual abuse of children."

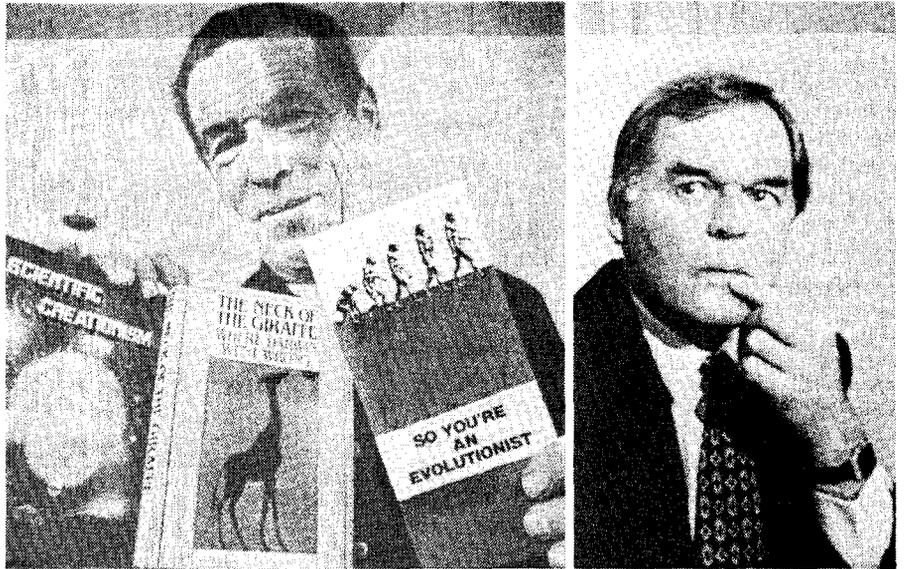
The NDP government's "balance the budget" austerity drive is responsible for the very real abuse of youth—cutting school programs, shutting down hospitals and daycare centers, increasingly impoverishing the kids of welfare mothers. Now, they want to create a whole new government spy agency which will work with the RCMP to judge who is "fit" to work with children—a "child" being defined as anyone under the age of 19!

If you are a teacher, daycare worker, social worker, university employee, doctor, nurse, dentist or even a podiatrist, or if you simply work for an agency that gets provincial government operating funds—then you will be considered a "suspect" by this new spy agency. Your name will be run through the Canadian Police Information Centre system, the computer "brain" of the government, its cops and spy agencies which is used to keep tabs on the population. As Darrell Evans, a spokesman for the B.C. Freedom of Information and Privacy Association, noted, "there is stuff in these files like unpaid traffic fines, suspicion of this or suspicion of that.... It could be a report that a neighbor thought they saw you do something."

If you've been convicted of any of 66 "relevant offenses," including vagrancy, trespassing at night, assault and uttering threats, you'll be out of a job or barred from working with children, stigmatized for life as an actual or potential "child abuser." Refusing to submit to this modern-day Inquisition is presumed to be a sign of guilt, and if you complain you'll get dragged before a government tribunal.

The NDP attorney general has been boosting the new law in press conferences where he raves on "with tales of perverts fleeing convictions in other provinces and arriving in B.C." (*Globe and Mail*, 27 May)! This is the stuff that witchhunts are made of, and what is going on here is a legal prescription for a full-bore witchhunt which would abrogate the most fundamental civil liberties of hundreds of thousands of people.

The NDP's "child abuse" scare is meant to instill suspicion, guilt and fear, especially among working mothers. The pool of potential "suspects" is an enormous proportion of the population, and it is women, predominant in the so-called "helping professions," who will be particular targets. But it doesn't end there. Bill 26 is, among other things, a perfect tool for weeding



Vancouver Province photos

"Pro-family" crusaders: NDP's Gabelmann (right) whips up "child abuse" scare; religious right pushes bigotry, anti-science ignorance.

out union militants. Frame-up convictions for "assault," "uttering threats" and "trespassing" are standard charges brought by the cops and courts to bust strikes. Anyone who has ever defended a picket line against scabs and then been dragged through the courts is in the crosshairs. This law is aimed at intimidating and regimenting the population as a whole.

The NDP and the "Holy" Family

While the NDP whips up a scare campaign that children are not "safe" unless they and their mothers are at home, their hypocrisy was exposed by B.C. Privacy Commissioner David Flaherty, who correctly noted that "80 percent of child abuse occurs in the home." Bill 26 is designed precisely to reinforce the strictures of the nuclear family—the main institution for instilling discipline, obedience and the truly perverted "values" of the ruling class.

Here the New Democrats take a page from the litany of religious fanatics like those in the Fraser Valley/Abbotsford bible belt. These types want "family values" schools, where kids are taught to fear "god," the government and their parents, to hate homosexuals, to mobilize against abortion rights, to reject the scientific fact of human evolution, and to "say no" to sex. At the same time, most of these bible-thumpers doubtless consider the NDP to be a bunch of pinkos, sexual "deviants" and otherwise "godless" miscreants.

While the NDP may posture as defenders of women's rights, the bottom line for these social democrats is to maintain their position as the parliamentary masters of a system based on oppression. As the administrators of the capitalist state, they not only appeal to, but enforce—with a vengeance—an agenda of reaction ranging from their "child abuse" witchhunt to anti-immigrant hysteria.

Welfare recipients are routinely subjected to degrading
(continued on page 11)

Uproar Over Clause Four

British Labour Party Drops Socialist Fig Leaf

At a special conference on April 29, Britain's Labour Party repudiated its verbal commitment to socialism—even as an ultimate goal—enshrined in the party constitution's famous Clause Four. The nearly two-to-one vote by delegates representing Labour's trade-union base and local constituency parties capped 35 years of efforts by a parade of Labour "moderates," from Hugh Gaitskell to Tony Blair, to dispense with the party's socialist fig leaf. The latest assault on Clause Four was initiated by Blair at last October's annual conference, shortly after he was elected party leader. With the Tory government going down the tubes, the Labour Party—out of office for the past 16 years—is redoubling its efforts to put itself forward as worthy guardian of wretched British capitalism.

The bourgeois press predictably hailed Blair's victory. But among the Labour Party's working-class base, the campaign to dump Clause Four provoked a wave of internal opposition unseen in recent years. Only weeks before the special conference, both the Unison public employees union and the million-strong Transport and General Workers dramatically announced that they would oppose Blair's move. Rank-and-file party members and trade unionists turned out for hundreds of meetings around the country to register their defense of Clause Four.

Clause Four is hardly a revolutionary proclamation such as to inspire passionate divisions. In fact, it was drafted by Fabian socialist Sydney Webb in 1918 to head off the wave of working-class radicalization inspired by the 1917 Russian October Revolution. This rather pallid reformist statement, printed on the back of every party membership card, vows: "To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." Blair has now succeeded in replacing this statement with one which extols "the enterprise of the market and the rigour of competition," combined with some gobbledygook about placing wealth and opportunity "in the hands of the many and not the few."

Whether in government or in opposition, the Labour Party has amply demonstrated its commitment to the capitalist "free enterprise" system, Clause Four notwithstanding. Blair has repeatedly assured the City of London financiers that a Labour government would not even reverse the widescale privatizations carried out by the Tory governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major, much less proceed to place the means of production as a whole under "common ownership." And when it comes to defense of British capital against work-



Glynn Griffiths

Labour Party leader Tony Blair (left) dumps "socialist" Clause Four, seeking to fashion "New Labour" Party.

ers' struggle, during the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, the right-wing Labour Party leadership under the ignominious Neil Kinnock openly joined Thatcher in denouncing strikers' "violence." Blair now proclaims his admiration for the "Iron Lady."

Why, then, the uproar over Clause Four? To Labour's working-class ranks, this statement symbolized that this is their *class party*, however pro-capitalist the leadership. To the "Blairheads," as the new party leader's yuppie coterie is known, Labour's lip service to the cause of socialism was seen as an anachronistic albatross around their necks.

Blair has set out to fashion a "New Labour" Party modeled on the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S. The allusion to Clinton's "New Democrats" is hardly coincidental: Blair & Co. have turned to Clinton advisers like James Carville as they seek to appeal to disaffected supporters of the right-wing Tories and the smaller bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party.

To be sure, the Labour Party is not about to cease being, in Lenin's words, a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly pro-capitalist in its program and leadership but organically based on the workers organizations. On two occasions prominent leaders split to the right from Labour—Ramsay MacDonald in the 1930s and the group around Roy Jenkins which launched the Social Democratic Party in the early 1980s. But both these splits went nowhere.

Labour parliamentarians of the right and the "left" continue to be heavily dependent upon the financial and electoral support of the unions, who finance half of Labour's general expenses and all of its campaign funding. For its part, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy relies on the Labour Party's pretensions of representing working people as a pressure valve to channel working-class discontent away from class struggle. How many strikes have been sold out on the grounds

of not hurting Labour's electoral chances, or not embarrassing a Labour government!

However, the Labour tops, particularly within the Parliamentary Labour Party, have for decades chafed at the influence exercised by the trade-union bureaucracy. By picking and winning a fight with the Labour/TUC lefts over Clause Four, Blair believes he will gain the authority needed to crack down on the unions when the time comes. An editorial in the *London Independent* (15 April) commented: "What is being defined in the current battle is not just the wording of a once obscure and largely ignored part of Labour's constitution...but the public's perception of how Labour will handle the unions once in power."

In fact, the day after ramming through his change to the party constitution, Blair announced a whole series of measures aimed at weakening union influence—reducing union representation on the party's executive committee and at party conferences and escalating a longstanding campaign against the union block vote. The block vote, in which an entire union's delegation at Labour conferences is committed to a certain policy, has more often than not been used by the union bureaucracy to obstruct the democratic will of the membership. But the Labour tops' attack comes from the right, aimed at stifling the voice of the union membership entirely.

As the Spartacist League/Britain wrote a few months ago:

"The fight over Clause IV, albeit in a distorted way, reflects a class divide in the British labour movement. The fact that the open opponents of the great miners strike of ten years ago are opponents of Clause IV speaks volumes.

"Revolutionaries have a side in this fight, against Tony Blair. The defeat of Blair's plan would put a big spanner in the Labour right wing's works, and would widen and deepen the debate in the labour movement on the true nature of socialism, and the means necessary to achieve it. It would strengthen the prospects for working-class struggle to transcend the parliamentary dead-end of a future Labour government."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 144, January-February 1995

At the same time, our comrades emphasized that Clause Four was "at best a statement of reformist parliamentary 'socialism'" and a "'pink' fig leaf" for the Labour traitors.

Clause Four and the Labourite Bureaucracy

The Labour Party developed in the first years of this century as a bloc dominated by the union bureaucracy, which advocated liberal social and economic reforms under capitalism, along with various petty-bourgeois reformist socialist groupings, notably the Fabians. The adoption of Clause Four in 1918 in no way changed the basic character of the Labour Party as an agency by which the union bureaucracy subordinated the working class to the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

During the interwar period, there were two Labour governments, both of them dependent on the bourgeois Liberal Party for support. Thus the Labourite bureaucracy could hide behind parliamentary cretinism to justify its failure to implement



Der Spiegel

Protest against anti-union "social contract" of the 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan.

the "common ownership" promises of Clause Four. Nonetheless, it was quite clear that the Labour leaders were no more committed to socializing the economy than their Liberal allies.

The leftward radicalization of the working class internationally at the end of World War II—during which Labour was in a coalition government with the rabidly right-wing Tory, Winston Churchill—manifested itself in Britain in a massive electoral victory for Labour in 1945. For the first time, Britain emerged from the war deeply in debt to the U.S., with much of its industry obsolete and uncompetitive in world markets.

Faced with this situation, the Labour government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee and left-winger Aneurin Bevan maintained and even extended wartime economic controls. As the TUC leaders cracked the whip for Labour, strike activity (in terms of workdays lost) fell to *one-sixteenth* of the level after World War I (Carl F. Brand, *The British Labour Party* [1974]). Needless to say, a Tory government could not have maintained such class peace amid general economic deprivation.

In the context of an overall corporatist economic program, the postwar Labour government nationalized the Bank of England, railways, civil aviation, electricity, telecommunications, coal mines and the steel industry. To this day, Labour lefts like Tony Benn and miners' leader Arthur Scargill portray the postwar nationalizations as the first installment of the "common ownership" promised by Clause Four. In reality, the nationalization of the Bank, transport and utilities simply brought Britain into line with the norm of capitalist West Europe.

In fact, the postwar nationalizations amounted to a giant *capitalist bailout*, generally limited to failing industries that the bourgeoisie had given up on. Even veteran left Labourite Ken Coates concedes:

"The nationalisation measures all involved substantial compensation for the original private owners. Since most of the industries concerned were unprofitable, and some were on the brink of actual bankruptcy, their compulsory purchase represented a veritable renewal of the dynamism of capital. Phoenix-like, capital was liberated to seek more profitable areas in which to grow, leaving behind the husks of the derelict industries upon which it had already preyed."

—*Workers' Liberty* (February 1995)

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Resignation from the International Socialists

Over seven months ago, a new member of the International Socialists in Vancouver urged his organization to join the international campaign to save the life of U.S. black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. He tried to raise Jamal's case in a branch meeting and submitted an article to the I.S.' *Socialist Worker*. The I.S. leadership put out the word that Jamal was "just another" death row prisoner—nothing special about him. While the I.S. boycotted Jamal defense rallies attended by hundreds in Toronto and Vancouver last March, Peter C. actively worked with the Spartacus Youth Club to get out the word on this vital issue. A month later, Peter submitted a resignation from the I.S. (printed below), and joined the SYC soon after.

As the Jamal campaign grows and grows, the I.S. has been feeling the heat. Finally, in early June the I.S. and its sister American group the ISO have published articles in Jamal's defense. But they are caught in an excruciating contradiction. The police frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is stark testimony that cops and prison guards are the armed thugs and enforcers for the racist rule of the wealthy few against any who would oppose them. But the American ISO claims that cops are just "workers in uniform" whose strikes and demands for "union" rights should be supported. Their British co-thinkers have bragged about prison guards setting up *Socialist Worker* readers' circles. In Canada, the I.S. tells anti-racist demonstrators to rely on the cops for safety against fascist attacks. How can they reconcile this with their support, shamefully belated, for Jamal?

Unable to answer, the ISO in Chicago on June 17 assaulted members and supporters of the Spartacist League/U.S. who were distributing a leaflet asking that very question. Our comrades responded the next day with a protest statement, "ISO Goons Beaten Back," reprinted on the facing page. (For further material on this outrageous assault, including the text of our original leaflet, see *Workers Vanguard* No. 625, 30 June.)

On June 24, the ISO issued an "official" statement justifying their attack. Asserting that the Partisan Defense Committee, the most prominent organization in defense of Jamal internationally, is an "initiative" of the Spartacists, they claim that our aim is "disruptions and assaults on other members of the left." This slanderous lie is transparent. For years, while the I.S./ISO stood on the sidelines, the PDC has been the main initiator and organizer of mass rallies and protests on Jamal's behalf. These actions have involved and united the broadest possible spectrum of political groups for a common purpose, while scrupulously maintaining the right of all groups to raise their own particular political viewpoints. That the I.S./ISO goons us and slanders us now, having at last added their voice to the worldwide protest for Mumia's life, is devastating evidence that their "support" to the campaign isn't worth the paper it's printed on.

Here in Canada, the I.S.' vaunted "Go For Growth" campaign (in which membership cards were handed out on street corners like discount coupons) is foundering, with branches across the country disappearing from the *Socialist Worker* directory. A January 1995 internal bulletin bemoans "the personalism and cliquishness that has dominated debates inside the I.S." while admonishing members, repeatedly, to "take themselves more seriously." This must be rather difficult given that they hold up as a model their Fredericton branch, which limits discussion in internal meetings to only ten minutes, total, per report!

For seeking to argue politically, Peter C. got expelled on trans-

parently spurious charges of "sexism" and was banned from I.S. "public" events. As he wrote in a cover letter to his resignation:

"Strange, isn't it, how a group which brands Trotskyists as Stalinists uses the very methods J.V. Stalin used to silence the Trotskyists. Methods such as slander, assault, and gangsterism. I urge anyone who is seriously interested in revolutionary politics, and who rejects violence and slander in the workers movement, to reject the International Socialists. I ask you to read and think about what I say in my resignation. If you are interested in being part of a revolutionary organization, and not merely a reformist social club, check out the International Communist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs."

* * *

To the International Socialists:

This letter is to inform you that I am no longer a member of your organization. I have thought long and hard, and I have finally concluded that there is no way I can remain a member of this group. The I.S. is a reformist organization, a more left-talking NDP, a pseudo-revolutionary group (barely), which takes in

■ Russia: workers smash the coup ■

MAGNIFICENT! workers crush the junta

JUST SIXTY hours after it was launched the right wing coup of the State Emergency Committee collapsed in disarray in the face of mass mobilizations of hundreds of thousands in Moscow and Leningrad, of an army of thousands of miners, of partisans armed in honor of the Russian Parliament, of defectors by tanks and troops to the side of the rebels, and of mass demonstrations in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Baltic republics.

The revolution is continuing to spread and public opinion all over the world is now united in support of the workers' struggle. The fate of the revolution of the system which has for years been crushed there will be decided by the workers' struggle. The leaders of the coup represent a ruling class in fact, just as the coup leaders represented the ruling class during the coup of the workers who drove the capitalist system to report on the following page.

But the public organization of workers is not yet ready for the task of overthrowing the ruling class and establishing workers' power; the task of any that democratic revolution from below. The situation which exists in the following pages is the



Socialist Worker

—September 1991

I.S. cheers Yeltsin's pro-capitalist counterrevolution.

socialist-minded individuals and youth (like myself) and turns us into social democrats who vote NDP. The reasons for my claim that the I.S. is reformist, and my break from it, are manifold.

First, and most important, you did not defend the Soviet Union from capitalist counterrevolution or imperialist aggression. You wrote it off as "state capitalist," and no different, in essence, than the United States, Canada, Britain, France, or even the Third Reich. By this logic, the collapse of the Soviet Union was no change whatever, or even, grotesquely, progressive. The death of the Soviet workers state was a terrible tragedy, for workers, the poor, women, non-whites, minorities, Jews, gays, hell, almost everyone and not just in the now-defunct workers state, but everywhere.

Stalinism betrayed the Russian Revolution, which is why Trotsky fought for a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy. He was for defense of the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin. I will be blunt, if you do not defend workers states, you are either an enemy of the working class (that is, petty bourgeois or even bourgeois, pretending to be its friend), or worse, a working-class traitor.

And it is not just the Soviet Union, either. To the I.S., Cuba is just Haiti; China, North Korea, and Vietnam, the poor man's Japan. This is all crap. "State capitalism" is just an excuse for not defending workers states. And they are, or in the case of the USSR, were, workers states, no matter how deformed bureaucratically, no matter how ridden with corruption and

Pro-Cop "Socialists" Substitute Fist for Brain...Again

ISO Goons Beaten Back

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacist League on June 18.

On June 17 outside a publicly advertised gathering of the International Socialist Organization at DePaul University in Chicago, an ISO goon squad got a richly deserved lesson in what happens to people who mistakenly think they can physically assault the Spartacist League. All leftists who have witnessed and experienced the ISO's bureaucratic exclusions and violent gangsterism against communists and socialists should savor our defense of workers democracy and victory over their thuggery.

The ISO has a long history of intolerance to open political discussion or debate. Instead the ISO attempts to seal off its members by drawing a blood line against left-wing critics. Evidently, we hit a very raw nerve with our leaflet (attached) which questions how the ISO reconciles their new (and shamefully belated) defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal with their long-standing support to cops, prison guards, and their pervasive illusions in and support to the

capitalist state. Or perhaps, as the ISO tries to worm its way into the Staley workers defense milieu, our exposure of ISO support to union-busting—from crossing picket lines to cheering the feds' takeover of the Teamsters—was too hot to handle?

The facts are these: Spartacist members and supporters distributed literature on Fullerton Avenue *outside* and well away from the public sessions of the ISO national educational. A distribution on June 16 went without incident, but on the next night, after an appearance by ISO leader Ahmed Shawk and his sidekick Joel Geier, the ISO amassed a large goon squad and began bumping and shoving our vastly outnumbered comrades as they prepared to leave the site. The grotesque sensibilities and cowardice of the ISO was consistently manifested in their proclivity to especially single out black people and women for their bully boy tactics.

An SL supporter who intervened to try and defuse the situation was jumped from behind and hit in the back of the head with a blunt instrument, sustaining a gash requiring five
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blackmarketeering. This is what separates, or separated (USSR again), them from the advanced capitalist nations. To screw up on this is ideologically unpardonable. It is treasonous, in fact, assuming, of course, the I.S. was ever for workers in the first place, which it was not.

On the origins of the I.S.; I have found out that it began when Tony Cliff left the Fourth International, refusing to defend North Korea against imperialism. Had I known this when I joined months ago, I might not have. At least, I would have checked out other left groups first, and the I.S. would not have been the one I would have chosen. I know that I would not join the I.S. now, if I was not already a member, or, rather, had not already been. Because the simple fact of the matter is that I wanted to join a group which would enable me to become a revolutionary, and the I.S. is no such group. Indeed, it is an impediment to my becoming one.

The question of whether or not the workers states are "state capitalist," whatever that is, or merely deformed is not abstract, academic, contemplative, philosophical meandering. It is a concrete concern in regards to how the working class must take power from the capitalists. Leon Trotsky said it all for me in *Fourth International* (June, 1940), "Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events": "The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." The I.S. does not defend any old positions, and will NEVER (and this indeed a capital NEV) lead the fight for new ones. It does not matter how large it is, or how vocal. It cannot draw the historical distinction between the imperialist genocide against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and the progressive Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the only war fought over women's rights, and so cannot lead the working class anywhere, except

to subjugation under the bourgeoisie.

Another reason, also important, why I must extricate myself from the I.S. is its failure to defend those facing imprisonment, torture, or even execution in the class war. Two of the most important examples I can think of are Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black political prisoner on Pennsylvania's death row, and Taslima Nasrin, the Bangladeshi writer who has been sentenced to death by the mullahs in her country for her championing of women's rights. There are international movements on to save their lives, but the I.S. abstains from these movements.

I have brought up the subjects of both Abu-Jamal and Nasrin at I.S. meetings, and any answers I received were vague and sloughed off the subject. Five months ago I submitted an article about Mumia Abu-Jamal to *Socialist Worker*, which was never published.

Then, in the April 5 issue of *SW*, there was a paltry article on Jamal which never even mentioned the most fundamental, important fact about his case; that he is a *political* prisoner. Does the I.S. think that the movement to save his life pulled his name out of a fishbowl?

Why will the I.S. not get involved? They have the capability of making a difference, numbers, social standing among left-minded individuals, particularly youth. Jamal, Nasrin, and countless others have taken a stand and made sacrifices for working people and oppressed groups everywhere. I would argue that we are obliged to defend these people after what they have done for us. It is the least we can do for them.

But the I.S. does nothing for them. Why? Is it because, in the case of Nasrin, it does not want to offend the Islamic extremists who have issued a fatwa against her? Perhaps. But I think that the main reason is because the I.S. does not believe that the international working class is capable of saving these individuals. The I.S. has no confidence whatever in the revolutionary capacity of the international working class.

I do, which is why I am resigning from the I.S.

—Peter C., Vancouver

ISO Goons Beaten Back...

(continued from page 7)

stitches. Then, every ISO goon was swept aside swiftly and effectively while their chief bully, one Joe Allen, was deposited on his ass. As Allen cried and wailed for an ambulance, panicked ISOers backed away. Then they called over the campus cops.

Gangsterism is the trait which defines the ISO and its affiliates worldwide. Last fall at Boston University, the ISO assaulted Spartacus Youth Club members who were distributing literature advocating the abolition of the racist death penalty and the urgent defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In Britain, the *Socialist Organiser* group called for an official labor movement inquiry into the gangsterous violence directed at other political tendencies at the annual summer week of "discussion and debate" organized by the British Socialist Workers Party (the parent tendency of which the ISO is an abused child.) In August 1992, the ISO's Canadian affiliate launched a brutal, misogynist assault on a small woman comrade of ours in Toronto, an outrage which prompted public protest by an independent witness.

It is the ISO's excruciating political contradictions which give rise to their lies and violence. As Trotskyists, we relish the clash of opinion in open political debate which is essential to distilling revolutionary class consciousness. This is perceived as a threat by the ISO which pursues a frenzied chase for "popularity" instead of political program. Attacks on the left

are the corollary of their quest for "respectability" in the eyes of the capitalist state. Karl Marx's observation seems most apt when applied to the ISO: "The only antidote to mental suffering is physical pain."

The lesson in workers democracy delivered to the ISO on June 17 in Chicago ought to have some educational value for ISO members everywhere. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, said of the early Trotskyists' militant defense of their rights against Stalinist gangsterism, the Stalinists saw the Trotskyists "not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls." And the Trotskyists recruited a few on the firing line.

The ISO and their co-thinkers internationally are on notice: This is a political fight and we welcome it. If you want to distribute literature in support of racist cop "unions" outside our meetings in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, that's your right. If you want to come in and explain why you cross picket lines and support government union-busting, while we outline how to build a class-struggle workers party, that's your right too and we will scrupulously uphold it. The ISO leadership knows this. In fact, the ISO spoke along with many other participants at the PDC-initiated June 5th rally in Chicago to protest the signing of the death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal. But if you throw up your goon squad, if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, then you will do so at your own risk. ■

Right-Wing Reaction...

(continued from page 1)

When Rae won the election five years ago, the pro-capitalist labor tops hailed this as a giant victory for working people. Having been instrumental in creating the New Democrats three decades ago, the union bureaucrats have long trumpeted these wretchedly right-wing social democrats as "labor's political arm." But from Barrett and Blakeney in the '70s to Rae, Harcourt and Romanow in the '90s, whenever the NDP has governed provincially they have attacked workers and the poor, often with greater ferocity than Tory and Liberal regimes would have dared. They could get away with it *because* they were hand-in-glove with the sellouts who run the labor movement.

Right after Rae & Co. got into Queen's Park we told the truth about their intentions, headlining our article "Ontario NDP Pledges to Rule for Bay Street" (SC No. 82, January/February 1991). We warned that, "Any serious fight against growing unemployment, homelessness and poverty in Canada's industrial heartland will necessarily require a fight *against* the pro-capitalist NDP government."

Rae's regime touched all the bases of bourgeois reaction. Along with the union-busting Social Contract, the New Democrats fanned the flames of anti-immigrant racism, canceling medicare coverage for foreign students and refugees. Together with his fellow NDP premiers in B.C. and Saskatchewan, Rae has been front and center in the chauvinist crusade against Quebec's right to self-determination. He, too, sang the praises of workfare, musing that forcing welfare mothers to find a job (where?) or lose benefits would "make sense."

The union tops worked overtime to stifle working-class struggle against the attacks by "their" government. When mass

labor anger at the Social Contract threatened to boil over in late 1993, union honchos like CUPE's Sid Ryan swore resistance and even muttered about a general strike—only to roll over and die without organizing one minute of strike action.

In the absence of a revolutionary working-class alternative, the widespread fury at the New Democrats has now been channeled sharply to the right. Not only did the Tories sweep small-town Ontario and the suburban belt around Toronto, they won heavily union ridings in Oshawa and Hamilton which were once pocket boroughs for the NDP. Reduced to third-party status in Ontario, the New Democrats are now wracked with internal crises. At the national level, after being almost exterminated last election, there is open speculation over whether the NDP can even survive as a federal political party.

We say: the lesson of the debacle of the Rae government is the need for a new working-class leadership—not the pro-capitalist NDP social democrats, but a *revolutionary workers party* which champions the interests of all the oppressed!

Labor, the Left and the Election

Faced with the wholesale collapse in support for the NDP, the labor bureaucrats fell out among themselves over the election. While a wing of the union officialdom centered on Leo Gerrard of the Steelworkers went all out to re-elect Rae, a "Public Sector Coalition" backed by the CAW took the unprecedented step of refusing to endorse the NDP.

But this was far from being a step in the direction of independent working-class political action. Recognizing that open backing for the NDP this time around was a hopeless cause, the CAW/public-sector union tops merely "sat this one out," saying they were "advising workers to look at the issues carefully and see where the candidates stand before casting their

ballots." This purposely vague formula left the door ajar for voting for any "progressive" NDP candidates, and even for bourgeois Liberals. Mel Watkins, one-time leader of the left-nationalist Waffle movement, went a step further, calling publicly to vote either NDP or Liberal in order to "stop the Tories."

Much of the "far left" rallied around the discredited social democracy, in various ways. Most egregious were the International Socialists (I.S.), who sometimes claim to be building a "socialist alternative" to the NDP. When the Rae government was elected in 1990, the I.S.'s *Socialist Worker* (October 1990) said "the first instinct of every socialist" should be to "celebrate." And even after the disaster of the last five years, the I.S. parties on. Determined to see the NDP traitors returned to office, the I.S. went flat out to re-elect the Rae government, dispatching its members door to door to stump for their local New Democrat!

Other traditionally NDP-loyal groups, such as Socialist Action, found themselves unable to swallow the whole NDP pie this time around. So they bit off a chunk. They pushed for votes to selected NDP "dissidents," as well as to Joe Flexer and Amani Oakley, independent candidates in two Toronto ridings. Given paper support by some union bureaucrats in the Public Sector Coalition, these two were touted as "independent labor candidates."

But simply combining the words "independent" and "labor" doesn't add up to defense of the independent interests of the working class. Flexer/Oakley bent over backwards to avoid counterposing themselves to the New Democrats (their platforms managed to avoid mentioning the NDP altogether!), and naturally raised no criticisms of their sponsors among the union bureaucracy. Their ultra-minimal programs—which called for "taxing corporations," lowering interest rates and other mainstream social-democratic nostrums—accepted the whole framework of capitalist rule. A cornerstone of Flexer's platform, for example, was a call for "civilian control of the police," the quintessence of social democracy and its pipe-dream of "reforming" the repressive capitalist state.

As opposed to the parliamentary illusions of most of the left, we Marxists start from the proposition that putting an end to capitalist misery requires socialist revolution, the coming to power of the working class. We seek to use every opportunity to strengthen the proletariat's ability to become conscious of its historic interests, to engage in struggle against the capitalist rulers on behalf of all the oppressed. At times we run our own candidates, using the electoral platform to put forward a revolutionary program. To promote the political independence of the working class, it is also sometimes appropriate to offer critical support to other working-class parties or candidates who, however crudely, draw a class line against the bourgeoisie and its open agents. But the Flexer and Oakley campaigns represented no clear break with mainstream NDP reformism which could have warranted even the most highly critical support.

In sharp contrast to the social democrats of all stripes, we have consistently pointed the way toward genuine political independence of the working class, around a program of revolutionary class struggle. When bitterness at the Social Contract and other NDP attacks produced a wave of union disaffiliations from the party, we wrote:

"[T]he widespread opposition to the NDP's attacks and calls for breaking with the sellout social democrats afford an opening for revolutionary intervention. To workers fed up with the unending cycle of capitalist onslaught and NDP betrayal, we say: Yes, break with the NDP—and



CP
Pro-capitalist labor tops like CLC chief Bob White (left) hailed Bob Rae's 1990 election as a victory.

fight to build a *genuine* workers party on a consistent class-struggle program!"

—"Labor Revolt Against NDP," SC No. 95,
January/February 1994

At the same time we warned that the workers' sense of betrayal by the NDP "could lead to a rejection of the need for independent working-class political action altogether, steering militant trade unionists into the dead end of 'bread and butter' economism or reformist syndicalism." And we emphasized that, while the union tops were "working behind the scenes to revive the NDP" through a change in leadership, the only way to defeat the onslaught of the bosses and their governments was "political struggle to oust these sellout labor misleaders and reforge the unions as instruments of class struggle."

Now that the election is safely out of the way, various labor skates are posturing as born-again militants. As news of the Tory sweep came in, Ontario Federation of Labour president Gord Wilson cynically promised "less dialogue in the boardroom and more struggle in the streets." His deputy Len Signoretti added: "We may have been splintered in the past under the NDP, but this is going to be a very different labor movement." Fat chance. Creating a labor movement which will take on the bosses and their governments in sharp class struggle will require a political fight *against* the die-on-your-knees sellouts like Wilson and Signoretti, the Steelworkers' Gerrard, CAW's Hargrove, CUPE's Sid Ryan. And with Rae out of the way, they'll all happily reunite to corral working-class disaffection straight back into the NDP.

We need a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would fight for the kind of independent, class-struggle program which is the stuff of nightmares for the pro-capitalist labor tops and NDP parliamentarians. It would mobilize the power of labor to smash the austerity attacks from Parliament Hill to Queen's Park and beyond. It would champion the rights of immigrants, Native people, gays, women, and stand foursquare in defense of the right to self-determination for the Québécois nation. It would reject flag-waving protectionism in favor of international solidarity with workers in the U.S., Mexico and around the world. The only solution to capitalist poverty and oppression is the struggle for workers revolution and a socialist North America!■

British Labour Party...

(continued from page 5)

The clearest indication that these nationalizations served the interests of British capitalism at the time is that except for steel they were *retained* when the Tories returned to power in 1951 and ruled the country for the next 13 years.

After losing three elections, in the late 1950s Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell argued that the party could regain its role as administrator of the British capitalist state only by renouncing its working-class character and openly repudiating any socialist goals. Declaring "our object must be to broaden our base" and "to avoid becoming small cliques of isolated doctrine-ridden fanatics," he called for getting rid of Clause Four. This provoked outrage among the party ranks, especially among the core of older trade unionists.

A majority of the Labourite bureaucracy, including many of Gaitskell's close collaborators, therefore backed down. A compromise was cobbled together, in which Clause Four was retained, but a further statement of aims was added which called for "an expansion of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy." David Howell, in his critical history of the Labour Party, *British Social Democracy* (1980), explained the cynical calculations behind this outcome:

"[M]oderate figures opposed the venture because they regarded it as tactically ill-conceived. It was simply not worth an argument, since for several years the party had existed amicably with a combination of specific policies that implied acceptance of the mixed economy and a constitutional clause that did not. Such ambiguity was valuable—so why destroy it?"

Among the leading figures of the "moderate" Labour left defending Clause Four was Harold Wilson, who became party leader when Gaitskell died in 1963 and the head of the second postwar Labour government the following year. But in office Wilson made no attempt to nationalize anything other than steel (whose owners were generously compensated) once again. Moreover, this erstwhile Bevanite leftist became a staunch supporter of the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. On the plane of domestic policy, the Wilson government proposed a series of measures to weaken and suppress strikes.

The 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan was even more right-wing. Callaghan decreed a "social contract" to hamstring the trade unions. Toward the end of its term, the Callaghan government joined in a Lib/Lab coalition with the openly capitalist Liberals, having launched one vicious assault after another on the working class, including the use of cops and troops to break strikes by firemen and other unions. Callaghan was finally swept out of office after a series of bitter strikes during the 1978-79 "Winter of Discontent."

For the Revolutionary Expropriation of British Capitalism

Now that the Tories, increasingly faction-ridden and widely despised, are about to vacate office, the new Labour leadership has pledged itself not to reverse the ravages of Thatcherism on British working people. That's what is behind Blair's campaign to scrap Clause Four. His Labour left opponents like Benn and Scargill have sought to evoke a quasi-religious fervor by glorifying Clause Four as Labour's "socialist soul." This is echoed by supposedly "revolutionary" alternatives to Labour like Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party, which rhapsodizes

that "Clause Four represents the urge for a better society, a yearning for peace, security and a decent life" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April).

The Labour Party has never had a "socialist soul." Even taken at face value, Clause Four was at best reformist utopianism. A quintessential expression of this is the perpetual call for an "Enabling Act in Parliament" to nationalize "the top 200 monopolies including the banks and insurance companies which control the 'commanding heights' of the economy," promoted by the Militant Labour group of Peter Taaffe, which for decades was buried deep inside the Labour Party. The idea that the bourgeois Parliament can serve as a vehicle for socialism, and that the blood-drenched British imperialist ruling class will allow itself to be driven from the stage by a piece of legislation, flies in the face of all historical experience. But it reflects Militant's outlook that the capitalist state is the instrument for fundamental social change. This is also clear in its view that the bourgeois cops are "workers in uniform" (see the Spartacist Pamphlet, "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State," August 1994).

Far from posing a genuinely socialist alternative to Blair & Co., the Labour lefts act as the glue which binds disaffected workers to the right-wing Labour leaders. Even as he led the hard-fought miners strike in defiance of open scab-herding by the Labour/TUC tops, Scargill never once called for a split with Kinnock. And as the Labour lefts go, so go their "Clause Four Trotskyist" camp followers. The bottom line for all of them, as succinctly put in a piece titled "The Diary of a Clause Four Activist" in Sean Matgamna's *Workers' Liberty* (February 1995), is: "'Loyalty' is important in the labour movement and Blair is Party leader." Come the next election, one and all, they will campaign for a Blair victory. Already, the perennial appeals are being trotted out: "Vote Labour but Organise to Fight!" (*Workers Power*, May 1995), "Get the Tories Out—Don't Trust Blair" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April), etc., etc.

A revolutionary party, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, will be built through splitting Labour's working-class base away from its pro-capitalist misleaders in the heat of class struggle. As Spartacist League/Britain spokesman Alastair Green said in reply to Scargill at a February 24 "Defend Clause Four" rally in London (*Workers Hammer* No. 145, April-May 1995):

"If you look at 1945 or any of the Labour governments—the Labour Party has never touched a hair on the head of capitalism.... You will only have socialism through the working class in this country and every country on earth taking power in its own name on the basis of workers councils.... And you need a party which will fight for the interests of the workers to the end, that is, to the seizure of power."

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 623, 19 May

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Montréal:	C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066, Montréal, QC H2L 4V5
Toronto:	Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
Vancouver:	Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353

"Family Values" Witchhunt...

(continued from page 3)

investigations and widespread computer checks. But the NDP isn't satisfied. They're looking to require every user of any government service to carry a high-tech photo ID card which will give access to the most intimate personal details. They've even been running computer checks on courier companies to identify smokers who have been trying to avoid the NDP's "sin taxes" by buying cheaper cigarettes from Ontario!

The labor movement must sharply oppose Bill 26, and the entire panoply of attacks on civil liberties by the Harcourt regime. But don't expect the NDP-loyal union tops to take on "their" government over this draconian legislation. In fact,

they support it in principle. B.C. Teachers Federation president Alice McQuade supports applying Bill 26 to new-hires, saying, "If you want to do any weeding out, that's the appropriate time." And the sole criticism raised by the provincial Canadian Union of Public Employees bureaucrats is that the bill isn't equitable because it doesn't provide for checks on volunteer workers as well!

The whole purpose of witchhunts like this is to strengthen the state, including the cops and courts, in order to protect the capitalist rulers' property and enforce their system of exploitation. This assault on civil liberties demonstrates starkly how the NDP social democrats are loyal first and foremost to the capitalist class. The working class urgently needs its own revolutionary workers party to sweep away the entire rotten system of exploitation and misery. ■

Jamal Must Not Die...

(continued from page 16)

The threatened execution of Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in the U.S. since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of Jamal takes place in the context of President Clinton's drive to bring back COINTELPRO, the FBI's murderous "Counter-Intelligence Program" against black radicals and other militants. America's capitalist rulers are seeking to abridge fundamental freedoms for the entire population, while waging an assault on every social program from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto population.

The death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." Clinton's new crime bill, passed just before last year's elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making it the law of the land even in states that abolished it. By mid-May, 24 people had been executed in the U.S. this year—a pace that will nearly double the highest yearly total of executions since the reinstatement of the death penalty in 1976. The American ruling class wants a compliant and "disciplined" populace. Mumia stands as a symbol of defiance against this racist oppression. That is why they want him dead.

Jamal's case has become a rallying point for all those who want to fight this racist onslaught. Here in Canada, his cause

has been taken up by numerous anti-racist student and youth groups, as well as trade unions from Vancouver to Prince Rupert, B.C. and Toronto. In February and March the PDC and its fraternal organizations internationally organized demonstrations and rallies which drew support from increasing numbers of minority, immigrant and labor organizations. Since February nearly US\$20,000 has been raised for legal defense, including more than Cdn\$4,000 in Canada. More recently, support has rolled in from the powerful black trade union movement in South Africa (see page 15). The mushrooming support from the organized workers movement internationally is particularly important in linking the fight for Mumia's life with living struggle outside the prison walls.

A Lynch Mob Is on the Rampage

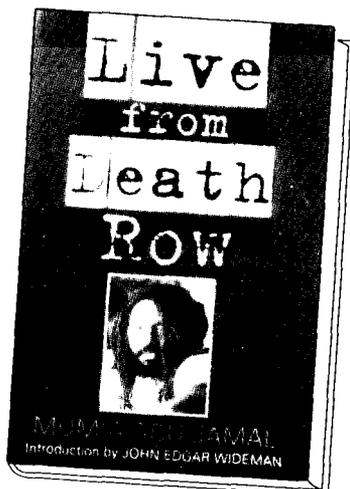
The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) has been on a rampage to force Jamal's execution. The crusade to kill Jamal moved into high gear last year in a successful attempt by the FOP and others to cow National Public Radio into cancelling a series of commentaries by Jamal. The press announcement that Mumia's new book, *Live from Death Row*, was about to be published upped the ante against him. Prison authorities cut off all paralegal and press visits in retaliation for increased support for Jamal and publication of the book. In the latest atrocity, Jamal has been placed in disciplinary custody on charges of "conspiring" with his attorneys and supporters to publish the book.

Addison-Wesley, the publisher of *Live from Death Row*, has been the target of FOP harassment, including a plane flying over their publishing house trailing a 30-foot streamer reading, "Addison-Wesley Supports Convicted Cop Killer." A May 20 public reading from Jamal's book in New York, featuring actor Giancarlo Esposito, was picketed by 50 screaming white racists from the Philly, New York and New Jersey FOPs.

The attempted book-banning by jackbooted FOP thugs in uniform underscores the essential truth: *they want to lock up Mumia's ideas and kill the writer.* Like the writers Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, whose liberating views threaten those who benefit from a repressive society, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sentenced to die because his ideas, his courage and his humanity threaten the rulers of this whole system of injustice. Jamal has become the focal point of the broader fight against the racist death penalty, and that is why the forces of death seek to vilify him. They want the public to fear and loathe the nearly

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Jamal's new book was published recently by Addison-Wesley (ISBN 0-201-48319-X). Philadelphia cop vendetta failed to prevent its appearance.



Jamal Must Not Die...

(continued from page 11)

3,000 prisoners on death row as nameless, faceless "brutes"—and Mumia's eloquent, compassionate writings expose this lie.

In a crude attempt at intimidation, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office sent out an official letter on June 2 to prominent supporters of Jamal including the actors Ed Asner, Mike Farrell, Ossie Davis and Whoopi Goldberg, denouncing their support for Jamal as "misguided, misinformed" and repulsive. Mike Farrell, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, publicly responded to the attack with a letter printed in the *Philadelphia Daily News*:

"Given the retrograde tone of the campaign being waged—and signed onto by too many normally responsible journals—one understands why so many of the disfranchised find themselves willing to believe the powers-that-be are once again conspiring to remove from their midst an articulate and passionate voice who offers an alternative vision."

The macabre race to the slaughterhouse reaches beyond the Philadelphia cops and Governor Ridge to the highest levels of government. In mid-May, Clinton attended the national FOP's annual gathering in Washington, and later met with FOP leaders where he grotesquely equated leftist protesters of the '60s with fascist terrorists reveling in the slaughter of innocent people in Oklahoma City.

The Philly cops showed their idea of "justice" ten years ago when they bombed the MOVE commune, with explosives provided by the FBI, setting off a firestorm that killed eleven black people, including five children, and consuming an entire city block. Mark Goldberg, a Jewish ex-cop, is suing the police department for half a million dollars, charging he was driven out of the department by the open anti-Semitism of his superior officers. Pennsylvania's top cop, Attorney General Ernest Preate, Jr., has pleaded guilty to mail fraud and agreed to resign over a scandal involving illegal gambling operations. John Shaw, the former head of the Philly FOP, now resides in a federal penitentiary, convicted of corruption.

In their campaign to assassinate Mumia Abu-Jamal, the media have cynically trotted out the dead police officer's widow, Maureen Faulkner. One of the demagogic lies pushed by the FOP's friends in the press was that Jamal turned and smiled at Maureen Faulkner when the ballistics expert held up her husband's bloody shirt in evidence at Jamal's June 1982 trial. Trial transcripts show that Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this happened, because the judge excluded him from much of his own trial!

Oakland to Sydney: Mumia Must Not Die!

While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia. Were it not for the mass mobilizations against Jim Crow "justice" in the 1930's, the Scottsboro Boys would have been executed for a crime they did not commit.

In the largest death penalty protests in the U.S. in decades, thousands across the country and in some 35 cities around the world poured into the streets to demand that Jamal not be executed. (See page 14 for a report on the protests in Canada.)

- **Philadelphia:** Some 600 Jamal supporters filled the plaza outside Philadelphia's City Hall for a press confer-



Workers Vanguard

New York, June 5: Over 1,000 demonstrate to protest signing of Jamal's death warrant.

ence organized by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal in conjunction with the filing of Jamal's legal papers on June 5. Speakers included Pam Africa of the Concerned Family and Friends, Ed Jarvis of the PDC, Clark Kissinger of Refuse and Resist! and former political prisoner Dhoruba bin Wahad. Ray Martinez, a union organizer in Puerto Rico and adviser of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal flew in to express his support.

- **New York:** Four hours later over 1,000 protesters marching to a beating drum ringed New York's Madison Square Garden. Although a phalanx of cops prevented protesters from using bullhorns, chants of "Free Mumia! Free Mumia!" could be heard for blocks. A truck driver passing by who blew his horn in solidarity was pulled over and arrested.
- **Oakland:** Over 500 angry protesters rallied in downtown Oakland to demand "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Brian McWilliams, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, sent out a notice urging ILWU members to attend the rally, and addressed the rally himself as the union banner waved from the speakers platform.

Hundreds more demonstrated in Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Washington, D.C. An evening rally in Minneapolis on June 3 was disrupted when police on horseback charged into the peaceful crowd of 200, spraying mace and arresting eleven people. The Boston rally at the memorial to the courageous black Civil War soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment heard a statement from Julius and Ethel Rosenberg's children, Robert and Michael Meeropol.

Across Europe, where capitalist counterrevolution in the former deformed workers states has brought poverty, disease and fratricidal war in the East, accompanied by emboldened fascist activity and anti-immigrant witchhunts in the West, Jamal's case has been embraced by unionists, Holocaust survivor groups and immigrant youth who see in the fight for this imprisoned former Black Panther leader the struggle against the forces exploiting and oppressing them as well. In London on June 8 about 150 people protested outside the U.S. Embassy. Mumia's colleagues in the National Union of Jour-

nalists are actively involved in the fight for the "voice of the voiceless." The NUJ National Secretary addressed the protest, as did Labour Party MP Jeremy Corbyn, representatives from other unions and a very broad spectrum of socialist groups.

In Germany some 300 people protested on June 8 at the U.S. Consulate in Berlin to demand Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. The IG Medien journalists union, which elected Mumia to an honorary position on their Berlin executive committee earlier this year, issued our demo call under their union's signature. A mixed Turkish/Kurdish/German youth group unfurled a huge banner bearing a black panther and reading "Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal." Speakers included PDS members of parliament, student leaders, and a statement was read by the international Auschwitz (survivors) committee.

Markus Wolf, a Jewish survivor of Hitler's Third Reich, former head of East German intelligence and victim of a vicious witchhunting campaign by the German Fourth Reich, issued a statement:

"Even before the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany and the persecution of our family, my parents declared the significance of solidarity exemplified by the injustice imposed in the USA on the Italians Sacco and Vanzetti. During Nazi rule and the Holocaust we owed our lives to international solidarity.... I therefore ask every individual who has met with injustice or who is fighting for his rights to join the demand to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal."

About 100 people demonstrated in Paris outside the American Consulate on June 8. A statement from the CGT dockers union in Marseilles was read, saying, "The dockers of the port of Marseilles love liberty and life too much to remain silent in the face of racist injustice and the heavy silence of the death penalty!" Demonstrations in Amsterdam were held on June 7 and 8. Cities around Italy are plastered with posters calling for Mumia's freedom and a national demonstration is planned on June 24 in Rome. Demonstrations took place in Sydney, Australia on June 7 and in Melbourne the following day.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal injustice system.

The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state. Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. It represents the legacy of slavery—legal lynching—a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. With the recent abolition of the death penalty in South Africa, today the United States is the only Western power to engage in the state-sanctioned slaughter of its own people. State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

In any struggle for social justice it is essential to have a crystal clear view of who your friends and who your enemies

are. The Partisan Defense Committee has led the way in organizing broad-based united-front defense efforts. We abhor the suppression of any political views for lowest common denominator "unity." Within the framework of fighting for Jamal there can and must be open political discussion and debate. However, there is no place for cops, who are the front line of this whole system of racist terror, in a struggle for justice. Unfortunately, one of the speakers at the June 5 press conference in Philadelphia was Ron Hampton of the National Black Police Officer's Association, which recently sent a letter opposing Jamal's execution. Whatever their personal feelings about the death penalty may be, these black cops are no less a part of the capitalists' bloody terror machine than the white racist thugs—their brothers in blue. Speaking for the PDC, Ed Jarvis protested this cop's presence, noting:

"This legal lynching is one side of the legal lynchings that go on every day against black people, against working-class people by both black as well as white cops on the streets of every major city of this country...."

"Reagan's feds in collusion with black Democratic Mayor Goode bombed the MOVE household in 1985, killing eleven people including young children, babies. Clinton's feds caused the fiery death of almost a hundred people in Waco, including children. And after the fascists bombed and killed in Oklahoma the Clinton administration seized this opportunity as a chance to push anti-Arab racism, as a chance to step up the campaign to eliminate the democratic rights of the majority of the American people...."

"It is time to respond to the legal lynch mobs. It's time to respond to the strikebreakers. It's time to stop the Democrat and Republican party regimes which have been using these means to suppress working-class people and poor people. It's time to build a working-class party. It's time to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abolish the Death Penalty. Finish the Civil War!"

The campaign to save Jamal is at a critical point. As Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal said, "The warrant is an outrage! Mumia is somebody we desperately need alive. We cannot let them take such a voice from us." Mobilize now—Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

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Emergency Protests in Vancouver, Toronto

On receiving word that Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge had signed a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal, supporters of Jamal in Canada mobilized in protest. Emergency demonstrations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee were energetically built by a spectrum of trade unions, political, anti-racist and social justice organizations.

In Vancouver on June 6 a youthful, integrated crowd of over 100 rallied in front of the U.S. Consulate to demand "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" (above left). Participants included members of the Spartacus Youth Club, Third World Alliance from Langara College, Colour Connected from the University of British Columbia and the Association of Students of African Descent from Simon Fraser University.

Organized labor got behind the emergency demonstration. The protest was heavily built by the Vancouver Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers which distributed a special edition of its *Bulletin*. Several members of Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, which like CUPW has backed Jamal's fight since 1990, took part in the protest. A trade unionist translated the demonstration call into Punjabi, and helped organize its distribution in Vancouver-area Sikh temples.

The day before the Vancouver action, on June 5, over 200 of Jamal's supporters turned out to picket the U.S. Consulate in Toronto (above right). The PDC, Prison News Service, Anti-Racist Action, Black Action Defense Committee and others went flat out to mobilize supporters on 72 hours notice.

Chanting "Mumia, Mumia Must Not Die!" the demonstrators—including a contingent of CUPW members who unfurled their union banner—declared their determination that Jamal would not become another victim of legal lynching at the bloody hands of a racist injustice system. The black weeklies *Pride* and *Share* prominently featured the protest, while PDC spokesmen emphasized the urgency of Jamal's defense in several local radio interviews.

Jamal is scheduled to die on August 17—He needs your help

NOW! Get involved in the fight to save this eloquent spokesman and fighter on behalf of the oppressed. Contact the PDC to find out what you can do. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! ■

Join the Campaign!

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus and community organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Prepare for further demonstrations—**get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.**

Spread the word! Order bundles of the special Jamal campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* from the PDC (\$10 for a bundle of 25). Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Copies of the video are available for \$30.

Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA. In the first week after he signed Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal. As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (800) 932-0784; fax (717) 883-1396.

Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today!** Make payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail to: PDC, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1. All donations will be forwarded in full to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090, USA.

For more information contact the PDC in Toronto at (416) 593-4138, or in Vancouver at (604) 687-0353. ■

South African Unions Join Campaign to Save Jamal

The campaign to save U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has touched a deep chord in South Africa, where thousands of black unionists and anti-apartheid fighters have vivid experience of the racist prisons and the threat of the gallows which sent hundreds of political prisoners to their deaths. In recent weeks, a number of South African unions, as well as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the predominantly black union federation, have made urgent appeals to save Jamal's life.

African National Congress (ANC) secretary general M.C. Ramaphosa fired off a protest letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge on June 2, urging Jamal's death sentence be commuted and demanding a retrial of his case. COSATU noted in its letter that the union federation, "representing one and a half million members, would like to express grave concern at the death sentence imposed on journalist, Mumia Abu-Jamal... Our organisation has struggled against all forms of racism, oppression and the use of the death sentence to silence political activists. We are therefore vehemently opposed to the death penalty on both ideological and humanitarian grounds."

On June 6, in its first major decision, the Constitutional Court in Cape Town abolished the death penalty, ruling that capital punishment was unconstitutional. As *New York Times* Johannesburg correspondent Harold French noted, for decades execution was used "as a means of terror in enforcing the system of racial separation known as apartheid." Both in the U.S. and South Africa, the barbarous death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied fundamental rights to whole peoples, reducing man to a beast of burden.

For years, Pretoria held the title of "hanging capital of the world." According to the Johannesburg *New Nation* (17 February), during the decade between 1979 and 1989, at least 1,212 people were hanged in South Africa. In the early '80s, railway strikers of the SARHWU union were executed. The executions reached a crescendo during the township revolts of 1983-87. But when the white-supremacist regime decided to open negotiations with the ANC, "unbanning" it along with other anti-apartheid groups in February 1990, a moratorium on the death penalty was declared.

Taking their place among a growing number of labor organizations around the world, several key South African unions have joined the fight to save the life of America's only death row political prisoner. These include the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union, Turning Wheel Workers' Union, Steel Mining and Commercial Workers Union, Transport and General Workers Union and National Union of Metalworkers. The SACCAWU supermarket workers, which waged a hard-fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery chain, wrote in a letter to Governor Ridge:

"In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political protest.... We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one such example.

"Your system of justice is on trial. MUMIA ABU-JAMAL must not die."

A number of socialist organizations have also joined the fight. Last September, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action wrote that WOSA and the Workers' List Party "call for the immediate abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty, and add our voices to all brothers and sisters in the United States and elsewhere who are demanding a retrial, at the very least, for Comrade Abu-Jamal." The Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International sent a protest telegram stating: "Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed. The racist police force will try together with the state to use this case and 'trial' of Abu-Jamal to intimidate other radicals. We take courage from the principled struggle waged by the comrades around Abu-Jamal and support you wholeheartedly."

On June 12 the South African Communist Party sent a protest. The New Unity Movement wrote to the PDC that their comrades are "angered and appalled" by the signing of the death warrant, and noted that:

"Governor Ridge and his followers have chosen to ignore the long and dedicated efforts of an international constituency to secure the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal. They now wish to claim the life of Mumia to provide a blood-sacrifice on the altar of mounting fascist war on liberty and justice. We join the PDC in its campaign both to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to secure the complete restoration of his liberty."

In the huge class battles to forge the South African black unions, the black proletariat came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was their social weight which rocked the white supremacist regime. The black workers of South Africa are still fighting to obtain their freedom from racist oppression and capitalist exploitation. From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of repression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international workers revolution.

—Adapted from *Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 22, Summer 1995*

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!



Workers Vanguard

Philadelphia, June 5: Hundreds turn out for press conference and rally to save Jamal.

On June 1, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge signed a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal and set Thursday, August 17 at 10:00 p.m. as the execution date. Jamal is to be executed for his political activities and beliefs. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, an award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal is the victim of a racist frame-up. Human rights groups, labor unions, and other organizations representing millions of people from all over the world are fighting for Jamal's life.

On June 5, Jamal's attorneys filed a petition for a new trial in the Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. Based on months of investigation, research and review, these papers demonstrate unequivocally that Mumia, a man who has proclaimed his innocence from the very beginning, was the victim of a politically motivated, racially biased prosecution in which evidence of his innocence was suppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee and other organizations, among them Refuse and Resist!, the Concerned Family and

Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, spread the word about Mumia's case and organized months in advance for emergency protests following the signing of a death warrant. When the warrant was signed, thousands of unionists, students, leftists, civil rights and community activists took to the streets in cities across North America and around the world to demand Mumia's freedom.

In the first five days after Governor Ridge condemned Mumia to death with a stroke of his pen, Ridge's office was inundated with over 20,000 protest letters, faxes and postcards from around the world. In a futile attempt to elude the tidal wave of protest on behalf of Mumia hitting his office, the governor shut down his toll-free "800" phone number and changes his fax and phone numbers every day. These desperate antics by "Governor Death" can hardly deter the powerful and growing movement to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an internationally renowned writer whose ideas inspire struggles against injustice everywhere.

(continued on page 11)