

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

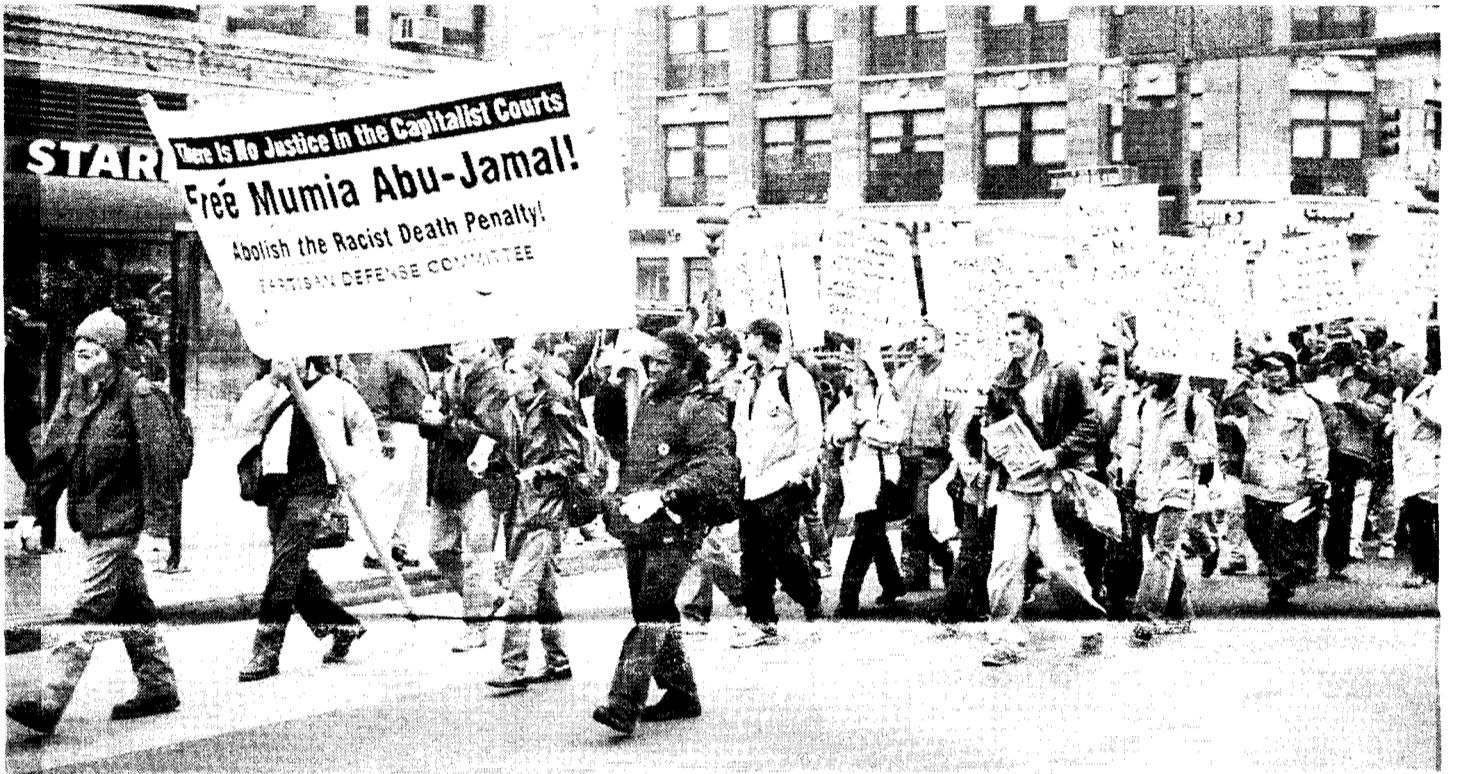
Mobilize Labor Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

On April 23, some 350 workers, students, socialists, fighters for black rights and opponents of the racist death penalty turned out in Harlem in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Commemorating Jamal's 51st birthday (24th behind bars), the demonstration was initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ), the NYC Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, and the International Action Center (IAC). A similar protest was held in the Bay Area.

The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues participated in the April 23 protests. In New York City, we marched with a 50-strong Revolutionary Contingent under the Partisan Defense Committee banner: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" As the leaflet building for our contingent underlined:

"The notorious frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about in capitalist America. The capitalist forces of 'law and order,' represented by both the

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Revolutionary Contingent marches at April 23 Harlem demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

WV Photo

No to Capitalist European Union and Its Constitution!

MAY 10—On May 29, French voters will go to the polls to decide whether France will approve the proposed Constitution of the European Union (EU). For weeks, opinion polls had been running strongly in favor of a "no" vote, though in recent days the "yes" vote has been gaining. An electoral defeat would be a considerable embarrassment for conservative president Jacques Chirac and for the French ruling class, which has been heavily involved in negotiating this latest move toward greater European capitalist integration.

Against the backdrop of this referendum, much of the left is working feverishly to put together a new class-collaborationist alliance to pose as an alternative to Chirac's discredited neo-Gaullist government. This alliance is being brokered by the Communist Party (PCF), with Alain Krivine's pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in tow.

Underlying the strong sentiment for a



Paris: Trade unionists march in February, protesting proposed European Union Constitution and changes in 35-hour workweek.

"no" vote is an increasingly combative mood in the working class in recent months. On February 5 and March 10, there were significant "days of action," with strikes and demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers. At the Citroën automobile plant in Aulnay, there was a week-long strike in early March, the first significant auto strike in France in many years—and it won. A national

holiday on May 16 was cancelled by the government, supposedly to pay for health care for the elderly, but now it looks as if it may become, despite the moderation preached by the trade-union leaders, a de facto one-day general strike.

Hoping to diffuse working-class resistance, the bourgeoisie seeks to use racism to turn French workers of European origin against their dark-skinned class broth-

ers from the former colonial world. New racist campaigns are constantly being devised. Amnesty International recently denounced the "de facto immunity" that exists for rampant police violence (*Le Monde*, 7 April). Deportations of asylum-seekers are on the rise. On April 15, at least 24 people died in a fire in a Paris hostel, victims of the inhuman conditions in which many asylum-seekers and their families are forced to live.

Many workers view a "no" vote on the European Constitution as a way to register their opposition to the current French government and to other attacks on workers' gains, such as through privatizations and the Bolkestein Directive. This European Union directive, which was endorsed last year by the French members of the European Commission—including by Socialist Party (PS) member Pascal Lamy, who is now scheduled to lead the World Trade Organization—would enable companies in West Europe to hire East European workers for pitifully low wages and benefits.

The Bolkestein Directive was the target of a huge Europe-wide demonstration by nearly 100,000 workers on March 19 in Brussels. The demonstration

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Defend Professor Joseph Massad!

New York Times Calls for Political Purge at Columbia

As active participants in the fight to defend Columbia University professor Joseph Massad from a Zionist crusade to drive him and all defenders of the Palestinian people out of academia, we've grown accustomed to the racist howls of New York City's gutter press. But it is a considerable escalation when the grande dame of American publishing, the self-important "paper of record," the *New York Times*, argues with studied dispassion for a political witchhunt.

Under the headline "Intimidation at Columbia" (7 April), the *Times* fumes that Columbia University "botched the handling of this emotionally charged issue from the start." The *Times* is roiled that a panel appointed to investigate charges of intimidation by professors in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures department (MEALAC) included "three members who had expressed anti-Israel views." The better-to wrap its bias in the cloak of evenhandedness, the *Times* acknowledges that the targeted professors also have "legitimate complaints": "Their classes were infiltrated by hecklers and surreptitious monitors, and they received hate mail and death threats."

For the *Times*, Middle East studies at Columbia is "out of control," and the paper applauds the university administration's decision to strip the department of power to appoint and promote faculty on the pretext of "strengthening its scholarship." The *Times* editorial retails as fact the claim of one student, which the investigative panel found "credible," that Massad kicked her out of class for denying Israeli atrocities—without even noting that Massad denies the incident took place. In fact, a 3 May letter to Columbia president Bollinger signed by 20 former students of Massad states that the accusations by the student "are unequivocally false and that the findings of the Ad Hoc Committee pertaining to them are incorrect."

The *Times* editorial goes on by concluding with a call to vet professors on the basis of their political views—a **political purge**:

"But in the end, the report is deeply unsatisfactory because the panel's mandate was so limited. Most student complaints were not really about intimidation, but about allegations of stridently pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli bias on the part of several professors. The panel had



Jason Bello/Columbia Spectator
Columbia University professor Joseph Massad, victim of ongoing Zionist witchhunt.

no mandate to examine the quality and fairness of teaching. That leaves the university to follow up on complaints about politicized courses and a lack of scholarly rigor as part of its effort to upgrade the department. One can only hope that Columbia will proceed with more determination and care than it has heretofore."

The conservative *New York Sun*, which had been leading the pack of tabloids howling for Professor Massad's blood, greeted the *Times* editorial with its own, headlined: "Welcome to the Fight." The Web

site for the misnamed "Students for Academic Freedom"—campus shock troops for racist neocon David Horowitz—crowded that the *Times* editorial "suggests that the crisis caused by politically-biased radical teaching in the universities (especially in the Humanities and Social Sciences) has now become so pervasive and so obvious that even the mainstream media organs are expressing alarm" ("The Crisis in the Universities Goes Mainstream," 18 April).

And then there's the liberal *Nation*. In a piece that was supposed to be sympathetic to the witchhunted professors, Scott Sherman manages to give credence to the witchhunters (see "The Mideast Comes to Columbia," *Nation*, 4 April). He paints Massad as a "dogmatic" man "who traffics in absolutes" and who frequently unleashes "a steady stream of inflammatory anti-Zionist rhetoric." As Massad noted in a reply to the *Nation* (16 May): "Would calling the United States during segregation or South Africa during apartheid racist countries also be considered 'inflammatory' anti-American or anti-South African rhetoric?" Meanwhile, Sherman goes after Columbia professor Hamid Dabashi for "shrill and careless writing" because of a passage recounting the hell Dabashi went through in an Israeli airport, claiming that the passage "can easily be construed as anti-Semitic" (see "For a Fistful of Dust: A Passage to Palestine" by Hamid Dabashi, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 23-29 September 2004). Dabashi's reply to the *Nation* stands up well:

"Accusing me of 'shrill' writing at a time when from Boston to Philadelphia, from New York to Jerusalem, and from the United States to Israel, militant mobs like the one organized at Columbia

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TROTSKY

Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

April 30 marked the 30th anniversary of the military victory of Vietnam's workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese puppet forces. This was a victory for the exploited and oppressed internationally, serving for years to stay the hand of American imperialism around the world. In celebration of this anniversary, we print below excerpts from our statement

hauling the entry of the North Vietnamese military and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front into Saigon. After 1975, in its drive to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution, U.S. imperialism subjected devastated Vietnam to an imperialist embargo. Washington helped arm Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia after his ouster from power by Vietnamese forces in 1979, which ended a reign—marked by mass murder and wholesale destruction of urban areas—that proved to be not even the most deformed type of workers state (see "Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!" WV No. 338, 23 September 1983).

MAY 4—On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with inter-



LENIN

nationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over...

What has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed workers states*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist!

—"Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!"
WV No. 68, 9 May 1975

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

This cablegram was sent on the day the U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam were begun.

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam:

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

* * * * *

Havana, Cuba

We would like to thank you for the copy of your telegram to President Ho-chi-Minh that you kindly sent us.

We, South Vietnamese, specially are deeply moved by the heroic and powerful movement of American Negroes, students, workers, employees and personalities demanding the end of the aggressive war of US imperialism in South Vietnam and of the US attacks against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and supporting the just struggle of our people.

We would like to [take] this opportunity to express [to] you our deepest thanks and to send you our best greetings.

Ly-van-Sáu,
[South Vietnam National Liberation Front]

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Boston Holocaust Memorial

Police Ensure Vile Fascist Provocation

On May 8, the 60th anniversary of the day the Soviet Red Army smashed Hitlerite fascism, a heavy police mobilization protected a dozen neo-Nazi "White Revolution" scum and attacked leftist anti-fascist protesters. The action took place outside Boston's Faneuil Hall where a Holocaust (Shoah) memorial event was taking place. Protected by scores of riot cops, mounted police and motorcycle cops, the fascists paraded for genocide, raising blood-chilling signs like "Six Million Lies" and "There's No Business Like Shoah Business!"

The police savagely bloodied anti-fascist protesters and arrested one young black man, Jerome Higin, after he was assaulted by a rabid white supremacist. The Partisan Defense Committee offered to help post bail for Higin and issued a protest letter demanding that "the outrageous charges of affray and disturbing the peace be dropped and that Jerome Higin be released immediately."

Our non-sectarian class solidarity with anti-fascist victims of police violence in no way lessens our political differences

class. The Massachusetts governor, the Boston mayor, a Massachusetts Congressional delegation, and Israeli and German consulate officials were in attendance.

Given this confluence of interests between the memorial organizers and the government, and given the massive deployment of police force to protect this event—and the fascists outside it—there was no opportunity to stop the neo-Nazis in the street. Thus, we did not join in the false heroics of a small number of leftists who went directly up against riot police escorting the fascists down Congress Street.

The capitalist media played its role in preventing an outpouring of opposition to the fascists with a press blackout on the Nazi provocation that was lifted only two days before the event. Similarly, they blacked out the location of the fascists' rally the day before in nearby Somerville, which forced the closure of a public library there.

Criminally, the Zionist organizers of the Holocaust commemoration equated the neo-Nazis with anti-fascist protesters.

do anything. We had already worked out a plan of escape. But at that moment I decided—*We must not simply escape. We must destroy the fascists and the camp.*"

For these Zionists to attack the communists, anarchists and other anti-fascists is to ignore the message history delivered, as attested to eloquently by German Lutheran Pastor Niemöller. His words are inscribed on the Holocaust Memorial monument: "They came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up."

Zionist neocons help map policy for the Christian fundamentalist Bush regime in support of Israeli policy, from oppression of the Palestinians to the occupation of Iraq. At home, these racist Zionists view struggles for black rights as some

defeat of busing in the 1970s, black people, gays, Arabs, Asians, and Jews have faced an escalation of racist attacks in Boston. In recent years there, the fascists have felt emboldened enough to wade into leftist demonstrations called in defense of Palestinians, gay rights and against the occupation of Iraq.

On May 8, we insisted on political debate within the framework of anti-fascist unity on the picket-line protest. At one point, Workers World led the chant: "Fascism—Shut it down! Racism—Shut it down!" When they continued, "Zionism—shut it down!"—*in a context where the Nazis were threatening a Holocaust memorial event*—we countered, "No Nazi final solution! For Arab-Hebrew workers revolution!" and "Auschwitz—we will not forget!" Our supporters also raised placards and chanted in defense of the Palestinian people and demanded "Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" This was too much for Progressive Labor, which denies the national rights of the oppressed Palestinians. They dispatched a honcho to warn us (to no avail) that we would have to leave the protest if we continued to "disrupt!"

Our placard, "Genocide is not debatable!" took aim at the false view that the fascists are like right-wing ideologues. *No!* They are action groups that "speak" with the lynch rope and recruit to a program of genocide and racist terror. In "normal" times, when the bourgeoisie feels secure in its class rule, it keeps its unruly fascist dogs on the leash. But in periods of deep social crisis, when open class warfare explodes, the bourgeoisie lets loose its fascist gangs to try to crush the workers movement with blood and terror. The fascists are the organized expression of the despair and fury of the petty bourgeoisie, hopelessly squeezed between the two classes with real social power, the capitalists and the working class.

For its part, the ISO promoted the lie that: "In 1994, the last time Nazis tried to hold a demonstration here, hundreds of activists ran them out of town" (Socialist Worker Online, 6 May). The truth is that fascist would-be führer Richard Barrett rallied and succeeded in recruiting about a score of white racist youth to join him on the steps of South Boston High School, under the protection of an army of riot cops, SWAT teams and federal marshals, while the reformist left willingly went into police pens. On 23 October 1999 in New York City, the ISO opposed our successful mass labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan. Instead, they built a "demonstration for tolerance" with Latino cops and Democratic Party politician Scott Stringer, who offered to get the KKK a permit!

As last Sunday's events make clear, it is necessary to see clearly the role of the state, and its relationship to the fascists. As we wrote in our last issue:

"Our revolutionary strategy is to mobilize the power of the working class *independently* of the state and independently of its class enemies, the capitalist parties of racism and war, Democrats as well as Republicans. The working class needs to gain strength and self-confidence in organizing for its *own* interests, learning how, in action, it can lead all sectors of the oppressed in common struggle. We fight for burning necessities, like the need to smash racist segregation, in such a way as to show that the only genuine solution is the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers government." ■



WV Photo



Dowbrigade

May 8: Anti-fascist picket at Faneuil Hall (left). Heavy cop mobilization protects fascists (right).

about how to fight the fascists. On May 8, we mobilized supporters and joined a de facto united-front protest of a few hundred people with Progressive Labor (PL), Workers World (WWP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and others in a picket line outside Faneuil Hall. As Marxists, we fight against illusions pushed by the reformist left to rely on the capitalist state to outlaw the fascists, and we also oppose a strategy of bravado, of losing confrontations between small groups of protesters and overwhelming police force. Both false strategies spring from the same source: a denial of the critical importance of mobilizing the social power of the working class in struggle, and a touching faith in, or indifference to, the murderous force of capitalist state repression.

The Yom HaShoah commemoration in Faneuil Hall was sponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC), a Zionist coalition that includes the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith International and the American Jewish Congress. The stated purpose of JCRC is to build "a broad network of support for Israel in its quest for a secure and lasting peace." This political purpose meshes with the perspectives of the Bush administration and the current interests of the U.S. ruling

The JCRC's "special update and instructions for Sunday" stated, "Sadly, we expect protests at this event by a neo-Nazi organization and counter protests by an anarchist anti-fascist group.... *Please do not engage or acknowledge the demonstrators in any way. Any engagement will help give the protesters the very publicity that they want and help them circulate their message of hate*" (emphasis in original).

This equation of neo-Nazis with their intended victims obscenely mocks the message of the moving New England Holocaust Memorial monument, where the May 8 commemoration concluded. Six glass towers, etched with six million numbers representing numbers tattooed on the arms of six million Jews killed in the Nazi Holocaust, rise from a walkway indicating the names of the death camps and recalling the facts about the Jews, communists, Gypsies, homosexuals and others who perished in the Holocaust. Smoke rises from embers. Quotes from Holocaust survivors are displayed, including this, from Alexander Pechersky, a captured Soviet Red Army soldier, who led the prisoner revolt at Sobibor camp:

"From our barracks we could see the gas chambers. A heart-rending cry of women and children reached us there. We were overcome by a feeling of helplessness. There we were, watching and unable to

kind of local *intifada* to be met with state repression. We have warned that this Zionist alliance with profoundly anti-Semitic Christian fundamentalist forces in America will redound against the Jewish people—as fascist Billy Roper's "White Revolution" neo-Nazi provocation in Boston revealed.

In the days leading up to the protest, our Boston comrades widely distributed the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* with its article, "Boston: Reformist Left Ignores Fascist Danger—For a Working-Class Strategy to Fight Fascist Provocations" (WV No. 847, 29 April). As the article stated: "The fascists, though few today, must not be ignored. They must be stopped—driven away through mass labor/black mobilizations of all the fascists' intended victims, centrally relying on the power of the working class. This perspective, which the Spartacist League has fought for, has successfully kept the fascists from gaining ground in a number of metropolitan areas." Key to this strategy is the Marxist understanding that it is the power of the organized working class that can neutralize the forces of the state in the struggle against the fascists.

Our comrades chanted outside Faneuil Hall: "Defeat of busing paved the way for fascist Nazis and the KKK!" Since the

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

SYC Leads Protest Against ROTC

ISO Missing in Action

On April 16, while halfway across the world U.S. imperialism continued its brutal neocolonial occupation of Iraq, dozens of people came out to protest the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) at UC Berkeley. On hand for Cal Day, UC Berkeley's annual open house, thousands of prospective students and parents filled the campus and saw a loud and visible protest

UC Berkeley

built under the demands "ROTC/Military Recruiters Off Campus!", "All U.S. Troops Out of Iraq, Now!", "Down With Anti-Gay Discrimination in the Military!"

Energetic protesters marched in front of ROTC's tables chanting "ROTC recruiters, imperialist looters, off campus now!" as observers cheered in solidarity. A spokesman for the Spartacus Youth Club, which initiated the demonstration, explained why ROTC deserved the hostile reception:

"Military recruiters and ROTC are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the American imperialist ruling class. ROTC recruits are the next generation of military officers who oversee and direct U.S. invasions and occupations, like Iraq and Afghanistan.... The Spartacus Youth Club opposes the extension of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state onto college campuses and high schools.... We say: ROTC, military recruiters off campus now!"

Anyone who opposes the occupation of Iraq should oppose ROTC and military recruiters on college campuses. The U.S. ruling class has sent tens of thousands of young men and women to kill and die to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism in Iraq. ROTC is the military's program on college campuses to convert students into military officers, enticing prospective students by promising to pay off a good chunk of their school fees.

The international working class must take a side with the Iraqi peoples. Insofar as the opposition forces aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys—and not in criminal sectarian violence against other sectors of the population in Iraq—we stand for their military defense. At the same time, we are intransigent political opponents of the bourgeois-nationalist and reactionary woman-hating clerical forces that are behind much of the so-called Iraqi resistance. We stand for the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in their predatory wars against neocolonial countries like Iraq and fight for class struggle against U.S. imperialism at home. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of

all U.S. troops and their allies! Down with the colonial occupation!

In addition to some onlookers and a few students met by SYCers while supporting the AFSCME service workers strike a few days earlier, some activists with the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition (BSTW) joined the protest. Notably *absent* was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which did everything it could to demobilize the protest.

A week before the protest, the SYC intervened sharply into the April 9 regional Counter-Recruitment Conference of the Campus Antiwar Network (CAN) calling on CAN (in which the ISO is centrally involved) to endorse and help build the anti-ROTC mobilization—a concrete step that students could take against the imperialist war machine. Because the imperialist military upholds the exploitation and oppression of working people across the world, student protests against military recruiters and ROTC point to the need for students to mobilize behind the power of labor, which alone can uproot the capitalist system that gives rise to imperialist war.

Faced with an anti-imperialist moti-

vation for protesting ROTC, at the CAN conference the ISO took a course of action that perfectly befits its reformist politics. They maneuvered, unsuccessfully, to keep our motion from being presented to the body and gave a steady cascade of lame excuses as to why they couldn't endorse, participate in or build the protest. Then, when they saw that we had rallied real support for the action, they tried to save face by voting in favor of our proposal! Their unsavory arguments included that we were going over BSTW's head (though BSTW had already endorsed a Cal Day anti-ROTC action at a February meeting); that resources were too tight to even send out an e-mail; and that some are "uncomfortable" working with us. Ultimately, our proposal, though it failed to achieve a majority, split the conference delegates, with five in favor, five opposed, and four abstaining.

Behind the ISO's inane excuses lies their hostility to revolutionary truth-tellers like the SYC—they're right that we make some people uncomfortable. We make those who simply want to refurbish the sullied image of U.S. imperialism uncomfortable because we point out that this system can't be made to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed through mass pressure and false "unity," but needs to be destroyed and replaced

Columbia Students Protest

1965



2005



Spartacists at 1965 Columbia University rally against ROTC (left). Spartacus Youth Club at May 6 protest against proposed return of ROTC to Columbia (right). From Vietnam to Iraq, Spartacists have opposed military recruiters on campus as part of struggle against U.S. imperialism.

University Senate Votes Against ROTC

MAY 6—The Spartacus Youth Club joined nearly a hundred students today in protesting the proposed return of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) to Columbia University. The speakout and rally took place in response to a University Senate meeting scheduled to vote a resolution recommending the reinstatement of ROTC on the campus. In a small but important victory, the Senate voted overwhelmingly against the recommendation.

ROTC was kicked off Columbia University in 1969, while the U.S. was waging its losing war against the Vietnamese Revolution and following militant student protest and campus occupations against the war and for black rights. The intersection of the struggle against racist U.S. imperialism and the fight against the racial oppression of black people is exemplified on the campus by the Black Stu-

dents Organization's Malcolm X Lounge—the former ROTC lounge which was occupied and renamed by black students in 1968.

Pro-imperialist forces at Columbia have been lobbying hard for several years to bring back ROTC. In March 2004, the University Senate established a student-faculty Task Force on ROTC to study a student proposal to restore ROTC. The Task Force was evenly split on whether ROTC should return to Columbia University by the 2006/7 school year, but was almost unanimous in favoring ROTC's return if there were no longer discrimination against gays in the military. In counterposition to the liberals who have argued that ROTC would be acceptable if not for the military's anti-gay discrimination, the SYC has sought to rally students in opposition to ROTC on the basis of

opposition to bloody U.S. imperialism and its military. By its very nature, the imperialist military reflects in concentrated form all the social oppression intrinsic to the capitalist class rule it defends—racist, sexist and anti-gay.

The Spartacus Youth Club addressed today's rally, receiving cheers and applause for the following remarks:

"ROTC is a direct appendage of the bloody U.S. imperialist military machine, recruiting officers to oversee imperialist slaughter of the kind being carried out under the brutal neocolonial occupation of Iraq. The Spartacus Youth Club opposes the direct use of the university by the imperialist military and urges students to protest ROTC and military recruiters as part of the struggle to defend the Iraqi people against the U.S. occupiers. Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq! All

U.S. troops out of Iraq now! While we oppose all forms of racial and sexual discrimination in society, including in the military, we know that no amount of reform is going to change the fundamental purpose of the bloody, imperialist U.S. military—to uphold the capitalist system of racism, exploitation and war. That system cannot be reformed to be made more humane or democratic. That's an illusion that organizations like the International Socialist Organization promote, including by welcoming Democratic Party politicians, capitalist politicians, onto the platforms of their antiwar demonstrations, preaching unity with the enemy of working people, and unity with the very class whose system breeds war and racism. We say: Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war! And only the working class fighting independently of the capitalist class enemy can destroy imperialism once and for all! Break with the Democratic Party! Build a revolutionary workers party! ROTC off campus now!" ■

with a socialist society. The ISO tried to sabotage the anti-ROTC protest because its heavy dose of revolutionary, working-class-centered politics was a *threat* to their attempts to keep things “comfortable” for bourgeois liberals.

For years at Berkeley (and elsewhere), the ISO has not considered it a priority to protest military recruiters on campus; they have boycotted every SYC anti-ROTC united-front protest for the last five years. However, coming off last November’s court ruling overturning the Solomon Amendment, which denied federal funding to colleges that don’t allow military recruiters, and growing student activism on this issue, the ISO has now found a movement “pointing the way forward for the antiwar movement as a whole” (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). Of special appeal to the ISO is the legalistic strategy of getting military recruiters banned on the basis of their anti-gay discrimination. This was laid out by the ISO’s Elizabeth Wrigley-Field in her *Report on the Youth Anti-War Movement*: “Before the [Solomon Amendment] court ruling, activists could drive recruiters away ...by surrounding the recruitment table and chanting against it—but they could not get the military banned as policy” (www.lefthook.org, 13 December 2004).

The ISO has thus sought to rally students around a “realistic” campaign—the BSTW coalition, in which the ISO is heavily involved, issued a “classroom



Young Spartacus

SYC-led protest against ROTC at UC Berkeley, April 16.

announcement paragraph” that makes their reformist program clear: “The military’s ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ policy violates the Campus’ anti-discrimination policy. This provides us with an opportunity to pressure our administration to do the right thing and get the military recruiters off our campus.” The ISO and BSTW place their faith in the same university administrations that run the campuses in the interests of the capitalist system. This role is demonstrated by

the increasingly frequent administration attacks against leftists, including the ISO, such as at San Francisco State University (see WV No. 846, “No Reprisals Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!”).

We fight against all anti-gay discrimination, including in the military. However, the point is not to clean up the image of the imperialist military, but to fight to destroy it along with the system of war, racism and exploitation it defends. We say: Not one man or

woman, gay or straight, for the imperialist military! By focusing their campaign on the narrow terrain of anti-gay discrimination, the ISO helps feed illusions in the possibility of a reformed, more democratic military, just as the antiwar movement they helped build sowed illusions in a more “humane” imperialism.

The ISO’s self-declared goal is to “influence Congress” by building “a confident, coherent and growing opposition to the Iraq occupation” (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). In other words, the ISO strategy is to amass enough people to get a wing of the ruling class, in particular liberal Democrats, to turn against the occupation. The ISO is building a vehicle that ties working people to the very class in whose interests imperialist wars are waged, seeking a potential “defeatist” wing of the bourgeoisie which feels that the interests of the ruling class could be best served through a different policy on Iraq. Reformists like the ISO, who preach “unity” with representatives of the Democratic Party of racism and war, help prevent the emergence of the kind of antiwar movement that would challenge capitalist rule.

We in the SYC understand that the fight against ROTC and military recruiters on campus must be linked to the struggle against the system of capitalism itself. We seek to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, radical youth and all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist world. Join us! ■

European Union...

(continued from page 1)

was called by the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), following an initial call by the European Social Forum (ESF) last October in London. That ESF, like those before it, was a popular front, a class-collaborationist confab featuring trade-union bureaucrats and representatives of various reformist workers parties, as well as bourgeois liberals, Islamic clerics, a speaker from the Iraqi puppet government, and so on. It was funded by London’s Labour government. ETUC general secretary John Monks recently declared: “We are very much in favour of the Constitution.”

While most French trade-union bureaucrats who mobilized for the Brussels demonstration saw it as a platform to promote a “no” vote on the Constitution, they fundamentally share Monks’ vision of a “social Europe” under capitalist rule. They would also have no quarrel with his chauvinist statement at the Brussels demonstration that, “We don’t want Europe to become America.” Attacks such as the Bolkestein Directive—which has now been put on hold until after the French referendum—were devised before the European Constitution, and others will follow, whatever the outcome of the referendum in France. The key to stopping them lies through class struggle by the working class.

As our comrades noted in *Le Bolchévik* (March 2005):

“Today the bourgeoisies of West Europe seek to dismantle what remains of the welfare state, a series of concessions—such as national health insurance, retirement pensions and public services—that

were instituted in order to calm working-class militancy in the period following the Soviet victory of 1945. The bourgeoisie is hardly predisposed to spend money on improving the condition of the masses unless it is forced to, and, since the counterrevolution in 1991-1992 which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state, it has been seeking to take back these concessions in order to increase its competitiveness against its rivals. It is necessary to fight tooth and nail against these attacks. As long as capitalism exists, the fight to win reforms and to prevent their dismantling will remain permanently on the agenda. The task of a revolutionary party is, starting from the relentless struggle to defend the gains and social conquests of the workers and oppressed, to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity for workers revolution.”

We print below a translation of an article published in *Le Bolchévik* No. 171 (March 2005), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.

LE BOLCHEVIK

Last June, the heads of state of the European Union agreed on a draft European Constitution. Chirac announced that on May 29 he would hold a referendum on it, hoping through a plebiscite to consolidate his authority, which has been damaged by three years of savage attacks against workers and minorities and by rivalries within [Chirac’s] UMP. The PS and the Greens, hoping to be re-elected to government in 2007, have called for a “yes” vote to show their respectability and loyalty to the basic foreign policy choices of the French bourgeoisie.

Against this new joint campaign by the PS, the Greens and Chirac, we call for a “no” vote because we are against the capitalist EU, an alliance centered on the main European imperialist powers to improve their competitiveness against their American and Japanese rivals. Such an alliance can *only* be at the expense of the multiethnic working class in Europe and of those under the boot of neocolonialism.

Our principled opposition to capitalist Europe differentiates us from the French “left.” Disregarding the bourgeois party led by Chevènement, some ultrachauvinist sectors of the PCF and Pierre Lambert’s Parti des Travailleurs (PT—known particularly for its “defense of the Republic,” that

is, French imperialism), most opponents of the draft Constitution swear that they are not against capitalist Europe per se. The PCF and the LCR, who are practically running a joint campaign for a “no,” insist that they are for (capitalist) Europe but against the “neoliberal” Europe of “Giscard’s Constitution” [referring to the former French president who helped negotiate it]. These reformists propagate the myth that there is a “good” European capitalism, a “social and democratic” one for which it is necessary to fight, and a “bad, neoliberal” capitalism.

Likewise, Lutte Ouvrière (LO) has for years supported capitalist Europe. They abstained on the 1992 referendum on the Maastricht Treaty [which laid the basis for a common European currency]. This time, they are voting “no” while continuing to praise European capitalist unification. In a recent article, LO wrote (*Lutte de Classe*, February 2005):

“We are for European unification... Even as is, on a capitalist basis, with all the accompanying injustices and insufficiencies, the European Union represents progress in a certain number of areas. If only for the end of the economic partitioning and customs barriers, as well as freedom of circulation for people on part of the continent, this represents an appreciable advantage compared to [immigration] controls and barbed wire, although this freedom is not fully recognized for immigrants who live and work in the EU.”

In this eight-page article, LO simply disappears the rivalries between Europe and the U.S. and among the European imperialist powers themselves. They paint an idyllic picture of the EU to cover their support to the imperialist EU. “Free-



Reuters

Racist “Fortress Europe”: Immigrants drowned while crossing Strait of Gibraltar, January 2003.

dom of circulation”? Go tell the Roma [Gypsies] fleeing pogroms in Romania, the Balkans or Slovakia (which is part of the EU) and who are harassed by cops everywhere. An “advantage compared to barbed wire”? An estimated 4,000 Africans drowned in the past few years trying to cross the Straits of Gibraltar in order to enter this racist fortress, the European Union. The EU ministers are openly discussing setting up EU-financed *concentration camps* in Libya—or elsewhere, but in any case far from LO’s chaste gaze. A Moroccan worker, who manages to obtain legal status in Spain, has the right

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European Union...

(continued from page 5)

to "travel" in France—as long as he never stops, because he has no right to stay here.

We consider that the European Union is a reactionary imperialist consortium, and we recall Lenin's prescient words in August 1915:

"Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty against Japan and America."

The European Union: From an Anti-Soviet Alliance to an Imperialist Consortium

The origins of the European Union go back to the 1950s when the West European imperialists, led by the U.S., sought, through improved economic cohesion, to consolidate their alliance against the Soviet Union. In spite of its degeneration, as a parasitic bureaucratic caste led by Stalin appropriated political power starting in 1924, the Soviet Union remained a workers state based on the expropriation of the capitalists and the collectivization of the means of production, resulting from the October 1917 Revolution. That is why we Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union, and it is why the imperialists wanted to destroy it in order to regain unlimited access for their investment capital throughout East Europe.

Our principled opposition to both NATO, which was a military alliance against the Soviet Union, and to its economic corollary, the European Economic Community [forerunner of the EU], flowed from our defense of the Soviet Union. The character of the European Union changed with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. France and Germany, two separate imperialist powers with two distinct and rival bourgeoisies, are seeking to improve their joint coordination—and are maneuvering with capitalist Russia, among others—with the sole aim of pursuing their respective interests. Obviously, Germany, which is stronger than France, is the dominant partner in this relationship. In December 1989, only a month after the fall of the Berlin wall, [French president] Mitterrand negotiated with German chancellor Kohl a deepening of economic relations between Germany and France, the two main West European powers, through an agreement, in principle, to create a common currency. This was supposed to become a weapon in a monetary war against the international hegemony of the dollar. It became the euro.

However, under the pressure of the American imperialists, whose economy is considerably more dynamic and whose



Labor struggle in Europe. Rotterdam, September 2003: Police charge 8,000 dockers protesting EU anti-union attacks (top). Below, protesters in Athens this March hosed by cops during 24-hour strike for higher wages and against spending cuts.



military power is incomparably greater, this alliance has evolved in contradictory ways. The U.S., with the active help of Britain, is seeking to put the brakes on the construction of a rival imperialist pole, and the dollar continues to be the international currency of reference. Furthermore, the European Union is undermined from within by rivalries among its various constituent powers, including France and Germany, as can be seen from a number of industrial disputes. [The pharmaceutical giant] Aventis, a "model" Franco-German company, was swallowed up by the French company, Sanofi-Synthelabo, while [the French heavy engineering firm] Alstom is fighting desperately against being absorbed by the German company, Siemens. Even the "success stories" of Europe, like Airbus, which is now defying Boeing, are not without tensions. The Airbus A380 was launched only after endless bargaining over the distribution of tasks (and profits) between Toulouse and Hamburg.

The draft European "Constitution" is not really that because it is not a question of creating a European capitalist state, even a federated one. It is a treaty between states by which they relinquish some sovereignty in order to define the rules of competition between the various national capitalist classes of Europe, to improve their competitiveness vis-à-vis the U.S. and other rivals, and to strengthen their attacks against European workers, and immigrant workers in particular. When Chirac or German chancellor Schröder speak of a multipolar world, they simply mean that they want to ally their forces and rein in their own rivalries in order to better confront their more powerful common rivals, the U.S. and Japan.

In such alliances between some imperialists against others, there is nothing that protects their gains! The whole history of the European Union, even before the Maastricht Treaty, has shown that improving "European competitiveness" means taking from the workers to give to the bosses in order to reinforce the latter in their struggle against their American and Japanese competitors. When reform-

mists pretend that the workers' interest is in a strong, "social and democratic" Europe, they once again act to tie the working class to its own bourgeoisie. They propagate the lie that European imperialists are less ruthless than their American or Japanese rivals. Twenty years ago, the PCF was raising the call to "produce French"; now they call for a "social Europe." But they are still tying the workers to their own exploiters—and strengthening the latter. This is what Marxists call class collaboration. On the contrary, workers of all countries must unite against the bourgeoisies of all countries.

The attempts to create an imperialist pole in Europe to compete with the U.S. are accompanied by efforts to rearm militarily—discussions to set up integrated European arms manufacturers, attempts to be independent from American intelligence systems by creating a network of satellites that can be used for military purposes (Galileo), sending European military units that are now policing

the Balkans, etc. There is justified hatred and anger against American militarism on the part of the working masses, but, if this opposition to American militarism is not based on proletarian internationalism, it will inevitably be sidetracked into strengthening the military power of the capitalist state here. Indeed, the PCF, far from opposing this rearming, is worried about these military means being dependent on the U.S. via NATO, instead of being independent! And Besancenot—the LCR's "little postal worker"—adds his two cents by whining in a February 9 statement to AFP [news agency] that "future European defense will be in the framework of NATO, that is, under the boot of George Bush Junior." The anti-Americanism of the LCR is an obstacle to anti-imperialist proletarian internationalism.

Why Internationalist Marxists Oppose the Extension of the EU

LO correctly noted that, with the extension of the EU to 25 countries, not only imperialist countries or intermediate countries but also very poor countries now coexist in the EU. These countries have experienced the capitalist counter-revolution that devastated the East European economies and reduced them to semicolonial status under the domination of, especially, German, Austrian and French capitalism, whose penetration into these countries is greatly facilitated by the extension of the EU! Just like its own bourgeoisie, LO supported the capitalist reunification of Germany 15 years ago and, more generally, supported counterrevolution throughout the ex-Soviet bloc. For example, LO declared in *Lutte de Classe* (December 1989): "Even if this reunification [of Germany] is carried out entirely under capitalist rule, communist revolutionaries have no reason to oppose it."

Regarding the extension of the EU, it is useful to consider the creation, in the early 1990s, of NAFTA, which is an economic treaty between the U.S., Canada and Mexico. At the time, our American, Canadian and Mexican comrades published a joint declaration against NAFTA (*Workers Vanguard* No. 530, 5 July 1991). Calling on American, Canadian and Mexican workers to unite in class struggle against this "Free Trade Agreement" (FTA), the declaration stated:

"Overall the stronger U.S. economy would have the upper hand. In addition, American capitalists want to use the FTA to gut labor and environmental regulations on both sides of the border. Yankee imperialism wants to turn Mexico into a giant *maquiladora*, or free trade zone—'free' of unions, and 'free' for capital. "Far from 'freeing' trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class."

That is exactly what happened. Against the devastation that this agreement meant

LE BOLCHEVIK

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TORONTO

for them, the Mexican peasants of Chiapas arose on 1 January 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect. At the time, the entire French left, and the LCR in particular, solidarized with the Zapatista uprising against NAFTA.

Today, these same leftists—who, at times, still cynically call themselves “Zapatistas”—are expressing their satisfaction that Poland is joining the EU and are demanding that Turkey do the same! NAFTA is not the EU, but the inclusion of Poland—and, in the future, Romania and possibly Turkey—will deepen the oppression of workers and peasants in those countries. As our German comrades of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands declared (*Spartakist* No. 156, Fall 2004):

“During the negotiations over joining the EU, the European imperialists raised a series of criteria for entry that represented a program of brutal social attacks. For example, in Poland the mining sector was ‘rendered competitive,’ that is, miners were laid off *en masse* and pits were closed. Unemployment compensation is so low that it is insufficient for survival. Today, in the historically important mining region of Jelenia Góra (where the unemployment rate is above 40 percent), one can find many mines in the forest which were dug by laid-off miners digging with spades in search of coal.... This is the result of the counterrevolution, which was led by Solidarność in Poland.”

However, it is the question of Turkey which, above all, has triggered hysterical protests. [The fascist] Le Pen, [the far-rightist] De Villiers, [the neo-Gaullist] Sarkozy, [the Socialist] Fabius and their ilk go berserk at the idea of 70 million Turkish and Kurdish Muslims being able

countering American supremacy in the region. While the left declares itself pro-Europe and internationalist, even voting “no” on the draft Constitution, they actually serve as a left cover for French chauvinism. They simply have a different approach on how to strengthen their own bourgeoisie, while hoping to get a few crumbs for the French working class.

Apparently, many Kurdish workers and peasants imagine that the European Union will bring an end to age-old national oppression. Nothing could be more mistaken. Not only will the European Union not accept the partition of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran for the purpose of forming an independent Kurdish republic, but even in the most advanced countries of the European Union, the national question has not been resolved. Irish Catholics are oppressed in Northern Ireland, as are Basques in Spain and France, not to mention the Corsicans and the colonial oppression in Guadeloupe and elsewhere. As for Greece, an EU member for nearly 25 years, it continues to oppress Turks, Slavo-Macedonians, Albanians, Roma and a multitude of other minorities.

Factory Relations and the Fight Against Racism and Chauvinism

Today many workers feel threatened by plant closures by companies seeking to move their operations to East Europe, Turkey, the Chinese deformed workers state or elsewhere. Since the union bureaucrats accept the capitalists’ viewpoint, they necessarily buy into the



Le Bolchévick

LTF contingent in 14 February 2004 demonstration against Chirac’s banning headscarves in schools. Banners read: “No to Racist Law Against Youth Who Wear the Headscarf! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! For Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!”

did not hear any open anti-Polish chauvinism. Nevertheless, there was a mood of ‘We couldn’t compete with the wages that they have over there.’ And why should they? Workers in Germany must help workers in Poland to fight for decent wages and working conditions against the greed for capitalist profits which was unleashed by the counterrevolution. For this, a revolutionary party is necessary, based on a program of internationalist class struggle. Ultimately, only a planned economy under the control of the working class can eliminate the glaring economic and social differences between various countries.”

It is on the basis of this perspective that we raise our slogan of a *Socialist United States of Europe*. Only by overthrowing the bourgeoisies of Europe through workers revolutions is it possible to proceed toward a socialist society, superseding the framework of nation-states.

The LCR and the PCF Rehabilitate the Social Democrats

The joint campaign by the PCF and the LCR for a “no” vote is the LCR’s contribution to restoring the image of French social democracy, which has been seriously tarnished—particularly in the case of the PCF—by its five years of dirty work in the [PS-led] Jospin government. They manage to rehabilitate Laurent Fabius, spokesman within the PS for a “no” vote, who has long personified “neoliberalism” in the PS thanks to his savage attacks on the working class when he was Mitterrand’s prime minister in the 1980s. In the 1986 legislative elections (which he lost to Chirac), Fabius even bragged that, “It’s our turn to do the ‘dirty work’” (supplement to *Le Bolchévick* No. 68, 8 December 1986)! However, *Red* (January 2005), the newspaper of the LCR’s youth group, the JCR, relates the following fable about the

anti-Constitution “reformists” (obviously including Fabius):

“This Constitution divides the former ‘Plural Left’ [the name of the Jospin government’s popular-front coalition] between the social-liberals who are in favor of it and the reformists, who understand that with this Constitution there will no longer be any room for any social policy. The task of revolutionaries is thus to further this contradiction in order to trigger a movement of political reorganization which we, from the side of the revolutionaries, will try to draw toward the radical left.”

In fact, the PCF and the LCR are counting on a large number of “no” votes in order to negotiate with the PS, after the referendum, a better distribution of seats in the next “left” alliance for the 2007 elections in view of entering the capitalist government. A Fabius-Buffet government emerging out of a victory for a “no” vote would be as fiercely anti-working-class as its predecessors. This would be true even if it had the LCR’s Krivine as a government minister (or, more likely, an undersecretary) and even with a member of the JCR as secretary of youth and sports (their comrade Miguel Rossetto has already been a capitalist minister in Brazil for two years), whatever the good intentions (or in any case, the fine words) of these reformists.

There is no other way to administer capitalism than to attack the workers. What is needed is a fight to overthrow the whole capitalist system through workers revolution.

We are voting “no” on this referendum, but, above all, we warn the workers against the maneuvers by the LCR and the PCF to reconstitute a new “Plural Left” governmental coalition. *Down with class collaboration! Join our fight for a truly internationalist communist party in France, section of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International!* ■



AP

Basque demonstrators demand, “No to the arrest warrants.” For the right of self-determination for the Basque people, in both Spain and France!

to enter the EU. In fact, people of Muslim and North African origin in France are also targeted by this rotten racist campaign. But this is not a reason to be for Turkey’s entry into the EU, as is claimed by LO and the LCR, who find themselves in a bloc on this question...with Chirac and the French PCF. Alain Bocquet, the head of the PCF parliamentary fraction in the National Assembly, repeating Chirac’s arguments, clearly expressed the reasons why the chauvinist PCF is for Turkey’s entry:

“In the view of Europe preferred by the Communists, proceeding along this road is better than having an isolated Turkey at the doors of Europe. Otherwise, Turkey will be prey to several possible outcomes. The first one is the rise of Islamic fundamentalism—recall in this regard that Turkey, a mainly Muslim society, is, as far as its institutions are concerned, a secular state. A second possibility is intensified militarism—the army is an important pillar of Turkish society, providing a means for social advancement. And the third possibility is the danger of a pro-Atlantic shift, since the U.S. still considers the maintenance of Turkey within the framework of NATO as a strategic objective of the first order.”

—*L’Humanité*, 9 February

When French leftists take up the idea that the European Union will bring freedom to the Kurds and democracy to Turkish workers, they only demonstrate their profound illusions in the supposedly progressive character of their own bourgeoisie. Such illusions disarm the working class and prevent it from waging revolutionary class struggle. Bocquet’s declaration goes to the heart of the question of Turkey’s entry into the EU—

need for their own national enterprises to increase their competitiveness on the world market. They thus sign deal after deal dismantling hard-won gains in terms of wages, hours and working conditions.

The capitalists seek to turn the workers’ anger against their class brothers of other nationalities abroad and within their own country. That is why we insist that the fight against these attacks by the bourgeoisie, including factory closings in the name of increased competitiveness, can only be carried out if accompanied by an uncompromising fight against racist terror and chauvinism. *Full citizenship rights for everyone in this country!* As our German comrades wrote (*Spartakist* No. 157, Winter 2004-2005):

“As a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and East Europe, the German bourgeoisie today has at its disposal a vast reservoir of unemployed skilled workers, and it is trying to export unskilled jobs to countries where the rate of profit is significantly higher. The Turkish and Kurdish workers remain a large strategic component of the working class in Germany, but the racist German leaders have less and less economic need for a large part of the Turkish and Kurdish population, particularly the second and third generation, for whom there are no jobs. They are viewed by the ruling class with racist contempt as well as fear as the tinder for a social explosion.”

During last October’s powerful Opel-Bochum strike in the industrial bastion of the Ruhr, our German comrades reported in the same *Spartakist*:

“There are also a lot of discussions about the Opel factory in Gliwice, Poland. We

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Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

Democratic and Republican Parties, want Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression."

The demonstration was followed by an indoor rally where some 350 people gathered. Speakers at the indoor rally included Pam Africa of ICFFMAJ; Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the PDC; black Democratic Party politician and former New York City mayor David Dinkins; Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME DC 1707; New York City councilman Bill Perkins; and Larry Holmes of the Workers World Party's IAC.

Many of those at the indoor rally were looking for a way forward to fight for Jamal's freedom. What was unique about this event was the all-too-rare clash of political views and strategies on precisely this question. On one pole was the open embrace of trust in the justice of the American court system promoted by Dinkins and the IAC; on the other was the class-struggle perspective offered by Wolkenstein, the PDC and the SL. As our leaflet stated: "In our defense of Mumia we have supported pursuing all available legal avenues open to fight for his freedom and against the death penalty. But we have always promoted the understanding that the fight to free Mumia must be independent of the racist capitalist state, which has worked for years to frame him up. It is this Marxist understanding that differentiates our program from those who rely on a legalistic strategy, building illusions that the capitalist courts are fair."

Pam Africa introduced Wolkenstein, citing her efforts in obtaining evidence of Mumia's innocence and, speaking of the PDC, emphasized: "For years their position has been one that Mumia is innocent and to hell with a trial." Africa added, "That's absolutely true, but we have people who are not ready to move that way." She encouraged rally participants to obtain the PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*, containing affidavits by Wolkenstein, Mumia, his brother William Cook and Arnold Beverly, in which Beverly admits that he, not Jamal, killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. That day, we sold 109 copies of the pamphlet and another 150 pieces of Marxist literature.

Wolkenstein's speech was greeted with applause and a standing ovation because it struck a chord with the predominantly black audience, many of whom were longtime political activists. It underlined that it is necessary to mobilize the social power of the working class on behalf of Jamal, independently of all capitalist parties. She explained the role of the capitalist state as an institution that exists to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class against working people and the oppressed, and why it is so dangerous to peddle illusions in the state. As our flyer stated: "The courts, the cops, the prosecutors and the military make up the state



International Action Center raises call for "New Trial" at April 23 march. We say: There is no justice in the capitalist courts.

apparatus which uses bourgeois law and force to protect the profit system. The state is not neutral and does not function in the interests of black people, the working class, immigrants or other oppressed minorities. Without this understanding, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle to free Mumia."

Wolkenstein also laid bare the evidence of Mumia's innocence, centered on Beverly's confessions and mounds of supporting evidence. This evidence was suppressed by Jamal's former lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and his "legal strategist," Daniel Williams. The pursuit of this evidence on the one hand and its suppression on the other reflected within the legal team the clash of strategies over what social forces must be mobilized to free Jamal: reliance on the good graces of the capitalist courts embodied in the call for a "new trial for Mumia" or reliance on the social power of the working class, including through protest actions based on the multiracial labor movement.

A report on the April 23 rally posted on the Workers World Party's Web site (27 April) was entitled "Harlem Says 'Free Mumia,'" just as one side of the signs they carried at the protest called to free Mumia. However, their real program was displayed on the other side of the sign—as seen in the photograph accompanying their article—which called for a "new trial." Workers World and the IAC are trying to corral those who want to fight for Jamal's freedom behind a call that reinforces illusions in the state. The WWP article motivates the rally by citing the "urgent need to continue building broad, mass pressure on the repressive judicial system to grant Abu-Jamal a new trial."

We are fighting to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement not only to free Mumia, but to get rid of this barbaric and murderous capitalist system of hunger, imperialist war, poverty, racist cop terror and vicious attacks on workers, women, gays and immigrants. Since our inception we have fought for integrated class struggle and for the per-

spective of revolutionary integrationism, combatting every manifestation of discrimination against black people and fighting to eliminate the oppression of blacks—which is the bedrock of American capitalist society—through a proletarian socialist revolution. Our program of black liberation through socialist revolution is based on the fact that the capitalist rulers have fomented anti-black racism historically not only to keep black people in their so-called "place" but to prevent revolutionary unity of the working class against the capitalists.

In her remarks at the indoor rally, Brenda Stokely expressed solidarity from the Million Worker March, New York City Labor Against the War and District Council 1707, vowing: "We will continue this fight until none of us has a breath to continue fighting." Such proclamations by trade-union leaders cannot be mere words. The social power of labor must be mobilized in action, on the streets, to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. If undertaken through the mobilization of labor, the struggle to free Mumia would represent a big step in the struggle to overturn this whole racist, capitalist system.

The April 23 rally took place a few months after a presidential election accompanied by an escalating assault on democratic rights. The Democrats have moved

those who would honor its principles, not those who would abuse them. And we must take it back." The justice system Dinkins wants to "take back" is the "justice system" that declared in the infamous 1857 *Dred Scott* case that black people "have no rights which the white man is bound to respect"; that ordered the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927; that affirmed the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II; and that, in the 1987 *McCleskey* decision, both acknowledged and deemed irrelevant racial disparity in the criminal justice system.

Later in the program, Larry Holmes of the IAC continued Dinkins' theme by calling for: "More unity, sisters and brothers. More unity. Whatever our differences are, it's always more that unites us." But unity with whom, against whom, and for what? We fight for united-front action to struggle for Mumia's freedom—i.e., unity in action and freedom for all political tendencies to express their views. What Holmes has in mind is the kind of "unity" based on accommodation to "progressive" capitalist politicians, the kind of "unity" where the call for Mumia's freedom is subordinated to the demand for a "new trial" and agnosticism on Mumia's innocence. The liberals' interest in the Mumia case is to refurbish



Steve Wilson



Stewart/Bethel

Left: Mumia speaking in 1969 at Philadelphia memorial for slain Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Black militant Panthers were targeted for death by racist capitalist state.

even further to the right as they compete with "family values" bigots who are working overtime to sell Jesus and gut abortion rights. For years, there has been a dearth of class struggle in the U.S., primary responsibility for which rests with the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its capitalist class enemy through the Democratic Party. At the same time, the workers have shown no lack of will to struggle, as during the 2003-04 UFCW grocery workers strike, which was sold out by the labor tops. What is necessary is a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions, a fight to break workers from illusions in the Democrats as "friends of labor," a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party fighting for all the oppressed and for a workers government.

In his presentation, Dinkins—who left an event at Columbia University honoring the Nigerian Nobel laureate, author and former political prisoner, Wole Soyinka, to attend the Mumia rally—declared: "I believe now very deeply he [Mumia] not only hasn't had a fair trial, he's innocent in the first damn place." However, Dinkins also referred to the racist vendetta in which the capitalist courts have kept Jamal imprisoned in a 9 by 12 foot dungeon as a series of "misguided decisions."

A million black people are locked behind bars, largely as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Of the nearly 3,500 on death row, over half are black and Hispanic. Yet, Dinkins referred to the "issue of abuse of police power, the issue of a blind system of criminal justice and the death penalty issue" by proclaiming that such incidents "have been much less since the system first turned a blind eye toward Mumia Abu-Jamal." According to Dinkins, "We have to remember that the justice system of this country belongs to

the image of the American justice system. This is not unity but treachery.

Beginning in 1989, the PDC has organized united-front rallies for Mumia, and they have included participation by black elected officials, community organizations, union officials and left organizations whose programs and worldviews were quite distant from ours. But in contrast to the reformists, we never tailored our demands to what the liberals found acceptable, nor did we censor our criticisms of the Democratic Party, our explanation of the function of the capitalist state, the treacherous role of the trade-union bureaucracy, and the need for workers to have their own party, a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. As Wolkenstein underlined in her speech, while capitalist politicians like Dinkins are welcome to voice their support for Jamal, the movement must not be tailored to accommodate them.

Our united-front approach demonstrates a powerful political point: it is possible to bring effective, worldwide united action across a spectrum of political beliefs while assuring everyone's right to have his own say. Within that framework, we fight to win activists to the understanding that the fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on a class-struggle perspective.

This is the strategy we have pursued since we first took up Jamal's case in 1987. When a death warrant was signed in 1995, millions around the world mobilized in defense of Jamal. Mumia's name must be made known again the way it was in 1995, so that unions from South Africa, France, Brazil and elsewhere mobilize on the streets in the fight for his freedom. The fight to free Mumia must become a cause taken up by the labor movement around the world, especially in the U.S.

For Mumia's birthday in 1999, tens

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up

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Free Mumia Now!

I really want to thank especially Pam Africa for the invitation to speak here and expose the truth about Mumia's legal case, to speak of the dangers that face us.

In three weeks it will be 20 years since the racist murder of MOVE members and five MOVE children when a bomb was dropped on their Osage Avenue home in Philadelphia. The bomb was dropped by the FBI, the ATF and the Philadelphia police. The May 13, 1985 Mother's Day message to MOVE by the capitalist state was: "Attention, MOVE. This is America." The criminals in the government got away with their murder, with not even a slap on the wrist. Ramona Africa went to jail for years for the crime of surviving the racist holocaust. This is not unrelated to Mumia's case, because when the state locked up Mumia on death row in 1982, they took off the street a powerful defender of the MOVE organization.

It was imprisoned MOVE members who in 1987 asked the Partisan Defense Committee to take up Mumia's defense. Nine MOVE members had been found guilty for the killing of a Stakeout police officer during the August 1978 police attack on the MOVE Powelton Village commune, but the cop was killed by police crossfire. The MOVE members were sentenced to 30 to 100 years, and their legal challenges have been thrown out of court. These cases, as well as Mumia's, speak to the basic truth that there is no justice in the capitalist courts [applause]. Capitalist justice means "just us."

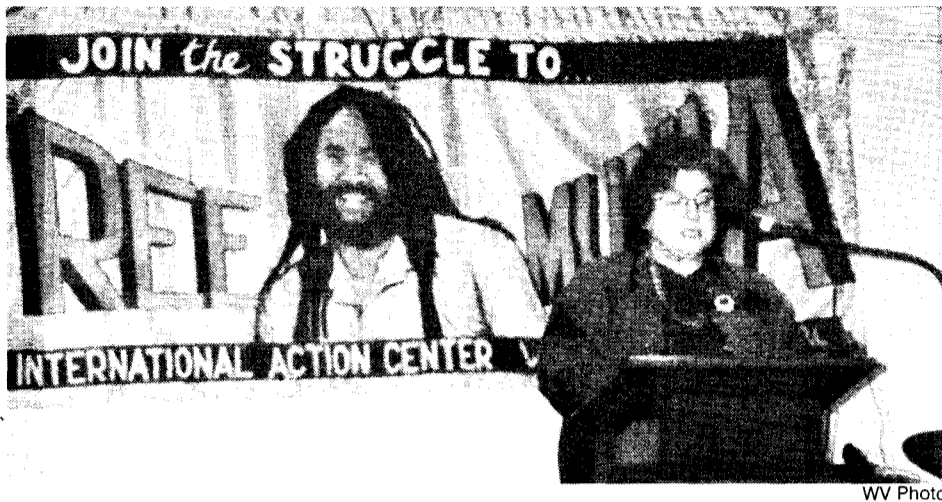
I was part of Mumia's legal defense team from 1995 through June 1999, in charge of the defense investigation. It was this investigation that led to finding Arnold Beverly and obtaining his confession that he shot and killed police officer Daniel Faulkner on December 9, 1981. I resigned from the legal team along with Jon Piper when his lead attorney, Mumia's lead attorney at the time, Leonard Weinglass, and co-counsel Dan Williams precluded Mumia from presenting this evidence of Mumia's innocence in the courts. The facts of this investigation, as Pam said, are in my affidavit. I will highlight those things in a moment.

My work fighting for Mumia's freedom did not begin with the legal team, but started years before, in 1987, as part of the PDC fight to free class-war prisoners including Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). It's important to understand that our principles, our work, is based on principles of non-sectarian, class-struggle united-front defense in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We place all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatsoever in the so-called "justice" of the courts [applause].

We initiated a worldwide campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. On principle, we do not accord the state the right to determine who shall live or who shall die. The death penalty is the ultimate form of institutionalized state terror and murder, and it's used to intimidate or eliminate any who

of thousands took to the streets in Philadelphia and the Bay Area in rallies to demand a new trial. Sadly the turnout this year was a fraction of what it was six years ago. In remarks following Wolkenstein's presentation at the April 23 rally, Pam Africa observed, "The only thing they could do to divert the energy of the people was to come out and say they were overturning Mumia's sentencing from death to life in prison." Pam Africa was referring to the December 2001 ruling by federal court judge William Yohn overturning the death sentence but affirming the conviction; the prosecutors appealed seeking to reinstate the death sentence, while Mumia appealed seeking to overturn the conviction. In 1976, professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, framed up on false murder charges in the mid 1960s because of his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense, finally won a new trial after an international protest campaign. When he was convicted anew, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!



We print here the speech delivered by Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee at the April 23 Harlem indoor rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the NYC Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and the International Action Center, among others.

would challenge racist American capitalism. In the U.S. the death penalty is Jim Crow lynch law made legal [audience: "right," applause]. Mumia's case demonstrates what the death penalty is all about.

It is Mumia's 51st birthday tomorrow; he has spent the last 23 years on death row. The cops, the prosecutors, the entire "criminal justice system" have colluded to kill this man. His crime? His crime was being eloquent, and an effective critic of the racist oppression that exists in this country. Mumia says he's "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." To the American capitalist state that means that Mumia is a dead man on leave.

Mumia is in danger. He faces the vengeance of the capitalist state. It is necessary now and urgent, more than ever now, as Mumia's case moves into the last stages of legal proceedings, to mobilize on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man. He never should have been arrested, never tried, never convicted [applause]. Our fight is to free Mumia!

The danger faced by Mumia today began back in 1969 when he was a 15-year-old Black Panther Party member, when he was targeted by the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign which left 38 Panthers dead in their beds and on the street and hundreds in jail on frame-

decade in prison for a crime he did not commit. Today, many of the liberals to whom the reformists appealed have fled the case, while the workers, blacks and youth who were the foot soldiers for Jamal are politically demobilized. The central reason for the demobilization of Mumia's supporters rests with the fact that reformists like Workers World and Socialist Action rejected a class-struggle fight for Jamal, instead organizing activists on the basis that justice could be obtained from the capitalist courts.

As Wolkenstein noted in her speech:

"Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a 'fair trial' only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom."

No illusions in the courts! Free Mumia now! ■

up charges. The message to the Black Panther Party by then-FBI director [J. Edgar] Hoover was: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This was the policy of Democratic Party president Lyndon Johnson and his attorney general, Ramsey Clark.

The FBI's COINTELPRO operation did not succeed then in framing Mumia up or murdering him. But he remained a target of the capitalist state—followed over the next ten years as he became one of the pre-eminent journalists in Philly—the "voice of the voiceless." He told the truth about the government's persecution of MOVE and gave, as he said, the Africans' side of the story. It was the long arm of COINTELPRO carried forward until the Philly police seized the opportunity to shoot and beat him on the street on December 9, 1981. The state and its courts have tried to finish the job for over two decades of racist frame-up legal proceedings.

Mumia's case is a textbook of police frame-up. It's an object lesson in the class nature of the state, which is not neutral. The state is the instrumentality of violence, organized violence by one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system, against working people, against minorities. In the U.S. the forcible subjugation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society is key. This state violence is expressed in terror and frame-ups carried out by the racist, brutal, corrupt cops. You know those examples: Panthers like Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba bin Wahad; immigrants like Amadou Diallo, to even protesters at the Republican Party Convention. Every protest against the Iraq war and occupation, every one of these—it is very clear that there is a crazed and demented president in the White House [applause]. But the post-September 11 so-called anti-terrorism campaign is supported whole hog as well by the Democratic Party. And Mumia is in all of their gun sights [applause].

I'm talking about this because we need to understand this and act on this understanding. It's the only way forward to victory—for Mumia's freedom. While all legal proceedings and legal remedies must be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions in or reliance on the capitalist courts, nor in bour-

geois politicians, whether they're black or white, be they Democratic, Republican or Green. The fight to free Mumia must be mobilized independent of the racist capitalist state. While support for Mumia's cause from bourgeois politicians like Mayor Dinkins is welcome, the campaign mobilization cannot be tailored for their acceptability—with arguments that the capitalist injustice system can be made fair or reformable. It will take the social power of organized labor and its allies to create the type of pressure we need to obtain Mumia's freedom—a mass movement centrally based on the power of the working class, the power to withhold labor—to strike. Like the members of the AFSCME union that Brenda Stokely represents. Like the transit workers who are now here in the room. Imagine what it would mean if New York transit went on strike on behalf of Mumia [applause].

Demands for a new trial will never lead to Mumia's freedom. Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a "fair trial" only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom [applause]. The fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight for black equality in America, which itself is part of the broader fight against the capitalist system.

The Frame-Up of Mumia

That truth has been shown over *two decades* of court proceedings appeals. Mumia's case has been through the Pennsylvania courts to the U.S. Supreme Court three times, including three post-conviction evidentiary hearings. His case is now in the federal appeals court. Each and every court has rejected evidence of Mumia's innocence, evidence of police and prosecutorial lies, threatening witnesses into falsifying testimony, fabricating Mumia's confession, botched ballistics. Judge Dembe in Philadelphia has denied Mumia a hearing on the new evidence that's there. And over the past three years, the courts—federal and state—refused to consider the confession of Arnold Beverly. Federal court judge Yohn overturned Mumia's death sentence over three years ago. But while the government appeals, Mumia is still on death row, 23 hours a day in solitary in a cell which he has described as like living in a toilet.

What is the Beverly evidence? I'm going to ask your indulgence for a little more time [audience: "yes," applause]. This evidence of Mumia's innocence is more than Beverly's confession or the lie detector test he passed. Beverly states that he and another man were hired by the police in cooperation with the mob to murder police officer Faulkner. Faulkner was a problem for the corrupt police and the mob because he interfered with graft and payoffs. Weinglass rejected this evidence as too hot and unbelievable, and Williams said that to put this forward would lead to arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! Imagine that [laughter]. This is not only believable, but the reality of the cops and the courts. In Philly during the 1995 Mumia hearings, exposés of cop frame-ups of blacks on false drug charges shared the daily front page news—some 300 cases overturned. There's the L.A. Ramparts case, the Boston cop with mob ties, and now in the news, two New York homicide detectives [prosecuted] for murdering while in uniform [on the force] and on Mafia payroll.

Other evidence supports Beverly; the affidavit of Mumia's brother, William Cook, states there was another man on the scene at the time of Faulkner's killing, Ken Freeman, who also said that there was a hit planned on Faulkner. The affidavit of Donald Hersing, an FBI informant,

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Mumia Is Innocent...

(continued from page 9)

confirms that at the time of Faulkner's shooting, the commanding officer of the police division, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation on federal corruption charges. Not coincidentally, these cops were the chain of command in Faulkner's case. And Giordano knew who Mumia was. More on this in a bit. Those cops were worried about possible police informants. Three federal investigations into police corruption, including the mob, were underway at the time Faulkner was murdered. Police working as FBI informants were victims of hits in the early '80s. A federal prosecutor acknowledged to us that they had a police informant, one whose brother was also a cop, like Faulkner. These federal investigations also mean that the FBI has plenty of knowledge of what happened in Philadelphia Center City on December 9—information they have refused to release.

Beverly states there were undercover cops and others in uniform at the location to make sure the hit happened and to help Beverly make his getaway. This confirms the testimony of William Singletary that cops were immediately on the scene. Marcus Cannon, another witness, said two undercover cops were on the scene during the shooting. Again, confirmation of Beverly.

Inspector Giordano: ranking officer on the scene, central witness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after the arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption, but he was Frank Rizzo's man, right-hand man, involved in the daily surveillance of the Black Panther Party members in the '60s and early '70s, and he led the police Stakeout team in the 1970s attack on the Philly Black Panther Party. Giordano was police supervisor of the year-long siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. He



New York City, August 1995: Partisan Defense Committee initiated emergency united-front protest in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal after death warrant was signed.

knew just who Mumia was. He was the cop who first reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street, some 12 minutes after cops were already there. He arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who was promised favors and protected by the police. Giordano is the cop who beat Mumia in the police van and said that Mumia had confessed there to shooting Faulkner. Giordano never testified at Mumia's trial. In fact, he resigned from the police force the day after Mumia's trial was over. In 1986 he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during the 1979-80 period and didn't spend any time in jail.

Beverly states that Faulkner was first shot in the back, and then he shot Faulkner in the head before Mumia ever got on the scene. Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer, Beverly says. Homicide cops on the scene told the medical examiner's office that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. Beverly states he had a .22 calibre. The available ballistics and blood evidence at the scene is contrary to the prosecution's frame-up

version. The trajectories are wrong. It supports more than one shooter of Faulkner, that a gun other than Faulkner's or Mumia's was used, that the bullets and bullet jackets found do not fit the prosecution's story. Mumia's wounds do not fit with him being shot by Faulkner. The Stakeout officer who purportedly found Mumia's gun testified at trial that the bullets in Mumia's gun were a different make than listed on the ballistics report.

Beverly said that he was wearing a green army jacket that night. William Singletary had said that the shooter used what sounded like a .22 and that the shooter was wearing a green army jacket. Billy Cook said Freeman was wearing a green army jacket and he ran away from the scene. Additionally, two police officers at the time said that the shooter was wearing a green army jacket, as did another civilian witness. But Mumia wore a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. This evidence—Singletary's, Beverly's—could also confirm that the shooter ran away, and it was a shooter in a green army jacket.

Beverly and Hersing's statements also support the testimony of Pamela Jenkins and now Yvette Williams that key prosecution witness Cynthia White was both threatened and accorded favors to lie on the witness stand and say she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner.

There is more, much more. What is the significance of the Beverly evidence and why has it been suppressed? There is a simple answer—that it exposes the fraud that the American legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates that there's a unity of purpose of the cops, prosecution and courts to uphold the capitalist rulers' interests. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, or prosecutor, or judge, but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice [applause]. Williams' book, *Executing Justice*, denouncing this evidence, has been used by the D.A. and the bourgeois courts to reject evidence of Beverly's confession and the supporting evidence. That book, and that book alone, has been used to deny this evidence.

This should make clear to all of us here what we need to do to free Mumia. That the courts will not move, whether on the grounds of a racially biased jury selection, which was true, or that he wasn't allowed to represent himself in violation of his constitutional rights, which was true, or in the face of the prosecutorial misconduct, which is enormous. And what I've said to you, and what you know already, is only the tip of the iceberg. None of this will happen, the courts will not move without the force of an international mobilization of the masses, and centrally based on the labor movement.

That Mumia is innocent is *the truth*. That the capitalist state has spent decades framing him up is the truth. Putting its lying, corrupt class- and race-biased forces to see Mumia dead is what they're all about. But we need to use the truth about Mumia's case, only some of which I and other people have been able to talk to you about, to bring out more power, social power, to fight for victory and free Mumia. Free Mumia! [Applause.]■

Massad...

(continued from page 2)

Business School; multimillion-dollar establishments like Hillel at Columbia; complicitous presidents like Bollinger and Shapiro, supported by their boards of trustees and militant millionaire clubs among the Columbia and Barnard alumni; advocates of torture like Alan Der-showitz; racist propagandists like Daniel Pipes; anti-intellectual vigilantes like Martin Kramer; organized cells at Columbia medical, business and law schools; a bagful of tabloids in Manhattan; Jack-the-Ripper journalists like Douglas Feiden and Jacob Gershman; a deceitful propaganda machine like the Goliath Project; a minister and his ministry in Israel; city, state and federal politicians seeking higher office here in the United States are all ganging up and calling for the heads of two Arabs and a Muslim in post-9/11 New York is quite an achievement for *The Nation*, one that I will not forget or forgive."

Academic Freedom and McCarthyite Witchhunts

A perceptive article by Juan Cole, a professor of Middle Eastern and South Asian history at the University of Michigan, stripped the veneer off the 7 April editorial in the *Times*:

"The New York Times editorial is among the more dangerous documents threatening higher education in America to have appeared in a major newspaper since the McCarthy period, when professors were fired for their views on economics.... The *Times*' invocation of 'scholarly rigor' is

really a thinly veiled demand that professors follow what it defines as an acceptable, 'fair' pedagogical line.

"But as soon as the 'fairness' of views is made the criterion for retaining a teacher, the door is opened to witch hunts and chaos. No two students will agree on what is a 'fair' view of a controversial issue."

—"The New McCarthyism,"
www.truthout.org, 22 April

Bollinger, an "expert" on the First Amendment, stated at a faculty meeting last October, "The First Amendment does not apply to the university because it is a private institution" (*London Review of Books*, 17 February). This statement received little publicity. But it had best be noted. *Democratic rights must be fought for*. In the struggle at Columbia today, the Spartacus Youth Club has fought against reliance on the university administration.

Archreactionaries and racists view the *New York Times* as some kind of "commie" paper, while Zionists denounce it as "pro-Arab" because it occasionally reports an Israeli atrocity. By emboldening the neocons screaming for Arab blood at Columbia, the *Times* may well find itself a future target of these very same forces.

Yet it is precisely now—and historically—that a paper like the *Times* is valuable to different wings of the ruling class because of the aura of respectability it lends a witchhunt. Although Joseph McCarthy's coarseness offended then-*Times* publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Sulzberger hated communism more, and so emphasized "the need for the orderly administration of loyalty oaths and other procedures" (Susan E. Tiff and Alex S. Jones, *The Trust* [1999]). The *Times* even refused to run a paid ad demanding commutation of the death sentences for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The *Times* fired employees who exercised their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination during the witchhunt.

More recently, the *Times* was running articles about how the paper was fooled

by the Bush administration's claims of "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq. The *Times* went along with these claims because, notwithstanding its political differences with the neocons and Bush administration, the *Times* shares with them the same bourgeois class interests. Even now, the *Times* whitewashes U.S. war crimes in Iraq, crowing that in Falluja, a city devastated by American bombardment last year, "things are almost back to normal" (26 March)!

In 1977, when the Spartacus Youth League initiated a united-front campaign to keep imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger from a teaching post at Columbia, the *Times* editorialized against anti-Kissinger students and faculty. The response by the SYL in a letter to the *Times* (which they didn't print but which we produced as a leaflet) stands up well today with regard to defense of Professor Joseph Massad. We wrote, "While smearing the anti-Kissinger forces at Columbia as witchhunters, your editorial advocates a neo-McCarthyite 'loyalty oath' as the sole

political criterion for university professors!" At issue is not an abstract conception of "freedom," but a struggle on behalf of class interests. As we stated in "Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus" (WV No. 842, 18 February):

"The attempted castration of intellectual dissent is an attack on *all* opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Today it is particularly aimed at those who oppose the bloody occupation of Iraq and voice outrage at the genocidal 'collective punishment' of the Palestinian people by Israel's Zionist rulers. Middle East studies departments, including distinguished scholars, are among the prime targets of campus witchhunts. But the same forces that would like to see campuses inhabited solely by white frat boys in khakis also want to see a union-free workforce that they can more brutally exploit. They seek a docile, regimented society, all the better to send the sons and daughters of the working people to serve as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars abroad while ripping up even the most minimal gains of previous class and social struggles at home."

Stop the witchhunt! Defend Professor Massad!■

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MOVE...

(continued from page 12)

decision all over again, knowing what I know now, I would make the same decision because I think we cannot permit any terrorist group, any revolutionary group in this city, to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage."

We communists forthrightly said that Wilson Goode was a black front man for Reagan racism. We pointed out: "The liberals now apologize for this calculated obliteration of a black neighborhood—to do otherwise requires a break from the whole myth of the 'new black power' at the voting booth, organized through the Democratic Party of George Wallace and Jesse Jackson. That is why we are now witnessing the obscene spectacle of the black establishment supporting Goode amid the screams of black babies" ("Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!" WV No. 380, 31 May 1985). As for Jesse Jackson, he saw in the charred remains of people's lives a chance to push a little black capitalism. Jackson called on Goode to ensure that black contractors got a share of the rebuilding of the homes destroyed! As we wrote in our 31 May 1985 article:

"Wilson Goode and the firebombing of West Philadelphia are the ultimate proof that the black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black people. In the 1960s as the ghettos burned with black rage and frustration, black mayors were installed in many of America's big cities to put out the fires. But LBJ's firemen are now Reagan's arsonists. It is left to the communists to give organized expression to the felt outrage of the black people in the face of this bloody cop massacre and to fight for the elementary right of black self-defense against the racist terrorists."

In contrast to the reformists, the Spartacist League sought a way to ensure that MOVE would not be made into isolated non-persons and to ensure that they would be defended. Though we did not have a branch in Philadelphia, when we heard that there was to be a demonstration there on 30 May 1985, we sought to mobilize a hundred of our supporters in solidarity with the MOVE victims. But at the last minute, we pulled out when the MOVE organization, for utterly justifiable reasons, said it would not attend. A liberal/left lash-up, involving the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the bourgeois Consumer Party, called the "Citizens' Committee for Justice and Humanity," arrogantly and outrageously debated whether or not to even allow MOVE survivors to be present at their so-called protest! By keeping MOVE out, they were doing Goode's and the cops' work trying to head off a real protest against the gruesome atrocity.

Much to the outrage of the SWP et al., we issued a statement, which the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May 1985) accurately described: "The Spartacist League, for one, put out a news release from New York City announcing that it would not attend because there was no indication that 'MOVE will be defended or given the respect their martyrdom demands'."

The small demonstration was a travesty. One Shafiq Abu-Tahir, who introduced the speakers, said that organizers "wanted it to be made very clear to the city administration and the City of Philadelphia that we are not marching today in support of MOVE" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 31 May 1985).

The ultrareformist U.S. Communist Party labeled MOVE an "anti-social cult group" that "obviously had become a menace to the community," as it bemoaned some of the extreme measures taken against them. The SWP for its part was allied with spokesmen for the pro-Goode types who were shocked by the "excessive" force and concerned for the "respectable" residents whose houses were destroyed. These reformists sat on their hands when Goode appeared before the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Later, at a meeting for Puerto Rican rights, after the chair called for a moment of silence for MOVE, Goode got up and made a sniveling statement which the *Militant* printed without comment.



In vendetta against MOVE, nearly 600 Philadelphia police besieged their Powelton Village commune in 1978.

Workers World Party also rushed to alibi Goode; their then-leader Sam Marcy wished to assure everyone that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans." This was a lie. Goode was an active participant in the more than year-long planning. He gave the phone authorization for dropping the bomb on May 13 after pausing for 30 seconds. Later, Workers World and its front groups organized a Philly "March Against Racism" whose call did not mention MOVE at all and had not the slightest criticism of Goode.



Ramona Africa, survivor of 1985 MOVE massacre.

The motive of all these political cowards was to minimize the massacre and therefore the complicity of black Democrat Goode. The Philly firebombing was a warning to all black people, and not just black people: don't get out of line, you could be next!

The reformists flinched in the face of the blasts of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive: most so-called leftists ran for cover as Reagan ran Cold War II, and so ended up in the camp of the equally anti-Soviet Democratic Party. The capitulation of these forces that pretended to speak for socialism had important negative consequences. Instead of crystallizing inchoate anger and horror over the atrocity into an indictment of the actual government killers, the fake leftists let the killers off the hook and contributed to an atmosphere where white mobs chanting "MOVE! MOVE!" could rampage through segregated Southwest Philly and then firebomb the homes of a black and integrated couple.

A few left groups, notably the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Progressive Labor (PL), did take a stand in defense of MOVE at the time. In her compelling book, published in 1987, *Attention Move! This Is America!*, Margot Harry, a staff writer for the RCP's paper, makes a convincing case that MOVE members including children were shot by cops while trying to escape and were later dragged into the inferno. PL, for its part, announced a demonstration in Philly on May 18. But when we offered to build and participate in it, PL characteristically refused and had a little sectarian demonstration entirely of their own. (They were later self-critical in *Challenge* about how

insignificant it was.)

The Spartacist League exposed the MOVE massacre at a New York City forum on 11 July 1985, where we gave a platform to spokesmen who were then supporters of MOVE to speak of their bitterness at the murder of their family members. This forum upheld the Leninist mandate that the party of the proletariat must be a tribune of the people, leaders who can give a voice to all the oppressed. But even here we were confronted with opposition from supposed leftists. A speaker from the minuscule League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) rose to denounce the meeting as a "sham" and "disgusting" because it didn't polemicize against the victims! About what?! These were courageous people whose families were slaughtered, whose homes were destroyed, whose brothers and sisters were already imprisoned, and who in the midst of their agony were being shunned by the "respectable" sellouts. In any case, who could have thought Marxists had much in common politically with a back-to-nature group like MOVE? To attack them would have been obscene. But that's what the LRP did. They went into print grotesquely reflecting Goode's animus against MOVE, writing that its "lifestyle understandably alienated many neighbors" and that "MOVE's isolation opened it up for a police siege" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Summer 1985). The equally tiny Bolshevik Tendency rushed to solidarize not with MOVE but with the LRP, intimating vilely that the victims of racist cop terror were in collusion with the cops! Their revolting article on the July forum was entitled, "SL's Cop-Baiting Celebrity—'Powerful Testimony'...to the Police."

Eight years after the MOVE massacre, on 19 April 1993, Democratic president Bill Clinton and his attorney general, Janet Reno, unleashed the BATF against the integrated Branch Davidian religious group near Waco, Texas. Like MOVE, the Texas group upheld the right of citizens to armed self-defense. Reno ordered the slaughter of 86 innocent men, women and children. If the MOVE massacre was the signature of the Reagan years, the Waco massacre was the bloody mark of Democrat Bill Clinton. The flames of Waco illuminated the basic truth that the capitalist state, whether run by Republicans or Democrats, is a deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed.

A Conspiracy of Terror

The MOVE bombing had a precedent: on 31 May 1921, the heart of black Tulsa, Oklahoma was obliterated by police bombs dropped from airplanes. The police killed at least 75, mostly black people, and over 4,000 black people were thrown into concentration camps. This was part of a wave of ruling-class racist terror that sought to crush militant black soldiers returning from World War I, who were ready to defend themselves against lynch law while seeking social equality. American capitalism feared such a movement, especially the real possibility that it could link up with Communists inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Decades later that same capitalist hatred of the possibility of blacks and Reds linking struggles also drove much of the government's

relentless assault against the Black Panther Party and other radicals in the 1960s. The capitalist state, including its black-robed "justices," consists at its core of armed bodies of men whose job is to enforce the property rights of the ruling class. In Philadelphia, which has the largest concentration of black people in a very white state, and where palpable racism predates the American Civil War, this truth comes home with a vengeance. The Philadelphia police have a history of racist bonapartism under Frank Rizzo. They focused on smashing black radicalism, especially the Black Panthers, MOVE and the eloquent black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The infamous Stakeout unit which played a prominent role in the cop assault on MOVE in 1985 was fashioned in the turbulent '60s by then-deputy police commissioner and future mayor Frank Rizzo in response to the 1964 eruption of the city's huge black ghetto. This mobile unit of sharpshooters and the political police in the Civil Defense Unit (renamed the Civil Affairs Unit) staged a 1970 raid on the Black Panthers' offices. The same Stakeout unit surrounded the Powelton Village MOVE house during the months of siege prior to August 1978. They saw Mumia as he entered the compound to conduct radio interviews. They seethed with hatred for his sympathetic coverage of the victims of their brutal policies. When the MOVE 9 were sentenced for the death of a cop killed by the police crossfire, it was Mumia who exposed the gross injustice. Several days after the verdict, the presiding judge, Edwin Malmed, was on a local radio show. Mumia called in and asked the judge, "Who shot James Ramp?" Malmed replied, "I haven't the faintest idea."

It was important for the cops' vendetta against MOVE to have Mumia silenced. On the night of 9 December 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was shot, arrested and framed up on false charges of killing policeman Daniel Faulkner. The first cops to arrive on the scene were Stakeout squad members; the highest ranking officer was Inspector Alfonso Giordano, a former Stakeout commander. They knew exactly who Mumia was: they had been trying to get him for years, as we have meticulously documented in many articles (see, for example, "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror," *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, August 1998). Six months later, in a kangaroo court presided over by the notoriously racist judge Albert Sabo, Mumia was sentenced to death—and despite massive evidence of his innocence, he remains on death row.

We continue to fight to make sure the workers movement understands the atrocity of Osage Avenue on 13 May 1985. Like the KKK killing of five leftists in Greensboro in 1979, the murders of eleven MOVE members including their children must not be forgotten. We fight for revolutionary struggle based on the independent mobilization of the exploited and oppressed against all wings of the racist rulers to avenge the MOVE martyrs and win black freedom. All the MOVE prisoners and Mumia Abu-Jamal must be freed! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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Racist Government Bombed Black Philadelphia

"Attention. MOVE. This is America." This ultimatum boomed through a Philadelphia police bullhorn at dawn on 13 May 1985, opening a hideous siege and the mass murder of eleven members of the MOVE commune, including five children. MOVE, a mostly black back-to-nature group, had been in the Philly cops' gun sights for years. The cops bombed MOVE's home 20 years ago, burning down the neat Osage Avenue neighborhood of black homeowners and torching over 60 densely packed row houses, leaving hundreds homeless. It was a crime worthy of the U.S. imperialists or Nazi SS during World War II.

Ronald Reagan, fresh from saluting Nazi SS graves in Bitburg, his attorney general Edwin Meese, the FBI, the Philly cops and black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode were all responsible. "Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists—Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!" we headlined (WV No. 380, 31 May 1985). Today, 20 years later, the state continues its vendetta against MOVE and its most eloquent defender, Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up and sent to death row in 1982. We must keep alive the memory of what happened—the surviving victims are still being punished, and the criminals in government are still terrorizing black America.

The Philadelphia police's targeting of MOVE goes back to the mid '70s. Beginning in early 1978, the police besieged MOVE's Powelton Village commune, launching, in August, a 600-strong police attack. In the barrage of police gunfire, one member of the Philadelphia Police Department's notorious "Stakeout" squad was killed by crossfire. The vicious police brutality captured on tape and the frame-up trial of MOVE members for that death kept the city on edge for months. Nine MOVE members were sentenced to 30 to 100 years. MOVE continued to vociferously protest this frame-up over the years, while the cops were still out for blood.

On 13 May 1985, at 5:27 p.m., the head of the Philadelphia Bomb Disposal Unit dropped a large satchel charge from a helicopter onto the roof of the MOVE home at 6221 Osage Avenue, ending the siege that had begun 12 hours earlier. The bomb, a powerful mixture of Tovex and the controlled military plastic explosive known as C-4, set off a heat blast of 7,200 degrees Fahrenheit, turning roof tar into flammable liquid, wood splinters into flying debris, and shattering windows a half block away. Despite the presence of 150 firefighters manning 37 pieces of equipment, the huge fire was allowed to rage out of control. As the flames raced through the MOVE residence, some of the hundreds of heavily armed cops on the scene were seen laughing and joking. When those trapped inside tried to flee the inferno, they were met with automatic weapons fire designed to force them back into the fire. The fire was not declared under control until after midnight, after it had gutted or destroyed 61 row homes, more than an entire block.

The murderous assault on MOVE capped off an entire day of kill-crazed police mobilization by hundreds of cops. Fifteen minutes after Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor's dawn ultimatum, the cops began launching tear gas and smoke containers into the house and

13 May 1985 MOVE Massacre

May 1985: Police helicopter drops bomb on MOVE home in black neighborhood. Eleven MOVE members, including five children, were killed, and 61 homes were destroyed.

UPI

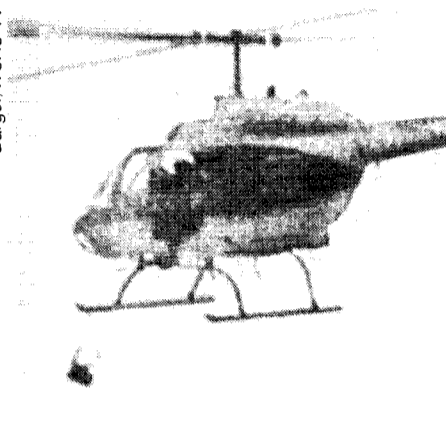


pumping nearly 640,000 gallons of water at the roof to dislodge a defensive bunker MOVE had constructed there. Then came a furious fusillade as cops opened up on the house with fire from a powerful arsenal which included M-16s, 12-gauge shotguns, Browning automatic rifles and .357 Magnums, along with Uzi submachine guns, M-60 machine guns, a .45 calibre Thompson submachine gun and a 20mm antitank gun. Over 10,000 rounds of ammunition were poured into the house. The cop assault also included two "insertion" teams which attempted to blast their way into the MOVE house by setting off explosions from adjoining houses.

Collusion between Reagan's Justice Department and Philadelphia officials became clear as the smoke cleared. Sambor and his aides went over plans for the assault in the days before May 13 with FBI agents and according to Sambor, "The FBI found the plan sound." It was also revealed that a portion of the heavy-duty weaponry used in the attack came from an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), the same bureau one of whose agents had helped organize a Klan/Nazi attack killing five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. It was revealed that the FBI had supplied Philadelphia cops with 38 pounds of the extremely powerful military explosive C-4.

The five children killed were Tomaso

Barger/WCAU-TV



Africa, Katricia "Tree" Dotson, Zenetta Dotson, Delicia Africa and Phil Africa, ranging in age from nine to 15. The adults killed were Conrad Africa, Theresa Africa, Raymond Africa, Rhonda Africa, Frank Africa and John Africa, the inspirational leader of MOVE (members took the last name "Africa").

Ramona Africa: Convicted for Surviving

Ramona Africa was the sole adult survivor of the firebombing. In January 1986, in the fashion of bourgeois justice, the victim was criminalized. Ramona was charged with aggravated assault, reckless endangerment, conspiracy and riot. Acting as her own lawyer, Ramona stated that the charges should be brought against her accusers: "You know a bomb was dropped on me and my family. Police officers have acknowledged that they have fired 10,000 rounds of ammunition on me and my family. If that's not assault, if that's not reckless endangering, if that's not, in fact, murder, even according to the description you have of aggravated assault and conspiracy, I don't know what is."

The prosecution sought to rule out any evidence of the police firebombing, and jurors were specifically told not to consider any of the events after the early morning of the assault. Prosecutors were eager to rule out testimony about attempts that MOVE members made to surrender

as the assault proceeded. The only MOVE child to survive, Birdie Africa, testified that before he passed out he saw Tree and Phil Africa running down the back alley toward Cobbs Creek Parkway. Yet their remains were found in the burned-out building. This gives another sinister twist to the decision to let the building burn: the cops may well have been trying to destroy the evidence of clear racist homicide. It also underlies the ghoulish use by the cops of a demolition crane that purposefully mangled the corpses in the smoldering rubble.

Throughout her trial, Ramona Africa defiantly attempted to turn the tables on the real criminals. When black mayor Wilson Goode himself was forced to testify, Ramona asked him pointblank, "Are you a liar?" Though her only "crime" was surviving the massacre, Ramona Africa was nonetheless convicted of "riot" and "conspiracy" and sentenced to 16 months to seven years. She served every day of the maximum sentence in Pennsylvania's Muncy prison, where she joined other MOVE women, including the mothers of the children killed on May 13.

In an interview in early May this year with *Workers Vanguard*, Ramona Africa noted that she was put away for years, but not one single public official responsible for the multiple MOVE murders has spent even a day in jail. She challenged the government's lie that they were acting on complaints of neighbors: "Since when has the government cared about black people complaining about their neighbors? That ought to show you this whole thing was a fraud.... They had only one agenda: the extermination of MOVE."

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sent monthly stipends to Ramona Africa throughout her incarceration. The PDC took up the cause of the nine MOVE members already imprisoned as a result of the 1978 Powelton Village police attack. The PDC today continues to send monthly stipends to those still in prison: Debbie Africa, Janine Africa, Janet Africa, Delbert Africa, Chuck Africa, Eddie Africa, Mike Africa and Phil Africa. We do not forget that Merle Africa died in prison having spent almost two decades in the racist, overcrowded dungeons of Pennsylvania.

Reformist Left Tailed Black Democrats, Abandoned MOVE

Rarely does a historical event demonstrate with such crystalline clarity the dividing lines of this racist, oppressive society. The MOVE massacre was an acid test for all who claimed to represent the interests of the working class and the cause of black liberation. And it was a test that was failed spectacularly by the liberals, as well as the reformists and centrists who were tailing the black Democrats running many of America's big cities. They didn't want to embarrass Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's first black Democratic Party mayor, who was up to his neck in the MOVE massacre. The day after the slaughter, Goode, who had monitored the killing on TV, and was consulted throughout the attack, took full responsibility: "If I had to make the

continued on page 11