

SPARTACIST

CANADA

Summer 1989 No. 75 25¢

Jalalabad Defenders Break Siege

Afghanistan: Smash CIA's Cutthroats!



Supporters of radical-nationalist Afghan government steel for battle against CIA's "holy warriors." inla

Since early March, the eyes of the world have been focused on the provincial city of Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan. The imperialist rulers and their cutthroat *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") have sought for two months to take this city through bitter siege and murderous bombardment. Now, after weeks of tenacious fighting, Afghan forces have managed to break the siege. The London *Independent* reported on May 12 that "Government troops have broken out of the besieged city of Jalalabad and are recapturing key positions taken by the mujahedin, whose strategy is in disarray. An Afghan armored column moving east, clearing the road to Torkhum on the Pakistan border, was able to recapture outposts taken by the guerrillas a few miles from the city." The

dispatch from Pakistan added that "the Kabul regime has notched up big success by also reopening the road between Kabul and Jalalabad," enabling fresh supplies of ammunition to reach the city.

For Washington and its allies, this is a humiliating setback to their plans to rout the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and reimpose a regime of mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords on the long-suffering peoples of this country. While the North American press has been mum on the stunning loss for the U.S./Pakistan-backed *mujahedin*, confirmation keeps coming in from European sources. The Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (17 May) headlined their article "Rebels Confess

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Urgent Campaign for Victims of Jalalabad Siege

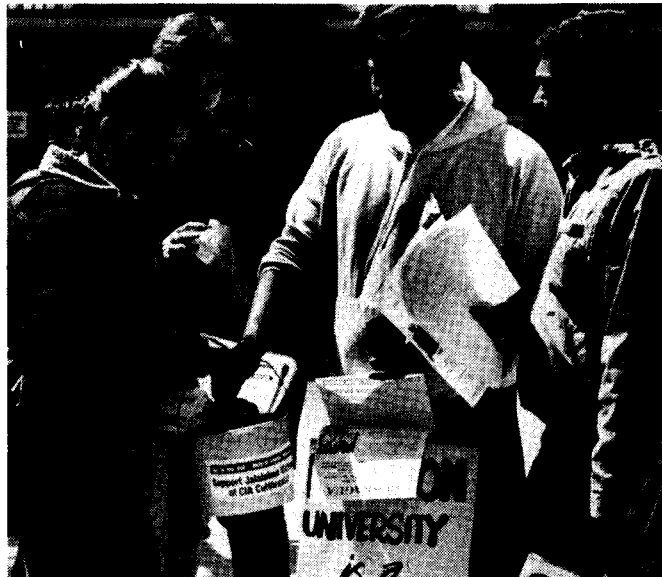
Around the world—in immigrant communities, at factories; workplaces and union halls, among students—a campaign of international solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan is under way. Under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" this effort has evoked sympathy among sections of the working people against the imperialist rulers who are arming and bankrolling the Afghan *mujahedin*. Leaflets have been mass distributed by the Partisan Defense Committee in the United States, the PDC in Canada and other fraternal defense organizations in Australia, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany. As of May 19, the equivalent of Canadian \$42,911.58 has been deposited in special accounts, of which \$38,572.10 has already been wired to the government of Afghanistan for material aid to the civilian victims of the bloody battle at Jalalabad (see box, page 11).

The Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was launched by the PDC in the U.S. in response to an appeal issued by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance. The PDC in the U.S. has been active for more than a decade. The Jalalabad campaign provided the impetus for initiating similar defense organizations elsewhere in conjunction with sections of the international Spartacist tendency, including here in Canada. The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

The women students, mothers and grandmothers in Kabul who have enlisted in the battle against Washington's murderous Afghan rebels should know that the cause of Afghan women has struck a chord. The campaign was kicked off at the massive abortion rights march in Washington April 9, where PDC supporters distributed more than 25,000 leaflets. The issue of women's rights has continued to be on the cutting edge of our efforts.

From London's East Indian Southall area and North

African communities in Paris suburbs to Scottish trade unionists and New York City transit workers, this emergency campaign has received support from working people, especially immigrant workers and their families. In West Germany, Iranian students



SC Photo

International solidarity: Protesters at Toronto anti-racism rally support Jalalabad victims.

have helped to publicize the campaign. They know only too bitterly from their own experience in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" the regime of terror and murder that will come if the Afghan counterrevolutionaries win. Britain's foremost English-language Asian weekly, the *Asian Times* (28 April) covered the campaign on its front page, quoting extensively from the PDC's appeal. Supporters leafleted and collected funds for Jalalabad on May Day demonstrations from Mexico City to Europe and Japan. About \$640 was raised on marches in Hamburg and West Berlin; more than \$240 in Milan and Turin, Italy; another \$100 in Barcelona, Spain. In Tokyo, 4,500 leaflets were distributed to workers on May Day protests.

Val Moghadam, a Middle East sociologist who has written and lectured extensively on Iran and Afghanistan, recently returned from Kabul. She writes: "I am most impressed and encouraged by what the PDC has been doing: exposing the U.S.-Pakistan-*mujahedin* collaboration in the war against the Afghan people, extending financial assistance to the civilians of Jalalabad, and supporting Afghan women's rights. What you are doing is very important, and uniquely good."

To date, PDC campaigners in Canada have raised \$3,812.44 for Jalalabad. At a literature table in Toronto's Gerrard/Ashdale East Indian community,

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Newspaper of the Trotskyist League, Canadian sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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Labor Must Defend Abortion Clinics!

Abortion rights are on the line. Dr. Henry Morgentaler's heroic, almost 20-year battle for women's rights resulted in the January 1988 Supreme Court decision throwing out Canada's reactionary abortion laws. But since then the Tories in Ottawa have been plotting new restrictive legislation. In their shadow the vile anti-abortion fanatics of "Operation Rescue" blockade clinics and terrorize patients. Meanwhile in the U.S. the Bush administration seeks to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion across America.

On April 9 in Washington, D.C., hundreds of thousands rallied for women's rights. In Toronto during recent months pro-abortion activists repeatedly came out to defend the clinics. Yet the evident will to fight is being squandered, channeled into the dead end of looking to the cops for protection and pressuring the capitalist courts and governments, sworn enemies of the struggle for women's emancipation.

The all-sided war on abortion rights strikes hardest at poor and working-class women, immigrants, and Native women thousands of kilometers from hospitals, let alone abortion services. The Trotskyist League links our call for "free abortion on demand" to the fight for jobs, decent living conditions, free quality health care, and democratic rights for all, as an integral part of our socialist, working-class program for women's liberation.

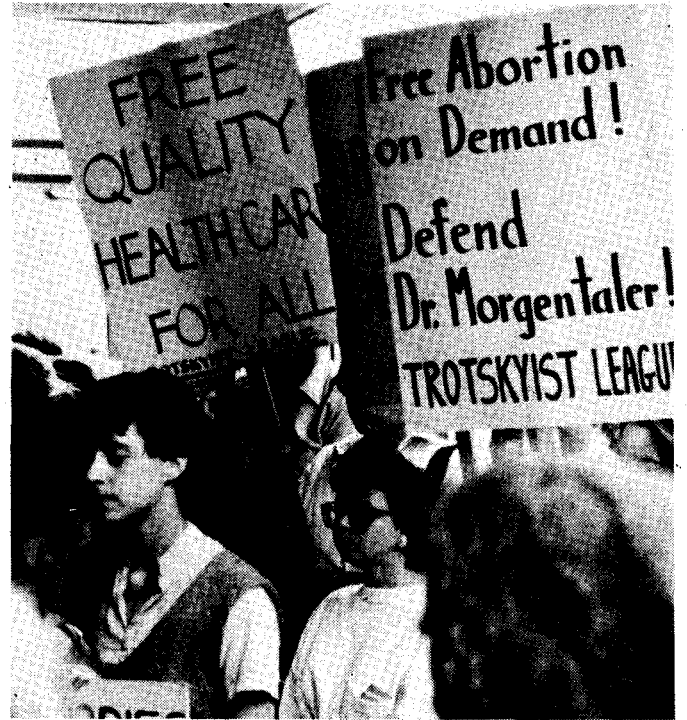
The "Operation Rescue" blockaders aim to shut down what few abortion facilities exist through intimidation and terror. But they can be stopped. In January hundreds of abortion rights defenders kept the Toronto Morgentaler Clinic open during a three-day siege. Yet every day patients must run a horrible gauntlet through the violent abuse of anti-woman monsters, who the cops ostentatiously treat with kid gloves. The futility of the feminist leaders' demand for "equal protection" from the police has been demonstrated too many times.

In B.C. the anti-abortion crusade has unleashed violent fascist skinheads. With their shaved heads, combat boots, swastika tattoos and "White Power" smeared across their chests, these are lumpen white psychotics who get their kicks from sadistic beatings and killings of blacks, Asians and Hispanics. In the last year these racist vermin have been cutting a swathe of terror the length of the West Coast. In Vancouver, five neo-Nazi scum confronted and beat a Latin American student, breaking three of his ribs. In Seattle, just hours across the border, three skinheads brutally beat a group of black school children with pipes and baseball bats.

Now these violent thugs are targeting abortion and gay rights activists. In March, skinheads tried to provoke a Vancouver abortion rights demonstration, distributing an anti-gay, anti-abortion rag. On May 7, an International Socialists meeting on abortion had to disperse when more than a dozen neo-Nazi and KKK skinheads threatened the small gathering. Meanwhile at the Everywoman's Health Clinic

in east Vancouver the provocations have escalated to sabotage, attacks on patients and death threats to staff. This anti-abortion frenzy, whipped up by bible-thumping premier William Vander Zalm, is, quite literally, deadly.

The religious fanatics, with their skinhead storm-troopers in tow, are calling for a "bloody war," and any faith in the cops and courts is simply dangerous. Court injunctions and hundreds of arrests have not



SC Photo

Toronto, June 1988: TL contingent in march defending abortion rights.

stopped the anti-abortion bigots from strutting regularly in front of the Vancouver clinic, which is located in a heavily minority area. Meanwhile the B.C. Coalition for Abortion Clinics holds its rallies downtown, several miles away, doing nothing to mobilize for defense of the clinic. Letting the right-wing anti-abortion fanatics roam freely in this East Indian and Chinese neighborhood exposes an entire community to possible racist and fascist violence.

The social power of the working class and all the oppressed must be mobilized to defend women's rights and their very lives. Many unions, including the Ontario and B.C. Federations of Labour, are formally "pro-choice." But labor's might has not been brought to bear where it counts: at the clinics and on the streets. Vancouver woodworkers, longshoremen, nurses; Toronto transit, postal and construction workers—that's the kind of muscle needed to defend the now-besieged clinics. Last November a powerful labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK from

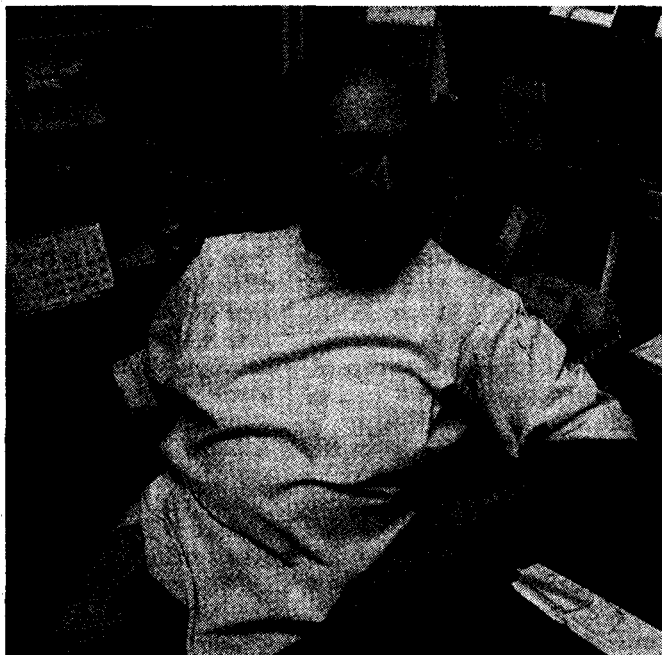
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Abortion ...

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holding a race-hate rally in Philadelphia. This is the kind of militant mass action that could stop the religious bigots and their fascist dogs cold, and put an end to their terrorization of women at the abortion clinics.

To fight effectively you have to know who your friends and who your enemies are. Yet the feminist



Harold Rosenberg

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, heroic fighter for women's right to abortion.

"pro-choice" leaders look to proven enemies of women's right to abortion. In the U.S., it's the racist, capitalist Democratic Party which under Jimmy Carter cut Medicaid funding for abortions. In Canada, it's the social-democratic NDP, whose "pro-choice" practice was shown in Manitoba where an NDP government ordered three jackboot raids on the Winnipeg Morgentaler Clinic. The most notorious national anti-abortion crusader today is one Joe Borowski, a former Manitoba NDP cabinet minister. This filthy anti-Semite once denounced Dr. Morgentaler—an Auschwitz survivor—as a "Nazi butcher," raving, "People have told me it's too bad that guy escaped the death camps."

Every right that women have has been won not by lobbying but through social struggle, from the right to abortion to unionization. The last 50 years have seen changes in women's lives: participation in industry during World War II, the opening of more professional jobs to college-educated women in the 1970s, the amelioration of household drudgery through technology (washing machines, dishwashers, microwave ovens, Pampers). Yet after WWII, "Rosie the Riveter" was forced back into the home; union gains like the abolition of home work are overturned, and tens of thousands of minority women

labor in sweatshops for a pittance. The current Tory austerity program, with its massive cuts to family benefits and unemployment insurance, will hit working-class women with particular brutality. Even medical advances are affected; today a major scientific breakthrough, the "French abortion pill" (RU 486), enabling women to safely and privately stop an unwanted pregnancy, is kept off the market in fear of "right to life" intimidation.

Under capitalism, rights and social advances are reversible, and many are being reversed. If abortion is made illegal or severely restricted, the wives and daughters of the rich will still have them as they always did, in their plush privacy with every consideration. It's poor, working-class and minority women whose lives will be devastated. The fight for full equality of women is part of a broader social struggle. The "right to life" woman-haters love death, by coat hanger or the executioner's electric chair. They hail AIDS as god's scourge on homosexuals. Behind them stands a section of the ruling class which wants to reinforce the family, the traditional conservatizing force which has played a key role in the "stabilization" of all class societies.

Genuine emancipation and lasting gains for women will only be won through socialist revolution. For the first time, unemployment and poverty can be eliminated, free abortion on demand will be part of a full program of socialized medicine, free quality 24-hour childcare and the socialization of housework will allow women to fully participate in social and political life. The fight for women's liberation is international, including a war to the death in Afghanistan to free women from the veil and the bride price, and for the right to read. It is a fight for all the oppressed. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 36, Spring 1989):

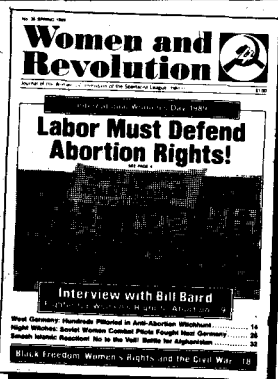
"The struggle for women's emancipation is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression.... Under the leadership of a multiracial vanguard party, the workers and oppressed of this country must take power, establishing a workers government which would open the way for a new, socialist society where production would be for the needs of all, not profit for a few." ■

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Women's Day 1989**

**Women and
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Skinhead Terror in Vancouver

They are the skinheads: gangs of white racist punks with shaved heads and combat boots, their bodies tattooed with swastikas. They dance to the beat of rock groups called "White Pride" and "Final Solution" and "groove" in the streets on brutality and the most sadistic violence against gays, blacks, Asians, other minorities and anybody else who gets in their way. They are armed with chains, pipes, baseball bats, iron knuckles and increasingly with guns. For the last year in Vancouver the skinheads, flaunting the regalia of Hitler's Third Reich and the Ku Klux Klan, have been on a spree of murderous violence and intimidation:

- Last year skinheads stabbed an East Indian youth and brutally beat a Latin American student.
- On January 24 the home of Sheban Ali, an East Indian, was firebombed a few hours after 20 kill-crazy skinheads and Hitlerite fascists met in a basement den just nine blocks away.
- In March, 20 Nazis and skinheads provoked an anti-nuclear demonstration with shouts of "White Power" and "Nuke the Third World."
- In April a gang of Nazi skinheads *teargassed* passengers on a bus, sending four to hospital.
- On May 7, over a dozen skinheads menaced and forced a public forum of the International Socialists (IS) to disperse.

Warped and twisted by a capitalism in terminal decline, the skinheads are the most debased human garbage. From their origins in the squalid white ghettos of Thatcher's Britain, where the skinheads became notorious for brutal assaults on immigrants, these lumpenized white psychotics have spread like a cancer across Europe and North America. Now they are fast becoming the shock troops for organized fascists, from the National Front in Britain, to Le Pen's Front National in France and the neo-

Nazis in West Germany. On the West Coast of North America, they are enlisting in growing numbers in the fascist Aryan Nations and the White Aryan Resistance of California führer Tom Metzger. And from Vancouver to Toronto, long-time Canadian fascist organizer Paul Fromm has appeared at meetings with gangs of skinhead thugs.

The violent skinhead crazies are a deadly threat to every racial minority everywhere, to everything associated with civilized society. *They must be crushed.* While it is difficult to deal with packs of skinhead punks who randomly attack their victims on the streets and in back alleys, when they try to come out in the light of day with their racist terror, these filth can be *stopped*. Last November 5 in Phil-



British skinheads in action. Crush these neo-Nazi vermin!

Freed/Magnum

adelphia, a Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization forced the skinheads and Klan to call off their planned "white pride" rally. Instead their rally site was occupied by more than 1,000 determined anti-fascist protesters, defended by a disciplined and effective workers defense guard of union members, many in union caps and jackets.

But the recently formed Vancouver "Anti-Nazi League" (ANL) does not look to the power of labor and minorities. Rather it orients to the youth club scene and to the heterogenous punk-anarchist milieu. The ANL's first public activity was a small demonstration of about 100 protesting a band called the "Cro-Mags" which has been known to attract skinheads. This demo was built around the slogan "No Gigs for Nazi Pigs." Isolated from the power of organized labor, forays like this send a signal of *weakness* to the fascist scum. Doing nothing serious to mobilize the labor movement or Vancouver's large East Indian, Chinese and other minority communities, the ANL instead sent leafleters into skinhead haunts, where at least one anti-fascist was assaulted

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Workers Vanguard

Philadelphia, November 5, 1988: Labor/black power stopped Klan/skinhead race-hate rally.

Quebec: Labor Tops Set Nationalist Trap, Again

MONTREAL, May 1—About 4,000 trade unionists and leftists marched here today in the largest May Day demonstration Quebec has seen in years. In the 1970s, union-called May Day marches attracted tens of thousands of militant workers to parade behind red banners through the streets of Montreal. But



SC Photo

Right-wing St. Jean Baptiste Society at Montreal May Day (above). Sign at a labor-endorsed nationalist rally demands racist freeze on non-francophone immigration (right).



Jim Upton/Lutte Ouvrière

the "socialist"-talking Quebec union bureaucrats channeled worker militancy into support for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ). And the PQ, in power under premier René Lévesque from 1976-85, turned on and inflicted a series of crippling defeats on the working class. By last year the labor tops, having led their ranks to the slaughter, canceled May Day protests altogether, claiming "lack of interest."

Now they are once again calling the workers into the streets—but only in order to lead them into the same nationalist trap. May Day 1989 in Montreal was no celebration of international proletarian solidarity but a nationalist parade called around the sole demand "Le français au travail, ça s'impose" ("French at work must be mandatory"). It followed, and effectively became part of, the series of recent nationalist mobilizations defending the PQ's discriminatory and restrictive language legislation, Law 101, and demanding a unilingual French Quebec. These mobilizations have dovetailed with, and in part incorporated, the most grotesque racist reaction against Montreal's substantial non-French-speaking immigrant population (see "Nationalism, Racism and the Quebec Left," SC No. 72, Fall 1988).

For instance, on March 12 more than 60,000 nationalists paraded through Montreal in a demonstration organized by the Mouvement Québec Français, which is endorsed by the Quebec labor bureaucrats. Many of the marchers carried signs demanding that people who do not speak French be barred from immigrating to Quebec.

The banners on May Day in Montreal were not red but nationalist blue; so too were marshals' armbands. The march was a sea of fleur-de-lys flags, with dozens of sellers hawking "101" buttons and

even T-shirts celebrating the (now deceased) union-buster Lévesque. Contingents of non-French-speaking exile leftists, mainly from Iran, Chile and El Salvador, were shunned and ostracized at best. Meanwhile banners from the right-wing clericalist St. Jean Baptiste Society and the racist, xenophobic Parti Indépendantiste were welcomed on the march.

As the labor tops prepare to mobilize the ranks to vote PQ once again in the coming provincial elections, most of the left too continues to enthuse over the nationalist revival. In contrast, the Trotskyist League has consistently upheld Quebec's right to independence, not because separation would be progressive but because the forcible subjugation of Quebec by English Canada is a barrier to the necessary class unity among the French- and English-speaking proletariats of North America. We fight for equal language rights for all, opposing Anglo-chauvinist discrimination against French speakers and the nationalist program of French unilingualism. Only by breaking from the dangerous dead end of nationalism can the militant Quebec working class take its rightful place in the front ranks of the North American socialist revolution, the only true road to national and social liberation. ■

Letter from Montreal: The Choices Facing Action Socialiste

Uniquely, if very partially, among Québécois left organizations today, the Action Socialiste (AS) group is attempting to draw a class line against the new rise of nationalism. On April 29, AS organized a public forum in Montreal on the national question around the slogans: "Down with nationalism and chauvinism, traps for the working class--Build the unity of the workers!" But this student-based group remains profoundly contradictory, trapped within a narrow provincial framework and defending positions, especially on international questions, which are very far from revolutionary Marxism.

Last January 27-29, AS held its second congress in Montreal. A sympathizer of the Trotskyist League attended as an invited guest. We print below an English translation of his report.

It is particularly paradoxical to record that in Quebec, home of the most combative part of the North American proletariat, a leadership, a communist movement worthy of the name never emerged. The cause is, principally, Quebec nationalism, little matter the form it has taken through time. This nationalism—class collaboration based on race, religion or, once again today, on language—is certainly a reflection of chauvinist English-Canadian arrogance, particularly at the head of the country's trade-union movement. Breaking the Quebec working class from its nationalist illusions, freeing it from a more and more reactionary petty-bourgeois leadership (St. Jean Baptiste Society & Co.): that is the principal task for revolutionaries in Quebec.

It was with such a state of mind that I went to attend the congress of Action Socialiste (AS). This group's opposition to Quebec nationalism, including to the national-populists of Gauche Socialiste (GS—local sympathizers of Ernest Mandel), is a source of great hope for any revolutionary worthy of the name. If anything might resemble militant communists in this province, they would be at this congress.

But, at least for now, the hope stops there. Theoretical disorientation and programmatic weakness are the two main traits of this group, of which not the least characteristic is unilateral anti-Sovietism. Their attitude toward Trotskyism, which they identify with the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire and GS, is more contradictory. Placing themselves on its terrain in order to repudiate Stalinism, they reject it on the other hand, either with the most simple-minded Stalinist "theorizations," or with the contempt of reformist social democrats. This is only a typical example of their disorientation.

I realized very quickly on contacting members of this group that this disorientation is mainly fed by flagrant lack of knowledge of the basic principles of Marxism. Many have come to the group on the basis of militant actions in the student movement

(the social base of AS), and haven't thought to inquire into the theoretical fundamentals which are indispensable for any revolutionary leader—above all when one comes from a world as petty bourgeois as the student milieu.

This situation hasn't changed, and it's not difficult to see where it is leading the organization: a devoted but ignorant base, and leaders more and more encrusted in their role, without any pressure from the base capable of rousing them, but with constant pressure from bourgeois society which can make them lose all revolutionary bearings. And so bureaucracy. The germs of this were, moreover, uncovered at the congress. The reports of the "leaders" are read, then one member affirms "...I find this text very good," while another adds, "I'm completely in agreement," etc. Of course, voices were raised about certain aberrations. These were often those of older comrades, who had seen more and acquired by themselves a good Marxist education. But any communist group, based on democratic centralism, must *itself, systematically*, educate its members, for example through classes and compulsory lectures. The workers movement needs Leninist cadres tempered in theory—Marxist dialectics, economics, politics—and not a group of youth "in agreement" with Marxism...and invariably with the leaders "who know so much more"!

The programmatic positions which follow from
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LE BOLCHEVIK

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Mettre le paquet pour gagner!

LE BOLCHEVIK

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Action Socialiste ...

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such a situation aren't surprising.

The congress revealed unanimous support to feminist class collaboration. Thus the document "The Woman Question" asserted:

"The socialist revolution will not entail...automatically the end of women's oppression. Discrimination against women isn't a simple economic question; it is also a social and cultural phenomenon, found also in the domain of 'ways and customs' and of ideas."

This passage, despite its evident anti-Marxist character (since when have social and cultural phenomena, "ways and customs," ideas, been independ-



Viktor Bulla

Women workers sparked Russian February Revolution. Bolshevik Party fought for communist women's movement, opposed bourgeois feminism.

ent of economics?), wasn't raised in the discussion. And from such a premise flows a similarly inconsistent and dangerous position:

"All women [must be considered a potential ally] of the socialist revolution, since to put an end to exploitation certain bourgeois women can renounce their class privileges. The autonomy of the women's movement must be a constant component of women's struggles; whether this is...before, during or after the revolution."

Certain voices (at least!) were raised against the first part of this passage and what it implies. But as for "autonomy"—understand here autonomy in relation to the working class, the revolutionary party—everyone was in agreement. But, comrades, what kind of party do you envisage building, if it rejects not simply half, but the most oppressed half of the proletariat, easily the most combative? What would such a party be without the vanguard of women workers, lost in their "autonomous" struggle? And

what chance will women eager for real changes have, if they remain outside, "autonomous" from the class struggle? Joining together with bourgeois women and watching, from afar, their class brothers being defeated by the husbands of the latter—who will for the nth time have applied with success the old principle "divide and rule." All the oppressed united in the struggle for socialist revolution—that is the only road to women's liberation!

I'll quickly stress the debate at the congress on the subject of nationalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries. They're still asking themselves if the bourgeoisie in these countries can play a revolutionary role! Traces of Stalinism coupled with the national isolation of the group lead to sabotaging the internationalist spirit which they nonetheless uphold, however timidly, in Quebec itself. (A young militant intelligently asserted his opposition to the idea of a "progressive bourgeoisie" and to the "theories" developed by Stalin in "Questions of Leninism." A delegate from the post-Maoist group "Libération" retorted by citing the example...of Ireland in the 19th century!)

As for anti-Sovietism, this became tiresome. When the entire left, blown to the right by the winds of Cold War, ceded on the two key questions of Poland and Afghanistan, the Spartacist tendency was the only one to unconditionally defend the Polish deformed and Soviet degenerated workers states. We are rooted in Trotskyism, the Fourth International, the Transitional Program, or we are nothing. To be sure, AS has never claimed such a heritage. But didn't I hear something distinctly in this congress? A member who affirmed, as if it were obvious, that in the "socialist bloc" countries the working class has the economic power, but as for political power, that's "another story." But, Monsieur L., you are a Trotskyist to the tips of your fingers! And what political conclusion must you draw from that? Yes! *Protect* this economic power without compromise, against internal counterrevolution (Solidarność) and external imperialist menace (the reactionary Afghan mullahs armed by the CIA).

The proletariat of all America needs the awakening of Quebec's workers. And the latter *absolutely* need a party, a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership which won't stop until after the complete victory of socialism throughout the planet. For AS to become the Québécois wing of a pan-Canadian party, nationally integrated, for it to achieve success in the difficult task of breaking the Québécois proletariat from its illusions, it must get rid of its own. The one and only way to do this is to join the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, the struggle of the Trotskyist League and the international Spartacist tendency, heirs of Lenin and Trotsky. Forward to the world revolution! ■

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Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"Life" on Death Row

The Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. has launched an emergency campaign to save the life of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. On March 6, Pennsylvania's Supreme Court denied Mumia's appeal to have his death sentence overturned. Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The Court's decision ignored a multitude of violations of fair trial procedures, and refused to consider the political bases which were central to the prosecution of Mumia and sentencing him to death. Jamal's appeal was supported by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and American Civil Liberties Union, who submitted *amici curiae* briefs on his behalf. Among the signers of the PDC's petition for Mumia is Jack Healey, Executive Director of Amnesty International. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal."

In Canada, where a section of the ruling class has long wanted to restore the racist death penalty, among the signers of the PDC's petition are: Stewart Istvanffy, Secretary, Ligue des Droits et Libertés in Montreal and Toronto City Councillor Jack Layton. Attorney Clayton Ruby sent his own appeal for Jamal.

Jamal, 35, was a former Black Panther Party member, popular journalist and well-known supporter of Philadelphia MOVE. He was framed up in 1982 for the killing of a Philly cop and sentenced to die specifically for his political activities and beliefs. From Huntingdon prison, Jamal gave the PDC this description of life on death row.

There is no death row, to be precise. There are death rows, several, scattered across Pennsylvania's vast expanse. Graterford near Philadelphia; Western State Penitentiary, in Pittsburgh; and here in Huntingdon, betwixt the two, mid-state, out in the boon-docks. Of all three, Huntingdon is largest, and until the recent exodus sparked by a nonviolent sit-down protest, which led some 18 men to Western's newly erected death row, it held the overwhelming majority. Some 45 men remain here.

Death row, not surprisingly, is one of the few Keystone State institutions bearing a black majority. Statewide, blacks make up 57 percent of the prison population. Out of eleven million Pennsylvanians, roughly 10 percent are of African descent, mostly in urban areas like Pittsburgh or Philadelphia. On all state death rows, men are locked down in cells for 22 hours a day. Movement is the most restricted in the state system, meaning it is virtually nil.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Black journalist on death row for his political activities and beliefs.



No Credit

"Yard" is a misnomer, as men do not get yard, they get caged. Steel cyclone boxes, some 60 square feet or so, roofed by coils of concertina razor-wire, are the closest men come to "yard."

From cell to cage is the extent of daily movement. The cages, called dog pens, strikingly resemble kennels, though somewhat taller. Visits are a trek to another cage, handcuffed and ridiculously belted, while separated from loved ones by a wall of glass, steel and wire mesh. Some men have not held their children, nor hugged their wives in years, in the name of security.

Several years ago, a young jailhouse lawyer, then at Graterford, challenged these conditions in a class-action suit. The suit, prosecuted by the ACLU, ended in failure. The case, *Peterkin v. Jeffes*, resulted in an opinion by the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania that was Rehnquistian in its restrictiveness. It is remarkable that a court in Pennsylvania's southeastern corner, a traditionally liberal region with its largest African and Jewish concentrations, could spew forth an opinion more bitter and more restrictive in 1987 than an analogous 1986 case from the middle district of Tennessee.

In a case known as *Groseclose v. Dutton*, the U.S. court there held that similar conditions, involving a death unit known as "Unit Six," regarding cell size, ventilation, out-of-cell time and forced idleness, amounted to constitutionally impermissible living conditions. What's cool in the Constitution's birthplace is unconstitutional in Dixie, huh? It would seem so.

Nor did the Third Circuit Court of Appeals disagree with the *Peterkin* ruling, as it affirmed it in late August 1988, saying in essence, it's not a palace, but then it's not so bad. That appeals court opinion, penned ironically by black historical and legal scholar, Judge J. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr., reversed only on the limited issue of determining

(continued on page 14)

Urgent Campaign ...

(continued from page 2)

women in saris dropped bills into PDC collection buckets. Older black women did the same in the largely Caribbean Eglinton/Oakwood area. Three PDC collection tables in Kensington Market, a multi-racial working-class shopping district, brought almost \$150.

Supporters in Vancouver and Toronto collected more than \$50 outside showings of the leftist Philippine film *A Rustling of Leaves*. Postal, rail and telecommunications unionists have contributed to Jalalabad's civilian victims, as have students from the University of Toronto, York and Concordia and McGill in Montreal. At a union-sponsored May Day march in Montreal, leaflets were distributed in French and English and more than \$35 was raised.

Supporters of the Communist Parties internationally have also donated to the PDC's Jalalabad campaign. The Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in 1979 sharply divided many of the West European CPs. Pro-Moscow minorities openly identified with the Red Army intervention: the *afghanos* in Spain, *kabulisti* in Italy, "tankies" in Britain. Among some of the "hard-line" oppositionists our campaign has intersected bitterness over Gorbachev's withdrawal of the Soviet troops, part of his global program of appeasing imperialism. At an abortion rights demonstration in Rome, where the equivalent of \$300 was raised, a former leader of the Italian Communist Party youth took our megaphone to call on people to come and donate. Supporters of the French CP in the Stalinist-led CGT union federation, bitter that their own party is doing nothing, have given to the campaign for Jalalabad.

Here in Canada, PDC campaigners collected money for Jalalabad outside several Communist Party meetings featuring *Canadian Tribune* Moscow correspondent Fred Weir. Propounding Gorbachev's "new thinking," Weir claimed the Soviet intervention was

the "worst" option available in 1979 and predictably welcomed the pullout. Trotskyist League supporters intervened during the discussion periods to condemn the withdrawal as a betrayal of the Afghan and Soviet peoples. Meanwhile CP supporters peppered Weir with questions and criticisms over Afghanistan. At a Toronto meeting one CPer confided that people in the party were "very concerned" about Afghanistan, and made a donation. And at May Day rallies in Toronto and Vancouver most of the \$96 collected for Jalalabad came from CP supporters.

The cause of defending Afghan women and coming to the aid of the victims of the CIA's Afghan cutthroats has united conscious elements across ethnic and national lines: anti-Zionist Jews with North African Arabs, Indian women and Sikh men, trade unionists and immigrant communities. But while our campaigners have found curiosity, sympathy and support among many layers of the working people and minority communities, one section of society is simply hostile: the anti-Soviet "left." The virulently anti-Soviet International Socialists are for the victory of Washington's cutthroats in Afghanistan; a member of their American fraternal group the ISO in San Francisco claimed that women in Iran wanted to wear the veil! In Lyon, France a campus member of Lutte Ouvrière sneered, "What difference does it make if a woman can take off her veil?"

The people of Jalalabad have been fighting for their lives against a bloodthirsty melange of landlords, moneylenders, mullahs, tribal chiefs and bandits who get billions from Washington and its allies, funneled through the rapacious Pakistani military. We urge you to give generously to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Every cent, every dollar (and every pound, franc, mark, yen and peso) collected in this campaign is sent to Afghanistan. This struggle is in the interest of the whole of the working people!

Please send contributions payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund to the PDC, P.O. Box 314, Station B, Toronto, Ont. M5T 2W1.

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Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to May 19 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the accounts. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country.

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in Canadian dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 19 May 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-24	A \$3,176.47 [\$2,887.41]		A \$0.00		A \$3,176.47 [\$2,887.41]
Britain Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-100 & 2/1-2/70	£ 3,619.00 [\$6,978.88]		£ 56.40 [\$108.76]		£ 3,675.40 [\$7,087.64]
Canada Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 95401-95475	C \$3,277.44		C \$535.00		C \$3,812.44
France Comité de défense sociale Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/50 & 2/1-2/16	FF 28,347.30 [\$5,062.83]		FF 1,864.75 [\$333.04]		FF 30,212.05 [\$5,395.87]
Italy Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria Receipts Nos. 1-103	L. 2,537,145 [\$2,105.83]		L. 0		L. 2,537,145 [\$2,105.83]
United States Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 5001-5154	US \$11,627.17 [\$13,849.12]		US \$2,736.53 [\$3,259.48]		US \$14,363.70 [\$17,108.60]
West Germany Komitee für soziale Verteidigung Receipts Nos. 1-71	DM 7,292.64 [\$4,410.59]		DM 170.64 [\$103.20]		DM 7,463.28 [\$4,513.79]
International Totals (in Canadian dollars)	\$38,572.10		\$4,339.48		\$42,911.58

Afghanistan ...

(continued from page 1)

Defeat," writing:

"Rebel sources in Pakistan confirmed and announced that the Afghan regime's troops have broken through the siege-ring of the mujahedin around Jalalabad and that the fighting around the east Afghan city has abated."

After abandoning their drive to capture Jalalabad, the reactionary guerrillas turned their fire on the town of Khost, further south, which is only six miles from the Pakistan border. According to a May 16 AP dispatch, Afghan government artillery, rockets and aircraft have killed almost 1,200 rebels since the assault on Khost was launched a week ago.

The mujahedin killers have been armed with billions of dollars of high-tech American weaponry and directed by Pakistani military intelligence. In early May Western reporters flown into Jalalabad for the first time since the siege began described the beleaguered city. The *Los Angeles Times* (11 May) reported "an urban nightmare of twisted metal, shattered glass, ruined streets and tens of thousands of abandoned homes." Tony Allen-Mills wrote in the *Independent* (11 May):

"Time and again we were accosted by outraged Jalalabad citizens protesting at foreign intervention in the war. As we toured a ward in the provincial hospital, a mother began to scream that 'America' had hurt her son. She flailed at some

nearby reporters, and was swiftly hustled away."

"Country or coffin" has been the battle cry of the Jalalabad defenders. What spurs on the government fighters is not only the realization that they face certain death if captured by the mujahedin. From the outset ten years ago, the war in Afghanistan has posed a struggle over elementary social progress—land reform, restricting the bride price, teaching young girls as well as boys to read—pitting the Soviet-backed modernizing intellectuals of the PDPA against mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords.

The Red Army intervention in 1979 opened the possibility of social revolution in this hideously backward country, while defending the Soviet Union against imperialist provocation on its southern border. Gorbachev's pullout, aimed at appeasing U.S. imperialism, opened the possibility of a counterrevolutionary bloodbath of the Afghan urban population. But the Kabul regime and the urban population who have had a taste of social emancipation did not simply roll over and play dead. Their victory at Jalalabad was made possible by the stream of Soviet arms supplies which continue to reach Kabul, and by sheer guts and courage.

These combat victories have vastly strengthened the position of Najibullah's left-nationalist PDPA government. Rolling back the punishing siege of Jalalabad will build morale throughout the country. And by holding on to this key provincial capital on the road from the Khyber Pass to Kabul, government

(continued on page 12)

Afghanistan ...

(continued from page 11)

forces have effectively blocked rebel plans to attack the capital. Despite the PDPA's backpedaling on reforms in their attempt to conciliate Islamic fundamentalists, the valor of the fighting men and women of the army and militia forces provides hope for social progress in Afghanistan.

But the danger is far from over. While the rebels' morale is flagging, their paymasters in Washington want more blood. President Bush is continuing to send vast quantities of military supplies via Pakistan because, as one U.S. "adviser" told *Time* (15 May), "we still think our guys can win." However, this opinion is not shared by other sectors of the American ruling class. Most dramatic was the front-page lead in the 23 April *New York Times* which exploded the myth of the valiant Afghan "freedom fighters" supposedly struggling for "independence":

"The frontal assault by the Afghan guerrilla forces on the key eastern town of Jalalabad was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of the top civilian and military leadership of Pakistan, in the presence of the American Ambassador....
"No Afghan was present at the meeting...."

The "exposé" went on to document what had been known for years, that the Pakistani military's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate "has shaped the Afghan rebel leadership," and "the Central Intelligence Agency has been the Pakistani directorate's main partner." This Company-inspired piece, which reads like some old CIA cable from Saigon, warned that the siege of Jalalabad had "bogged down" and "brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory, or any victory, over the Soviet-backed Government." It's amazing what a whiff of grapeshot and a barrage of Soviet Scud-B missiles can do to clear the minds of these cheerleaders for the *mujahedin*.

Now the *Times* reports (3 May) that a White House official admits that the Jalalabad assault was a "disaster, a terrible mistake," and says the time may

come soon for a "reappraisal" and a deal with the Soviets. This semi-official mouthpiece of imperialist opinion is reflecting a faction in Washington that wants to stave off looming disaster. As the *Times* editorialized on April 3, "now that the Soviet forces have been withdrawn"—i.e., since they can't kill Russians anymore—"it's hard to see what American interests would be served by a fundamentalist triumph in Afghanistan." They want to bank instead on Soviet leader Gorbachev's policy of retreat and treacherous concessions to Washington, by accepting his offer of a "mutual arms cutoff" in Afghanistan.

But meanwhile death and destruction are still raining down on Afghan cities. All the reporters who visited Jalalabad attested to the horrible slaughter and devastation wrought by the rebels, who have fired more than 130,000 rockets on the city. The *Los Angeles Times* quoted an Afghan official who "said 2,000 Jalalabad civilians were killed or injured in the last two months, 60% of them children."

The government in Ottawa has backed the CIA's cutthroats to the hilt. The Cold War diatribes of former UN ambassador (and prominent NDPer) Stephen Lewis on behalf of the murderous "freedom fighters" rivaled even those of Ronald Reagan. After the Soviet troop pullout, in late March a contingent of Canadian troops was sent to the *mujahedin's* Pakistani base camps, there to join with U.S., French and Turkish "mine disposal experts." In early May, the government announced \$150,000 worth of "medical and surgical assistance," again for the *mujahedin*-controlled camps in Pakistan.

Defense of the government forces in Afghanistan is part of opposing the bloody designs of our "own" imperialist rulers. Victory for the CIA-backed *mujahedin* would mean the butchery or re-enslavement of all those who have freed themselves from the chains of feudal reaction: women who have taken off the suffocating veil, girls who have learned to read and write, young people who have chosen to step into the 20th century. The battle for Afghanistan is a battle for toilers and oppressed around the world. Every fighter for social progress, every defender of women's rights has a stake in its outcome.

--Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 478, 26 May

SPARTACIST  **75 CENTS**

Imperialist Frenzy Over Afghanistan

Hail Red Army!

The American government is taking us to a show to...
Attempted Murder of Queen Elizabeth 5
Anton Black Shatter 10
United Secretariat 6
Chairman's Issue: History Tapes in Vancouver 8

More: Call For Counterrevolution in USSR 9
No "Critical Support" for Popular Front 25
Document of the First Delegates Conference of the CP 24

Trotskyists hailed Soviet intervention against Afghan counter-revolutionaries in 1979. Gorbachev's pullout is a betrayal, especially of Afghan women (at right, with rifles).



Friends of Afghanistan

TL Forum Success: Murderous Afghan Reactionaries Foiled

On April 1 at Toronto's Trinity St. Paul's Church, the Trotskyist League held a well-attended forum entitled "War to the Death Against CIA's Mullah Cutthroats!—Battle for Afghanistan." The forum took place in defiance of violent, murderous threats from supporters of the Afghan counterrevolution. On the evening of March 31 a series of telephone callers, several claiming to be from the so-called "Afghan Association," threatened forum participants with deadly violence. "If you start that meeting," said one, "you know what's going to happen: everyone's going to kill you."

The following evening, about ten people speaking Dari, an Afghan language, gathered across the street from the forum site. They

watched the church entrance, conferred and made several telephone calls. But a strong defense squad, including trade unionists from auto, steel, rail and city workers unions, had been mobilized to ensure an orderly and democratic meeting. The presence of this disciplined security team deterred the reactionaries from proceeding with their murderous plans. The Afghans eventually dispersed individually on foot, and did not return.

Inside, an audience of 55 people heard presentations by comrades Miriam McDonald and John Masters of the *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board. The speeches were translated for forum participants into Spanish and Farsi (the main language of Iran), and were followed by a lively discussion period.

Skinheads ...

(continued from page 5)

by skins.

The Vancouver ANL takes its name from the late 1970s Anti Nazi League initiated and led by the IS's British mentors, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff. When the fascist National Front staged a mass demonstration in the substantially Asian East End of London in 1978, the ANL *deliberately* diverted tens of thousands of anti-fascist militants away from confronting the Nazis with its "Carnival Against the Nazis" rockfest. At the same time, the SWP sought to *compete* with the fascists by vying for their base of support among youth. The ANL had a youth corollary known as "Rock Against Racism." The Cliffites tried to organize skinheads against the Nazis, with explicit appeals to these lowlife scum: "Skins hate authority and the Nazis represent authority" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 July 1978).

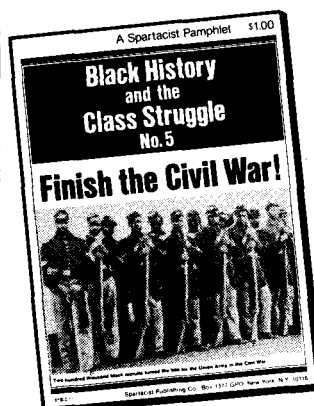
Vancouver is a union town with powerful battalions of longshoremen, woodworkers, transit workers and more. And in the East Indian, Chinese and Jewish communities, who for over a decade have seen their temples, synagogues and homes firebombed and defaced by race terrorists, there will be many thousands eager to stop the Nazi/skinhead scum. The labor-centered victory over the skinheads and Klan in Philadelphia had the backing of Vancouver-area unionists and union officials, from fishermen to phone and postal workers.

What's key is leadership. The Philadelphia success was a defensive battle that had to be waged aggressively, not yielding to violence-baiting, forthrightly exposing the role of the capitalist state, scrupulously observing every legality while relying only on the power of the masses to prevail over the Klan/skinhead threat. It took a class-struggle, revolutionary

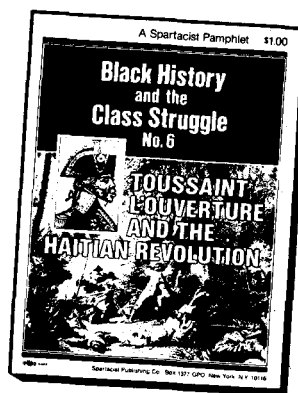
leadership that as a tribune of all the oppressed could unite the necessary social forces in common struggle centered on the power of labor.

The fascists and their skinhead dogs of war are a deadly danger to minorities, to the workers movement, to all decent people. What is desperately needed to deal with these racist terrorists is some hard class struggle. In the face of a combative, mobilized and class-conscious labor movement, the skinhead slime can be sent crawling back into the sewers. A powerful, integrated, multiracial revolutionary workers party will sweep away the Nazi-loving skinheads and all their ilk by bringing down the rotting capitalist system that spawned these deadly beasts. ■

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Mumia Abu-Jamal ...

(continued from page 9)

rights of free access to the courts by death row inmates. Day by day, incrementally, conditions worsen for men on the row by judicial fiat. Newspapers are routinely censored. Everyday schoolbooks are often denied. One man ordered a college chemistry textbook, only to have it censored, and denied. Any pre-text of an educational program is illusory.

The state wages war against the bodies, minds, the very souls of those on the row. Several men of Islamic belief have been punished for practicing the Azan, or call to prayer—a man facing death, punished for calling on his God for relief. I've been sentenced to D.C. [Disciplinary Confinement] max, the maximum institutional punishment allowed, for refusing to violate my faith, the teachings of John Africa, and cut my hair. A white inmate, incidentally, of Rastafarian beliefs, whose hair length exceeded mine, was never so punished.

Most men on death rows spend their days looking at TV, or listening to radio. Other than this empty activity, most are idle, as no programs, no activities are addressed to a man's mental and/or psychological needs. It's easier to order a smut book than a history book. The implicit message from the Commonwealth being, one can fantasize, but one may not exercise his mind. A prison library exists, but what one orders bears no relationship to what one receives. Since February [1988], for example, I've ordered a book entitled, *In the Matter of Color*, by J. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr.—yes, the same. By submitting a slip weekly I've yet to get it. I've been sent others, mostly fictional and some surprisingly good, but not what I've ordered. Others fare little better.

Recently, under a Democratic state administration, a black commissioner of prisons was named. No matter. As in cities under black mayors, so in microcosm the prisons. No substantive changes for the better, some for the worse. For both serve, not the needs of the people, but the interests of the system. For freedom ain't in the interest of the system, efficiency is. The poor in the outer so-called "free" system are expendable, as they are perceived as inefficient. In the inner system, efficiency is measured by the equation of control. The poor in the outer system, as expendable, are pushed into homelessness. The prisoners of the inner system, as expendable, are pushed into electric chairs. Cold, yet efficient, in a warped way that reminds one of that model of German efficiency known as the Third Reich.

The "Restricted Housing Unit," where death row/Huntingdon is housed, also includes the "Psychiatric Observation Unit," where men manifesting mental disorders and/or suicidal tendencies are held. On occasion, men who shriek, scream and holler at the top of their lungs are placed amidst death row inmates, until they react in protest and demand their removal. Then this problem is simply shifted to another part of the unit. Although this custom clearly violates state statute, it is routinely done as the

courts rarely rule against the prisons. Indeed, the courts now defer to the prisons, so blatant acts of injustice go unchecked and unconstitutional treatment goes unresolved. One need look no further than the *Peterkin* decision.

Some will no doubt applaud these descriptions of dungeons and deadly degeneration in this post-Reagan age of right-wing resurgence. Others will harken to the words of the Russian writer Dostoyevsky who observed, "The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons."

Ordered by brutal boredom, entombed in *ennui*, imprisoned in a cage of utter idleness, some 75 men across Pennsylvania await death. That these conditions obtain in the cradle of the U.S. Constitution is perhaps fitting. For surely, Pennsylvania is fast becoming the grave of that lofty and unrealized document.

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal (28 March 1989).

JOIN THE PDC CAMPAIGN: MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MUST NOT DIE!

As part of the PDC campaign, thousands of people in the U.S. and internationally have petitioned the governor to demand, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die." Telegrams and letters should be sent to: Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. For petitions and other information, please write to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

--Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 474,
31 March

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Free Mexican PRT Leader!

On December 16, 1988 José Ramón García Gómez, a leader of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Mexican section of the United Secretariat), was kidnapped as he left his home in the Mexican state of Morelos. He has not been seen since. García Gómez has been an organizer of the People's Defense Committees, a member of the Frente Democrático Cardenista and was PRT candidate for mayor of Cuautla.

As a March 6 protest telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee states, "In a bare three months the Salinas government is known to the world for its fraudulent election and vicious attack on Mexico's working people. The kidnapping of PRT leader Gomez is a transparent attempt to intimidate Mexico's workers, peasants and leftists." The Trotskyist League joins with the PDC, Mexican workers and supporters around the world who demand: Free Ramón García Gómez!

Telegrams demanding his safe return should be addressed to: Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Presidente Constitucional, Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Palacio Nacional, México D.F., México.



Montreal, April 14: TL supporters join rally to save Mexican leftist.

Deportations ...

(continued from page 16)

make it into this country has the right to live and work here! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!

Is it an accident that Bill C-55 was introduced on the very day the U.S.' "Immigration Reform and Control Act" went into effect? That law targets *two million* largely brown-skinned people for deportation in the name of fighting the "Communist menace," and America's imperialist junior partners to the north are following suit. During 1987 Canada accepted about 1,000 Nicaraguan "refugees," overwhelmingly right-wing opponents of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. This is nearly *20 times* the total accepted from El Salvador in 1986 and 1987 combined!

Racism and anti-Communism are the real meaning of the Canadian imperialists' self-proclaimed "humanitarian tradition." In the 1920s foreign-born union activists were literally kidnapped in the dead of night and deported. Desperate Jewish refugees aboard the ship *St. Louis* in 1939 were denied permission to land. Her helpless passengers were forced to return to Nazi Germany where most perished in Hitler's Holocaust. But thousands of Nazi murderers found a safe haven in Canada after the war, as have butchers of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, *contra* terrorists and more.

The government's war on refugees is part of its all-sided war against the working people. With one hand, Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall signs deportation orders; with the other she eliminates unemployment insurance payments for tens of thousands. The Tories' "bust the deficit" budget is an attempt to bust workers' living standards. Taxes skyrocket while social services are slashed. Ottawa's free-trade pact with the U.S.

means more factory closures in the name of "competition" and "profitability." And, ominously, the fascists, deadly enemies of labor and the oppressed, have taken their cue from the government's official racism. In February fascist organizer Paul Fromm led a race-hate anti-immigrant rally in Vancouver, flanked by neo-Nazi skinheads.

The labor movement has the power and the vital self-interest to defeat the bosses' onslaught. But labor's might is shackled by the pro-capitalist union leadership and their allies in the right-wing social-democratic NDP. Their "answer" to the decay of North American industry is the racist poison of protectionism. In plants across the country, union bureaucrats plaster bulletin boards with anti-Japanese and anti-Mexican filth. But the *real* enemy of Canadian workers is right here at home—on Parliament Hill and in the boardrooms of Bay Street.

All the racist crap about refugees and immigrants "stealing Canadian jobs" serves only the bosses' interests, dividing the workers along race and national lines and paralyzing them in the face of the capitalist offensive. To unleash the power of labor requires a political struggle against the union tops and social democrats in the fight for a new, class-struggle leadership. We need a multiracial, revolutionary workers party dedicated to overthrowing the whole capitalist system of poverty, depression and war.

This country was built on the blood and sweat of immigrants and refugees. Like all the working people, they have been denied the fruits of their labor. And historically immigrant workers have played a vanguard role in class struggle in Canada. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike owed much to the influence of pro-Bolshevik East European emigrés, many of whom had fled tsarist reaction following the defeated 1905 Revolution in Russia. The working class must be mobilized in defense of our foreign-born class brothers and sisters. *Labor: Smash the racist immigration laws!* ■

Tories Wage War on Refugees

Stop Racist Deportations!

"I feel afraid," says Samuel Minero, and with good reason. In 1981, this Salvadoran trade unionist and leftist watched as a companion was dragged off by armed men in civilian clothes, never to be seen again. A year later the same death squad came hunting for him. He managed to escape, ultimately arriving in a small New Brunswick town where he asked for asylum. The Roman Catholic church backs his story; the UN High Commission for Refugees has given him assistance. But the Canadian government has now decreed that he is no refugee—and deportations direct to El Salvador have already begun. If the 35-year-old Minero is sent back there, Ottawa will have sentenced him to death.

The ruling class of this country is preparing to implement the largest program of mass deportations in Canadian history. Samuel Minero is one of over 120,000 refugees trapped in the vindictive, racist onslaught. The immigration section of the Canadian Bar Association in Ontario says that as many as 70,000 men, women and children will be expelled, sent back to face death squads, torture and desperate poverty. The Tories, obscenely, boast that up to 36,000 will be kicked out. Already, of the 200 people ordered deported since January 1, at least three have disappeared and may well be dead. Witnesses state that Somali refugee Abdi Moalin Aden, deported from Canada on April 20, was arrested by security police in the East African country even as he stepped off the plane. The Trotskyist League demands: *Stop the deportations! Full asylum for all refugees from right-wing terror!*

The government launched its current assault on refugees in 1986, when 155 terror-stricken Tamils fleeing murderous pogroms in Sri Lanka were rescued off the Newfoundland coast as they drifted in overcrowded lifeboats. Whipping up "Keep Canada white" hysteria against "queue jumpers" and "bogus refugees," the Tories brought in Bills C-55 and C-84 to seal the borders. Refugees who try to enter overland from the U.S. find the 49th parallel is closed.



John Major

Ottawa, 1988: Turkish workers march against mass deportation. Labor must defend our foreign-born class brothers and sisters!

Four Sri Lankan Tamils were refused permission even to apply for refugee status at the Canada/U.S. border checkpoint at Buffalo in January. They were immediately arrested by American authorities and held on \$10,000 bail each to await deportation from the U.S.

Refugees who do manage to get in are subject to peremptory imprisonment and outrageous bail conditions while federal lawyers go to court to block writs of *habeas corpus*, without which deportation orders cannot be appealed. In government detention centers, detainees have complained of repeated beatings. In one horrifying case, a detainee in Montreal was driven to attempt suicide, and even then immigration officials tried to drag her from hospital back to jail. We say: Everyone who has managed to

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Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!