No. 102 March/April 1995 50 cents

Hands Off Zapatista Rebels! Mexico: Repression and Resistance



Espartaco

Mass protest in Mexico City against capitalist austerity and government repression on January 5.

NAFTA Starves Peasants, Workers

MEXICO CITY, February 20—The government of Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo is increasingly desperate. Nothing it does seems to work. Facing a run on the peso by nervous American investors late last year, Zedillo's devaluation put the Mexican currency into free fall and triggered a stock market crash. The boiling economic crisis was hardly calmed by a January 31 \$50-billion bailout engineered by the Clinton administration despite grumbling from the U.S. Congress and Washington's European imperialist "allies." So in a dra-

matic move to regain the initiative, on February 9 Zedillo ordered the Mexican army to capture the leader of the rebel Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in the southern state of Chiapas.

But the presidential coup backfired as *subcomandante* Marcos escaped the dragnet, massive protests filled the square in front of the presidential palace in Mexico City, the ruling party lost elections to the right-wing PAN (National Action Party) in Guadalajara, and the market plunged again. After less than a week the manhunt was called off, although troops remain in place and a blowup could occur at any moment.

From Washington, the Clinton administration seems intent (continued on page 10)

Free Roger Warren!

Yellowknife Gold Miner Railroaded

On January 20 Roger Warren, a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 2304, was found guilty of second-degree murder in the death of nine scabs during the bitter 1992-93 strike against Royal Oak Mines. The scabs died in an underground explosion at the notoriously unsafe Giant gold mine near Yellowknife, North West Territories. On January 26, denouncing



Buston/Canapress

Roger Warren, jailed hero of labor struggle.

the demise of the nine strikebreakers as a "despicable crime" and "an act of terrorism," judge Mark de Weerdt sentenced Warren to life in prison without parole for 20 years.

Genuine acts of terrorism were carried out during the Giant strike, and after—by the company, the cops and the courts. Royal Oak's union-busting chairman, Peggy Witte (named 1994 Woman of the Year by *Chatelaine* magazine), spent over \$2 million to turn the Giant mine into an armed camp patrolled by Pinkerton guards and attack dogs. Outside the compound, the RCMP—nicknamed the Royal Oak Mounted Police by the strikers—fired shotgun volleys and teargas barrages to break the union's picket lines.

As Roger Warren himself said, "The full force of the state was coming down on us." The Giant mine blast became the pretext

for one of the biggest manhunts in Canadian history, as the RCMP sought to pin the "bombing" on the strikers. The cops questioned 400 unionists, their families and supporters. Eventually, they decided to railroad Warren, a prominent strike militant. Six hours into Warren's twelfth "interview" with an RCMP "interrogation specialist," they managed to extort a videotaped "confession." Warren retracted this statement on the witness stand, explaining that in making it he had hoped to take the pressure off his fellow unionists and unblock negotiations with Royal Oak.

The state is prepared to kill Roger Warren for the bosses. The RCMP and the Crown prosecutors know that for Warren—51 years old with a debilitating heart condition—20 years is as good as a death sentence. Roger Warren must not be allowed to die in prison! The whole labor movement must demand his freedom. We print below a protest against Warren's conviction, dated January 22, sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to federal justice minister Allan Rock.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests and denounces the outrageous second-degree murder conviction of Canadian Auto Workers member Roger Warren. We demand he be freed immediately and unconditionally!

Roger Warren is a hero of working-class struggle. He is a militant unionist who had the courage to stand up in defense of his union and his livelihood. This is the real "crime" for which he is being railroaded to prison by the RCMP and the Crown, on behalf of Royal Oak Mines and its union-busting owner, Peggy Witte.

The state intends to bury Roger Warren in prison as a warning to anyone who would challenge the employers' attempts to break our unions and grind down our wages and working conditions, just as it did the Winnipeg strikers of 1919 and many more before and since. He will not be abandoned or forgotten by class-conscious working men and women.

Yours truly, Peter Stevens

SPARTACIST CANADA



Newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Canadian section of the International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Peter Stegner (Managing Editor), Russell Stoker (Production Manager), Jane Clancy, Charles Galarneau, Miriam McDonald, Oliver Stephens.

CIRCULATION MANAGER: R. Nassir BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

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

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Published six times a year by

Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6

Return postage guaranteed
March/April 1995

Publications Mail Reg. No. 8161 ISSN: 0229-5415

Date of issue: March 1995

Women and Revolution

No. 44 \$1.50 (40 pages)

Free with subscriptions to Workers Vanguard or Spartacist Canada

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6



March/April 1995

Railworkers, Federal Employees Face Austerity Ax Bust the Union-Busters! For a Countrywide Rail Strike!

FEBRUARY 26—As we go to press, 32,000 railworkers organized by the Canadian Auto Workers and craft Brotherhoods are set to strike for the first time since 1987. Many have been without a contract since 1991. A thousand rallied in Winnipeg on January 28. On February 23, a thousand more marched in Montreal. "We've had enough," said one Canadian National worker in Montreal. "Either we get a contract or we shut down the railways."

CN, Canadian Pacific and Via Rail—the three biggest Canadian railway companies—are determined to smash decade-old contract job security provisions, opening the door to wholesale union-busting through massive industry-wide layoffs. At the same time, the federal Liberal government has announced the impending massacre of 45,000 civil service jobs. As part of finance minister Paul Martin's austerity budget, job security provisions for members of the Public Service Alliance and other unions are to be simply legislated out of existence.

Rail and federal government workers are today at ground zero of the bosses' austerity offensive, carried out in the name of "deficit reduction" and "competitiveness." The ruling class has taken aim at damn near everybody—workers and unemployed, the poor, women, immigrants. But a no-holds-barred fight by the powerful and strategic rail unions could spike their plans, sparking an overdue counteroffensive of working-class struggle coast to coast which would reverberate throughout North America..

Not least, militant resistance by the pan-Canadian rail unions could help forge fighting unity between Québécois and English Canadian workers against their common class enemy. Already on 23 February, 900 Montreal longshoremen shut down container shipping in a one-day strike over job security and pensions, heightening ruling-class fears of a total shutdown of freight traffic.

From the outset, a rail strike will have to go beyond the bounds of simple militancy around economic demands. The rail system is decisive to the transport of manufactured goods, parts and raw materials, and thus to the profits of Canadian capitalists. For that reason, government intervention is inevitable.

The "Apache tactics" of selective strikes and rotating walkouts pushed by the CAW's Buzz Hargrove and other union leaders won't prevent back-to-work legislation. Railworkers know that any hard, effective fight against CN and CP will come up against government strikebreaking sooner rather than later, just like in every countrywide rail strike since World War II. Therefore, strikers must be prepared to defy the anti-labor injunctions, and the cops and courts who will enforce them.

To confront the capitalist state successfully, railworkers will have to take the leadership of the strike out of the hands of the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. These social democrats are already backing away from a full-scale walkout out of fear of challenging the government. Elected strike committees, composed of militants committed to a program of class struggle, can appeal to the entire organized working class for



Beck/Gazette

One thousand railworkers march in protest near Via Rail headquarters, Montreal, February 23.

active support against the rail bosses and their Ottawa backers. Defend job security—Fight union-busting! For an all-out, countrywide rail strike!

Specter of a Rail Strike Rattles the Bosses

Potentially, railworkers have the power to bring the whole economy to a grinding halt—no transport, no production; no production, no profits. Workers at CN and CP move the bulk of the newsprint and cars, the iron ore, timber, potash and wheat. A strike would choke off exports from Halifax, Montreal and Vancouver within days. General Motors president Maureen Kempston Darkes frets that a rail shutdown would start to cripple the auto giant within four hours because of its reliance on "just in time" delivery of components.

In Ontario, CN workers operate the provincial government's GO Transit rail system, which takes 100,000 commuters a day to and from work in Toronto, the country's financial nerve center. The thought of traffic chaos on Metro's already overcrowded highways has the Bay Street brokers and bankers in a cold sweat.

The capitalists and their government in Ottawa understand the situation perfectly well, and they are prepared to use every weapon they've got to keep the trains running. Canadian National president Paul Tellier has been calling for legislation to outlaw a strike before it even starts. Tellier is also pushing hard to privatize CN as a way to tear up contracts and smash the unions through "restructuring." After the failure of merger talks with CP, plans are now afoot to sell off the nationalized

(continued on page 9)

Spartacist Canada

4

Canada's "Peacekeepers": Racist Murderers

The Canadian Airborne Regiment: they wore Hitler and "white power" T-shirts, decorated themselves with swastikas and waved the Confederate flag of slavery. Their "unit cohesion" thus enhanced, the government sent them to black Somalia. There, in early 1993, they waved around machine guns and spat that they "ain't killed enough n----rs yet." So they went to work, gunning down Somalis with shotgun blasts in the back and firing into unarmed crowds of starving people. A "turkey shoot," they called it. Their racist bloodlust still not satisfied, they kidnapped, tortured and beat to death 16-year-old Shidane Arone.

Having carried out their "peacekeeping" mission in Somalia, the Airborne was next off to Rwanda, another black African country. The top Canadian brass proposed to reward these racist killers with a special "peacekeeping" medal.

But just before the Airborne was slated to go to white, European Croatia, once again to enforce the "peace" on behalf of imperialism, defense minister David Collenette announced in January the regiment was to be dismantled. It wasn't because of the hideous murder of Shidane Arone. It wasn't because of the ritualized degradation of a black Airborne soldier—tied to a tree, then made to crawl on a leash with "I Love the KKK" written in excrement on his back while a gang of white punks with shaved heads screamed "n----r" all around him. It was because the videotaped images of drunken paras rolling around in their own vomit and eating excrement presented a "bad image" and hurt "the prestige of Canada."

So Ottawa is rushing out buckets of Brasso to wipe away the "tarnish." And pretty soon we'll be presented with a shiny new "elite" regiment—because the Canadian capitalists *need* their crazed killers.

Every single atrocity committed by the Airborne was known

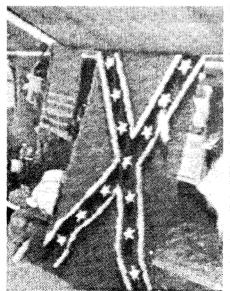
fully and completely by the Armed Forces' top officers, who engaged in a systematic campaign of lies and coverups. It was Mister Peacekeeper himself, media darling Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, who ordered the Airborne to Somalia. To the very end the chief of the defense staff, Gen. John de Chastelain, fought to preserve the regiment. If Reform Party defense critic John Frazer saw nothing racist in the videos and thought calling a black man "n----r" was just fine, so too did Maj.-Gen. Brian Vernon. Vernon, who lost his job in the "scandal," ostentatiously wore the Airborne's trademark maroon beret at a press conference following his dismissal.

For decades, Canada's rulers have sought to portray themselves as nice-guy imperialists, humanitarian and peace-loving folks, especially in contrast to their big brothers in the U.S. But from Korea to Vietnam, from the Congo to Somalia, from Iraq to Haiti, the myth of "neutral" Canada has been extremely useful to U.S. imperialism, providing a convenient cover for anti-Communist adventures and neocolonial atrocities.

The rulers in Ottawa have been aided and abetted by a string of liberals, social democrats and fake-leftists who preach that the racist imperialists can be pressured into acting in the interests of the workers and oppressed. The International Socialists, for example, actually write that the imperialist murder mission in Somalia was "botched" (Socialist Worker, 25 January)! So the Airborne should have done a better job?! The slaughter of black Africans by Canadian and other troops is grotesquely labeled by the I.S. "a farce." Having no quarrel in principle with the racist Canadian rulers (whom they had begged to "send food not troops"), the I.S. went on to join the liberal chorus to "Disband the racist commando units."

So now the Airborne is being disbanded—and, of course, nothing fundamental will change. The army is a central institu-

tion of capitalist rule, an armed instrument for organized violence without which the tiny handful of capitalist rulers cannot maintain their system of exploitation. The occupiers of Quebec in 1970 under the War Measures Act; attack dogs against the Mohawks at Oka; guardians of imperialist peace" and "order" from Cyprus to Somalia—the Canadian armed forces are an agency of racist repression, at home and around the world. Proletarian revolution, the organized and armed working class in power, will bring to justice not only the racist, murdering scum of the Airborne, but the officer corps that trained and deployed them and the imperialist warmongers whom they serve and protect.





Globe and Mail

Confederate flag of slavery on display in Canadian army tent, Somalia (left).

Airborne soldier with body of murdered Somali youth Shidane Arone.

Young Spartacus

SYC Says: "Fight the Cuts! Fight Capitalism!"

Tens of Thousands March Against Liberal Cuts

On January 25, tens of thousands of university, college and high school students packed the streets of cities across Canada to protest the Liberal government's plans to slash funds for postsecondary education. This was the largest student protest since 1970, emptying classrooms from St. John's to Victoria. And it was the first countrywide protest of any kind against the latest round of federal austerity attacks on working people and the poor.

Some student leaders wanted to confine the January 25 actions to the issue of education funding, but throughout the country trade unionists and others joined the rallies and demonstrations. They know that the Liberal ax is set to descend on the necks of millions of people. On 12 February, 7,000 unionists braved arctic weather to march through Montreal in defense of threatened social programs.

Spartacus Youth Club members joined the January 25 student actions in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. In our

speeches, leaflets and sales of Spartacist Canada we sought to hammer home that the Liberal cuts are part of a worldwide capitalist offensive to gut social services and slash workers' living standards in the name of global competition. Our banner in Toronto proclaimed, "Fight the Cuts, Fight Capitalism-For a Revolutionary Workers Party!" as we emphasized that the power to get rid of the profit-driven capitalist system lies in the working class fighting on behalf of all the oppressed.

We put our pro-working-class perspective into action at the University of British Columbia when some creeps set up a banner on the Student Union Building balcony reading "Unions Out." SYCers began loudly protesting this provocation and students and unionists joined in our chant "Unions yes! Scabs no!" The crowd cheered as two women ripped down the banner.

While there was plenty of energy and determination on January 25, speaker after speaker claimed that the alternative to the Liberals' sweeping cuts lies in "taxing the rich." True enough, the Bay Street bosses pay little or no taxes while raking in megaprofits. But the government is a capitalist government which exists precisely to protect corporate profits. The call to pressure Ottawa to "tax the rich" is raised time and again by union bureaucrats and the NDP to divert workers and the oppressed from waging class struggle against the capitalist rulers.



Student protesters mass in downtown Vancouver, January 25.

SC photo

This was echoed on the left by the International Socialists (I.S.), whose leaflet appealed to the government to provide "good jobs, decent wages and a fair tax system." Occasional rhetoric aside, the I.S. are dyed-in-the-wool reformists, fundamentally no different than the NDP in accepting the framework of capitalism. On campus after campus, in the build-up to January 25 the I.S. directed its members to put aside Socialist Worker in order to staff student government lit tables and hand out Canadian Federation of Students flyers. When a young I.S. member complained at a Vancouver planning meeting that a CFS leaflet she was distributing only addressed the threatened cuts to education, another (not so young) I.S.er admitted he had written the leaflet and "forgot" (yes, "forgot") to include anything about the attacks on U.I., health care and welfare!

The root of poverty, homelessness, unemployment and racial, sexual and national oppression lies not in "unfair" taxes, but in the nature of capitalism. The system of production for profit steals from the creators of all of society's wealth, the working class, the fruits of their labor. What is produced socially is appropriated privately, by a small handful of capitalists. The capitalist state can't be reformed or pressured into serving the interests of workers and the poor at the expense of the wealthy owners (continued on page 8)

The LTG: Charlatans and Political Chameleons The Rad Shift

For several months last year, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste was embroiled in an intense faction fight. A small minority of our organization formed the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (L-TF) and began casting around the world for non-working-class forces that could lead "the struggle." In this, they reflected the impact on the left of the destruction of the former Soviet workers state, particularly embodied in a demoralization about the revolutionary capacities of the proletariat.

First they looked to various ex-Stalinist formations, like the nationalist, Nazi-infested "red-brown coalition" in Russia. Next came their claim that the interventions of Yeltsin's capitalist Russian army "serve the interests of the working class" from ex-Yugoslavia to Tadjikistan. The L-TF's global opportunist quest soon widened to advocating an alliance with the murderous Algerian military regime against Islamic fundamentalists. (At the same time, their faction retrospectively saluted Khomeini's mullahs as the "ally" of the Iranian workers in 1979!) In the midst of all this, they called for "conditional" electoral support to the African National Congress in the April 1994 South African elections, when the ANC was poised to become the bourgeois-nationalist co-ruler of the apartheid capitalist state.

This faction fight unfolded to entail months of exhaustive debate at local, national and international levels. Over 400 pages of documents were published in our internal bulletins, and many were translated for other sections of the International Communist League. A debate with equal-time presentations was held at a meeting of the ICL's International Executive Committee. Scores of comrades from eleven ICL sections and groups participated in this discussion.

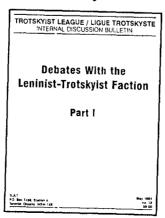
Having won absolutely no support for their positions, the three members of the L-TF quit on July 17 and emerged publicly as the Leninist-Trotskyist Group (LTG). Now they have issued a newspaper, *Workers Voice* (Winter 1994/95), reporting their adherence to the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency, a grouping led by the British Workers International League. The WIL is one of the decomposition products of the implosion of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party in 1985.

Debates With the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

- TL/ICL Internal Discussion Bulletins
- Two parts,
 374 pages total
- \$20.00 (including postage)

Order from/pay to:

Spartacist Canada Publishing Association Box 6867 Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6



We noted that, once they cut loose from the anchor of a revolutionary program, there was no telling where the L-TF might end up. Their faction's abrupt line changes and endless "clarifications" led us to characterize them internally as "unserious people now merely playing at politics," who "change their positions as often as they change their socks." Now, Workers Voice coyly describes their fight in the TL as centering on "the character of the ex-Soviet Union and the need to intervene in the crisis of Stalinism, an orientation to the South African working class during the elections by reaching the worker base of the ANC/SACP and COSATU, in opposition to the hysterical ultimatist/sectarian method of the Spartacists.' Following this benign rendition, we are told of the LTG's latest views. These are positively breathtaking for their cynicism—for the LTG has simply abandoned most of the positions it so vociferously upheld (and split from us over) only a few months before!

Inside the TL, the L-TF screeched against our supposed "Stalinophobia" and railed that we had "joined the anticommunist crusade." Now these poseurs take exactly the opposite line, denouncing us for "Stalinophilia"! In an article titled "From Anti-Marxist Cult to Trotskyism," they condemn us as "the best defenders of counter-revolutionary Stalinism" from the late 1970s on. This takes a particularly large dollop of chutzpah. For one thing, throughout the 1980s the LTG's leader, Y. Rad, was what they would now term a "counterrevolutionary Stalinist," a prominent member of the Communist Party. More fundamentally, inside our organization Rad and his L-TF cheered and prettified a myriad of politically bankrupt—and openly pro-capitalist—ex-Stalinist forces, from Russia to the Balkans.

In his political wanderings, Rad has successively been: a CPer in the 1960s; then a supporter of the Healy/Lambert tendency; briefly a member of our organization in the early '70s; back with the Stalinists for a full decade in the '80s; and rejoining the TL in late 1990 as the Canadian CP entered near-terminal collapse. His 1990 resignation letter from the CP denounced the Soviet bureaucrats' "sellouts to the imperialists," such as "handing over the DDR to the Fourth Reich." But at bottom, Rad wasn't won from Stalinism to revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism. At best, he liked the fact that we called to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against capitalist restoration, and that we were willing to bloc militarily with Stalinists who would fight counterrevolution. But Rad then spent the next four years inventing supposed defenders-of-workers-states and anti-imperialists out of ex-Stalinist forces that were clearly and explicitly committed to capitalist-imperialist rule.

Beginning in 1993, the main object of Rad's affection was the repulsive Russian "red-brown coalition." He demanded an "orientation" and "bloc" with these Stalinist leftovers in league with outright fascist nationalists and monarchists, fantasizing that they were "anti-imperialists" who "wanted socialism." He portrayed "red-brown" rallies in Moscow—where swastikas, anti-Semitic slogans and Russian imperial eagles literally intertwined with portraits of Stalin—as mobilizations

March/April 1995 7

of "subjective communists who wanted to overthrow Yeltsin and win back the Soviet Union." Talk about defending counterrevolutionary Stalinism!

LTG Flips and Flops

Last April, Rad & Co. thundered in their founding "Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" that the ICL was "in the company of the International Socialists and the rest of the swamp" of anti-communists. Today, however, the LTG has cast aside its Stalinoid rags and donned the robes of social democracy. Retrospectively, the LTG has now taken up the cause of a host of visceral anti-communists around the globe, beginning with Polish Solidarność. Such is obviously part of the admission price they paid to get into bed with the British WIL.

The WIL orbits around and is fundamentally loyal to the Labour Party Over the years, this little outfit found reason to side with every counterrevolutionary and imperialist-backed force which aimed at

crushing the gains of the October Revolution. In this they carried forward the visceral anti-Sovietism of Healy's organization. The Healyites spearheaded a witchhunt of British miners union leader Arthur Scargill on the eve of the 1984-85 miners strike for Scargill's correct statement that Polish Solidarnosc was an anti-socialist organization.

The Spartacist tendency's opposition to Solidarność' counterrevolutionary power bid in 1981 earned us the threats of no less than the *Wall Street Journal*, in turn echoed by pseudoleftists who hailed Lech Walesa's CIA-financed clericalist outfit. Now the LTG has joined that pro-imperialist chorus, even when it is clear for all who have eyes to see that Solidarność-led counterrevolution in Poland has meant the immiseration of the working class, the degradation of women, and an ominous rise of anti-Semitism.

But the LTG doesn't stop there. Workers Voice also denounces our call for Soviet workers to defeat Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed counter-coup in Moscow in 1991. This squares nicely with the WIL's open support for a "bloc" with Washington's man Yeltsin at that time. Yeltsin's triumph opened the floodgates for the capitalist counterrevolution which has engulfed the former Soviet workers state, a devastating defeat for the world proletariat.

The LTG's 180-degree line shifts are nowhere more striking than over former Yugoslavia. While we support no side in the fratricidal civil war among Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims which destroyed the former Yugoslav deformed workers state, we have opposed all UN/NATO imperialist intervention in the Balkans. At junctures when the Serbs were threatened with UN/NATO attack, we called for their military defense against imperialism. For its part, the L-TF focused almost exclusively on the defense of Serbia, shading toward ongoing support to the Serbs in the nationalist civil war.

To camouflage this, they claimed the imperialists were about to stage a "massive massacre of the Serbs" akin to the Gulf War. They raved hysterically about an "impending Third World War" over Bosnia, and raised the truly demented slogan, "Defense of North Korea Begins in Bosnia!" Their declaration of



Serbian nationalists welcome Russian troops with reactionary threefinger Orthodox Christian salute, February 1994. L-TF supported Yeltsin's intervention, designed to assist imperialist carve-up of former Yugoslavia.

faction was centered on a call for support to the army of capitalist Russia in Bosnia. They claimed, against all evidence, that Yeltsin's troops were "defending the Serbs" when, in fact, Russia intervened as part of the UN "peacekeeping" operation to help push through an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia.

The LTG's Balkan flip-flops are astounding, even by their own standards. When the Yugoslav civil war began four years ago, Rad called for "military victory" to the Serbian army against the Croatian and Slovenian separatists. Now his Workers Voice calls for "struggle in defence of the Muslims" against the Serbs. (His new comrades of the British WIL have supported not only the Muslims but the Croats as well!) Last spring Rad fulminated that calling for all UN troops out, including the Russians, would be "a betrayal of the international working class." Indeed, he said, it would be the ICL's "1914," referring to the all-sided capitulation of social democrats to their own imperialist rulers in World War I. But today Rad's Workers Voice says: "Down with imperialist and Russian intervention in the Balkans!"

Just about the only position which the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction actually held in common with its future bloc partners of the WIL was its offer of electoral support to the ANC, which now rules South Africa on behalf of the white Randlords. At the time, we characterized the L-TF's stance as "sharply on the wrong side of the divide between Bolshevism and Menshevism." But even here the LTG has some explaining to do.

During the faction fight, the L-TF tried to cover its tracks by repeatedly attacking our simple statement that the ANC had consolidated into a bourgeois-nationalist organization. This, they charged, was an "insane claim" showing our "deep contempt for Leninism." Feeling constrained to nod to Marxist orthodoxy, they even agreed that voting for a bourgeois political formation would be "an act of class betrayal." But the ANC, they declared, was only "petty-bourgeois"—as if that would somehow justify Rad & Co.'s leap across the class line.

After so much sound and fury, perhaps the LTG would now care to comment on the British WIL's statement that "the ANC (continued on page 8)

SENSE AND

Rad Shift...

(continued from page 7)

has ceased to be a national liberation movement, and has become an increasingly conservative bourgeois nationalist party" (*Workers News*, May-June 1994). This characterization did not, of course, stop the WIL from voting ANC, nor the LTG from fusing with the WIL.

The Method of Their Madness

The only explanation offered in *Workers Voice* for the LTG's mind-boggling political gyrations is that, "Since leaving the ICL, we undertook further study of its mistakes, to clarify for ourselves our own methodological errors." Over the past few years, Rad & Co. have managed to successively embrace just about every conceivable position on the key questions of the international class struggle, except for the principled Trotskyist stance. What kind of "method" is this?

During the faction fight, Rad pontificated like a latter-day G. Healy about his unique interpretations of dialectical materialism. All this was laced with a healthy dose of demagogy, straight out of the Stalin school. Far from using the dialectic as a tool to understand the contradictions of reality, Rad twisted and perverted Marxist categories to throw a smokescreen over his own confusion and political flight.

At times, this was simply comic-opera. For example, the L-TF produced an impassioned written defense of Rad's belief in...mental telepathy! In addition, they were positively obsessive in denouncing the Big Bang theory of universal origins. Their characterizations of this theory as "religion" and "idealism" were based not on scientific evidence but on Rad's own abstract philosophical maunderings. While Marxists do not generally take political positions on scientific questions, unlike

the L-TF we do try to take empirical evidence into account when judging the validity of a theory.

Workers Voice provides a classic example of the LTG's anti-Marxist method, in which facts matter not a whit. The LTG asserts that the TL has "declared that they will not support the right of the Québécois to secede, even if the Québécois choose it." Their evidence for this startling claim is apparently an article in SC No. 99 (September/October 1994) in which we affirm the very opposite. The front-page headline of this article reads... "Defend Quebec's Right to Independence"!! As Trotsky once commented, even slander should make some sense.

There is one thing that underlies *all* the anti-Marxist incarnations of Rad-thought: rejection of the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Thus the endless searching for non- and anti-proletarian forces to support. As a strictly political phenomenon, the LTG represents an abandonment of the proletarian revolutionary perspective faced with the difficulties and challenges of the post-Soviet world. Predictably, on the home front they echo the British Labourite WIL, reviving the tired social-democratic refrain of supporting "the left in the NDP" and lobbying "to remove Bob Rae and the right wing."

However, the LTG's particular positions on one question or another on a given day aren't really the point, since the only certain thing is that these will change tomorrow. Rad's little band is one of the most casually cynical outfits we've ever come across. The fellow is a charlatan who will say or do almost anything. His swings in line would strain a professional circus performer.

Y. Rad's oscillations between Stalinism and Trotskyism over nearly three decades have finally blown out laterally into social democracy with a nationalist hue. We can anticipate that the fusion between his LTG and the British WIL will be a short-lived and unpleasant affair. They deserve each other.

Liberal Cuts...

(continued from page 5)

of industry and commerce. Those who labor must rule! We reprint below a speech given by SYCer Nevin Morrison to the strike rally at York University in Toronto on January 25.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs support this fight against the Liberal government's slashing of post-secondary education. Axworthy's attacks are part of an all-out assault on working people and the poor, here in Canada and around the world. The bosses are slashing jobs, education and social programs to boost their profits. We say that education should be a right, not a privilege for the rich! And we fight for no tuition, open admissions and free education for all!

But how can we win this struggle? The capitalists' attacks won't be stopped by pressuring the government, or appealing to one or another section of the ruling class. The Liberals, Tories and Reform are all parties of the bosses. And despite the NDP's base in the unions, Bob Rae and his gang also rule for the Bay Street fatcats. If the NDP is mouthing off against these particular cuts, it's only to cover up their own crimes, like the anti-union Social Contract.

Remember how last year the Rae government cut health care for visa students, attacking the weakest and most vulnerable. We need fighting unity of all those who the bosses have lined up in their sights—black, white, Asian, Native; English

Canadian, Québécois and immigrant! And we say: no illusions in the NDP, rulers for the Bay Street bosses!

It's good that students from coast to coast are rallying in protest today. But it's going to take a lot more than student protest to defeat Axworthy's cuts. We need the power of the organized working class. That's the one force in society that can bring the capitalist system to a halt, and the bosses' profits with it. The workers built this country, they can run this country—and students should be their allies, around a revolutionary socialist perspective.

We don't think this is "unrealistic." What is unrealistic is to think you can somehow patch up this decrepit capitalist system of racism, oppression and war. A fight for socialist revolution is the only realistic perspective for beating the bosses' attacks once and for all. And that's why we say: Smash the cuts, smash the system! Fight capitalism!

Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8,

Vancouver:....

10ronto, UN M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138 ...Box 2717, Main P.O.,

Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2.

(604) 687-0353

Rail Strike...

(continued from page 3)

railway to private investors. No to privatization!

While Tellier threatens and schemes, the federal government is trying to soothe angry railworkers with lying phrases about its "preference" for a "negotiated solution." For Ottawa, that means the rail unions' unconditional surrender. Transport minister Doug Young tipped the government's hand when he suggested he might permanently close down federally funded Via Rail if the unions don't agree to major concessions, especially the elimination of job security.

And while CN is ready to impose a lockout to force federal intervention, Canadian Pacific has begun training 1,500 management personnel as scabs. CP blusters that they can keep 60 percent of their operations running. Of course, CP's little gang of roadmasters and accountants won't be able to "lift, line and level," hump trains or fire up a locomotive, any more than Lord Strathcona in his top hat and tailcoat really drove home that "Last Spike." But these are ominous signals that the rail companies and the government are intent on breaking the unions.

Shut Down the Railways!

The attacks on jobs, wages, benefits and working conditions can be driven back by an all-out strike. A national rail strike immediately poses a test of strength between the unions and the capitalist state. To win such a high-stakes struggle will require class-struggle methods.

The first order of business is to solidify the unions' front by bringing out the running trades—the engineers and trainmen organized by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the United Transportation Union. Acting like haughty labor lords, running trades leaders have long refused to act in concert with the rest of the industry unions, hamstringing united workers struggle. Reportedly, UTU members have already been told to cross picket lines in the event of a strike. Picket lines mean don't cross—One out means all out! The craft-based bickering of the rail union tops has poisoned workers solidarity for too long. For a single union in the rail industry!

Next on the agenda, make sure nothing moves. The capitalists' frantic scramble for alternative transport should be countered with appeals to Teamster over-the-road truckers, U.S. longshoremen and railworkers (many organized in the same Brotherhoods as Canadian workers) not to handle diverted freight traffic. No union in this country should load or unload rail cars while the railroads are struck. Scab freight is too hot to handle!

If the companies even think about moving scab trains, occupy the key marshalling facilities, like CN's "double hump" MacMillan Yard in Vaughan, Ontario. Block the main lines with mass pickets. Call on the federal government workers, longshoremen and others to swell the picket lines. Same enemy, same fight!

The railways have to be shut down tight. But the rail union leaders have already declared straight out that they have no intention of doing what it takes to win. According to Gary Househ of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees: "We're not going to do things like in the past.... The old way, walking off and shutting down the whole railway leads to government intervention" (Globe and Mail, 18 February).

In fact, the "old way" meant not struggle, but sellout. The

job security provisions today under attack were "won" in 1985 at the expense of huge wage and benefit concessions and the loss of tens of thousands of jobs. In strike after strike, faced with strikebreaking laws the score of squabbling craft union bureaucrats would cry foul...and send everybody back to work.

The "new" strategy of rotating walkouts comes straight from the National office of the Canadian Auto Workers, today the predominant union in the rail industry. CAW president Buzz Hargrove is planning to saddle railworkers with the same losing game of selective strikes that has failed to prevent a single layoff or plant closure in the auto industry. Hargrove claims his tactics will avoid government intervention. Earlier this month, he emerged from a tête-à-tête with the transport minister beaming at Young's "reassurance" that strikebreaking legislation would only be enacted if the economy was "unduly affected."

But any effective action by the rail unions will "provoke" the government to go after the railworkers hard and fast. Hargrove & Co. are opposed to the kind of tough, anti-capitalist class struggle that can win because they are social democrats who are committed to maintaining the capitalist system, not challenging it. In the 1987 strike, their parliamentary cohorts in the NDP actually helped the Mulroney Tories speed the strike-breaking legislation through parliament!

With a union leadership ready to pit class against class, a full-scale rail strike backed by class-struggle tactics could turn injunctions, fines and back-to-work laws into meaningless scraps of paper. Defeating government strikebreaking is at bottom a *political* question. The unions must seek to rally around them all those millions who are targets of the bosses' austerity drive. That means taking up the cause of all the oppressed, upholding Quebec's right to independence and defending immigrants and other minorities against racist scapegoating.

Such a perspective requires a break with pro-capitalist social democracy and the forging of a new class-struggle leadership of the labor movement. Most of all, we need a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for a workers government. Defeat the capitalist offensive—Victory to the railworkers!

	CIST CANADA (Liskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
□ \$15 joint Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard subscription □ \$3/6 issues of Spartacist Canada (overseas airmail \$8) □ \$14/22 issues of Workers Vanguard, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S. □ \$5/5 issues of Le Bolchévik (includes French-language Spartacist) SC and WV subscriptions include English-language Spartacist, Women and Revolution. WV subscriptions also include Black History and the Class Struggle.	
Name	
Address	
	Apt.#
City	Province
Postal Code	Phone ()
Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing,	

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

on provoking a social explosion against U.S. imperialist meddling, demanding that Zedillo impose "tight money" policies that would lead to a collapse of banking and industrial production, while insisting that the U.S. has control of Mexico's multibillion-dollar oil revenues as a condition for its bailout "loan." Such outright looting can only produce outrage in this country where General Lázaro Cárdenas' 1938 nationalization of foreign oil companies is seen as a second declaration of independence.

The military assault on the EZLN's base of support in the Lacandon rain forest in Chiapas was long in preparation. An estimated 60,000 of the Mexican army's 130,000 troops were concentrated in the region. Some 100 tanks and armored cars were sent down dirt roads to seize scores of communities. The Mayan Indian peasants fled into the hills, and those who were captured were subjected to torture by military interrogators trained by Argentine officers who carried out the infamous "dirty war" against the left in the 1970s.

On the other side of the border, Guatemalan kaibile counterinsurgency troops cut off escape routes to the south and east from the Mexican army's "cordon of death." Meanwhile, in the capital and other cities, helicopters flew low over neighborhoods as judicial police carried out a witchhunt for alleged Zapatista supporters. The "arsenal" they seized consisted of a few pistols and homemade bombs, making a mockery of Zedillo's claim that this justified breaking off dialogue and sending the army after Zapatista leaders.

But most disturbing for the government was the hornet's nest of opposition its assault touched off. On Saturday, February 11, only two days after the military operation was launched, more than 100,000 protesters poured into the Zócalo, the huge square in the center of Mexico City, to denounce the government. While the bourgeois opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) called the protest under the slogan "For a Peaceful and Democratic Solution—No to the War," thousands of demonstrators showed a combative spirit sharply contrasting with such pacifistic appeals.

Students commandeered buses, draping them with "Viva EZLN!" banners. "We are all Marcos" was by far the most popular slogan, along with "Marcos hold on, the people are rising up!" Union contingents carried full-size posters of the EZLN leader in his trademark ski mask. When PRD activists tried to mount a cheer for their leader, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and even for his father Lázaro Cárdenas, massive cries of "Viva Marcos!" drowned them out.

And the protests have not stopped. In midweek, tens of thousands again protested in solidarity with the Zapatistas, and on February 18 an even larger crowd, estimated at between 120,000 and 200,000, gathered in the Zócalo to denounce the regime's bloody repression as well as its brutal economic policies which spell starvation and misery for the Mexican masses. And what is the response of the popular-front opposition led by the PRD? At the February 11 demonstration, Cárdenas said that it is necessary to "fill the plazas a thousand times over to obtain an immediate truce, a peaceful and political solution for Chiapas and the construction of peace with justice and dignity" (La Jornada, 12 February). A week later, Cárdenas called to "build bridges with other political forces," namely the rightwing PAN and forces within the ruling party. But many protest-

ers must be asking themselves if marching "a thousand times over" under the leadership of bourgeois politicians is going to solve the burning problems of the oppressed.

For the crisis is more than that of the peso, the repression, or Zedillo's presidency. The domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has maintained a one-party regime for the last six and a half decades, is beginning to crack. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) not only sharply intensified Mexico's semicolonial subjugation to the U.S.; it has produced an economic collapse that is already setting off massive social unrest. As we have noted before, using Lenin's image of tsarist Russia in World War I, Mexico is the weak link in the chain of U.S. imperialist domination of the hemisphere. And as the brittle edifice of the PRI-government comes under attack, it is urgent to mount internationalist class struggle against this authoritarian capitalist regime.

While the Mexican left joins in channeling unrest into the bourgeois-nationalist "democratic" opposition, the Grupo Espartaquista de México issued a 14 February statement headlined, "Mobilize the Working Class Against the Repression and Starvation Assault." In the U.S., the Spartacist League joined protests against the military repression in Chiapas, with signs denouncing "Peso Crisis, Repression Made in U.S.A."

Wall Street Demands Bloody Payback

In a communiqué responding to the government's assault, the Zapatista command issued a statement eloquently declaring, "Zedillo has opted to be humble and servile toward the powerful, and highhanded and haughty toward the poor." It denounced the government for demanding that the EZLN fall to its knees as a condition for "dialogue": "It is mistaken; since 1 January 1994 we are living on our feet. On our feet we will talk, or on our feet we will fight, or on our feet we will die." It noted that the price of the U.S. loan is "to be paid off with Mexican blood, especially with Indian blood, in order to liquidate the debt" (La Jornada, 13 February). In fact, while the Mexican army was chomping at the bit to finish off the Zapatistas, there is plenty of evidence that they got a big push from Washington and Wall Street.

In the 1 February issue of *CounterPunch* magazine, Alexander Cockburn and Ken Silverstein published a memorandum of the Chase Manhattan Emerging Markets Group authored by Riordan Roett, a Chase adviser on leave from his position as director of Latin American Studies at Johns Hopkins University. In the memo, dated 13 January, Roett baldly argues for wiping out the Zapatista insurgents:

"While Chiapas, in our opinion, does not pose a fundamental threat to Mexican political stability, it is perceived to be so by many in the investment community. The government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and security policy."

At a January conference of academics and financiers on Mexico, Roett argued that it is "essential, from the investor point of view, to resolve the Chiapas issue as quickly as possible."

Chase Manhattan is one of the handful of major banks holding hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexican commercial debt. With the Mexican government begging for emergency loans from the U.S. and the IMF, such "recommendations" from Wall Street amount to orders. Roett's memo also pointed to the fundamental issue of "whether or not the Mexican working class will accept a prolonged period of wage losses and diminished living standards." Although Roett was sub-

March/April 1995



Women workers at RCA Thomson maquiladora strike against devastation caused by peso devaluation.

sequently dropped as an adviser by Chase Manhattan, the program of deliberate immiseration of the working class is still being followed with a vengeance by the policymakers of U.S. imperialism. And now they are openly going after Mexico's oil revenues as well, as a prefude to demanding that PEMEX, the nationalized oil company, be privatized and opened to foreign investors (i.e., takeover). This imperialist assault must be resolutely opposed by the workers movement.

The impact of NAFTA on Mexico has been devastating. In the year since the "free trade" agreement went into effect, an estimated 475,000 jobs were lost in Mexico, more than two-thirds in manufacturing. In the state of Jalisco, where the PRI just lost the election, more than 600 businesses, including 185 factories, have closed since July. The peso crash and soaring interest rates will cause even more plant closures. While it will push workers to the wall and may provoke desperate strike actions, the economic crisis greatly weakens labor's clout. But there is one sector where production is strong, the *maquiladora* "free trade" plants, particularly along the northern border.

In late January 5,600 workers, mostly young women, struck the RCA Thomson plant in Ciudad Juárez, opposite El Paso, Texas. Under police-state conditions, menaced by riot police and hundreds of thugs, this was a heroic strike. Although they did not achieve the original demand for a 30 percent increase (they won 13 percent), the Coalition of Workers won recognition by management, new union elections, full pay for the week on strike and no victimizations. This will certainly encourage further strike movements elsewhere in the *maquiladora* belt.

The RCA strike, like an earlier work stoppage at TDK in the same city and the unrest in the many auto and parts plants in the region, shows the enormous potential for class struggle in Mexico today. But key is throwing off the stranglehold of the corporatist CTM "unions" which are directly integrated into the capitalist ruling party and the elaborate "conciliation and arbitration" mechanisms of state control.

In a grotesque example of the role of the CTM, its decrepit (over 90 years old) leader Fidel Velázquez, after signing a vicious austerity pact with Zedillo, promised his capitalist masters that there would be no "disobedience" from the workers.

And in the wake of the peso devaluation, the CTM boss called for workers to "donate" one day's pay from their starvation wages toward the foreign debt, outrageously saying this was "one way to show solidarity with the rich"! This obscene proposal fell flat, and as the RCA Thomson strikers showed, worker "disobedience" is already beginning. In its supplement, the Grupo Espartaquista put forward a program to "elect workers committees independent of the bourgeois parties, including Cardenas' PRD—to break the corporatist shackles of the CTM (which acts as labor cops for the PRI) on the working class, to smash the wage ceilings and fight to triple the minimum wage and for a sliding scale of wages to combat inflation."

The EZLN and a host of popular-front leftists blame the present situation on the "neoliberal model" of unfettered global "free markets." But decades of "national development" under the PRI also left the masses in dire poverty. What's needed is workers revolution. And this means a political fight, first and foremost to break with the "popular front" of class collaboration in and around the PRD.

The EZLN calls upon Cárdenas to lead a "National Liberation Movement." Yet Cárdenas declared explicitly that Zedillo could head up the "government of national salvation" he has insistently called for (El Financiero, 3 February). Meanwhile, virtually the entire ex-Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist left has liquidated into the embrace of the PRD, including a number of "independent unions." The Mandelite PRT, which supported Cárdenas for president, hardly exists anymore except for speakers at PRD rallies. And the "Militante" group, followers of British Labourite Ted Grant, calls itself the "Marxists of the PRD," hawking the bourgeois party's yellow flags at demonstrations. These fake socialists all lack the most basic class line.

Perhaps the most militant-sounding of the left groups is the MPI (Independent Proletarian Movement), a syndicalist group which leads the Mexico City bus drivers union SUTAUR and is part of the leadership of the left wing of the "National Democratic Convention," a popular-front grouping linked to the EZLN. The government has accused them of financing the Zapatista rebels, a clear threat of future repression. In a January 5 march in Mexico City, the MPI posed various correct demands, including for a break from the CTM and the Congress of Labor umbrella federation which is a "jail" for the workers. But in reality, the MPI's policy is for marching "a thousand times over" while *refusing* to mobilize the power of its proletarian base in genuine workers actions, which could unite it with auto workers and other sectors where there are independent unions.

What is required is a sharp break with the bourgeois parties and politicians, to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers and peasants government. Such a revolutionary government would completely repudiate the imperialist debt which is suffocating the working people. Against the inevitable imperialist reprisals, it is necessary to mobilize the workers and peasants in all of Latin America and to unite with the proletariat of the U.S. and Canada. International class struggle is key to combatting the NAFTA rape of Mexico, as well as to defend the Cuban Revolution against attempts at capitalist restoration from within and without. We fight for a Socialist United States of Latin America and for workers revolution throughout the hemisphere. It is to this goal that the Grupo Espartaquista pledges itself in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 617, 24 February

Save Jamai...

(continued from page 16)

denied the right to represent himself or have the attorney of his choice, and was allocated a mere \$150 for pretrial investigation in a case in which the police had already interviewed 125 people. Sabo ordered Jamal removed from the courtroom, forcing Jamal to miss most of the prosecution's case. Jamal's court-appointed lawyer was unprepared for trial and repeatedly asked to be relieved. He was later disbarred.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to die for his political activities and beliefs. Prosecutor Joseph McGill secured the death sentence by telling the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's





Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Daily News

Judge Albert Sabo (left), known as "King of Death Row," sentenced Mumia Abu-Jamal. Frank Rizzo, enforcer of racist cop terror against black Philadelphia.

membership in the Black Panther Party and use of the slogan "power to the people" and the old Maoist dictum "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" 12 years earlier "proved" he was a "cop-killer"! In 1990 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's appeals.

The Philadelphia Story — Rizzo Town

The record of former mayor Frank Rizzo's campaign against the black population of Philly is a tale of state-sponsored terror—and at every turn, Jamal was there to expose and protest the injustice.

Jamal was beaten and arrested by Rizzo's plainclothes cops for protesting a 1968 presidential rally for George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. In September 1969, Rizzo's cops raided Black Panther Party headquarters and tore apart the office. Fifteen-year-old Minister of Information Mumia Abu-Jamal was among those arrested. In January 1970, Jamal was featured in a front-page article about the Panthers in the *Philadel-phia Inquirer*.

In coordination with the FBI and its deadly COINTELPRO operation against the black movement which left 38 Black Panther Party members dead, Rizzo and the Philly police compiled files on 18,000 people and 600 organizations. This campaign of police terror culminated in the infamous August 1970 raid on the Philly Panther office, in which Black Panther Party members were lined up against the wall and forced to strip naked while the press looked on. Rizzo became an icon to the racist "law and order" crowd.

Jamal, the young student activist, co-founder of the local

Black Panther Party chapter and renowned journalist, could not have—and did not—evade Rizzo's deadly eye. Jamal was among the journalists covering Rizzo's press conference following the August 8, 1978 siege of the MOVE commune's Powelton Village home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

The state's opportunity for "settling accounts" came three years later, on December 9, 1981 when Jamal was shot in the chest by a cop and railroaded to death row.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings!

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. Schools crumble—build more prisons. Factories shut down—gut welfare and hire more cops. Sixty percent unemployment for black male youth—throw them in boot camps. Housing shortage—declare a "war on drugs" and raid public housing, throwing whole families out on the streets.

In Canada, too, an anti-working-class austerity program is being driven home by all levels of government, from the federal Liberals to provincial NDP regimes in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan. The gutting of social services on which working people and the poor rely is combined with a right-wing outcry for increased state repression—especially for rigid immigration controls, stepped-up deportations and tougher sentences to "combat" the racist bogey of "immigrant crime." Meanwhile, the cops continue to carry out curbside executions of blacks, Native people and other minorities.

With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is far and away the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal "injustice" system.

Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. In America, it represents the legacy of slavery—legal lynching—a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state.

Texas rang in the New Year by executing Jesse Dewayne Jacobs, a man they knew was innocent of the crime he was sentenced to die for! This grotesque murder exposes the symbolic value of the death penalty to the ruling class: the all-powerful state will decide who lives and who dies. Truly in the death penalty we see the impulse to genocide.

In the 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged the overwhelming racial bias in the application of the death penalty but argued that *this didn't matter* because, "taken to its logical conclusion [this] throws into serious question the principles that underlie our criminal justice system." Thus Chief Justice Rehnquist & Co. reaffirm the principle set forth by Justice Roger Taney in the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case, that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The forces of racist "law and order" have been mobilizing to push through Jamal's execution. After announcing its plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to cancel the broadcasts. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole threatened on the Senate floor to cut off NPR's federal funding. Evidently NPR's prestigious All Things Considered program could not "consider" letting a black man falsely convicted of killing a cop speak from death row. Yet on 8 November, NPR found it acceptable to broadcast the murderous ravings of an anti-abortion bigot who threatened that if Florida gives Paul Hill the death penalty for murdering a heroic Pensacola abortion doctor, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen"!

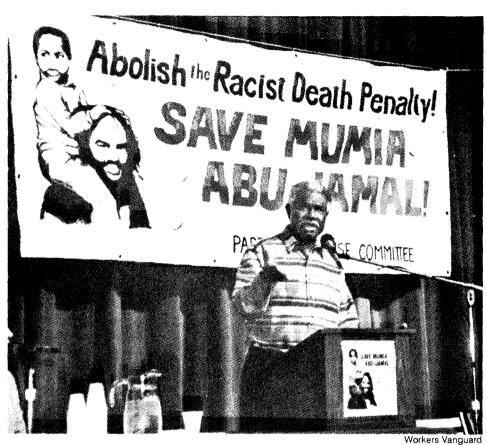
The capitalist politicians, media and especially the Philadelphia FOP

want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. In fighting the legal lynching of Jamal we will strike a blow against the entire apparatus of racist, capitalist repression.

Mumia Abu-Jamal does not stand alone. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT); the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Metropolitan Vancouver District Council; Section 10 of the Mexican Teachers Union SNTE; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Locals 6 and 10 in San Francisco and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 in Chicago, as well as unions in Britain and Australia have taken up Jamal's cause. Harry Belafonte, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, Congressman Ron Dellums, Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, Jr., the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (South Africa), the Palmares Cultural Foundation in Brasilia are just some of the individuals and organizations who have joined tens of thousands who say: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die."

Canadian "justice" criminally imprisons men like Donald Marshall, David Milgaard and Guy Paul Morin. If the death penalty were law, they might never have lived to see their convictions overturned. In May 1994 the same Tory government in Alberta which has been devastating social services demanded the return of capital punishment, and in February of this year the Langley, B.C. city council did too. In today's climate of reaction, abolition of legalized state murder must be vigorously defended.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about. Make the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, the voice



Renowned actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, addresses February 11 rally in New York.

of the voiceless the police want to silence, an international rallying cry against the racist death penalty. Raise *your* voice and *organize*, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

How You Can Help

Save Jamal! Organize protest! The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today a rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty. Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life.

- Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.
- Send letters of protest to Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.
- Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC video, "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal," tapes of Jamal speaking, petitions, posters, bundles of the campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.
- Contribute to the legal defense. Make payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Jamal Legal Defense," and send to the PDC, P.O. Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1. These donations will be forwarded in full to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Hundreds Rally in Berlin, New York City Join the Campaign to Save Jamal!

Faced with an escalating state offensive to shove ever more victims into the U.S.' execution chambers, opponents of the barbaric death penalty around the world are rallying to the campaign to save the life of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal's case is becoming *the* focus of opposition to racist capital punishment. Trade unionists, leftists and antiracist youth have responded to urgent appeals by the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal organizations internationally for united-front actions in defense of Jamal.

Here in Canada, the PDC has initiated rallies in Toronto and Vancouver for March 11 (see opposite page for speakers and other details). Among protest events held internationally to date are:

- In the Pennsylvania capital of **Harrisburg** on January 17, some 250 people, including PDC supporters, joined a protest outside governor Tom Ridge's inauguration. The protest was initiated by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Equal Justice USA and Refuse & Resist. New governor Ridge has vowed to speed up the racist assembly line of death, and immediately after taking office announced he would begin signing death warrants in February.
- In Berlin on 7 February, 300 people demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy. This united-front protest was initiated by the KfsV (Committee for Social Defense, fraternal organization of the PDC), which along with the Spartakist Workers Party and the radical AGIPA-Press collective has for years been publicizing Jamal's case. A high point of the demonstration was a statement from the powerful IG Medien newspaper union, announcing that it had made Mumia Abu-Jamal an honorary member. This act of solidarity exemplifies the considerable union support rallying to Mumia's cause.
- A rally hosted by actor Ossie Davis brought together over 400 opponents of the death penalty in **New York City** February 11 to demand, "Save Mumia Abu-Jama!! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the PDC, the rally represented numbers and strength far beyond the packed-to-capacity auditorium. Jamal's eldest son addressed the rally and brought a moving, personal voice to this urgent fight. Labor leaders representing hundreds of thousands of workers vowed to join the fight against the death penalty and to save Jamal. Students from 17 area colleges, as well as trade unionists and others, pledged to join the campaign. Over \$3,000 was raised—every penny of it going to Jamal's legal defense.
- Sixty defenders of Jamal attended a PDC-initiated rally in Sydney, Australia on February 9. More than 100 came out to a campaign forum in Boston on February 16. A powerful statement in defense of Jamal by Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, political prisoners executed by the U.S. government in 1953, was read to the meeting. On February 21, defenders of Mumia rallied in Paris. In a protest letter to Governor Ridge, prominent Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld and his organization, Sons and Daughters of French Jewish Deportees, have denounced Jamal's plight as "inhuman."
 - On February 25, 170 people attended a united-front rally



Robert Grahn

300 demonstrate outside U.S. embassy office in Berlin on February 7 as part of international campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

in the San Francisco Bay Area. As in New York, this event was co-hosted by the PDC and Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace, addressed the gathering, and \$1,700 was raised for Jamal's legal defense. Earlier, a multiracial audience of more than 250 students at Laney Community College attended a screening of "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal" on February 8co-sponsored by the Ethnic Studies Department and the Spartacus Youth Club. In the American South, historically the center of racist "legal lynching," 30 people attended a forum at Georgia State University in Atlanta co-sponsored by the Black Student Alliance and the PDC. Protest events initiated by the PDC and its fraternal defense organizations are also being held in cities from Chicago, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. to London and Tokyo, Japan.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

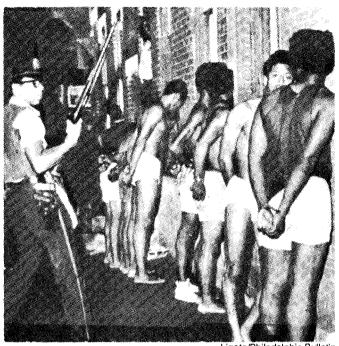
The campaign for Jamal is an opportunity to mobilize everywhere against the capitalist *injustice* system in all its forms. International solidarity actions can be a tremendous impetus in bringing the power of the working class to bear on behalf of Jamal and all class-war prisoners. In the early 1930s, labor-backed protests in Berlin, Paris and other cities in Europe, as well as throughout the U.S., were instrumental in preventing the legal lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths falsely accused of raping two white women.

The capitalist rulers internationally are waging an all-out offensive against working people and the oppressed. In the U.S., the political agenda of the ruling class is to reverse the minimal gains wrested through mass militant struggles during

the civil rights, Vietnam antiwar and women's liberation movements. The promise of black freedom held out by the defeat of the slaveowners in the Civil War is today openly repudiated by the powers-that-be, who declare it is irrelevant that the death penalty is blatantly racist. Black oppression has dramatically intensified since the collapse of Stalinism and the destruction of the Soviet Union, as has racist hysteria directed against immigrants. With no "red menace" to deflect mounting domestic discontent and fear over the economy, the bourgeoisie plays the race card—with a stacked deck backed up by police-state measures—to divide the working class along race, sex and ethnic lines.

Everything—the right to vote, to form unions, to attend school—anything that working people and minorities have, they won through hard class struggle. The multiracial North American working class has the organization and the social power to lead a revolutionary fight against the entire system of racist repression. That requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who bind the workers hand and foot to the dictates of the industrial magnates. In the U.S., that means a break with the Democratic Party, and in Canada a fight to split the working-class base from the social-democratic NDP, which rules for the Bay Street bosses in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan. We need to forge genuine, multiracial workers parties, not a parliamentary machine but a revolutionary vanguard in the class struggle.

PDC-initiated defense rallies in New York and elsewhere have drawn unionists who pledged to get key sections of labor behind the fight to save Jamal. United-front action around the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal can be a catalyst for the kind of open political debate and militant struggle that's needed in combatting the war on black people, immigrants, labor, women



Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Cops strip search Philadelphia Black Panthers in racist 1970 raid.

and all the oppressed. The hundreds of unions and community organizations, and the several thousand activists who have become involved in his case are just the beginning. In fighting the "legal lynching" of Jamal we will strike a blow against the whole system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Save Munia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

International Campaign of Protest — Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

U.S. Death Row Political Prisoner • Black Journalist • "Voice of the Voiceless" • Former Black Panther • MOVE Supporter

TORONTO RALLY

Speakers include:

David Bleakney, Chief Steward (South Central), Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local*
Lennox Farrell, Black Action Defense Committee
Marc Lamarre, Haitian Resistance Movement in Toronto
Zoltan Lugosi, Prison News Service
Peter Stevens, Partisan Defense Committee

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(one block west of Spadina subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee
All proceeds from these events
go to Jamal's legal defense.

VANCOUVER RALLY

Speakers include:

Yvonne Brown

Mary Ann Cantillon, Political Action Committee member, and Isabel Weese, Bargaining Committee member and former president, CUPE Local 391

Gord Hill, Anti-Fascist Info

Awels Issa, Somaliland Friendship Society of B.C.

Man Chul Leung and Alas Clenfuegos, Third World Alliance

Jim Lougheed, 1st Vice-President, Canadian Union of

Postal Workers, Vancouver Local*

Miriam Scribner, Partisan Defense Committee

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver
1551 West 7th Avenue
(west of Granville, 2 blocks north of Broadway)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

*Organization for identification purposes only

SPARTACIST CANADA

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following urgent appeal was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee in early February. It has been abridged and slightly adapted for publication in SC.

We are in a race against time to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous black journalist, fighter for social justice, and a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. Mumia Abu-Jamal is the victim of a racist frame-up. As a former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, and an award-winning black journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal has lived a vibrant life of struggle on behalf of the poor, the black and the dispossessed. Even from the hideous conditions of death row, Jamal continues to speak out for the oppressed in commentaries which appear regularly in newspapers all over the U.S. It is precisely because he is a beacon of hope and strength in the fight against racist injustice that the forces of reaction and repression want to silence Jamal forever by execution. This racist legal lynching must be stopped!

The threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in the U.S. since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of

Mumia Abu-Jamal takes place in a context of a right-wing Congress pushing a devastating rollback of the gains made by blacks, women, gays, and the labor movement through hard-fought struggles. In the U.S. today, the death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." U.S. president Clinton's new Crime Bill, passed just before last November's midterm elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making the death penalty the law of the land even in states that abolished it.

In Pennsylvania, Republican Tom Ridge was elected gover-



nnifer Beach

Mobilize Now

"Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions."

—Ossie Davis at the June 3, 1994 New York speakout initiated by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee. nor in November on a pro-deathpenalty platform and pledged to sign death warrants as soon as he took office as governor on January 17. Foremost among the over 170 men and women on Pennsylvania's death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer.

The campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical stage. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are filing an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in early 1995. While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and put an end to the U.S.' assembly line of "legal" murder.

In the early morning hours of December 9, 1981, Jamal was working as a cab driver and saw his brother Billy being beaten by police officer Daniel Faulkner. Jamal got out of his cab and took a nearfatal bullet in the chest. Jamal was found sitting on the curb and bleeding nearly to death. Faulkner was dead. While critically wounded, Jamal was beaten, kicked, rammed into a pole and dumped on a hospital floor by police, where he was beaten again.

Jamal has always maintained

his innocence, and four witnesses stated they saw a third man shoot Faulkner and then run from the scene. But Jamal was presumed guilty by the hanging judge and prevented from presenting a defense in a frame-up trial fraught with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights.

The judge, Albert Sabo, "the King of Death Row," has sentenced more men and women to death than any other sitting judge in the U.S. In a city which is over 40 percent black, all blacks except two were excluded from the jury. Jamal was

(continued on page 12)

Jamal's Attorneys Seek New Trial in Pennsylvania State Court