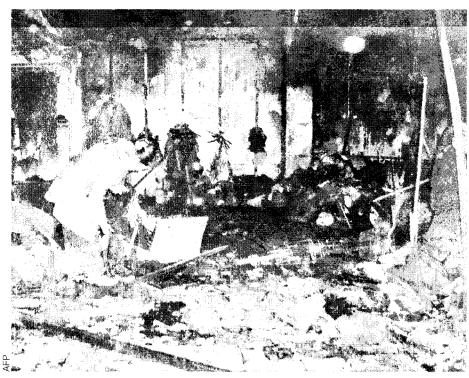


Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State! Counterrevolutionary Riots in Tibet



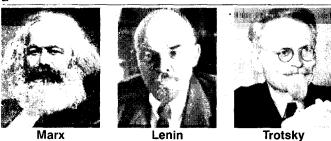
"An orgy of anti-Chinese rioting." That's how the *Econo*mist online (14 March), which had the only official foreign correspondent in Lhasa, described the protests in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Launched on March 10 to commemorate the anniversary of the 1959 uprising against Chinese rule—an uprising inspired, armed and financed by the CIA the protests were led by Buddhist lamas and were echoed by coordinated actions in China's Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan provinces, where there are substantial Tibetan populations. There was also a march in India from the center of the Dalai Lama's "government in exile." Shouting "Long live Tibet" and "Long live the Dalai Lama," rioters led by monks, often at the head of teenage gangs, rampaged in Lhasa's old Tibetan quarter, burning and destroying shops run by ethnic



Lhasa, March 16: Owner sifts through remains of shop following attacks by rampaging mobs (left). Ottawa, October 2007: Stephen Harper greets Dalai Lama, leader of "Free Tibet" movement, a rallying cry for capitalist counterrevolution in China.

Chinese and killing at least 13 people. Among those attacked were also ethnic Chinese Hui, a Muslim minority in the region. The *Economist* (22 March) reported that "shops owned by Tibetans were marked as such with traditional white scarves.... They were spared destruction."

The protests in Tibet were reactionary, anti-Communist and counterrevolutionary. As Trotskyists (i.e., genuine Marxists), we of the International Communist League fight for the *unconditional military defense* of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states of North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. The 1949 Revolution that overthrew capitalist rule in China *(continued on page 11)*



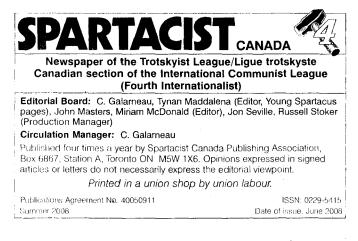
On the United Front

Our fight for broad united-front action in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal is part of our strategy of mobilizing the social power of the working class on behalf of all the oppressed. For Marxists, the united front has two equally important and inseparable aims: the need for class unity and the fight for communist hegemony. We fight for mass mobilizations based on agreed-on slogans and full freedom of criticism—open debate about the way forward in this and other urgent social struggles. In contrast, various reformist left outfits promote "unity" with pro-capitalist forces while seeking to exclude the voice of authentic communists. The following article by U.S. Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon elaborates on the Marxist understanding of the united front, including through polemics against an opportunist left group of the 1930s led by Jay Lovestone.

The united front, as Lenin taught it, is a means of mobilizing the masses and leading them in the direction of the revolution. It is not a "partnership" with reformists, but a form of struggle against them. It does not mean to rely on them but to distrust them

In making such a proposal for a united front the Communists should tell the workers plainly that the progressives are not to be trusted and that a revolutionary program is the only program from which a real fighting policy in the daily struggle can flow. If the pressure of the workers for radical action is strong enough to compel the pseudoprogressive leaders, or a section of them, to meet our conditions, we will make the agreement and go with them into a common struggle.

In the course of the struggle, we, of course, will maintain our separate organization, drive them forward at every step, and criticize every vacillation and weakness they manifest. We will conceive of it all the time as a temporary agreement, which we are ready to break at any moment they betray their promises.



We know—as worldwide experience has demonstrated to the hilt-that most of them will betray. But if we have conducted ourselves properly from the start, allowed ourselves no illusions, and created no illusions among the workers, the betrayal will weaken them and strengthen the party. Some of the leaders, and the majority of the workers, who started as progressives, will be swept along with us into the stream of communism. Most of the present leaders of the Communist Party came through this door, and they should be the last to deny that others can do the same.

The Lovestone opportunists regard the united-front tactic as something that cannot be applied without an actual agreement of some kind with the reformists. That is why their principal activity consists in sniffing around the back door of some faker or other offering "blocs" which cost the fakers nothing....

The validity of the united-front tactic does not at all depend upon formal agreements with reformists. It depends only on such a formulation of the demands and conditions that they are comprehensible to the workers as the necessary basis of struggle for their burning demands. The question whether the reformists accept the conditions does not depend on their wishes. They are weathercocks. The decisive factor is the pressure of the masses. From this it follows that the most important aspect of the united-front tactic is not "negotiations" but widespread and intelligently conducted agitation.

Under such circumstances the refusal of the reformists to agree to our proposals only serves to unmask them and to rob their demagogy of its power to influence the workers. On the other hand it provides the basis to extend and give point to our work among the masses for the practical program embodied in our united-front proposals. We still appear before the workers as the advocates of the united front, and the result, no less than in the case of a formal agreement, is to widen the mass movement and strengthen the influence of the Communists within it. And that is the real purpose, and the justification, of the policy of the united front.

-James P. Cannon, "Limits of the United Front," Militant, 1 April 1931, reprinted in The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31 (Monad Press, 1981)

Prometheus Research Library Books Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Dog Days Max Shachtman in the James P. Cannon vs. **Communist League** Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933 of America, 1931-1933 752 pages (2002) Cloth: \$55.00/Paper: \$35.95 James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American **Communism: Selected** Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928 624 pages (1992) Paper: \$25.50 Prices include shipping and handling. Order from/make checks or money orders payable to:

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Young Spartacus

For Open Admissions, Free Tuition! Defend U of T Protesters!

At the behest of the University of Toronto administration, Toronto cops arrested and charged 14 activists for taking part in a sit-in at the Simcoe Hall administration offices on March 20 to protest massive hikes to student residence fees. The sitin itself was broken up by campus cops. The charges run the gamut from mischief and "forcible detainer" (the unlawful detainment of someone else's property), to forcible confinement and making death threats. If convicted, some activists could face years in jail.

The "Fight Fees 14" were released on outrageous and restrictive bail conditions. They were prohibited from associating with one another or even setting foot on the campus, except for classes, and barred from protest activity on campus. Additionally, some 15 students face possible disciplinary charges under U of T's Code of Conduct which could bring their expulsions. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: *Drop the charges against the Fight Fees 14! No academic reprisals!*

The U of T crackdown is one of many-often brutalattacks on political protest at universities across Canada and beyond. Fuelled by the reactionary climate created by the capitalist rulers' "war on terror," this campaign has seen student activists and leftist academics witchhunted for defending the Palestinians against the blood-drenched Zionist regime of Israel, for opposing the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, or for merely speaking out against the miseries produced by this capitalist system. Tamil students in Waterloo have been swept up in a repressive "terror" scare. At McMaster University in Hamilton the phrase "Israeli apartheid" was banned in February. Weeks later, the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) prohibited all protests by striking students and others within a 100-meter radius of the campus-on pain of a \$50,000 fine and possible jail time! Most recently, at Vancouver's University of British Columbia, an April 4 concert/protest was violently attacked by police and at least 19 people arrested (see page 8).

Open repression and McCarthyite thought control have gone hand in hand with sweeping attacks on access to higher education. Massive and ever-increasing tuition fees—which have doubled since the early 1990s—hit working-class, minority and Native youth especially hard. Students often have to work two jobs to survive, and by the time they graduate are indentured to the banks and credit card companies, saddled with massive debts. The Simcoe Hall sit-in was against a 20 percent fee hike at New College residence that would drive many poor and minority students out of school.

Abolish the Administration!

The attacks on political protest, democratic rights and access to education have not gone unopposed. Demonstrations and meetings have taken place at U of T, McMaster, UBC and around the perimeter of the no-protest zone at UQAM. In Toronto, the SYC has joined several protests in defense of the Fight Fees 14. Addressing a May 21 rally, SYC speaker Tynan Maddalena called to drop all charges against these activists and placed the U of T crackdown in



Demonstrators call to defend arrested University of Toronto protesters outside courthouse on June 3.

the context of the police terror against black and South Asian youth that has been on the rise in Toronto in recent years. Ominously, there were nearly as many police as protesters at this event. and our comrade's chant of "Cops off campus" was enthusiastically taken up by the demonstrators.

The Committee for Just Education (CJE), formed in defense of the 14, calls for "Equal access to education through the elimination of all fees" and for "Student, worker, and faculty parity on university decision-making bodies, including the Governing Council." The call for parity on the university's highest governing bodies is a call to be co-opted; in the unlikely event of its achievement, it would spell the further integration of student groups and trade unions into the university's administration of austerity, fee hikes and job cuts. In contrast, the SYC demands: Abolish the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the universities!

AlwaysQuestion (AQ), the group that organized the March 20 sit-in, first came under attack when it postered the campus with indictments of Canadian mining conglomerate Barrick Gold for "endless' atrocities, including funding militias, killing dissenters and labour leaders, instigating wars, and burying miners alive" (*Varsity*, 14 February). Who pays the piper calls the tune: Barrick chairman Peter Munk is a major U of T benefactor, to the tune of some \$12 million, and so the administration ordered custodial staff to tear down the posters. This really is the bourgeoisie's university, and the attacks on AQ and others starkly highlight this truth.

As capitalist institutions, universities have never been the "ivory towers" of intellectual freedom they claim to be. Rather they are elitist, class-biased institutions whose functions include developing new techniques of production in order to (continued on page 9)

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

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

JOHANNESBURG, May 19—As pogromist attacks against immigrants continue into their second week, 22 people in the Johannesburg area have been killed, according to official figures, and many more maimed and raped, while thousands have been driven from their houses, shacks and shops. Three people have been burned to death. The attacks began on May 11 in Alexandra, an impoverished black township of several hundred thousand people, as mobs targeted immigrants mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi. Later in the week, the attacks spread to Diepsloot and other townships before erupting in Johannesburg's central business district yesterday.

In the midst of the anti-immigrant terror, Sparta-

cist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, issued a leaflet calling for the country's powerful trade unions to mobilise in defence of immigrants and to unite all the poor in a fight for jobs and quality housing for all. It was distributed at a May 17 rally that drew a few hundred people protesting rising food prices, the Zimbabwe elections and xenophobia. The rally was called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and backed by the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Anti-Privatisation Forum and other reformist and liberal organisations.

Even government spokesmen acknowledge that the root cause of the pogroms lies in anger over the desperate conditions in the townships that persist 14 years after the demise of apartheid. But it is the Tripartite Alliance government of the African National Congress (ANC) and its partners in the SACP and the COSATU union bureaucracy that is responsible for these conditions. There have been continual protests in townships throughout the country over the lack of service delivery—i.e., electricity, housing, water and sewage systems. The SACP and COSATU misleaders have to date refused to mount any kind of mass protest or labour mobilisation to combat the attacks on immigrants.

The violence has been abetted by the police who, even as they flood into the townships, are carrying out their own vicious attacks in residential areas and on the streets. After hundreds of people swarmed into an Alexandra police station seeking protection, Home Affairs minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-



Neil McCartney

Crowd attacks immigrant outside clinic in impoverished Alexandra township, May 12. South African Trotskyists say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Nqakula announced on May 14 that the government would not deport "illegal" immigrants at this time. The very next day, police in Olifantsfontein, near the Tembisa township, arrested 32 immigrants they had "rescued" who lacked documentation. Asked about the minister's statement, a police spokesman replied, "We are only doing our job." Outside Soweto two days later, police stopped a taxi van and demanded that two women they considered "too dark" to be South African show inoculation marks to supposedly prove their citizenship.

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

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

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

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

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

The situation cries out for a mobilisation of trade-union power to stop these attacks! From the mines and farms to the motor industry, immigrant workers have been integral to the economy and labour movement in South Africa. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), demands: Full citizenship rights for 'all immigrants! No deportations! The pogroms against immigrants in desperately impoverished Alexandra have spilled over into attacks on Venda-speaking and darker-skinned South African blacks. Different layers of the oppressed are put at each others' throats to deflect anger from the real enemy: the white capitalist class, with its black front men. But for the unions to champion the cause of immigrants and the poor requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist misleaders of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], which is dominated by the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the NACTU and FEDUSA labour federations.

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

Since 1994, the Alliance government has helped spawn repeated xenophobic outbreaks in which immigrants are used as scapegoats for mass unemployment, poverty and crime. Last year alone some 250,000 people were deported. Actions like the January police raid on the Central Methodist Church, long a haven for refugees, only encourage mob attacks as in Alexandra. At the May Day rally in North West, ANC pres-



Soobramoney/News24

Strikers march in Durban during June 2007 public workers strike, largest since end of apartheid government in 1994.

ident Jacob Zuma cloaked the call to crack down on immigrants with empty words of sympathy, saying that "the ANC government will naturally take strong measures to restrict illegal immigration" in line with the "human rights ethos of our country"!

As under apartheid, the capitalist state in "democratic" South Africa defends the rule and profits of the Randlords and their senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London—against the oppressed black, coloured and Indian toilers. To hold the popular front together, the SACP reformists provide the ideological glue of the "national democratic revolution," which puts forward the nationalist lie that all black people—from rich businessmen like Tokyo Sexwale to Alexandra squatters—have common interests. This obscures the fundamental *class* divide in the service of containing proletarian struggle.

The COSATU tops, the SACP and the rest of the reformist left treacherously paint the cops as "fellow workers" and "comrades." The SACP's own Charles Nqakula is the minister of cops. The police are at the core of the capitalist state, an instrument of oppression of one class by another. In February 2001, cops attacked thousands of squatters and residents of Alexandra along the Jukskei River who were evicted in scenes that brought to mind apartheid-era forced removals. Earlier this year, mobs attacking "foreigners" in Atteridgeville, outside Tshwane, were aided by police who, according to the victims, "stood back and, indeed, encouraged the violence" (Mail & Guardian, 28 March). In Alexandra this week, cops broke up attempts by immigrants to defend themselves. Meanwhile on May 13, cops in Tshwane fired rubber bullets and stun grenades at up to 300 protesters from the SAMWU municipal workers union, which was on strike, near an award ceremony for Nelson Mandela that included government officials. One striker said, "What is there to celebrate when we go to sleep each night on an empty stomach?" (Daily Sun, 14 May). Cops out of the unions!

Zimbabweans, who make up much of the estimated three (continued on page 6)

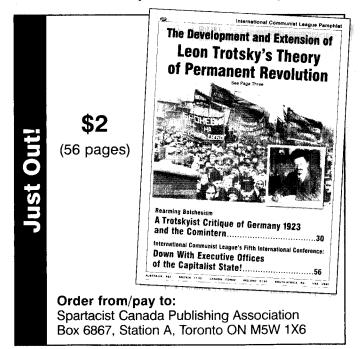
South Africa...

(continued from page 5)

to five million immigrants in South Africa, continue to flee unbearable conditions of poverty, exacerbated by imperialist economic pressures, and the violence of the bourgeoisnationalist Mugabe regime. In the current elections, both the Mugabe regime and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) of Morgan Tsvangirai, which is backed by white farmers and the imperialists, represent the class enemy of the proletariat. South African president Thabo Mbeki has been propping up Mugabe, while the COSATU and SACP leaderships implicitly or explicitly back the MDC.

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

The South African proletariat, which is exploited by a capitalist class whose holdings extend throughout southern Africa, has the social power to liberate not only the down-





South African cops enforce eviction of squatters in Delft, near Cape Town, February.

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

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

-Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 915, 23 May

Letter-

The Inedible in Defense of the Unspeakable

The following letter is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 913, 25 April.

11 April 2008

Box 6867. Station A

Toronto ON M5W 1X6

Dear Comrades,

Evidently the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) couldn't find sufficient ammunition in its well-stocked arsenal of lies against our organization to answer *The Logan Dossier*,

which thoroughly documents the onlytoo-true and proven crimes of the BT's international leader, Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our international tendency by the unanimous vote of the delegates at our first international conference in 1979 as a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism." Thirty years after the fact, the BT now charges that there was "a definite whiff of homophobia in the motion motivating Bill's expulsion"! This allnew malicious invention introduces the BT's "On the Logan Show Trial." Its not-so-subtle purpose is to distract from their studious evasion of the mass of factual evidence of Logan's cruel, sadistic

and cult-like practices in his capacity as National Chairman of our Australian section in the mid-1970s, compiled in the nearly 200 pages of *The Logan Dossier*.

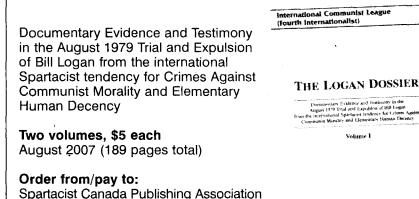
The charge that we are "homophobic" will surely shock the sensibilities of those leftists, feminists and others who have slandered us as "child molesters" and worse for our forthright, and rather elementary, opposition to the intervention of the capitalist state into consensual sexual relations of whatever type. It is a telling indictment of the BT's own attitude toward homosexuality that they associate "aberrant appetites and compulsions" with homosexuality. Such is in keeping with the contemptuous indifference of this outfit to the fight against special oppression, from their sneering denunciation of a memorial meeting we organized in 1985 for the survivors of the police/FBI's bombing of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia—in which eleven black people, including five children, were killed—to their Maple Leaf, Canadian-chauvinist opposition to independence for Quebec.

Our defense of those persecuted by the bourgeois state, which has included the North American Man/Boy Love Association, is an expression of our communist purpose. In 1977, the Spartacist League/U.S. carried out a unique fusion with the Red Flag Union, a collective that developed out of the New Leftist gay liberation milieu, and in the early '70s, a number of activists from the East Oakland Women as well as others in the left wing of the feminist women's movement were won to our communist program for women's liberation.

Bill Logan was expelled because he was the antithesis of

the very essence of the liberating goals of communism. As we wrote in the Preface to *The Logan Dossier* (reprinted in *WV* No. 900, 12 October 2007):

"We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the



gravedigger of the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose. The Leninist party demands a monopoly on the *political* activities of those who join our movement. All the more so do we draw a hard line against interference in comrades' personal lives. Driven by considerations of power and control, Logan was a malicious puppet-master who was sadistically destructive of people's personal lives—making people live together who did not want to do so, causing people who did want to live together to break up. There is no place for

the likes of a William King Logan in our movement.'

nin Lande al. 15 Randin Ili

At the time of Logan's trial, no one, including Logan himself, had or had given any intimation that he was gay. On the contrary, he and his companion Adaire were in appearance and attitude the epitome of straight-laced, uptight Presbyterian missionaries, something straight out of the painting "American Gothic." In practice, Logan's twisted and perverse anti-sexual pathology was expressed in his "slogan" for the membership, "Sew up their c--ts, cut off their balls!" Hardly the words of a sexual libertarian! On the contrary, for Logan sex was power, to be wielded for his own control. The most intimate details of comrades' personal lives were manipulated, with couples broken up or sexual relations manufactured by Logan in the guise of "building the party." Children were verboten, and sterilization and abortion were upheld as a party duty by Logan. He sadistically pressured a young woman comrade to have an abortion and, when that failed, to (continued on page 10)

Mass Arrests at UBC

Drop All Charges Now!

The Vancouver Spartacus Youth Club protests the arrest of protesters at the University of British Columbia by the RCMP on April 4. The arrests followed a peaceful concert against commercial development at UBC organized by Students for Democratic Society (SDS) and Trek Park for the People. The cops pushed, shoved and kicked protesters and threatened to use tasers. Some students had their faces forced into the pavement while being handcuffed with zip-ties. An SDS press release reported that student Alma Mater Society vicepresident Stefanie Ratjen's face was "shoved in a puddle of mud while an RCMP officer sat on top of her." At least 19 people face charges. One student was charged with "assaulting a police officer," and others with "obstructing a police officer." Drop all charges now!

The UBC protesters received a taste of the treatment regularly meted out to the poor, minorities and working people by police in B.C. The tasering to death of Polish immigrant Robert Dzickanski at Vancouver International Airport last fall made international headlines. Since then it has been revealed that at least ten B.C. Transit riders were tasered by cops since the start of 2007. On May 3 in Kamloops, the RCMP tasered an 82-year-old man, who had undergone bypass surgery, three times as he lay in his hospital bed! Police violence is intrinsic to capitalism. The cops, like the courts and army, are a central component of the capitalist state, which Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described in his book *The State and Revolution* as "an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another; it is the creation of 'order,' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression."

In an April 5 statement, SDS declares: "Only a public inquiry can establish why the RCMP is distorting the events of April 4th." We argue against any illusions in "public inquiries," a standard tool of the capitalists to refurbish the image of their state machine. As we wrote on the Ipperwash

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RCMP manhandle and threaten to taser student protesters at University of British Columbia, April 4.

inquiry into the racist 1995 Ontario Provincial Police killing of Native activist Dudley George:

"The capitalist rulers have a time-honoured strategy for dealing with public outrage. First, they lie through their golden teeth. Second, when anger persists, they stall. Then, if things still don't settle down, they 'reluctantly' hold an 'independent' public inquiry, staffed by judges, professors, priests or other loyal representatives of the ruling class, and perhaps recommending token punishment for someone involved. The more thorough the investigation appears, the better it serves its ideological purpose: to prove that the system works, that the state is accountable to the 'will of the people,' and that justice has been served."

-SC No. 146, Fall 2005

Now the B.C. Liberal government is conducting a public inquiry into the killing of Robert Dziekanski, a transparent attempt to defuse the mass anger over this cold-blooded execution.

Another SDS statement appeals to the UBC administration to "restrict police access to campus to prevent similar scenarios from occurring" and "ensure that students' peaceful right to protest is protected." The universities propagate bourgeois ideology, training the next generation of ideologues, technocrats, capitalist politicians and corporate lawyers needed by the capitalists to perpetuate their rule. We call to abolish the administration, which runs the university on the behalf of the ruling class. We call for student/teacher/worker control of the university, free tuition, open admissions and a living stipend for students.

We oppose the extension of the capitalist state onto the university campuses; as such we call for all cops off campus! We further demand that military and CSIS recruiters get off campus now! These are direct agents of the imperialist state machine that is today slaughtering people in Afghanistan. The SYC seeks to win students to the side of the working class and to struggle against the entire, barbaric capitalist system. Class antagonisms cannot be reconciled and the capitalist state cannot be reformed in the interests of the oppressed—it must be smashed through workers revolution.■

U of T Protesters...

(continued from page 3)

maximize profit and supplying capitalist society with managers and bosses as well as socially useful skilled workers and specialists. U of T, which has direct investments of hundreds of millions in corporations like the Royal Bank and Petro Canada, is a historic bastion of WASP ruling-class privilege and has always jealously guarded its gates against the "lower orders." For many years, U of T had anti-Semitic quotas limiting the number of Jewish students. Today, only a tiny handful of Toronto's huge black. South Asian and Native population manages to get into its hallowed halls.

We fight for free tuition for all and open admissions, and we demand a state-paid living stipend for students. The capitalists maintain elite schools centrally as preserves for their offspring, but when it comes to the education of those they exploit and oppress, the rulers invest only as much as they can realize back in profit. Free quality education for *all* everyone in this society—requires the overthrow of this decaying, profit-driven capitalist order by victorious socialist revolution around the globe.

In defending the Fight Fees 14 against the state, we put forward a revolutionary working-class perspective, fighting the illusions that AQ and others spread that the Governing Council and university administration (which is currently howling for their blood) can be reformed in the interests of students, workers and faculty. This is in stark contrast to the other self-styled Marxist groups on campus, such as Fightback and the Bolshevik Tendency (BT), who are manifestly incapable of offering a fighting revolutionary program to youth.

The Fightback group, which has a supporter among the Fight Fees 14, is a case in point. The Fightback reformists echo the demand for "parity" on U of T's governing bodies, and their call for the "NDP to Power on a Socialist Program" fosters the worst illusions that this consummately procapitalist social-democratic party could ever become a force for socialism. You can get the measure of Fightback from the gushing support its British comrades give to cops demanding better pay (see "Craven Reformists Back Cops," *Workers Hammer* No. 202, Spring 2008). "Bolshevik Bobbies," head-lined their paper *Socialist Appeal* (March 2008) while a June 4 internet article comments feelingly on "a policemen's lot."

This disgusting subservience to the racist capitalist state's armed thugs should give pause to campus activists embroiled in struggle against state repression and police violence. It is also not new for Fightback and their co-thinkers in the International Marxist Tendency, who have long held that the police are part of the working class when in fact they are a core part of the capitalist state, along with the army, courts and prisons. In Canada and all other capitalist countries, the state exists to defend private property, and as such the cops are the deadly enemies of workers, oppressed people and leftists. The only way to end cop violence once and for all is through workers revolution to smash the capitalist state.

As for the BT, back in 1990, they issued a leaflet, aimed at U of T students, raising the demand for "open access for all qualified applicants," plus remedial upgrading for those who "lack the prerequisites." The BT's call for access for "qualified applicants" is a far cry from our Marxist demand for *open admissions* to cut across class barriers to education. U of T is replete with class hatred and all the snooty affectations of the English Canadian rulers, in whose eyes the overwhelming

majority of working-class youth, especially blacks and other minorities, will never be "qualified" for quality education. And these are essentially the same eyes through which the BT views society.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the BT's opposition to Quebec independence (a position they share with Fightback as well as the big-time social democrats of the NDP). Anglochauvinist bigotry against the Québécois and francophones in general has always been a cornerstone of Canadian capitalism. The BT has the distinction of being *the* "socialists" officially invited to a Montreal "Canadian unity" rally on the eve of the 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty. It is no accident the BT was invited to this "We love Canada" rally organized by top business leaders—because the BT's leaflet on the referendum (issued only in English!) also called on Quebec workers to vote No to independence. When the BT's only Québécois member quit, he protested their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie."

In contrast, the SYC advocates independence for Quebec, opposing the ugly anti-Québécois chauvinism which permeates every aspect of political life in this country. This is the only road to bringing to the fore the real social contradictions between the working class and its "own" bourgeois exploiters in both English Canada and Quebec, thereby laying a genuine basis for common class struggle in the future.

What Way Forward?

Students who want to fight for real change must break from a narrow campus outlook and ask how to get rid of the entire capitalist system. The working class is the only force in society with the interests and social power necessary to overthrow capitalism because, through its labour, it creates the profits that are the motor force of capitalist production. Labour organizations such as the Ontario Federation of Labour and CAW Youth Network, along with representatives of CUPE and the OSSTF teachers union, have gone on record against the repression of the U of T activists. Yet the pro-capitalist politics of the trade-union tops are an obstacle in the struggle to mobilize workers to defend victims of capitalist repression, to say nothing of making the working class conscious of the need to sweep away the capitalist system.

The muzzling of student protest and attacks on education in Canada are paralleled internationally. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—the world's first workers state, product of the 1917 October Revolution in 1991-92, the imperialist rulers everywhere have been emboldened to step up their attacks on workers and the poor. From Canada to West Europe, the capitalists have been slashing pensions, health care, unemployment benefits. They regard the concessions granted to workers and the oppressed in an earlier period, including in education, as no longer necessary to placate the working class and dissuade it from fighting to overthrow capitalist rule. Meanwhile, imperialist plunder has bled the neocolonial world dry.

Just as we fought to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, we fight tooth and nail to defend the gains of the working class that are on the chopping block today. But our program is not to return to the days of the "welfare state." Our program is to fight for new October Revolutions. The capitalist system in its death agony cannot provide a decent education, a decent living and a decent future for mankind. It must be overthrown. We fight to build (continued on page 10)

Unspeakable...

(continued from page 7)

give up her child for adoption, driving her to attempt suicide.

While allowing that perhaps Logan was brutal and even grossly abusive, the BT continues to try to pass off his unspeakable crimes as merely an extension of our organizational practices. In fact, we have drawn a hard line against party interference in comrades' personal lives since the earliest days of our organization, following a dispute with some comrades in our local in the Bay Area, where New Leftderived notions of the "personal is political" were rife on the left. Our policy was codified in our 1969 document, "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," which, under the section "SL Functioning," states: "The SL seeks to regulate personal aspects of comrades' lives only where those aspects themselves intrude decisively in the political or organizational life of the members, particularly in security matters" (reprinted in "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League," Marxist Bulletin No. 9).

Logan willfully flouted our organizational practices. One need look no further than the fact that the malicious manipulation of the personal lives of comrades in our Australian section ended when Logan left. Chris Korwin, who took over as National Chairman of the section after Logan, attested to this in his greetings to our 1979 international conference. Noting that the section had recruited two gay men, including a prominent leader of the fight for gay rights in Australia, he remarked that this represented "a humanization of the organization that would have been impossible under Logan."

We only learned that Logan was gay from his memoir, "Never Exactly One of the Lads...," published in *One of the Boys?* in 1988, nine years after he was expelled. Here, Logan himself allowed that he only began to come to terms with his homosexuality some years after he was expelled. This essay, with its saccharine accounts of his happy childhood and no mention of his ever having been a member of a Leninist organization, was all in the service of promoting himself as coming out of the closet as a "new" all-round sensitive man. Caveat emptor (buyer beware). Even in this memoir it is notable that Logan's sexual orientation continues to run a distant third to considerations of power, a word that appears 12 times in some 20 pages. Since then, Logan has moved on to advertise his services as a "celebrant"-a New Age equivalent of a spiritual faith healer-with funeral services for dead babies, a "secular grace" and other ceremonies derived from the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood." Hannibal Lecter reinvented as the soul of human kindness. As we wrote in "Bill Logan: From Krafft-Ebing to Mother Teresa? BT: Renegades for Hire" (WV No. 807, 1 August 2003), "This is one sick puppy."

That Logan is the leader of the self-proclaimed "International Bolshevik Tendency" should also tell you just about all you need to know about them.

Comradely, Len Meyers

P.S. Remarkably, the BT's Web site features a letter to Logan from one Steve H. with his "Thoughts on the Spartacists' 'Logan Dossier'." The BT opines that Steve H.'s "rather different lens tends to confirm the most important parts of our analysis" of the supposed "degeneration" of our organization. A rather different lens indeed! When Steve H. quit our Australian section in 1986, admitting to "alien faddist pursuits," he was searching for the solace of the lord through spiritual "rebirthing." A fitting new addition to the defense team for the BT's own sordid spiritual leader.

Young Spartacus

U of T Protesters...

(continued from page 9)

the revolutionary, internationalist workers party, like Lenin's Bolshevik Party, that the workers need to carry out a successful proletarian revolution. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students and other youth to the fight to build such a party. Join us in our struggle!

We reprint below a June 6 letter by the SYC to Ontario attorney general Chris Bentley and U of T president David Naylor demanding that all charges against the Fight Fees 14 be dropped along with all threats of academic reprisals.

The University of Toronto Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests the laying of criminal charges against 14 protesters, including students and their supporters, who participated in an anti-fee sit-in at Simcoe Hall on March 20. The laundry list of trumped-up allegations includes forcible confinement, mischief and (in one case) making death threats. This blatant attack on the democratic right to protest on campus, which the haughty U of T administration despicably labels as "thuggish tactics by mobs," is part and parcel of a general attack on the right of working class and minority youth to an education.

On March 20, protesters gathered to oppose the raising of residence fees at New College by 20 percent. The protest, ending with the sit-in, was broken up by U of T police, who man-

handled a number of protesters under the lying pretext of protecting staff against harassment and "forcible confinement." Several weeks later, Toronto police charged 14 protesters with various offenses, while at least 15 students are also threatened with disciplinary measures under the U of T Code of Conduct. The arrested students, staff and alumni face stringent bail conditions, banning them from protesting at U of T and preventing them from associating with one another outside of court or classes. Several have been banned from the campus entirely, preventing at least one, Oriel Varga, from going to her job. Campus cops have followed others, even searching for one student when she cause on campus to defer her exam.

The treatment of these youth is an outrage! The SYC says: Drop all the charges now! No academic reprisals against the student protesters! Cops off campus!

* * *

Send protest letters to Chris Bentley, Attorney General, McMurtry-Scott Building, 720 Bay St., 11th Floor, Toronto, ON M5G 2K1; email: cbentley.mpp.co@liberal.ola.org, and David Naylor, President, University of Toronto, 27 King's College Circle, Room 206, Toronto, ON M5S 1A1; email: david.naylor@utoronto.ca. The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the legal defense of the Fight Fees 14 and urges others to do so. Send checks to OPIRG Toronto, 563 Spadina Ave., Room 101, North Borden Building, Toronto, ON M5S 2J7. On check memo line put: Fightfees Legal Fund.■

Tibet...

(continued from page 1)

has resulted in enormous gains for that country's working and peasant masses, including for the people of Tibet, which, until the victory of Chinese forces there in 1959, was ruled by a proslavery "Lamaocracy." The "Free Tibet" cause originated with the machinations of the CIA and other imperialist forces intent on restoring capitalism in China, which would once again reduce the country to semicolonial subjugation. The call to "Free Tibet" is a rallying cry for counterrevolution and would in fact mean imperialist lordship over the Tibetan masses. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Chinese deformed workers state would be a tremendous defeat for the international proletariat, including for the Tibetan people.

Before being crushed by the People's Liberation Army in 1959, the Lamaist theocracy in Tibet was perhaps proportionally the largest and most idle ruling stratum in human history, economically

supported by peasants, growers of barley and herders of yak. At base, this meant that the back-breaking labour was mostly done by women, since both the monks and a not small portion of the male population, who emulated the monastic life after "sinning" by procreating, were employed in contemplation.

After suppressing the CIA-backed 1959 uprising, the Chinese government abolished ulag (forced peasant labour) and put an end to flogging, mutilation and amputation as forms of criminal punishment. The land, livestock and tools of the aristocrats who fled into exile were distributed to the peasants, as were the land and chattels of the monasteries that had participated in the uprising. The Chinese deformed workers state established secular education and constructed running water and electrical systems in Lhasa. As a result, the average life span of Tibetans, which had been 35 years in 1950, rose to 67 in 2001. Infant mortality, which was an astounding 43 percent in 1950, dramatically decreased to 0.661 percent in 2000. The recent opening of the Lhasa-Qinghai railway, connecting Tibet to the rest of China, has led to economic development and an improvement of living standards. These gains are testimony to the social progress resulting from the





University of California Press

Members of Democratic Youth League of Eastern Tibet and Batang Underground Party in 1949 after surrender of local warlord and news that the People's Liberation Army was nearing the region. Smashing of capitalist class rule in China opened road for social liberation of Tibetan people.

expropriation of the capitalist class and landlords and the institution of proletarian property forms that issued out of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Especially since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the deformed workers states of East Europe and, in particular, the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, China has been increasingly in the cross hairs of the imperialists. To promote counterrevolution, they combine pursuit of the economic openings offered by the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, through which they seek to encourage internal counterrevolution, with escalating military pressure. China, the strongest of the remaining deformed workers states, is surrounded by a whole system of U.S. military bases. Along with North Korea, it is on the Pentagon's hit list as a potential target of a nuclear first strike, while the U.S. program of National Missile Defense has the strategic goal of neutralizing China's modest nuclear capacities.

The imperialist rulers hope to take advantage of the upcoming Beijing 2008 Olympics to intensify their pressure on China through their support to the Dalai Lama. In a provocation that prefigured the Tibet riots, within a space of five weeks beginning last September the Dalai Lama met with German chancellor Angela Merkel in Berlin, U.S. president Bush in Washington—the first time a sitting U.S. president has met publicly with the Dalai Lama—and Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper. In late May, British prime minister Gordon Brown met with the Dalai Lama in London.

While the Bush administration has called on China to exercise "restraint" in Tibet, the Democrats have sought to outdo the Bush gang in belligerence toward China. After the Tibet riots broke out, Democratic House speaker Nancy Pelosi visited the headquarters of the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India. In a March 12 statement, Pelosi condemned "the violent response by Chinese forces to peaceful protesters in Tibet." While Democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton issued a statement declaring that "Chinese repression in Tibet continues," Barack Obama's statement echoed Pelosi's in condemning "the use of violence to put down peaceful protests." In fact, during the violent riots, China's security forces "appear to have acted with relative restraint," as the *Economist* (continued on page 12)

Tibet...

(continued from page 11)

online (16 March) reported.

Virulent China-bashers, in 2006 the Harper Tory government went so far as to make the Dalai Lama an honourary Canadian citizen. In synch with their imperialist masters, the deeply anti-Communist NDP has always landed squarely on the side of capitalist counterrevolution; the riots in Tibet were no exception. These social-democratic frontmen for imperialism were quick to join the anti-China furor, expressing "deep concern and alarm at the crackdown by the government of China against civilian protesters in Tibet" (14 March statement). A month later, federal NDP MP Peggy Nash and Ontario MPP Cheri DiNovo were among the "Parliamentary Friends of Tibet" who made a pilgrimage to Ann Arbor, Michigan to pay homage to "his holiness" the Dalai Lama.

Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution

For their part, the fake "socialists" are marching in lockstep behind their imperialist rulers' attempts to foment counterrevolution in China, just as they supported the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, a worldhistoric defeat for the international proletariat that has brought devastation and misery to the peoples of the former Soviet Union. In France, the misnamed Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, which is associated with Socialist Action (SA) in the U.S. and Canada, immediately solidarized with the lamas, condemning the "repression which is meted out by the Beijing regime" and calling for "self determination" (18 March statement). Their Japanese affiliate, Kakehashi, called for the "right of self-determination for the Tibetan people" and demanded that China "accept an international investigation team" (Kakehashi, 24 March).

SA itself—in Canada deeply loyal to and deeply buried in the NDP—echoes this. "We support the protesters in Tibet," they declare, "we support their call for Tibetan independence, and we call for China's immediate withdrawal" (*Socialist Action*, April 2008). SA warns against making "common cause in any way with the U.S. State Department and CIA on one hand, or the Dalai Lama's project to revive Tibet's dark



Toronto, March 29: Thousands rally to protest bourgeois media's anti-China campaign over Tibet.



Spartacus Youth Club calls to defend China against imperialism, counterrevolution at April 19 Toronto protest to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

ages on the other." But this is exactly what their demands amount to.

Meanwhile, the reformists of the Committee for a Workers' International, which publishes *China Worker* and is associated with Socialist Alternative in the U.S. and Canada, have declared themselves to be for Tibet's "right to independence." They saluted the supposed "radical layers" among Tibetan youth as against the "conciliatory approach" of the Dalai Lama, while admitting that "national independence on a capitalist basis can in no way solve the problems of the impover-ished masses" (*China Worker*, 18 March).

No less than these outright social democrats, the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) (which claims to defend China) has embraced the forces of counterrevolution via the CIA's favoured "godking." The BT holds that "a revolutionary government in China would signal its willingness to coexist with Tibet's traditional ruling caste" as long as the latter "retain popular support" (1917, 2004). Expanding on this, they demand that Tibetans have "the right to elect whoever they choose to administrative positions," claiming that this is "simply an attempt to speak to the deeply-felt grievances and suspicions of peoples long oppressed by the dominant Han" (1917, 2005). They openly acknowledge that:

"The social backwardness of Tibet and Xinjiang make it likely that, initially at least, members of the reactionary traditional elites would be among those elected. 'Co-existing' with such persons within the economic/legal framework of a workers' state does not imply tolerating attempts to undermine the system of collectivized property."

On the contrary! Any Tibetan "reactionary traditional elites" holding "administrative positions" in the Chinese deformed workers state would quickly use these as a rallying point for imperialist provocation against China, which would open the door to counterrevolution. This is precisely what happened leading up to the 1959 CIA-backed rebellion. The BT's grotesque pandering to the devotion of benighted peoples to their religious leaders is the opposite of early Bolshevik policy under Lenin and Trotsky. The Bolsheviks defended the rights of minority nationalities against Russian chauvinism—and nationalist and religious leaders who used this as a

Trotskyists at *Historical Materialism* **Debate on China**

One of the main plenary sessions at the first North American conference of the left academic journal Historical Materialism-held at Toronto's York University in late April-was on "China and the Imperial Order." Some 150 people attended the April 25 session, which was devoted in large part to debate on the character of present-day China. Panelist Leo Panitch, editor of Socialist Register, put forward the social-democratic argument that "a very venal Communist elite" in China had transformed itself into a bourgeoisie. For his part Li Mingi, a former Chinese student activist arrested for his participation in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, claimed that capitalism became "dominant" in China in the early 1990s. The viewpoint of the third panelist, Johns Hopkins University professor Giovanni Arrighi, amounted to overt agnosticism on the class character of China today, as he told the audience: "Is China capitalist? Socialist? I don't know, I have no idea."

A spokesman for the Trotskyist League, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), was called on first in the question period. We print below his remarks in lightly edited form. For a fuller treatment of these issues, see "Market Reforms' Exacerbate Contradictions in China—Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!" (SC No. 153, Summer 2007).

"I'm with the International Communist League. I just want to say in terms of the discussion here, there is this

cover for pro-imperialist counterrevolution were suppressed. The BT's call for "coexistence" with the lamas dovetails precisely with the "Free Tibet" machinations of the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys.

Enemies of the Chinese deformed workers state, these opponents of the revolutionary internationalist workers movement are willing to consign the Tibetan masses to the return of the lamaocracy. The pseudo-Marxists' calls for Tibetan "independence" stand to the right of even the Dalai Lama, who admitted in 2005: "As the material development of China moves forward we gain materially, like the railway. If we were a separate country it would be very difficult and we would not benefit" (*South China Morning Post*, 14 March).

Patterned after the Soviet Union after the usurpation of political power from the working class by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of Mao Zedong that carried out the 1949 Revolution was not a party based on the working class, but rather the peasantry. From the start, the CCP regime suppressed independent action by the working class, excluding it from political power. Representing a nationalist bureaucratic caste resting atop the collectivized economy, the Beijing Stalinist regime preached the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In practice, "socialism in one counwidespread belief that extends all across the political spectrum that China has either become capitalist or is irreversibly heading that way, and Leo Panitch answered in the affirmative. There are all kinds of pseudo-Marxist groups who promote this illusion in the service of lining up behind their own bourgeoisie, in the service of capitalist restoration in China.

"We insist that China remains a workers state since the 1949 Revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed by Stalinist parasitism and mismanagement. We think the biggest crime that the Stalinists have done is to promote the illusion that you can have peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world order. And right now we see that the strategic goal for the capitalist powers is to smash the Chinese workers state, to turn it into a vast sphere of untrammeled exploitation and superprofit.

"So we stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution [interruptions from chair], the latest evidence of which can be seen in these counterrevolutionary riots in Tibet. We think there's only two ways forward, two ways for China. Either it's going to be 'integrated' into the capitalist world economy as subservient, as in the pre-Revolution days, as colonials of the imperialists [loud interruptions], or there is going to be a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy."

try" meant accommodation to world imperialism and opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally.

In their futile pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, the Stalinist misrulers themselves undermine the defense of the Chinese workers state. The official statements from Beijing condemning the riots in Tibet have laid the blame solely on the Dalai Lama; left unsaid is the role of the imperialists. But as a New York Times (22 March) op-ed article by one Patrick French, a former director of the "Free Tibet Campaign" in London, stated, "The International Campaign for Tibet, based in Washington, is now a more powerful and effective force on global opinion than the Dalai Lama's outfit in northern India." This "Free Tibet" supporter went on to underline that "the European and American pro-Tibet organizations are the tail that wags the dog of the Tibetan government-in-exile." He also noted that "after scouring the archives in Dharamsala" he found "that there was no evidence" to support the claim raised by his and other "Free Tibet" groups that 1.2 million Tibetans have been killed since the Chinese entered Tibet in 1950.

At the same time, Chinese Stalinism has meant nationalism and Han chauvinism. During the misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that began in the mid 1960s, in which Mao mobilized millions of student youth to buttress his position in an intra-bureaucratic factional feud, Mao subjected the Tibetans to fierce Great Han chauvinism. Tibetan (continued on page 14)

Tibet...

(continued from page 13)

language and native dress were proscribed. Much of what had been at the core of Tibetan culture was simply smashed up and destroyed, although with the beneficial side effect of driving monks into actual labour.

After Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping lifted the strictures against Tibetan language, attire and hairstyles. At the same time, monasteries were rebuilt and refurbished, and idle monks returned in droves and numbered 40,000 to 50,000 by the late 1990s. Meanwhile, the "market reforms" initiated under Deng have increased Han privilege in the area. The real gains won by the Tibetan masses from the 1949 Chinese Revolution stand alongside continuing inequalities.

Over 92 percent of China's population is Han. It is vital for the Chinese proletariat to combat the Han chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy and oppose all discrimination against Tibetans, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinjiang and other national and ethnic minorities. What is needed is a fight to sweep away Stalinist bureaucratic rule in China and replace it with a regime based on workers democracy, expressed through workers and peasants councils and rooted in Marxist internationalism. This would be a workers *political* revolution, not a social one. It would be based on defending the Chinese workers state and fighting for international socialist revolution. Key to realizing this perspective is the forging of a Trotskyist party in China. The fate of the Tibetan people is inextricably bound up with the struggle for proletarian politi-

Mumia Demos...

(continued from page 24)

Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ), which drew some 600 protesters. The same day, the Committee for Social Defense (CDDS), the PDC's fraternal defense organization in France, also built a contingent of over 60 people at a Paris protest that drew over 200 demonstrators, while our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, participated in a protest of some 50 people in Mexico City. On April 12, the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) in Germany had mobilized a Class-Struggle Contingent of 80 people in a demonstration called by the Berlin "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" Coalition that drew about 300. These contingents marched under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Mobilize Labour's Power-For Mass Protest!"

Internationally, over 500 individuals and organizations, including trade unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, endorsed the united-front protests (for a list of endorsers, go to: www.partisandefense.org). An early endorsement came from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) Western Cape, which issued a statement declaring: "COSATU endorses the campaign to free Comrade ABU JAMAL.... We will stand with the millions of people across the world that are calling for justice to be done and will join the protest against this travesty of justice." Other endorsers included the OPZZ Konfederacja Pracy (All-Poland Workers Trade Union Confederation of Labour) and the All-Workers Fighting Front (PAME) union federation of cal revolution in China and socialist revolution in the capitalist countries—from the Indian subcontinent to Japan, the U.S. and other imperialist centers.

Back in 1959, in the aftermath of the failed Tibetan uprising, James Robertson, one of the founding leaders of our international tendency and national chairman of the Spartacist League, wrote a leaflet that was printed in *Young Socialist* (June 1959), newspaper of the Young Socialist Clubs, forerunner of the youth group of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Robertson was a former member of a Shachtmanite organization that had a "third campist" (i.e., non-defensist) position toward the Soviet Union. An ardent communist, he was won to Trotskyism and joined the SWP. This leaflet, titled "The Tibetan Brigade: Crocodile Tears Stain the Monkscloth" and issued by the Eugene V. Debs Club of Berkeley, was his first statement of Trotskyist Soviet defensism. In it he asserted:

"The real choice for Tibet if Chinese control were thrown off is not independent nationhood but abject dependence on American arms, money and advisors....

"The victory of the Chinese Communist government is clearly the progressive choice in the present contest. However, to recognize this is not to whitewash that regime. But even in its distorted way it is part of great and positive changes on the Asian mainland, changes that eventually will be the Maoists' own undoing. Through these very achievements the regime will be overthrown by the mass of people anxious to rule their own destinies without the intervention of a privileged elite. That is the future; the Tibetan monk-rulers are the past."

-Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 911, 28 March

Greece, which is allied with the Communist Party. In Scotland, the Aberdeen Trades Union Council and the Scottish Trades Union Congress endorsed, with Grahame Smith, General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, declaring in his greetings to the protests that Mumia "should be freed immediately from prison. He is innocent, and the inherently racist death penalty should be abolished." In Canada, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) endorsed as did the Toronto local executive.

Additionally, 40 trade-union locals in the U.S. and around the world endorsed the united-front protests. These locals represent workers in industries such as transport, waterfront, steel, auto, electrical and communications, as well as postal workers, teachers and campus workers. Scores of individual union leaders also endorsed as well as representatives of such organizations as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Latino Caucus of SEIU Local 721 in L.A.

The PDC also sought support for Mumia's cause among students, antiwar and gay rights activists, minorities, immigrant communities, left organizations and other public figures. Endorsements for the united fronts were received from former Black Panther Party leaders Elaine Brown and David Hilliard, the head of the VVN-BdA (Association of the Victims of the Nazi Regime—Coalition of Anti-Fascists) in Berlin, Ovide Mercredi (Chief of the Misipawistik Cree Nation and former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations), South African actor Dr. John Kani, Cynthia McKinney (U.S. Green Party candidate for president) and well-known writers Cornel West, Gilles Perrault, Robert Allen, Michael Eric Dyson and Manning Marable. From Cuba, we received endorsements from author Celia Hart and



Philadelphia, April 19: PDC/ Labor Black League Class-Struggle Contingent at Mumia protest initiated by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Che Guevara's daughter, Aleida Guevara March. A statement of solidarity was sent by Leonard Peltier, the longtime jailed American Indian Movement leader who remains unbowed in the face of a decades-long vendetta by the U.S. government. The protests were also built and attended by black nationalist groups in London, Chicago and Oakland, gay rights activists in Chicago, and others. Speakers included trade unionists, family members of slain Black Panthers and former Black Panthers facing frame-up charges today.

The PDC encouraged the endorsing organizations to issue their own calls for the demonstrations. All organizations that endorsed the protests were also invited to speak. Where participants took up the PDC's invitation to express their own views, including raising political differences with other participants, a broad range of political viewpoints was aired, which only made more powerful the shared commitment to the urgent fight for Mumia's freedom.

Reformists Demobilized a Mass Movement— Rebuild the Movement for Mumia!

What is vital is to turn the endorsements and statements of support from the international labour movement into labour action in the fight to free Mumia. We fight for a strategy of class-struggle defense, which must be based on the understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two hostile social classes—the capitalist exploiters and the working class—and that the capitalist state and its courts are organs of repression against working people and the oppressed. As PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein underlined at the Mexico City united-front protest:

"There is a power to fight against the state's vendetta against Mumia. The power to make the courts yield, the power to set Mumia free rests in the international, multiracial, multiethnic working class that can stop production, transport and communication!... That power is represented in embryo by endorsers of this demonstration and those who have come out today! This power must be used to fight for Mumia, for all class-war prisoners, as part of turning economic struggles of the working people into political struggles leading to socialist revolutions around the globe."

As part of this class-struggle strategy, the PDC has fought for genuine united-front action in Mumia's defense. The united front is a tactic for common actions undertaken under the watchword. "march separately, strike together." That means unity in action based on agreed-upon slogans and complete freedom of criticism—i.e., open debate about what strategy is needed to rebuild the movement for Mumia and fight for his freedom. As communists who participate in united-front actions, we never relinquish the obligation to say the truth as we see it. However, in the service of class collaboration, the Stalinists and social democrats have over the decades perverted the term united front, using it to mean a political bloc of opportunists who would not dream of openly raising criticisms of one another. Today, that means evading the political struggle necessary to move forward the fight to free Mumia.

In its April 8. "Open Letter to Fighters for Mumia's Freedom" (reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 912, 11 April), the PDC noted that the March 27 court ruling made it so clear that Mumia cannot get justice in the capitalist courts that "even those who have mobilized for many years on the basis that Mumia could get a 'new, fair trial' now proclaim that there should be no illusions in the American injustice system." Prior to the April 19 ICFFMAJ demonstration in Philadelphia and the PDC-initiated united front in Oakland, the PDC approached the San Francisco Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition in New York City to endorse the PDC-initiated protests and to turn the Philly protest into a genuine united front. But these proposals were rejected outright. As the PDC stated in its "Open Letter":

"The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a stark expression of the class and race bias of the capitalist courts and underlines the need for the multiracial working class to champion the fight for black liberation....

"The call for a 'new trial' is based on a political program of reliance on the capitalist class, its politicians and courts to afford justice to fighters for the oppressed. Nobody ever called for a 'new trial' for Angela Davis, Huey Newton or Nelson Mandela. Had the political counterposition between our call to 'Free Mumia' and those advocating a 'new trial' been openly debated over the past decade, the movement for Mumia today would have been stronger and firmly based on the need to mobilize to free this innocent man....

"The rejection of our urgent call for united-front action by the Mobe and the New York Coalition is political cowardice. At this urgent hour, they are subordinating the fight for Mumia's freedom to their fear of political debate."

Mumia Demos...

(continued from page 15)

Indeed, while numerous organizations and individuals endorsed the united-front protests, conspicuously absent were most of the left---with a few exceptions, such as the Freedom Socialist Party and the Internationalist Group (IG) in the U.S.-though we actively sought their endorsements and encouraged them to help build the protests. In Toronto, the International Socialists (I.S.) boycotted the event, while Socialist Action (SA) and the Bolshevik Tendency ostentatiously refused to endorse the PDC's united-front protests, which simply called for freedom for an innocent black political prisoner and an end to the racist death penalty (things that should be ABC to any decent liberal, let alone a self-professed socialist). As Marxists, we oppose the death penalty on principle everywhere, including in the bureaucratically deformed workers states---such as China---which we unconditionally militarily defend against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

The sectarianism of the fake left is no accident. They bear responsibility for the demobilization of the movement in defense of Mumia, which used to mobilize protests of tens of thousands. It was international protest action, including with the support of trade unions around the world, that was crucial in staying the executioner's hand in 1995 when a death warrant for Mumia was signed. But since 1995, groups such as Socialist Action in the U.S. and Canada, which before 1995 had barely said anything about Mumia's case, have subordinated the fight to free Mumia to the call for a "new trial," preaching the lie that Mumia would get justice from the very courts that have kept him behind bars.

As more and more evidence came out proving Mumia's innocence, most of it uncovered by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, who served on Mumia's legal defense from 1995 to 1999, the reformist left increasingly discarded Mumia's innocence and deepened their commitment to promoting illusions in American "justice." This became explicit in a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting," where representatives of SA, Solidarity, Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party's Refuse & Resist, ICFFMAJ and others adopted a strategy that explicitly rejected the call to free Mumia and abolish the death penalty in favour of the call for a new trial.

This was part of a strategy to reach out "to the American mainstream," as Solidarity's Steve Bloom approvingly wrote in *Against the Current* (March/April 1999). The reformists actively buried and denigrated evidence of Mumia's innocence, most notably the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. In December 2001, U.S. District Court judge William Yohn overturned Mumia's death sentence while affirming his frame-up conviction. This was a demoralizing blow to the advocates of a "new trial." But rather than mobilizing on the call to free Mumia, they told activists to look to the next federal appeals court. This line was echoed by larger reformist forces internationally, such as the French Communist Party (PCF), as well as trade-union bureaucrats in the U.S.

The effect was devastating; a mass movement was demobilized. Why mobilize on the streets or in the unions if Mumia can get justice from the courts? As the KfsV, the PDC's fraternal defense organization in Germany, stated in a polemic against the Berlin Coalition for Mumia (see "Ger-



Workers Vanguard

Reformists demobilized mass movement by pushing illusions in the racist, capitalist courts. Sign at 1995 Philadelphia demo calls for "New Trial to Free Mumia."

many: Anti-Communists Undermine Fight to Free Mumia," *WV* No. 906, 18 January):

"To make the demand for a 'new, fair trial' a perspective for the movement for Mumia's freedom means reaching out to those liberals who question Mumia's innocence, who would be content if he were condemned to a living death, who just want the frame-up to gain the appearance of 'fairness' and 'due process.' The Coalition seeks to appeal to those in the 'mainstream' who see the legal hell that Mumia has been put through as a stain on the image of American 'justice' or a deviation from European 'constitutional' democracy. Preaching that the next court is *the court* that will grant Mumia a new, fair trial also demoralizes those youth and workers who initially joined the fight for Mumia because in his fight, they saw their own fight against 'the system' as they understood it and have experienced it first hand."

The reformist left's subordination of Mumia's struggle to the bourgeois liberals and "progressive" U.S. Democrats is fundamentally no different from their treatment of other social struggles—such as that against the invasion and occupation of Iraq, the fight for immigrant rights, abortion rights, etc. In the U.S., these and more have been hitched to unseating the Republican majority in Congress—already accomplished in 2006—and to installing a Democrat in the White House this year. In Canada, groups like SA and the I.S. act as left shills for the pro-capitalist, Anglo-chauvinist social democrats of the NDP.

This stems from the reformists' opposition to the fight for socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist order and their promotion of the lie that capitalism, through protest and pressure, can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. Today in the U.S., the reformists, either explicitly or implicitly, seek to boost the fortunes of prodeath-penalty capitalist politician Barack Obama (or, to a far lesser extent, pro-death-penalty capitalist politician Hillary Clinton). Meanwhile, others are promoting "progressive" capitalist politician Cynthia McKinney, the presumptive nominee of the small-time capitalist Green Party.

In building for the April 19 Mumia protest in Philadelphia,



PDC banner at May 2001 Mumia demo in San Francisco warns, "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!"

the PDC set up a banner calling for Mumia's freedom in the vicinity of the Obama rally on April 18. Spartacist comrades made clear our fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class, distributing the April 17 article, "Obama, Clinton: No Friends of Workers, Blacks, the Oppressed—Break with the Democratic Party of Imperialist War and Racism! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!" (reprinted in WV No. 913, 25 April). That article made clear that we "do not extend any political support on principle to any capitalist politician—Democrat, Republican, Green or 'Independent'."

In going to this rally, we sought to publicize Mumia's cause and to intersect liberal youth attracted to Obama with Mumia's case. Ever since we took up Mumia's case in 1987, we have always sought to bring in broader forces that do not share our Marxist framework in the struggle on his behalf. In going to the "mainstream," the reformists sought to build a "movement" that took an agnostic position on Mumia's case and brought it to the broadest possible forces, and done so—through our mobilizations, rallies and publications (most recently, for example, the PDC Fact Sheet pamphlet, *Big Lies in the Service of Legal Lynching*)—on the basis that he is an innocent man, the victim of a racist and political frame-up, who must be immediately freed.

One can contrast the protests initiated by the PDC with the other recent Mumia protests, which sought to exclude our communist views from the expressions of "diversity" permitted from their platforms. At the April 19 Philadelphia rally, the organizers arranged that different groups of demonstrators protest separately in their own little bantustans: the contingent built by the PDC on one corner, while on other corners there were supporters of organizations such as the ICFFMAJ and others. This division only emboldened fascist provocateurs and other supporters of the racist cops to carry out their previously announced threats of harassment and violence against Mumia's defenders.

In contrast, the PDC-initiated protests *united* forces with diverse political viewpoints behind the call to free Mumia, while allowing each group to put forward its views. In Oakland, speakers included Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Francisco Torres and Ray Boudreaux of the "San Francisco 8," former Black Panthers now being dragged through the courts on frame-up charges of killing a cop, which had been dismissed 30 years ago.

Speakers in the London protest included a number of black nationalists, such as Brother Omowale, who spoke on behalf of Galaxy Radio, which had publicized the PDC-initiated protest. Jessica Huntley, who helped found Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, gave a very powerful and vivid picture of Mumia's professionalism and political knowledge as a journalist when she had met him in 1981. She recalled Mumia calling her after he was arrested, telling her he was in prison for a crime he did not commit.

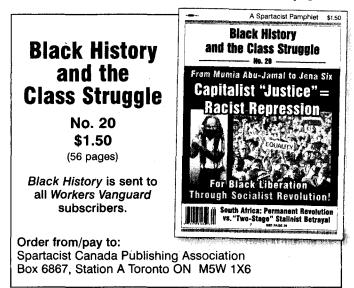
The Toronto united-front protest included several union speakers and a number of trade-union banners. Addressing the Shimmin National Barrassatatius of the

protesters, Kevin Shimmin, National Representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, underscored:

"The fight to free Mumia from the racist, capitalist clutches of America is our fight. It is the struggle of every worker fighting for dignity; of every immigrant fighting for respect; of every young person fighting against police brutality; of every activist defending their community; of every union fighting for a better society. We know there is no justice in the American courts that have framed Mumia, and we know there is no justice in the Canadian courts that locked away innocent Muslim brothers without charges, and we know that the racist death penalty must be abolished, and those who yearn for a reinstatement of the death penalty in this country must be defeated. Mumia's courage, determination, compassion and perseverance are an inspiration to us all."

A statement by Dave Bleakney, CUPW National Union Representative, was read to the protest. It concluded: "On behalf of the 55,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, we stand today with Mumia and all those that challenge capitalism head on."

(continued on page 19)



GEM Speaker at April 24 Mexico City Mumia Protest "Unleash the Power of the Working Class Internationally"

We print below a translation of a speech by Adrian Ortega of the Grupo Espartaquista de México at an April 24 unitedfront protest to free Mumia Abu-Jamal at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in Mexico City. This first appeared in Workers Vanguard No. 914, 9 May.

The Grupo Espartaquista de México, Mexican section of the International Communist League, fights for the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal as part of our revolutionary duty to defend all social activists victimized by state repression. But the state's murderous machinery will not be stopped until socialist revolution wins internationally. Only the expropriation of the capitalists and their imperialist bosses by the international proletariat will lay the foundation for an international system that puts an end to misery and social injustice, as well as the exploitation of man by man.

In Mexico, this means struggling politically to break the shackles that bind the Mexican proletariat to the bourgeoisie. It means breaking with AMLO [Andrés Manuel López Obrador] and his bourgeois PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], who—just like Hugo Chávez in Venezuela—uses nationalist and populist rhetoric to obscure the class divisions in society and to shackle the exploited to their exploiters. The proletariat is the only class with the social power to lead the poor peasantry and the rest of the oppressed in socialist revolution.

This revolution must be extended to the U.S. through the human bridge of immigrant Mexican workers, and to the rest of Latin America. Only workers revolution can break imperialist subjugation, bring genuine democracy to the masses through workers councils, and eliminate rural poverty through agrarian revolution. The main ally of the Mexican workers in this struggle is the powerful multiracial working class in the U.S., especially black workers who will play a leading role in the socialist revolution in the U.S.

It is from this perspective that today we seek the mobilization of the power of the working class to fight against the privatization of PEMEX [Mexico's state oil company] and the electrical industry, as well as the devastation of the countryside caused by NAFTA. Even providing for the basic necessities of the population requires a collectivized and planned economy under workers control internationally.

Defending Mumia means opposing imperialist depredations in Iraq and Afghanistan. As we did in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, we will fight on the last barricades for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states: China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam. We fight for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist regimes and replace them with workers democracy based on workers, peasants and soldiers soviets. We say: Down with the anti-Chinese riots in Tibet!

Our class-struggle defense of Mumia and other class-war prisoners is based on mobilizing the broadest possible support, centered on the working class, under the principle of strike together, march separately. This also means struggling against the role played by reformist groups that seek to subordinate the movement for Mumia's freedom to illusions in the bourgeois state. This is shown in their slogan for a "new trial" and their rejection of Arnold Beverly's confession that proves the police and courts in the U.S. are a web of corruption and lies. Mumia will never receive a fair trial under racist U.S. imperialism. Today, thousands throughout the world demand Mumia's freedom, now.

As part of united-front actions, it is important to raise differences over the correct strategy necessary to fight for Mumia's freedom—even though many of the speakers have not mentioned these fundamental differences. These same illusions in the state are promoted by groups in the Mexican left like the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo [LTS]--who we are glad has spoken here today-whose perspective of democratic reform of the state is expressed in their slogan for the "dissolution of the repressive apparatus of the state." The bourgeois state will never dissolve; it must be destroyed through proletarian revolution. Similarly, the speaker from the Internationalist Group spoke about mobilizing the working class, above all in the unions, and mentioned the union in Brazil. What this speaker did not say was that in 1996 this same union was dragged through the courts by comrades from his own organization. This is well documented in our press and you can check it out yourselves. Police and security guards, courts, and all of the bourgeois state out of the workers movement, out of the unions! The state must not be allowed even a small step inside the workers movement.

The way to mobilize the working class is through movements such as this: united-front mobilizations that bring out important sectors of the workers, such as workers at the Political Science School at UNAM, the COSATU union, and other unions internationally.

The key to victory in Mumia's case is to unleash the power of the working class internationally and to break with bourgeois nationalism, which is nothing more than an ideology that permeates the working class, nothing more than poison that prevents the working class from mobilizing on a class basis. The working class needs its own party, a revolutionary party, section of a reforged Fourth International, that joins together the vanguard of the working class and declassed intellectuals under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevism; a party that fights against every form of oppression in society, connecting the immediate demands of the population to the need for socialist revolution and a workers and peasants government.

Today, Mumia faces possible execution or imprisonment for life. Neither of these is acceptable. Free Mumia now! Free this innocent political prisoner! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Mumia Demos...

(continued from page 17)

Among the numerous other speakers were Macdonald Scott of No One Is Illegal, who emphasized the fight to free the "war on terror" detainees; Ronda Ward speaking for the University of Toronto teaching assistants union (CUPE Local 3902), who denounced the frame-up of the "Toronto 18," Muslim youth and men rounded up in 2006 on trumped-up "terrorist" charges; Owen Leach of the Black Action Defense Committee; and Sabrina Johnson of the Toronto Forum on Cuba.

Speaking for the Trotskyist League, Arthur Llewellyn linked the struggle to free Mumia and against the racist capitalist system at home to opposition to imperialist barbarism abroad, denouncing the rulers' campaign against China over "human rights":

"Who are the butchers of Hiroshima and Afghanistan, of Oka and the residential schools, to speak of 'human rights'? U.S. and Canada get out of Afghanistan! Down with the anti-Communist hysteria over

Tibet! Defend China and all the workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution!"

From Mexico City to Sydney: Mumia Must Be Freed Now!

Addressing the 100 protesters who mobilized in Mexico City for the April 24 united-front protest called by the GEM, Rachel Wolkenstein emphasized: "We are here to declare our opposition to the determination by the American state to execute Mumia or keep him in prison for the rest of his life. Mumia's only crime was to be an unbending opponent of racism, police brutality, imperialist war and colonial depredation." She added: "The American racist rulers see in Mumia the spectre of black revolt.... When Mumia was only 14 years old, he joined the Black Panther Party and soon became Minister of Communications of his local.... Mumia was put on a government list when he was 15 years old, for the crime, in the words of the FBI, of being an 'effective spokesman'."

"Mumia's fight for freedom is a fight for all of us—in the United States, in Mexico, around the globe. In the United States his frame-up embodies every aspect of racist capitalist injustice. It lays bare the essence of the capitalist state as an instrument of repression against working people and the oppressed. The development of U.S. capitalism is rooted in black chattel slavery. The death penalty is the legacy of slavery—when blacks could be tortured and murdered as the property of their owners. The death sentence is the lynch rope made legal."

Among the protesters in Mexico City were UNAM students and campus workers, leftists—including the Liga de los Trabajadores por el Socialismo-Contracorriente (LTS, allied with a Morenoite current of ostensible Trotskyism) and the IG, both of which addressed the rally—and spokesmen for defense groups including ¡Eureka! and the National Front Against Repression (FNCR). Inti Martínez from ¡Eureka! brought greetings from Senator Rosario Ibarra, National Coordinator of ¡Eureka! and an endorser of the united-front protests. Referring to the decades-long struggle by Ibarra and ¡Eureka! to recover their children, spouses and comrades disappeared by the Mexican state, he said: "They took them



April 24 united-front protest to free Mumia in Mexico City, initiated by Grupo Espartaquista de México.

alive, we want them back alive! Free all political prisoners, free Mumia!"

The speaker from the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the GEM, recalled that the previous day was the ninth anniversary of the beginning of the militant UNAM student strike in defense of public education, "a very combative struggle that had the potential to light the fuse of workers revolution in Mexico. To realize this potential, a revolutionary leadership was necessary." The strike was broken by bloody state repression by all three of Mexico's bourgeois parties, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), PAN (National Action Party) and PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), and the JE speaker linked this to the attacks by right-wing thugs against leftist students on campuses today.

The theme of labour solidarity across the border was repeatedly raised. The speaker for the Workers Assembly at the Political and Social Sciences School, organized in the STUNAM union, declared, "Death to tyranny! Death to the death penalty!" He demanded freedom for Mumia and for "all the Mexicans and Latinos unjustly prosecuted" by the U.S. government. The LTS speaker saluted the PDC for the international campaign and pointed to the power of the U.S. working class and the need for American workers to unite with workers around the world. Disavowing confidence in the U.S. Democratic or Republican parties, he called on the unions to lead the struggle for Mumia's freedom. The speaker for the GEM responded that through its calls for "dissolution of the repressive forces of the state," the LTS partakes of the same illusions in the capitalist state that demobilized the fight for Mumia's freedom (see facing page).

Celia Hart sent a solidarity message linking Mumia's case to that of the Cuban Five, framed up in Miami on bogus espionage charges because of their solidarity with Cuba. She wrote: "With great honour and commitment l endorse the campaign for the immediate freedom of our brother Mumia.... Our five Cuban *compañeros*, revolutionary fighters, suffer unacceptable sentences just as Mumia does. They are six fighters for the happiness of their peoples (two of the Cuban comrades are also Americans). These two campaigns should (continued on page 20)

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

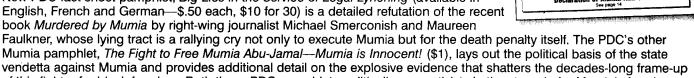
Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, PO. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159. Donations earmarked "Mumia" as well as collections at PDC or other events for Mumia's legal defense are receipted and transferred in full to the above NLG account as has been designated by Mumia's lawyer for this purpose.

Organize protest!

Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Get the Facts!

New PDC fact sheet pamphlet, Big Lies in the Service of Legal Lynching (available in English, French and German-\$.50 each, \$10 for 30) is a detailed refutation of the recent book Murdered by Mumia by right-wing journalist Michael Smerconish and Maureen



of this fighter for black freedom. Both these PDC pamphlets politically arm activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom. PDC Button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"---\$1 each.

PDC Video: From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal-\$10 for DVD, \$15 for VHS.

Bundles of the 4-page brochure: Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!-\$2 for 25 copies.

Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our Toronto address below.

Partisan Defense Committee

Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1 (416) 593-4138 email: pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

Mumia Demos...

(continued from page 19)

be one.... We need those six internationalist fighters out from behind bars'

At every united-front protest, the injustice suffered by Mumia was linked with capitalist oppression and racist cop terror at home. In Toronto, speakers for the TL and Spartacus Youth Club called to defend students and Native protesters recently subjected to mass arrests by the state. At the April 23 united-front protest in Sydney, Australia, where some 55 demonstrators called for Mumia's freedom, the speaker for the Spartacist League, Margaret Rodda, said: "We do not accord the state the right to decide who lives and dies. While the death penalty was officially abolished in Australia...it is applied in practice against the deeply oppressed Aboriginal population in the prisons and police cells. This gives Mumia's case a deep resonance in this country." Denouncing the military and police takeover of Aboriginal lands in Australia's Northern Territory, she demanded, "The Aboriginal people must not be left to fight alone-mobilize the organized workers movement in a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights!"

"The Fight to Free Mumia Is a Fight for Black Liberation"

The Chicago demonstration drew more than 200 protesters and included 13 speakers representing a broad range of political and union organizations. Chicago endorsers of the united-front protests included Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 and United Auto Workers Local 3212.

Partisan Defense Committee Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver BC V6B 4A6 (604) 687-0353

Students mobilized for the protest from campuses across Chicago.

Virtually every speaker expressed outrage at the acquittal, the day before the rally, of the New York City cops who killed Sean Bell in a hail of 50 bullets. Bernard Branche, speaking for the Labor Black Struggle League, stated that "two of the cops who killed Sean Bell were black, and in gunning down a black youth they were just doing their jobs in the eyes of the racist rulers. We seek to mobilize labour in protest against these outrages while explaining to the masses that things like racist cop terror can only be ended when the class that the cops protect is removed from power by the working class."

Calling for mass protests centered on the power of labour to fight for Mumia's freedom, Branche pointed out that racial oppression has been a fundamental aspect of the workings of American capitalism "since slavery, through the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, all the way up to the present with examples like Katrina or the Jena Six." He continued:

"The division of the working class along racial and ethnic lines has been used to stifle the working class in its struggle against the corrupt and racist bosses. Our perspective is that of revolutionary integrationism. We seek to fight every manifestation of the racial oppression of black people. We understand that only through the construction of an egalitarian socialist society can black freedom be won. This strategy stands counterposed to both the liberal-integrationist pipe dream of a slow and gradual crawl to equality and to black nationalism, which accepts the ghettoization and separation that is a key aspect of black racial oppression."

Branche added: "We seek to win the working class, including



pc Partisan Defense D Committee **Mumia is Innocent! Free Him Now! POC Fact Shee** HHEE Th L Protesters Counter New Drive to Execute Mumia Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamai

white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants to the fight for black liberation. We also see the necessity for black and working-class militants to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is to prepare the working masses to fight their common capitalist enemy. An injury to one is an injury to all!" Spartacist League speaker Paula Daniels pointed to the pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy as the obstacle in the workers movement to mobilizing labour's power for Mumia's freedom, stating, "Labour needs a leadership based on the *independence* of the working class from the bosses' state and political parties."

Speaking for the Gay Liberation Network, Bob Schwartz said: "Yesterday I saw a prominent politician on television stating that we must respect the court decision that exonerated the killers of Sean Bell. Now who was that politician? That's right, it was Barack Obama. It wasn't George Bush, or John McCain, although it could have been, but it was Barack Obama. I'm sure that no one here, or I hope no one here, has illusions in Obama or in any other capitalist politician to bring about liberation."

Speaking at the rally, Rachel Wolkenstein noted:

"While directed at Mumia, the Court of Appeals ruling is an attack on the rights of all of us. The court upheld the exclusion of black jurors, approved the outrageous racist conduct of Judge Sabo and gave license to the prosecutor's unconstitutional argument to the jury that they could convict Mumia because he'd have 'appeal after appeal.' The Third Circuit made 'Mumia rules' in order to undermine those rights which are supposed to be in the Bill of Rights for everyone....

"The ruling in Mumia's case confirms again that no justice can be expected from the capitalist courts. Every possible legal avenue must be pursued vigorously to challenge this recent court decision. But we cannot afford to have any illusions in fair hearings and impartial judges."

"We know that Mumia is innocent. We know he belongs out here with the people. He's part of the people," said Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, the Chicago Black Panther Party leader who along with Mark Clark was assassinated by the Chicago cops in 1969. Exonerated former death row prisoner Delbert Tibbs also endorsed and attended the protest. "If anybody believes that there is going to be justice in this system, let me tell you, I'm sorry, but you're wrong" said immigrant rights activist Jorge Mujica, Co-Coordinator of the March 10th Committee. Mujica referred to the 1927 execution of framed-up immigrant anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti and the 1953 execution of Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He linked the struggle to free Mumia with the struggle for immigrant rights, pointing to the militancy that immigrant workers have brought into the U.S. labour movement.

The rally began with demonstrators listening to a recording of the moving speech made by Mumia's daughter, Goldii, at the March 28 PDC demonstration in New York, where she underlined that the rulers want to kill Mumia "because they are afraid of him, because of his eloquence, his intelligence" (Goldii's speech is available at www.partisandefense.org/ pubs/articles/videos0408.html). Greetings to the rallies were read from Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, who has been in prison since 1997 for bogus weapons charges in retaliation for defending his father.

In Los Angeles, up to 150 people participated in the united-front rally. The demonstration reflected the multiracial working class of the city. Rosie Martinez, flanked at the podium by several fellow unionists, spoke as the chairperson of the Latino Caucus of SEIU 721, which represents county and city workers in Southern California. "The Latino Caucus," she said, "stands in solidarity with the demand to free Mumia Abu-Jamal." She noted, "We in the labour movement know the racist capitalists try to divide and oppress workers here in the United States and worldwide." She added: "We will continue the struggle, brothers and sisters, until we free Mumia and all political prisoners and end the racist death penalty."

Reverend Richard Byrd told the Los Angeles protest that "35 percent of young black men between the ages of 19 and 29 are incarcerated or in some way involved in the criminal injustice system. That's a lynching." "The labour movement must get involved," emphasized Jesse Smith, President of the African American Caucus of SEIU United Healthcare Workers-West. "In the 13th amendment to the United States Constitution they tell you that slavery and involuntary servitude are abolished," Smith said, but that doesn't apply to "the nearly one million black men and women" behind bars today. Mumia "is a victim of slavery in this criminal justice system," he added.

Spartacist League spokesman Don Cane said: "Our task is to assist the international working class in making the cause of this class-war prisoner their own, so that the demand 'Free Mumia' rings out from worker-led protest around the world!... Labour must champion freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! This would give labour a sense of its own power. The fight to free Mumia is a fight for black liberation, the emancipation of labour, and it is part of the struggle for socialist revolution."

From the Reformists to the Dubious

A number of reformist groups have sought to paint the March 27 federal court decision as a "victory." *L'Humanité* (28 March), daily paper of the reformist French Communist Party, headlined, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Gets Off Death Row." But as Mumia stated in an April 7 radio interview: "If you look at what the court said and what they did: what they did is, they made up new rules. You see, that is not a victory. That is, again, the Mumia rule.... So it's the 'Mu rule' once again. When a court has to make up new rules and make up new laws to uphold something that was unjust before, that's not a victory. It's not a victory. But we struggle on."

In France, the CDDS, the PDC's fraternal defense organization, has fought to expose the fallacy of the PCF's "victory" claim. Stung by this exposure, the Collectif Unitaire National "Ensemble, sauvons Mumia" (United National Collective, "Together, Let's Save Mumia"), which is supported by the PCF, issued a statement that, among other things, condemned as "slander" the fact that the CDDS noted of the *(continued on page 22)*

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Mumia Demos...

(continued from page 21)

Collectif that "their confidence in the capitalist state flows from their conviction that the courts and the police are some kind of neutral public service like the post office."

The CDDS replied in an April 17 open letter: "While the PCF has been administering the capitalist state for decades at the municipal level, as well as at the national level in popular-front governments like under Mitterrand and Jospin, the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] has been aspiring to do so, too.... LO [Lutte Ouvrière] just ran in the municipal elections on a number of slates with the PCF.... A central plank of many a municipal program for these slates was to re-establish the 'neighbourhood police.'... Fueling illusions in the racist police and court system of capitalist-imperialist France goes hand in hand with preaching the need for a 'new, fair trial for Mumia,' as these groups have done."

While the reformist left has sought to avoid our unitedfront protests like the plague, the dubious International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) has sought to be the microbe that poisons the labour-centered mass protest necessary to free Mumia. Having become involved in the united-front protests in Toronto and London, the BT then promoted protests in cities where we do not have active branches: Dublin, Ireland; Cologne, Germany; and Vienna, Austria. These three Potemkin-village "protests" drew a combined total of no more than 35 people. The Dublin "rally" featured a speaker from the anarchist Workers Solidarity Movement who questioned Mumia's innocence without a peep in response from the BT.

Meanwhile, BT supporters showed up at the April 19 Oakland united-front protest and, while claiming to support the slogans of the protest, refused to endorse it. At the March 28 emergency protest in Toronto, when the PDC put out the call for a united-front demonstration on April 26, the BT refused to endorse. Instead they popped up a week or so later with a new "committee" (which notably included prominent "new trial" advocates like Socialist Action) calling for a protest on an earlier date, April 19. Because we are for the mobilization of the largest forces—trade unions, left organizations, immigrant and minority groups, students—to fight for Mumia's freedom, the PDC shifted our united-front protest to the same date.

What gives with the BT's maneuvers? The BT was formed over 25 years ago by embittered ex-members of our tendency and has been marked by utter disdain for special oppression, not least a sneering contempt for the fight for black freedom. When we launched a series of labour/black mobilizations to stop the Klan and Nazis in major U.S. urban centers in the early to mid 1980s, the BT denounced us for abandoning trade-union work in favour of "community organizing." When in 1985 Philly cops under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, working in collusion with Ronald Reagan's FBI, bombed the Osage Avenue home of MOVE, of which Mumia is a supporter, killing eleven people, the BT could not choke out a word of protest. Instead, when we organized a New York memorial meeting in solidarity with the victims of this racist atrocity, the BT attacked us for not polemicizing against MOVE's philosophy!

The BT, in fact, did not have an article on Mumia until 1996. But they made a press splash around Mumia's case the prior year in the midst of the protests against the execution warrant—in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. A 16 June 1995 article by this house organ of U.S. finance capital



U.S. finance capital's house organ retailed BT slanders of Spartacist League/U.S. in 1995 in attempt to undermine mass protest movement for Mumia.

retailed the BT's slanders of the Spartacist League as a deranged "cult" in order to smear the efforts of the PDC and others on Mumia's behalf. As we wrote in "Dubious BT's 'United Front' Fraud—The Fight for Class-Struggle Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (WV No. 903, 23 November 2007): "The Wall Street Journal's intent was transparent enough. How and why the minuscule BT was readily wielded as a tool for the Wall Street Journal is not." Saturated as they are with indifference to all forms of special oppression, in Canada, the BT has a grotesque chauvinist line against independence for Quebec.

We can only guess why an organization that cares nothing about black oppression would get involved in Mumia's case. What we do know is that the BT—an organization led by the twisted sociopath Bill Logan, who was expelled from our tendency in 1979 for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate elementary human decency"—has always pursued an unnatural and hostile obsession with our organization. Insofar as they have gotten involved in Mumia's case, it has been to conciliate the reformists' calls for a "new trial" while attacking the PDC and ICL as "sectarian" as we have fought to reverse the demobilization of Mumia's supporters.

Mobilize Now to Free Mumia!

The PDC was founded in 1974 in emulation of the International Labor Defense (ILD) of the early American Communist movement. The ILD was headed by James P. Cannon, who would go on to become the founding leader of American Trotskyism. It was the American branch of the International Red Aid (MOPR) established by the Third (Communist) International following the 1917 Bolsheyik Revolution. From its inception, the PDC has championed cases and causes in the interest of the working class in the spirit of non-sectarian solidarity. In addition to defending class-war prisoners, such as union militants victimized for defending picket lines, the PDC defends anti-racist militants, opponents of imperialist war and colonial oppression, activists for women's and gay rights and all others targeted by the capitalist rulers for their defense of

PDC Speaker at Toronto United-Front Protest "For Class-Struggle Defense! For Mass Protest for Mumia's Freedom!"

We print below the speech given by Partisan Defense Committee speaker Debby Spector at the April 19 Toronto unitedfront protest called by the PDC as part of its international campaign for Munia's freedom. This first appeared in Workers Vanguard No. 913, 25 April.

The racist rulers want to put Mumia to death or entomb him for life. We say no!! Twenty-five years of legal proceedings starkly show there is no middle ground—it's either fight for Mumia's freedom or accede to his legal lynching or life in prison. The question is: how do we fight to win his freedom? What path leads to victory?

Mumia's frame-up is a stark expression of the class and race bias of the capitalist courts. The rulers see in Mumia the spectre of black revolt, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is the cornerstone of American capitalism. The March 27 ruling should make clear to all that Mumia can get no justice at the hands of the very forces that framed him up and sentenced him to die.

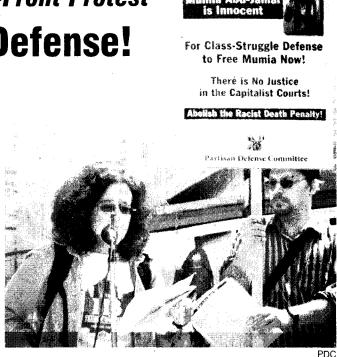
Ever since the PDC took up Mumia's case over 20 years ago, we have sought to mobilize the broadest forces in his defense. Today's protest is one of many internationally that have been endorsed by unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, and by many other organizations and individuals. I want to greet especially the trade unionists who've come out today with their banners: CUPW, the Steelworkers, CUPE, UFCW. I'm a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113. Last year our local too voted to join the fight to free Mumia.

The Partisan Defense Committee fights for *class-struggle* defense—for mass protest for Mumia's freedom based on labour's social power, its ability to choke off the profits that are capitalism's lifeblood. Genuine united-front action in Mumia's defense means unity in action and complete freedom of criticism. It means open debate about what strategy is

the oppressed. Over 20 years ago the PDC initiated a monthly stipend program for class-war prisoners, which today includes Mumia, Leonard Peltier and the MOVE prisoners.

For the early ILD, one of the defining issues was the case of Sacco and Vanzetti (see "Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti," WV Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September 2007). At the Los Angeles emergency protest on March 28, PDC speaker Michael Graham noted striking parallels between the ILD's fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti and Mumia's case today:

"The two anarchists were framed up by the capitalist state in much the same way that Mumia is being framed up today: phony ballistics. witness intimidation, and the use of the defendants' political background to inflame the jury. As in Mumia's



PDC speaker Debby Spector addresses April 19 Toronto protest.

needed to rebuild the movement for Mumia and fight for his freedom. It is *not* a peace pact with reformists who push deadly illusions in the bosses' courts, but a struggle against them.

The liberals and the reformists *undermined* the fight for Mumia's freedom by diverting protests into pleas for a "new, fair trial." We say the movement for Mumia must be rebuilt on the basis of a clear understanding that he is innocent; indeed, another man, Arnold Beverly, has confessed to the killing. Mumia must be freed, and the power of labour must be brought to bear on his behalf and that of all the oppressed. The power of millions of working people around the world that's how we can make the rulers back down!

Mumia's struggle embodies the struggle against the whole capitalist system of exploitation and racist oppression. He has now nearly reached the end of the legal road. It is urgent that we mobilize labour power in his defense—in the factories, on the shop floors and in the streets. *Mumia is innocent! Free him now!*

case, a criminal confessed that he, not Sacco and Vanzetti, was involved in the crime for which the two were convicted. And as in Mumia's case, liberals, the reformist Socialist Party and the pro-capitalist leaders of the American Federation of Labor demobilized the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti's freedom, diverting the movement into appeals for a 'fair day in court' for the sake of America's 'democratic' image."

The PDC-initiated united-front protests give a taste of what is necessary to win Mumia's freedom. Time is running short, and the racist rulers are determined to silence Mumia. Labour's power must be mobilized to fight racist oppression and free all class-war prisoners! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

-Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 914, 9 May

23



212 - 287-1075

Partisan Defense Committee International Campaign Protests Demand: Free Mumia Now!



On March 27, the U.S. federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," who was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner and sent to death row solely for his political beliefs. Upholding an earlier 2001 federal court ruling, the appeals court decision means that either a new sentencing hearing will take place, in which the death sentence could be reinstated, or Mumia will be condemned to life imprisonment. This is an outrage! There is a mountain of evidence, which the courts have either rejected or refused to hear, that demonstrates that Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man who should never have spent one day in prison!

In the weeks following the Third Circuit decision, the Partisan Defense Committee, which has championed Mumia's defense for over 20 years, launched two rounds of protests as part of an international campaign to rekindle the mass movement necessary to win Mumia's freedom. Having anticipated that the Third Circuit's ruling would be unfavourable, the PDC—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S. and



Left: Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Ray Boudreaux (at microphone) and Francisco Torres of "San Francisco 8" address April 19 united-front Mumia protest in Oakland. Above: Demonstrators rally in Toronto on the same day.

in Canada the Trotskyist League—last summer called for emergency protests to immediately follow the court's ruling. Building on these protests, which took place March 28 and 29, the PDC called a series of international united-front demonstrations over the next five weeks, initiated under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" The PDC and its international fraternal defense organizations also organized Class-Struggle Contingents in a number of protests called by other groups.

On April 19, some 200 demonstrators mobilized for the united-front protest in Oakland, while over 100 came out in London and 120 in Toronto. United-front protests were also held in Sydney, Australia, on April 23, on the campus of the National Autonomous University (UNAM) in Mexico City on April 24, and in Chicago and Los Angeles on April 26. On May 17, 50 people rallied in Melbourne, Australia.

In addition to the united-front protests, the PDC and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense mobilized a Class-Struggle Contingent of some 150 people for the April 19 demonstration in Philadelphia called by the International (continued on page 14)