

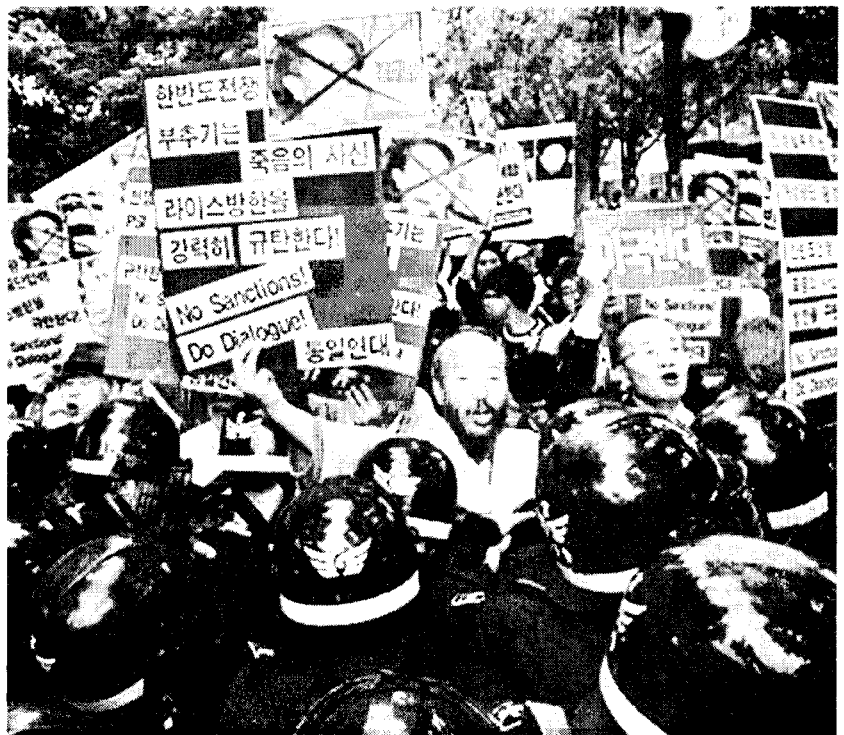
# Defend North Korea! Down With UN Sanctions!

## Imperialists Whip Up Nuclear Hysteria

“The U.S. extreme threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure compel the DPRK to conduct a nuclear test...as a corresponding measure for defense.” North Korea’s Foreign Ministry issued this stark statement four days before the country conducted its first nuclear test in early October. Less than a week later, the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted on October 14 to impose sanctions against North Korea—an act of war, as the North Koreans rightly noted.

Fifty-six years ago, the forces of what became the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea entered the south of Korea with the purpose of liberating that area from the collaborators with the Japanese imperialist occupation—the former colonial masters of Korea—who remained in place under the auspices of the post-World War II U.S. military forces in the region. In the process of attempting to reunify Korea, the Northern-based army unleashed a powerful social revolution in the South and came within a hairsbreadth of driving the U.S. imperialist army off the peninsula. In just over two years, the U.S. military, which led the assault on Korea under the aegis of the UN, sustained nearly as many losses as it did during the ten-plus years of the Vietnam War. In the process, the U.S. imperialists and their allies, including Canada, slaughtered over three million Koreans, incinerating and suffocating many villagers with oceans of napalm.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military

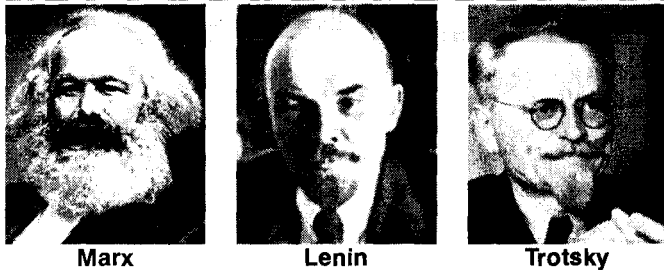


**Demonstrators in Seoul, South Korea, protest visit by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, October 19.**

defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, and thus welcome the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea as a necessary deterrent against imperialism. Our defense of North Korea—ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung’s son, Kim Jong Il, at the head of the Stalinist  
*(continued on page 15)*

**Down With Bloody State of  
Siege in Oaxaca!**

—page 10—



Marx

Lenin

Trotsky

## Defense of the Workers States and International Socialist Revolution

*Polemizing amid the outbreak of World War II in 1939 against those in the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party who wanted to abandon defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined the link between defense of the USSR and the struggle for international workers revolution. Our fight today for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who rule them is likewise part of our struggle for proletarian revolutions worldwide.*

What do we defend in the USSR? Not that in which it resembles the capitalist countries but precisely that in which it differs from them. In Germany also we advocate an uprising against the ruling bureaucracy, but only in order immediately to overthrow capitalist property. In the USSR the overthrow of the bureaucracy is indispensable for the preservation of state property. Only in this sense do we stand for the defense of the USSR....

Mistakes on the question of defense of the USSR most frequently flow from an incorrect understanding of the methods of "defense." Defense of the USSR does not at all mean rapprochement with the Kremlin bureaucracy, the acceptance of its politics, or a conciliation with the politics of her allies. In this question, as in all others, we remain completely on the ground of the international class struggle....

We are not a government party; we are the party of irreconcilable opposition, not only in capitalist countries but also in the USSR. Our tasks, among them the "defense of the USSR," we realize not through the medium of bourgeois

governments and not even through the government of the USSR, but exclusively through the education of the masses through agitation, through explaining to the workers what they should defend and what they should overthrow. Such a "defense" cannot give immediate miraculous results. But we do not even pretend to be miracle workers. As things stand, we are a revolutionary minority. Our work must be directed so that the workers on whom we have influence should correctly appraise events, not permit themselves to be caught unawares, and prepare the general sentiment of their own class for the revolutionary solution of the tasks confronting us.

The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defense of the USSR is related to the world socialist revolution as a tactical task is related to a strategic one. A tactic is subordinated to a strategic goal and in no case can be in contradiction to the latter....

We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, "The USSR in War," 25 September 1939, reprinted in *In Defense of Marxism* (1973)

# SPARTACIST CANADA

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# Imperialism's Labour Lieutenants

## Anti-China Protectionism: Poison for Workers

The Canadian capitalists have been looting the working class of this country with a vengeance. Since the early 1990s, the wealth amassed by Canadian banks and corporations has soared, while workers, immigrants, women and the poor have suffered drastic cutbacks in real wages and social services, and homelessness has skyrocketed in all the major cities. Despite occasional upsurges of labour struggle, the trade-union misleaders have capitulated time after time to the bosses' attacks and giveback demands. In Ontario in particular, they have responded to the massive job losses in industry not by using the weapons of class struggle, like strikes, but with Canadian-nationalist protectionism that targets workers abroad—in Japan, Korea and now increasingly in China.

The labour tops' campaign is interlaced with anti-Communist "human rights" rhetoric demanding that the Canadian capitalist rulers take action against China. Their parliamentary allies, the NDP, took the occasion of Chinese premier Hu Jintao's visit to Canada in September 2005 to demand that then prime minister Paul Martin, whose Liberal minority government the New Democrats were propping up, "drive home Canada's serious concerns with China's record of human rights abuses."

Meanwhile the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) has joined with such openly pro-imperialist organizations as the Falun Dafa religious sect, Canada Tibet Committee and Rights & Democracy, a "non-partisan" outfit set up by the Mulroney Tory government in 1988, to form the Canadian Coalition on Human Rights in China. On October 6, this Coalition issued an open letter to Tory prime minister Stephen Harper criticizing the previous Liberal regime's policy of "quiet diplomacy" with China and urging the Tories to implement a "strengthened approach to the promotion of human rights in China."

Such open anti-China alliances with the racist Canadian state—brutal oppressor of the Native peoples, the Québécois and millions of immigrants, not least from Asia—show the pro-capitalist character of the labour bureaucracy: a thin, privileged layer at the head of the unions whose worldview corresponds to that of the capitalist class, which it seeks to advise on how best to "conduct business." Today both the NDP and the CLC-backed Coalition are getting what they wanted, as the right-wing Harper government lectures the Chinese regime on "human rights" at every opportunity.

Nationalist protectionism has long been the calling card of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) president Buzz Hargrove, who stridently demands government action against Asian imports. For their part, the leaders of the UNITE HERE garment workers union have joined with the textile bosses in an



As part of chauvinist "Made in Canada Matters" campaign, leaders of CAW and Toronto Labour Council address June 27 press conference against "export" of subway train manufacturing jobs to China.

ongoing campaign to pressure the government to slash imports from China.

We communists are without exception opposed to protectionism in the imperialist countries like the U.S. and Canada. But nor are we partisans of "free trade": we are fully aware that companies which today demand free access to foreign markets do so with the sole purpose of increasing profits. Their mechanism for this is the superexploitation of cheap, largely unorganized labour abroad and often, concomitantly, access to an increased pool of buyers for goods. This "offloading" is not simply corporate policy but is intrinsic to capitalism.

The unions are the necessary first line of defense against the capitalists' attacks, but promoting national protectionism undermines labour's struggle by poisoning class consciousness and solidarity. Protectionism scapegoats foreign workers for the loss of jobs in North America, while building illusions in the benevolence of our "own" national capitalists. What is necessary is internationalist solidarity with workers abroad and a fight to replace the current Canadian-nationalist labour misleaders with a class-struggle leadership.

### Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

The union tops' calls for protectionist measures are doubly pernicious when directed against China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The fact that capitalist rule was overthrown in China by the 1949 Revolution, leading to the building of a collectivized economy, represents a historic gain for the working class internationally. Despite profound

*(continued on page 17)*

# Young Spartacus

## U.S./Canada Out of Afghanistan!

# “GRAIN”: Counterfeit Anti-Imperialists on Campus

The “Grass-Roots Anti-Imperialist Network” (GRAIN) sometimes postures as an alternative to the mainstream, Canadian-nationalist antiwar coalition in Toronto. But anyone who bought GRAIN’s anti-imperialist rhetoric was in for a shock at their September 21 University of Toronto debut feting Sonali Kolhatkar and James Ingalls, authors of a new book, *Bleeding Afghanistan*. In the meeting Kolhatkar argued that the U.S. should stay in Afghanistan to ensure stability before they “just cut and run” (shades of George Bush!). In their book Kolhatkar and Ingalls declare: “The occupation of all foreign troops should end, *but only after disarmament is complete and Afghans feel safe in their own country* [emphasis in original].” And they openly call for “an international military occupation of Afghanistan” consisting of NATO and the UN. One has to ask: what kind of leftists would promote such unabashed pro-imperialist lackeys?

GRAIN’s banner at the meeting read “Canada Out of Kandahar.” But in promoting this duo, GRAIN failed in the most basic duty of anyone claiming to be anti-imperialist. In contrast, we revolutionaries of the Spartacus Youth Clubs say: U.S./Canada out of Afghanistan now! No UN intervention! We welcome military blows suffered by the occupation forces while giving no political support to the reactionary Islamic “resistance” forces. Above all, we fight to mobilize the workers of this country in class struggle against their capitalist exploiters at home.

Kolhatkar and Ingalls are supporters of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) and codirectors of the Afghan Women’s Mission (AWM), an American political front and financial conduit for RAWA. This pedigree is utterly consistent with their non-opposition to the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan. AWM’s website reads like an ad for a bourgeois charity. Donations, it explains, are not tax-deductible in Canada; no, AWM doesn’t accept American Express; and here’s how to sponsor an Afghan orphan. They actually write that “The US could have bombed fewer villages [!] and killed fewer civilians [!!]”.

As for the RAWA feminists, they are neither revolutionary, leftist nor even genuine champions of women’s rights. In 2001, as the U.S. was raining bombs on Afghanistan, RAWA openly lobbied for UN imperialist “peacekeeping” forces to intervene and they supported the reinstatement of the former king, Zahir Shah, who was ousted in 1973. Backing imperialism and its agents has defined RAWA since its formation in 1977. In December 1979, the Soviet Union sent troops to Afghanistan at the request of the secular and modernizing government of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which came to power in 1978. The PDPA was besieged by a bloody, imperialist-backed Islamic insurgency, the *mujahedin*. RAWA stood not with the Soviet intervention, which brought the only

hope of emancipation to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan, but with the CIA-bankrolled “Afghan resistance.” To this day, virulent anti-Communism is their calling card, opening doors in the corridors of bourgeois power and the wallets of Western feminists and liberals.

### Trotskyists Hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan

The PDPA’s reforms—land distribution, freeing women from the *burqa* (the head-to-toe “veil”), reducing the bride price and providing education for women and girls—sparked a ferocious rebellion by landlords, tribal chiefs and mullahs.



Sergeant Carole Morissette/Task Force Afghanistan Roto 1

### Canadian military enforces rule of imperialism, anti-woman warlords in Afghanistan.

Indeed, the rights of women were central to this war, making it unique in modern history. When the Soviet army rolled in, we declared: “Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!” Sending troops into Afghanistan was an unambiguously progressive act, cutting against the grain of the Soviet Stalinists’ search for “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. It underlined our Trotskyist understanding that the USSR was a workers state, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration.

Outside GRAIN’s meeting, our comrades distributed a 2002 polemic written as RAWA was being fawned over by the left and U.S. congressional committees. As we wrote:

“Socialist-minded youth in the West might try to imagine that they are at the University of Kabul in 1979 as the Soviet Army rolls in to beat back the CIA’s Islamic rebels. Look across the border to Soviet Central Asia: there are schools, factories and

hospitals. Women, regarded as human beings instead of property, are not bought and sold in marriage. They are doctors, engineers and political leaders. No matter what indices you check—life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy—the differences between the two societies are measured in centuries, not decades. Do you don a *burqa* and follow [RAWA leader] Meena Keshwar Kamal into Pakistan to join the Islamic insurgents based there, or do you join a militia to drive out and destroy the *mujahedin* enslavers of women? Do you defend the Soviet Union, or support imperialist counterrevolution? Are you for or against the liberation of women from feudal barbarism?"

—"RAWA Afghan Feminists Back Imperialist Reaction,"  
*Workers Vanguard* No. 776, 8 March 2002

We sought to pose these issues during the discussion period at GRAIN's meeting. But the oh-so "inclusive" GRAIN organizers, who listened politely to their pro-imperialist guests, disrupted and tried to cut off our speaker. Ingalls did respond, however, declaring that no one he ever met in Afghanistan supported the Russian intervention. Given the bloodbath that ensued when the PDPA government fell in 1992 following the Soviet withdrawal three years earlier, this is hardly surprising. As our comrade called out, "Yeah, they've all been murdered!" Ingalls to the contrary, for liberated women, modernizing intellectuals and leftists the Soviet intervention opened up vistas of liberation.

In 1989, the treacherous Soviet bureaucracy of Mikhail Gorbachev pulled out the Red Army in a futile attempt to appease U.S. imperialism. Facing a continued insurgency, more than 15,000 women joined PDPA militias, taking up arms to defend not only the rights they had won but their very lives. We offered to organize an international brigade to fight alongside them. The PDPA asked us instead to raise funds for the civilian victims of the siege of Jalalabad. Our international campaign raised over \$44,000 (U.S.). Events have bitterly verified our warning that the Soviet pullout would mean a bloodbath for Afghan women and leftists, and the Stalinist bureaucracy's betrayal in Afghanistan was the direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself in 1991-92.

### Liberal Eclecticism vs. Revolutionary Marxism

GRAIN's meeting plunged into controversy almost from the start. The first speaker on the panel was a self-described representative of a Maoist party in Afghanistan who went after RAWA's support to Western imperialism—only to solidarize with their anti-Communist denunciation of the Soviet intervention as "imperialist." Such is the political bankruptcy of Maoism. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Chinese Stalinists, beginning under Mao, openly allied with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. In Afghanistan, this obscene policy saw Maoists enthusiastically backing the *mujahedin* cutthroats.

As the meeting unravelled, speakers including GRAIN members pointed to Ingalls and Kolhatkar's failure to call for imperialist troops out of Afghanistan. GRAIN leaders Lisa Schofield and Dan Freeman-Maloy squirmed in politically impotent silence. GRAIN members may be discomfited by the RAWA debacle, but this is no aberration for this group. Last winter these activists helped co-ordinate a tour for Patrick Elie, former Secretary of State for National Defence of Haiti. Elie supported the new Haitian government's call to keep UN imperialist forces in Haiti. In March 2005 at protests against the occupation of Iraq, these activists (at the time the June 30 Organizing Committee) distributed a leaflet which advised: "learn whether your mutual funds invest in [Canadian-based arms manufac-

turer] SNC Lavalin, and urge divestment." Their call, "No to profiteering, war and occupation!" boiled down to the most abject liberalism.

How is it that a group claiming to be *anti*-imperialist ends up giving a left cover to openly *pro*-imperialist forces? This is a class-divided society in which a tiny minority of exploiters, the capitalist class, lives off of the toil of the working class. Yet the working class, concentrated in production, has the power to overthrow the capitalist system; this requires the leadership of a revolutionary workers party. Rejecting these central Marxist premises, GRAIN ends up tailing forces that are alien to the interests of working people and the oppressed. Amorphous and politically eclectic, they make noises against the effects of the present system, but who could believe them capable of fundamentally challenging it?

To GRAIN, "imperialism" is a buzzword that can mean almost anything. This is contrary to the Marxist understanding that imperialism is a *system*—the highest stage of capitalism—in which monopolies and finance capital dominate every aspect of economic life and the most powerful capitalist states vie to control and re-divide the world. For those looking for a way to struggle effectively against imperialism, there can be no better starting point than studying the history and lessons of the 1917 October Revolution. One sixth of the globe was ripped from the hands of the imperialist exploiters, the capitalist class was expropriated and the foundations laid for a rational planned economy that was not based on private property or profit. For eight decades the Soviet Union stood as a massive obstacle to the imperialists.

Even after Stalin's nationalist, conservative bureaucracy usurped political power from the Soviet working class, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie remained an accomplished fact. We Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, and we fought for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—the same program we uphold today in regard to the remaining states where the class rule of the bourgeoisie has been smashed: China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The Spartacus Youth Club intervenes in the social struggles of today with a perspective for the future. We seek to build an organization capable of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the working class, and of leading it to seize power from the most powerful, violent and well-organized ruling class in history: the imperialist bourgeoisie. For revolutionaries in Canada, this means in the first instance fighting to mobilize workers in struggle against the rulers on Parliament Hill and Bay Street. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!* ■

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## Letters

### On "Age of Consent" Laws

The following exchange first appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 880, 10 November 2006.

5 October 2006

Just wanted to call your attention to a confusing way of putting things that I found twice in the otherwise very good article reprinted from *Spartacist Canada* against the repression of youth sexuality.

*Spartacist Canada* writes: "[W]e do not think intergenerational sex is by definition abusive, nor do we think incest is *a priori* a crime to be punished by the bourgeois state" and, further down, "We do not accord the capitalist state the right to decree the age at which youth may engage in consensual sexual activity."

I don't understand what the words "bourgeois" and "capitalist" are doing qualifying "state" in these two sentences. Naturally, we would be no less intransigently opposed to the criminalization of consensual sex by a (presumably deformed) workers state. I understand that the legal age of consent in Cuba is 16 for Cubans and 18 if the older partner is a foreigner, and that's just for male-female sex—homosexual activity at any age can mean prison.

Elsewhere the article spells out the basic line quite clearly: "As long as those who take part agree to do so at the time, no-one, least of all the state, has the right to tell them they can't do it."

Hands off Mark Foley!

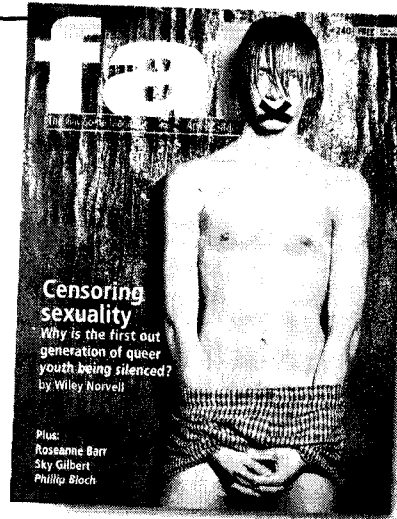
CGs,  
Alan H.

#### WV replies:

Our article "Canada: Anti-Sex Crusade Targets Youth, Gays" (*WV* No. 876, 15 September [reprinted from *SC* No. 150, Fall 2006]) was written about the Canadian government's plan to raise the age of consent from 14 to 16. Alan H. asks why we specified our opposition to *capitalist* and *bourgeois* state interference in private sexual matters between consenting individuals. The state is not an abstraction; the reactionary "age of consent" laws are the work of the capitalist state in all its concreteness. Just to be clear: the other references to the state in this article are also to the capitalist state. Indeed, in opposing the capitalists' laws criminalizing sexuality, we point toward a future socialist society. And as our article states, this is "part of the struggle to lay bare the ways in which the bourgeoisie maintains its grip on the working people."

Alan H. writes that "we would be no less intransigently opposed to the criminalization of consensual sex by a (presumably deformed) workers state." Indeed, we oppose Cuba's "age of consent" laws. A healthy workers state would, as the Bolsheviks did following the 1917 Russian Revolution, move swiftly to eliminate the web of laws that enforce the oppression of women and buttress the repressive institution of the family. But a workers government would have to reckon with the legacy of the capitalist society that went before:

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen



Toronto gay magazine *fab* (22 April 2004) protests state anti-porn crackdown. Down with Tories' reactionary age of consent laws! State out of the bedroom!

by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

—Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852)

Our reader is quite correct that Marxists oppose state interference in private consensual sexual matters on principle. At the same time, Marxists differentiate between private sexual relations and institutionalized practices that are oppressive to women. Thus, social reality varies greatly from country to country, presenting special problems and tasks for proletarian revolutionaries. In countries that never experienced bourgeois revolutions, where women are held to be little more than the property of their patriarchal masters, women's liberation requires fighting to end such institutions as the bride price and the veil. In Iran, for example, where child marriage is legal and common, a workers government would prohibit child marriage, along with the buying and selling of women.

The heavy burden of the tsarist past confronted the Bolsheviks as they sought to make their liberating program a reality in a terribly backward, overwhelmingly peasant country. We explored this in depth in "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 59, Spring 2006). We'll cite but one example here. The Bolsheviks' new marriage and divorce laws were very popular, but as we wrote:

"Given women's traditional responsibilities for children and their greater difficulties in finding and maintaining employment, for them divorce often proved more problematic than for men. For this reason the alimony provision was established for the disabled poor of both sexes, necessary due to the inability of the state at that time to guarantee jobs for all."

As our *Spartacist* article explains, the Stalinist bureaucracy abandoned the communist commitment to fight for women's liberation. The official glorification of family life and the retreat from Bolshevik policies on divorce and abortion were products of the political counterrevolution that usurped political power from the working class. But despite bureaucratic degeneration, the central gains of the Russian Revolution—embodied in the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the establishment of a planned economy—remained until the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and those gains were reflected in the material position of women.

As for Cuba, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, it is not the case that "homosexual activity at any age can mean

prison.” For decades, homosexuals were persecuted by the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy, at times viciously. But in 1997 the laws against homosexuality were removed from Cuba’s penal code. Today there is greater tolerance for homosexuality, although homophobia remains widespread. The Cuban Stalinists uphold the family, which in turn reinforces *machismo* nationalism, as opposed to the revolutionary Bolsheviks, who deplored the institution of the family and sought to replace it.

As we wrote many years ago in “Women in Castro’s Cuba” (*Women and Revolution* No. 6, Summer 1974):

“The creation of a revolutionary international capable of leading revolutions in the advanced countries as well as in the underdeveloped ones is necessary for the victory of socialism. The Spartacist League therefore works for the rebirth of the Fourth International. Until Cuba is able to industrialize fully, without the pressures of world imperialism and without the betrayals of the bureaucracy, the full emancipation of Cuban women cannot be achieved....

“A genuine socialist society in Cuba, whose construction will require a political revolution in Havana to overthrow the Stalinist Castroite regime, will be profoundly different from the society which we see there today. Workers democracy will take the place of the present cliquist bureaucracy, and the conditions of material abundance will provide the basis for women’s emancipation and equality for the first time in modern history.”

## Quebec: Language Rights and Self-Determination

We print below the translation of an excerpt from an October 4 letter from a reader in Quebec together with our reply.

[...] I’d like to comment on the question of the French language in Quebec. I know you are opposed to Law 101, but I have to tell you that this law has allowed a large number of Québécois to work in their own language. But at the same time Law 101 has not been sufficient to defend the right to work in French, since firms with 50 workers have never been affected by the law. I just finished a contract at a large insurance company, and the employees are sometimes obliged to attend training sessions held only in English! Is this normal?

I’m ready to recognize that Law 101 has discriminatory aspects, notably on the question of signage, but it is necessary to recognize that discrimination still exists with regard to French speakers. Sometimes when you shop in the west of Montreal, it isn’t always easy to get service in French. The situation is certainly better than in the 1960s and ’70s, but there is still a way to go.

I await your comments.

Communist greetings  
H.

### SC replies:

When the first Parti Québécois government introduced Law 101 in 1977, effectively promulgating a unilingual French Quebec, we denounced the chauvinist backlash this provoked in English Canada. (Federal prime minister Pierre Trudeau claimed it would take Quebec back to the Dark Ages, while a Liberal col-

league said it reminded him of *Mein Kampf*.) Noting the long history of anti-French discrimination in Quebec, we wrote that “The PQ bill contains certain obvious democratic reforms, such as the unconditional right to use the French language at work” (*SC* No. 16, May 1977). At the same time, we noted that “the basic thrust of the new legislation is chauvinist—a nationalist reaction to anti-French discrimination.” We opposed the many aspects of the law that discriminated against English and other languages, for example by severely restricting non-French signs and compelling the children of immigrants—and initially of anglophones from other provinces—to attend French schools. We called for equal language rights for all and a single, secular school system with bilingual (or multilingual) instruction as needed.

Much of the reformist left championed Law 101 more or less uncritically, claiming opposition to the new law was purely a matter of Anglo chauvinism. In contrast, we noted the widespread opposition among immigrants and, especially, Native people. For example, the Inuit of northern Quebec, for whom English had historically been the means of communication with the Quebec and federal governments, organized a series of protests.

In the intervening decades, Law 101 has become widely accepted in Québécois society, not only among supporters of the bourgeois-nationalist PQ but also in the federalist Quebec Liberal Party. This is because it, together with earlier restrictive language legislation and a major expansion of French postsecondary education, has largely *succeeded* in breaking the dominance of English in Quebec. French-speaking shoppers in downtown Montreal are no longer told to “speak white.” French has become the dominant language of work and, with the cohering of a distinct francophone Québécois bourgeoisie, of business as well. A majority of immigrants now assimilate into French-speaking Quebec society rather than into the anglophone minority, which has

(continued on page 14)

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# SC Welcomes New Readers!

This fall comrades and sympathizers of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and Spartacus Youth Clubs spent six weeks engaged in our annual subscription drive. With 472 points, we achieved 118 percent of our quota, our best result in a decade. These points represent 205 subscriptions to *Spartacist Canada*, 114 to *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S. and 39 to other publications of the International Communist League, chiefly the press of our French and Mexican sections, *Le Bolchévik* and *Espartaco*.

We welcome both our new readers and those who renewed their subscriptions. A Marxist, working-class newspaper, *SC* seeks to propagate our full revolutionary program. To make this program concrete, our press addresses the struggles of workers and the oppressed and our interventions into these struggles. As a fighting propaganda group, our aim is to build a revolutionary vanguard party of the kind that V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks forged in order to lead the working class to power in the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

We make a special effort to sell subscriptions: our press is our main tool for seeking to influence and lead struggles and for winning workers and youth to our ranks. This work is crucial to maintaining an ongoing readership and reaching out to new layers and to regions where we do not have branches. It also helps give us a picture of current political consciousness and moods, from campuses to workplaces and union halls.

We encountered much opposition to the imperialist occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan as well as to the bloody Zionist war on the Palestinians. Yet many believe that the imperialist bourgeoisie—which has unleashed unparalleled misery and violence on the peoples of the world—can be pressured to serve the interests of the oppressed. This illusion is nurtured by the reformist left, most of whom peddle the view that Canada has merely deviated from its supposed historic role as a “peacekeeper” and can be induced to adopt a more benevolent stance.

This was an undercurrent at an October 6-8 Toronto con-

ference entitled “Boycotting Israeli Apartheid: The Struggle Continues.” We distributed a recent article, “Defend CUPE Ontario! Defend the Palestinians!” (*SC* No. 150, Fall 2006) and strongly solidarized with the struggles of the Palestinian people. Intervening at the plenary session, our comrade asked the pointed question: “Do you really think pressuring campus administrations, corporations and Western imperialist governments that back the Zionist rulers to the hilt will do anything to stop the relentless onslaught against the Palestinians?” His remarks, which emphasized the need for class struggle against imperialism, won both applause from the audience and hostility from conference organizers.

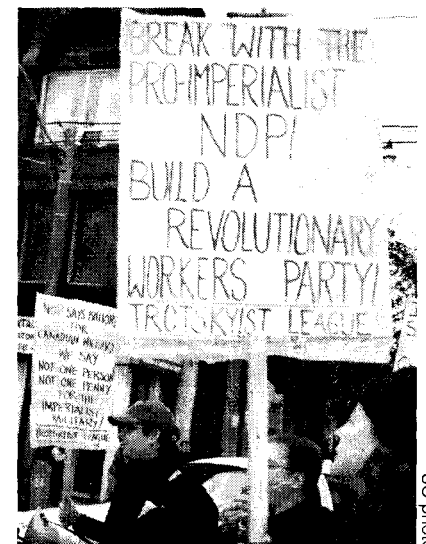
The months before our subscription drive had seen a vicious escalation of the imperialists’ racist “war on terror.” Our article “Labour Must Fight ‘Anti-Terror’ Witchhunt” told the story of the 17 Muslim men who were rounded up in early June on frame-up “terror” charges. Soon after, 14 people of Tamil background were rounded up. This followed a government ban on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the Anti-Terrorism Act. Since then Tamil student associations have been targeted for repression and provocation at campuses around Ontario. *SC* has opposed this vicious crackdown from the start; Tamil students in Toronto welcomed our stance, as well as our defense of the right of Tamil self-determination in Sri Lanka.

We also highlighted the urgent campaign to free U.S. death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and later an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. We took this struggle to workers, selling the Partisan Defense Committee’s new pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*, to trade unionists on Labour Day in Toronto and Hamilton. In Toronto, SYC comrades hit the campuses with literature tables and showed the video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. At Vancouver’s University of British Columbia, our comrades did “agitprop” soapboxing to publicize Jamal’s

## Subscription Drive Success

	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Toronto	300	345	115%
Vancouver	100	111	111%
At Large	----	16	----
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>118%</b>

**SC and WV subscriptions include  
English-language *Spartacist*.  
WV subscriptions also include  
*Black History and the Class Struggle*.**



SC photo

- \$15 joint *Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard* subscription
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SC photo

TL/LT contingent on March 18 Toronto antiwar demo protests imperialist occupation of Iraq and defends the Palestinian people.

case and organized a successful public forum and video showing.

### A Polemical and Programmatic Press

In both cities, we kicked off the political season with regular classes on Marxist basics and in Toronto we held a public forum, “For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!” Just as our press is polemical, we also intervene in the political events of the day with our revolutionary Marxist program. Without debate and struggle over political program there can be neither clarity nor understanding about the way forward for working people. Yet as we attended and intervened into meetings throughout the subscription drive, the distance from revolutionary Marxism among what passes for the ostensible left in this country was greater than ever.

The reformist International Socialists (I.S.) are a sorry case in point. Their *raison d'être* is their anti-Communist hostility to those countries which have overthrown capitalism (the former Soviet Union and East Europe, and China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam today). Going far beyond the necessary solidarity with Muslims under the gun in the racist “war on terror,” the I.S. has pretty much jettisoned even atheism and secularism, stances which should be elementary for leftists. A year ago, they declared their support to Islamic *sharia* courts in Ontario, a real anti-woman outrage. More recently, the flyer for an October 14 “War, Occupation and Global Resistance” *Socialist Worker* conference in Toronto promoted a “multi-faith prayer space”! In contrast to the I.S., our opposition to all religious reaction—in the first instance the Christianity peddled by the ruling class—is central to our struggle for the liberating program of Marxism.

Meanwhile, it appears that one of the central founders of the Vancouver group Fire This Time (FTT), Ivan Drury, was won over by the Koranic readings of mullahs that they feature at their rallies and has confirmed his conversion to Islam! At an October 18 meeting of FTT’s UBC campus front group, our SYC comrades attacked FTT’s vapid reformist call for “an independent public inquiry” into the war in Afghanistan. This channels anti-militarist sentiment into pleas for the government to refurbish the image of the racist capitalist state; it is a call for workers to join hands with their exploiters and oppressors. In addressing this meet-

ing, our comrades emphasized that opposition to militarism and war must be based on a fight against the system that breeds it—capitalism.

### Forthright Champions of All the Oppressed

We are unabashed reds, and we encountered great curiosity about Marxism among students. Our prominent placards calling for unconditional military defense of China and especially our defense of North Korea in the wake of its successful nuclear test were controversial and sparked much debate. Similarly, our advocacy of Quebec independence served as a political lightning rod, provoking anything from sympathetic curiosity and even agreement, to outright Anglo-chauvinist hostility.

We are forthright champions of the oppressed; our refusal to mince words about the barbarism of this capitalist system attracted interest and helped sell subscriptions. Black youth and workers who were outraged by the racism around the 2005 Hurricane Katrina

in New Orleans saw the stark headline of our *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet, “New Orleans: Racist Atrocity,” and grabbed it from comrades. Native students at Hamilton’s McMaster University were drawn by our placards defending Native militants in nearby Caledonia. They told us of the ugly racism they endured, including being refused service at area cafes. We emphasized that the organized working class must be mobilized in defense of Natives and welcomed the fact that the Steelworkers union at the massive Hilton Works in Hamilton organized a contingent to defend the Caledonia protesters.

### Subscription Drive Highlights

Congratulations to comrade Arthur of Toronto, who with 48 points sold the most subscriptions. Campus sub selling in Toronto was particularly successful this year, as we sold over 100 points at the University of Toronto and York University. During this intense six-week campaign we did political work in seven cities and on a dozen campuses. Our trip to Hamilton’s McMaster was a great success and comrades easily sold 34 points in a few hours. Our Montreal regional focused on francophone campuses, selling 43 points, mainly to *Le Bolchévik*. Many students were interested in our French-language pamphlets, *Québec: Question nationale et lutte des classes* and *Marxisme contre Anarchisme*. We sold numerous subscriptions to youth of Near Eastern and North African origin, as well as to youth from Montreal’s large Hispanic community who were particularly interested in the ongoing struggles in Mexico.

A tour of Eastern Ontario took us to Carleton and the University of Ottawa, as well as to Trent in Peterborough (55 points total). Vancouver comrades, in addition to working the campuses in their own city, made a successful trip to the University of Victoria on Vancouver Island, selling 25 sub points.

Congratulations to all the comrades, and thanks to our sympathizers who joined us in making the subscription drive a success. We are a small, fighting propaganda group that is serious about building a Leninist party to lead the working class to state power. Let us know what you think of our press, and contact us to discuss its contents and get involved in the activities of the TL and SYCs. ■

## **Mexican Trotskyists Say: Defend Teachers, APPO!**

# **Down With Bloody State of Siege in Oaxaca!**

### **No Illusions in the PRD, Party of Capital!**

NOVEMBER 6—For more than a week, the city of Oaxaca in Southern Mexico has been under a state of siege. On October 27, gun-toting thugs, some of them believed to be police, shot down four people in an attack on striking teachers and their supporters in the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). Two days later, some 4,000 Federal Preventive Police (PFP) forces backed by the military attacked the APPO's encampment in the center of Oaxaca City at dawn, killing three more people. Protesters retreated at Oaxaca's Benito Juárez Autonomous University, where thousands stood off a brutal attack on November 2 by the PFP, which is formally barred from entering the university without permission from the campus administration. Dozens of APPO members, teachers and others remain in jail, and more than 60 people were "disappeared."

Protests continue in the face of the state of siege.

Tens of thousands of APPO supporters marched in Oaxaca yesterday, demanding that the PFP get out of the city and that the governor, Ulises Ruiz, be removed. There is an urgent need for solidarity with the Oaxaca protesters—in Mexico and internationally. At Mexico City's UNAM campus, comrades from the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, helped shut down the School of Political Science on October 31 as part of a student strike and also organized a speakout denouncing the attacks in Oaxaca. As students throughout the UNAM system joined in protest actions, right-wing thugs called *porros*, who are supported by the UNAM administration, waged an attack on students at the CCH-Naucalpan high school, killing one.

Protests have been held outside Mexican embassies and consulates in Italy, Brazil, Canada, Spain, Britain, Greece and Germany, with several arrests reported. Last week, the Spartacist League/U.S. joined protests in cities throughout the country, while the Spartacus Youth Clubs held rallies at the University of Chicago and the University of California at Los Angeles. After 12 people were arrested outside the Mexican Consulate in New York City on October 30, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the mayor demanding the dropping of all charges and noting that "defenders of civil liberties and rights of working people have every right, indeed, the duty to protest the murderous repression in Oaxaca."

The latest crackdown in Oaxaca began the day after teachers voted to end a strike that had begun in May, when thou-



Using water cannons, federal police backed by heavily armed troops lay siege to Oaxaca encampment, October 29.

sands of members of National Educational Workers Union (SNTE) Local 22 walked out demanding higher wages. In June, an attack by hundreds of riot cops ordered by Oaxaca state governor Ulises Ruiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) galvanized mass opposition to his regime, and striking teachers and protesters began demanding his resignation. Teachers and their supporters occupying the center of the city set up their own security forces and ran their own radio station.

Mexico's rulers are increasingly fearful that the PRI has lost control in Oaxaca and that outrage over the repression threatens a broader social upheaval in a country that already this year has seen powerful strikes by industrial workers and mass protests, including over the disputed July presidential elections. On October 30, members of the ruling right-wing National Action Party (PAN) and the left bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) voted in the Senate, where the two parties hold a majority, to urge Ruiz to resign. Even sections of the PRI are abandoning Ruiz. The Mexico City paper *La Jornada* (4 November) quoted government sources as saying that despite his resistance, Ruiz is being pressured to resign and accept a government sinecure out of the spotlight.

We reprint below a translation of an October 29 leaflet issued by our comrades of the GEM that has been distributed by the ICL at protests internationally.

After more than four months of the teachers strike—heroically maintained in the face of continuous, murderous state

attacks—and despite the fact that teachers had already voted to end the strike, the brutal capitalist state has unleashed massive repression to smash the struggle of the teachers of Oaxaca and their allies of the APPO (Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca). While we write these lines, there are reports that the PFP have already taken the Zócalo [main plaza] of Oaxaca City. There are also reports, after the repression has barely begun, that a 15-year-old youth has been shot to death. Already dozens have been arrested. The bloody repression of October 27 cost four more lives: teacher Emilio Alonso Fabia, the American photographer from Indymedia, Bradley Roland Will, the communal peasant (comunero) Esteba Ruiz and a person still unidentified were killed in government and federal police attacks together with PRI paramilitaries.

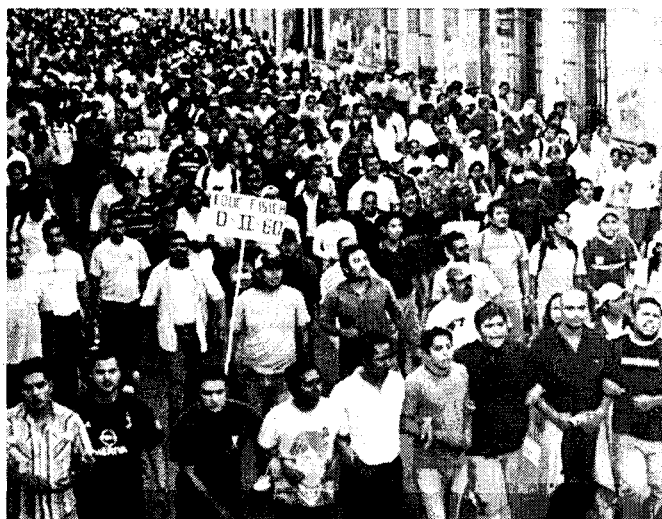
There are also reports that during this period, 23 people have been injured, 20 people detained, and 50 teachers are missing. Since June, at least 14 teachers and social justice activists have already been killed by police or gunmen, while many others have been either arrested or kidnapped. Every day more police provocations and attacks are reported. *The teachers and the APPO must not stand alone against the murderous repression of the capitalist state.* The attack against the teachers is an attack aimed at the entire workers movement, and it is in the interest of the workers movement to defend the teachers in Oaxaca. *The industrial working class must flex its powerful muscle through strike actions in defense of the Oaxaca teachers and the APPO.*

We Trotskyists in the Grupo Espartaquista de México protest in the most vigorous way possible the attacks by the state and their gangs of gunmen, and we solidarize with the struggle of the teachers and the students and peasants who support them. We say: Free all the arrested now! Drop all the charges! PFP and army out of Oaxaca! For workers strike action against state repression! Defend the teachers and the APPO!

For their support to the struggle in Oaxaca, students at the CCH-Naucalpan were brutally attacked last Thursday by *porros* in the service of the authorities and the state. One of the students was killed and five more required hospitalization. For worker and student action to drive the *porros* from UNAM!

The massive discontent over the rightist attacks carried out by the PAN and sections of the PRI has led to a sharp social polarization and the rise of populism, represented prominently by the bourgeois PRD. Since 2005, there have been massive demonstrations of up to 1.2 million people in defense of democratic rights against Fox's *desafuero* [stripping of political immunity] scam against [PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel] López Obrador. The PRD demonstrations in July, August and September of this year drew millions of people onto the streets to protest the dubious [presidential] election victory of Felipe Calderón of the clerical PAN. Fox responded by putting a large part of Mexico City under a virtual state of siege on September 1, the day of his last state of the union address. The bourgeoisie itself is divided and fearful that the discontent will turn into a social explosion. Thus the brutal capitalist rulers intend the attack against the combative Oaxacan teachers as a warning to the entire population, especially the working class.

Oaxaca is one of the poorest states in the country and one of the most rural, and has the largest numbers of indigenous people. More than a fifth of the population over 15 is illiterate; more than a quarter lack drinking water. The state has



Bradley

**September 1: Hundreds of thousands marched and rallied in Oaxaca demanding ouster of Oaxaca state governor Ruiz and freedom for political prisoners.**

the lowest per capita income and the highest poverty rate in the country, forcing many to migrate either to the U.S. or to urban industrial centers in Mexico, desperately searching for a way to survive. Teachers, earning starvation wages, are struggling to give education to students who often have nothing to eat.

The current militant struggle reflects the level of anger, which has been contained for a long time, of the Oaxacan masses who are submerged in misery and racist oppression. After the strike had started, initially demanding increased wages, the brutal repression against the teachers' encampment in the center of Oaxaca City on June 14 pushed Local 22 of the SNTE to adopt more radical methods and demand the removal of PRI hangman, state governor Ulises Ruiz. Since then, the teachers and the APPO—formed some days later—have maintained control of the city center, having constructed barricades throughout the city. Their security forces successfully broke up various police provocations and captured some of their perpetrators. Isolated in Oaxaca, and lacking social power, the struggle had arrived at an impasse. The industrial working class must lead all the exploited and oppressed in struggle against this bourgeois state repression, which can only be stopped, once and for all, through the overthrow of the capitalist system through socialist revolution.

Our vigorous defense of the APPO and the teachers against the state does not imply embracing their political perspective that is dominated by illusions in the PRD and limited to the militant petty-bourgeois populism that also characterizes the EZLN [Zapatistas]. On the eve of the July 2 [presidential] elections, the Oaxaca teachers called for a "punishment vote" against the PRI and the PAN—i.e., for the PRD. Today, the main demand by the teachers is the removal of Ulises Ruiz. Of course this thug should be thrown out. But what is important is to understand that capitalism, independently of who administers it, is a system based on the exploitation of labor and the systematic repression of the workers and oppressed by the bourgeois state—the police, army, courts and prisons. Taking up the lessons of Engels against those who argued that the bourgeois state could be reformed, Lenin explained in *The State and Revolution* that

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## State of Siege in Oaxaca...

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the special forces of repression “of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, of millions of working people by handfuls of the rich, must be replaced by a ‘special coercive force’ for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat (the dictatorship of the proletariat). This is precisely what is meant by ‘abolition of the state as state.’ This is precisely the ‘act’ of taking possession of the means of production in the name of society.”

The PRD is a bourgeois nationalist party. Its differences with the PAN and the PRI simply lie in the manner of administering capitalism. To obtain some more crumbs from the table of their imperialist masters, the PRD needs to prop itself up on the working class, and this is why it tries to pose as a “friend” of the workers and oppressed. Illusions in the nationalist bourgeoisie are truly *suicidal*. As we wrote in *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006):

“The participation of the PRD in continual anti-union attacks in Mexico City—especially against the SUTGDF [municipal workers union] and the Metro [subway] union—and in the breaking of the 1999 UNAM strike by police, the murderous repression in Lázaro Cárdenas and in Atenco, in the killing of Zapatista activists that the EZLN has documented, etc., are not isolated incidents: they are a reflection of its bourgeois, and therefore inherently anti-worker, nature.”

The PRD—and the trade-union bureaucracies tied to it, not to mention those tied to the PRI—has carefully kept its distance from the Oaxaca struggle, which has slid out of its direct control. Even though the PRD says that they oppose the repression against the teachers, tomorrow they will attack the struggling masses, as they have done so many times before.

### For Permanent Revolution!

The only perspective for fundamental change in the situation of the working class and the mass of impoverished petty-bourgeois is the struggle for socialist revolution. The youth that identify with the combative teachers and social activists in Oaxaca must understand that the working class is



Espartaco

Steel workers at Mittal steel plant in port of Lázaro Cárdenas after successful strike, April 11.

the only class with the social power and class interest to destroy the capitalist system through socialist revolution, leading all the exploited and oppressed. Because of its role in setting in motion the means of production, the urban industrial proletariat has the power to paralyze the entire economy. An example of this immense social power was the recent successful strike of the miners and metalworkers in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, which brought the bosses to their knees—they finally had to give in to all the union’s demands—and dealt a heavy blow to the government itself. Because the workers toil collectively and have nothing but their own labor power to live off, their objective class interest is the abolition of private property and therefore the destruction of the capitalist system.

Fundamental to achieving this is unceasing struggle against all illusions in the bourgeoisie—which are prominently pushed by the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats who run all the unions today—and struggle for the *political independence of the proletariat* and for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party with the purpose of leading the working class to take power. The bourgeoisie, regardless of its political perspective, is unable to resolve even democratic questions like the agrarian problem, which keeps the bulk of the peasantry—in Oaxaca and the entire country—in the most complete misery. As Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution with Lenin, explained in *The Permanent Revolution*:

“With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.”

An essential part of combatting the influence of the bourgeoisie in the working class is struggling against nationalist ideology, which only serves to keep the workers tied to “their own” bosses, lackeys of the imperialists. The working class is an international class with common interests, and a proletarian revolution in Mexico could not survive without the assistance of our class brothers in the United States.

Marxists counterpose proletarian internationalism to bourgeois nationalism and fight for new October Revolutions throughout the world.

### The Left Tail of Populism

The majority of the left has adapted politically to the APPO and the Oaxacan teachers (although some, such as “Militante,” a fake-Trotskyist group that is part of the bourgeois PRD, criticize the APPO from the right because a section of the APPO refused to participate in the “National Democratic Convention,” whose only purpose was to name AMLO [López Obrador] as the “legitimate president” [“La Insurrección Revolucionaria de Oaxaca,” undated pamphlet]). The Stalinists of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist)[PCM] base their entire strategy on building their “Revolutionary Popular Front” (FPR) with the goal of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie through the Menshevik scheme—later plagiarized by Stalin—of “two stage revolution.” The first stage consists of a supposed bourgeois democratic revolution; the second stage,



Workers Vanguard

**November 4: Spartacists at protest in Los Angeles raise call for workers strikes against repression in Mexico, warn against illusions in bourgeois PRD.**

supposedly the fight for socialist revolution, has always, in reality, consisted of a massacre of the workers. Thus the PCM calls for “All power to the people” (*Vanguardia Proletaria*, second fortnight of October 2006), which power, according to Florentino López, a spokesman for the APPO and a member of the FPR, will come “through a New Constituent [Assembly], to give form to a democratic and popular government which opens the road to a truly free and sovereign state of Oaxaca.” A “democratic and popular” government is a *bourgeois* government. To “justify” his abandonment of the Bolshevik program of struggling for world socialist revolution, Stalin upheld the anti-revolutionary dogma that the USSR could build “socialism in one country.” *Vanguardia Proletaria* gives a new twist to this absurdity, fighting now for “popular democracy” in just one state.

Not far from the Stalinists are the politics of the fake Trotskyists of the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo-Contracorriente (LTS-CC). In their paper *Estrategia Obrera* No. 54 (2 October), they state: “That there is a dual power is shown by the fact that the media coordinate the struggle, extend solidarity and express the discontent of the oppressed.” This statement is absurd.

The classic example of dual power was given by the 1917 Russian Revolution. The workers carried out the February Revolution, which brought down the tsar and led to the formation of a bourgeois republic run by the Provisional Government. But that revolution also created the soviets, or councils, organs of *workers* power counterposed to the capitalists’ power. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries (a populist party based on the peasantry) supported the Provisional Government, and participated in it, and at first led the soviets with a class-collaborationist policy. In contrast, Lenin’s Bolsheviks strongly opposed the Provisional Government and called for “All power to the soviets!”, polemicizing strongly against the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries and thus preparing the October Revolution. The contradiction between the two powers (the bourgeois Provisional Government and the workers soviets)—a situation that was deeply and necessarily unstable and brief—was resolved by the Bolshevik Revolution which overthrew the

bourgeoisie and created the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the soviets.

The LTS-CC calls for a “provisional government of the APPO and other workers, peasants and people’s organizations of the state. This government must call a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly [that is, a *bourgeois parliament*] upon the ruins of the current regime, to discuss and push demands of the people on the state, as part of a national struggle against the regime of alternating parties.” The call of LTS-CC is reduced to the APPO’s administering the capitalist state in Oaxaca, adopting the illusion—which has also made the Zapatistas very popular—of some type of democratic island of “self-management” in the midst of the brutal capitalist regime. In deeds, the LTS-CC also adopts the “revolution by stages” Menshevik scheme. It is not a coincidence that the LTS takes up the name of the *bourgeois and imperialist* Provisional Government in Russia in 1917.

Although the Internationalist Group (IG) tries to use Marxoid phraseology more often than the groups mentioned above, it shares with them an

adaptation to the consciousness of the masses in struggle. Unable to respond to our polemics, the IG has resorted to the grossest falsifications and recently launched the vile slander that we Spartacists are “apologists for death squads.” The reason for their desperate recourse to such slander is our principled defense of the miners union against the attack by Fox and the PRD, and our denunciation of the pro-PRD and union-busting position of the IG that the corporatist unions in reality represent the “class enemy” (and thus “death squads”), while only those tied to the PRD are genuine workers organizations, as well as their subsequent renunciation of the basic defense of the miners union against state attack (see “IG: Dangerous Lies and Cynical Slanders,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 879 [27 October]).

The founding cadre of the IG came out of the ICL a decade ago, despairing before the arduous task of forging Leninist-Trotskyist parties to struggle for socialist revolution. Since then, they have devoted themselves to searching

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## State of Siege in Oaxaca...

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for substitutes for the proletariat as the fundamental agency for proletarian revolution. Their positions on Oaxaca clearly demonstrate this. The IG characterizes the APPO as “an organization with a popular-frontist orientation, although still in the process of formation. That is, it points in the direction of a class-collaborationist coalition that seeks to chain the working class to sections of the bourgeoisie, to derail explosive class struggle and thus avoid a ‘revolutionary danger’” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2, August 2006).

The popular front is a class-collaborationist coalition in which one or more workers parties is subordinated to the bourgeoisie, generally to administer the capitalist state. The APPO is not a workers organization, but is based on unionized teachers and sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie, such as students and peasants. By its social composition as well as its political perspective—which dilutes the proletariat in the mass of the “people” and is based on illusions in the democratic reform of the capitalist state, looking directly to the PRD to carry this out—the APPO is not a popular-frontist organization but, as we have already seen, simply populist.

## Language Rights...

(continued from page 7)

sharply diminished through outmigration to English Canada. Meanwhile outside Quebec, once substantial francophone minorities have shrunk dramatically in the face of assimilationist pressure, including bigoted “English only” ordinances in various areas. (An exception is the Acadians of northern New Brunswick.)

It is certainly true, as H. notes, that aspects of discrimination against francophones in Quebec persist, for example in some smaller businesses. We oppose this, but also oppose legal restrictions on the use of English in Quebec (and, of course, on French in English Canada). In taking such a stance, we aim to cut through the linguistic/ethnic/national divisions fostered by the bourgeoisie and promote united working-class struggle against capitalism.

The language question cannot be separated from the overarching national question that dominates Canadian politics. Quebec’s language laws appear to have been decisive in countering the pressures toward dissolution of the Québécois nation via assimilation into English-speaking Canada. The resulting situation where Canada is effectively split along national lines while remaining formally “united” acts as a major barrier to proletarian class consciousness. The rulers in

Although the struggle in Oaxaca could serve as a spark to ignite workers struggle, in itself it does not pose a “revolutionary danger.” The IG is incapable of recognizing that the industrial proletariat, in any case tiny in Oaxaca, is not a relevant force in the current struggle, and has found, in the teachers, students and peasants, its substitute.

In any event, the IG’s blather about the APPO’s “popular frontism” is designed to give a somewhat “leftist” covering to their adaptation. On the ground, when it matters, they prefer to silence any criticism of the struggling masses. Thus, in a student assembly called by the IG at CCH Sur [another UNAM high school] recently, their speakers left out all criticism, all reference to Marxism or even to their own organization, in order not to alienate their fellow travelers in the “movement.”

We Spartacists fight to forge a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist party as the fundamental instrument for socialist revolution—the only solution to the exploitation, oppression and misery inherent to capitalism. The working class must not allow the capitalist repression to pass with impunity. **Defend the teachers and their allies against state attack!**

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 880,  
10 November

Ottawa, assisted by the NDP, rail against Quebec independence and rally the workers for “Canadian unity.” In turn, the historically more militant Québécois working class has been tied to the coattails of its “own” national bourgeoisie via the PQ and Bloc Québécois.

A measure of how poisoned the situation remains can be seen in the tortured hand-wringing in English Canada over the recognition that Quebec is a nation, a simple indisputable fact. This is reminiscent of the late 1980s/early ’90s, when an even more banal proposal to recognize Quebec as a “distinct society” brought an eruption of Anglo chauvinism that shattered the then-ruling Progressive Conservative Party. The anti-French yahoos of the Reform Party, key progenitors of today’s federal Tory government, became dominant in the West, while the nationalist Bloc emerged in Quebec. This paved the way for the election of another PQ government and the 1995 sovereignty referendum, which lost by the narrowest of margins, effectively resolving nothing.

What we wrote on the eve of the referendum applies equally today:

“[W]hatever the conjunctural sentiment, the fact remains that Quebec has, in all concrete ways, insisted on *la survivance* (survival), necessarily through compacting an insular francophone culture and society. And in English Canada, the chauvinist outcry against Quebec’s assertion of national sovereignty erects profound barriers to proletarian class struggle. It is necessary, and has been for quite some time, to cut the Gordian Knot....

“We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity.”

—“For Quebec Independence!” *SC* No. 105,  
September/October 1995

As revolutionary Marxists, we start from two interlinked premises in addressing the language and national questions: the need to oppose all aspects of discrimination and oppression, and the fight to forge anti-capitalist proletarian unity. ■

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## Defend North Korea!...

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bureaucracy—is a defense of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. To abandon defense of the workers states is to abandon the cause of international proletarian revolution. That cause and, thus, the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, form the cornerstone of the International Communist League's program.

The Korean War has never ended, not just technically because the U.S. refused to sign a peace treaty, but in reality. Far from being the product of the steroid-enhanced "axis of



Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

**Seoul, 1950. Under UN flag, imperialists slaughtered some three million people in Korean War, reduced peninsula to rubble.**

evil" delusions of the Bush administration, U.S. imperialism's sole policy toward the Stalinist-led North has always been to destroy it on the road to overturning the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The Korean War was initiated by Democratic Party president Harry Truman and continued by his Republican successor, Dwight Eisenhower, while General Douglas MacArthur promoted the notion of nuking China. There is little question that the possibility of a nuclear riposte by the USSR gave pause to the Dr. Strangeloves, while the entry of a million-plus "volunteers" of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, after China itself was militarily threatened by the U.S., allowed North Korea to survive. To this day, the U.S. maintains nearly 30,000 troops in South Korea, including a naval base and three air bases. These troops have been repeatedly used to back up the suppression of working-class militancy and social uprisings in the South and are a signal of U.S. imperialism's intent to reverse its defeat in the North. **All U.S. troops and bases out of South Korea!**

The day before the statement was issued by North Korea's Foreign Ministry, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chris Hill warned, "We are not going to live with a nuclear North Korea. [It] can have a future, or it can have these weapons. It cannot have both." The anti-nuclear pretensions of the U.S.

are the purest hogwash designed to erase the memory of the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. It is the U.S., in its 2002 "Nuclear Posture Review," that has targeted China and North Korea, among several other countries, for a potential nuclear first strike. Meanwhile, on several occasions South Korea has covertly sought to develop the technology necessary for nuclear weaponry. Japan, which has more than 40 tons of plutonium, is a screw's turn away from developing nuclear weapons. And then, of course, there is Israel's large nuclear arsenal.

Nevertheless, North Korea's nuclear test has been characterized by most bourgeois commentators as the product of a bizarre, deranged and rogue dictatorship. There is much peculiar about the dynastic, mythologized bureaucratic rule of the Kims in general and specifically about the proclivities of "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il. But North Korea's decision to conduct the test is not only rational; it is an essential first step to developing nuclear weaponry to deter imperialist attack. It is no accident that North Korea's only partial respite from the unrelenting pressure of U.S. imperialism was during the period when it was economically and militarily in alliance with the USSR. Indeed, had it not been for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, it is likely that much of China, Vietnam as well as North Korea would be irradiated rubble.

### Down With Imperialist Nuclear Blackmail!

In the aftermath of the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, during which the USSR refused to support China in the service of the Soviet quest for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, we hailed China's first nuclear explosion in October 1964 as an elementary act of defense in the context of the Soviet betrayal. As we then stated: "The main point is that every increase in the ability of the Chinese to hold the U.S. at bay militarily is an increase in time to prepare the proletarian revolution—above all in America—the only final safeguard to all gains thus far made by the international working class" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

For revolutionary Marxists, it is axiomatic that for socialist revolution to survive, it must in relatively short order achieve world dominance by the proletarian seizure of power in the most advanced strongholds of imperialism. The bureaucratic castes that rule in the deformed workers states have no such perspective. They derive their relative economic privilege and social power from their parasitic relationship to the workers states and, thus, fear most of all a reawakening of any proletarian militancy that would threaten to replace their dominance. Thus, while occasionally forced to defend the revolutions over which they hold political sway from imperialism's attacks, these Stalinist bureaucrats seek to maintain a futile policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as part of their nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country" (or even half a country in North Korea).

During the U.S.-mobilized Cold War that followed World War II and targeted the Soviet Union for nuclear attack, the USSR offered important military and material support to the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state, similarly targeted during the Korean War. With the easing of the Cold

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## Defend North Korea!...

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War, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union were willing to trade off that support for rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists. Similarly during the Vietnam War, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized the “opportunity” to throw in its lot with the American imperialists in opposition to a fictional Soviet “social imperialism.” As the U.S. sought the overturn of the military, industrial powerhouse that resulted from the 1917 October Revolution, the CCP’s efforts were much appreciated by the U.S. and assisted in preparing the way for counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world historic defeat for the international proletariat.

In the case of North Korea, China criminally voted for sanctions against North Korea in the UN Security Council, having earlier condemned the nuclear test in an October 8 joint statement with the newly elected right-wing Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe. And all along, Beijing has been working to pressure the Pyongyang regime into the “six party talks” whose aim is to disarm North Korea. For its part, North Korea is pushing for “bilateral” talks with the U.S.

What has been the net result of China’s shameless toadying? To be sure, the imperialists now accord China the stature of a major, if aberrant, operator on the world stage. And there is the imbibing of heady beverages at sumptuous banquets accompanied, no doubt, by numerous opportunities to enrich oneself for favours accorded to the imperialist investors. But since the overturn of the degenerated workers state in the USSR, the U.S. has redeployed to Asia forces it once used to contain the Soviet “threat,” and these forces endanger not just Pyongyang but centrally Beijing. At the same time, the U.S. has been strengthening its ties with Japanese imperialism, targeting China under the guise of “defending” capitalist Taiwan. For its part, Japan has sought to prettify its vicious occupation of China and Korea during the first half of the 20th century until its defeat in World War II, while currently using North Korea as an excuse to overturn the restrictions on its military contained in the postwar constitution.

Beijing’s craven appeasement of the imperialist drive against North Korea is particularly dangerous to China’s own defense. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would be a devastating defeat for the international proletariat, turning the world’s most populous country into one giant sweatshop directly for the imperialist exploiters, or perhaps some other eventuality not now envisioned. What is urgently posed is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to oust the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing and replace them with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. A workers political revolution in China would be a spur for a similar uprising in North Korea while igniting socialist revolution in South Korea, providing the basis for the revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. It would arouse the powerful Japanese proletariat in opposition to its capitalist rulers and set the stage for a worldwide proletarian offensive against imperialist rule.

### For International Socialist Revolution!

Predictably, the Canadian government joined the imperialist hue and cry against North Korea’s nuclear test. Tory prime minister Stephen Harper railed that Pyongyang was “thumping its nose at the world community” and endorsed the UN sanctions. Echoing Harper, New Democratic Party

leader Jack Layton denounced North Korea for an “irresponsible attempt to destabilize global security” and called to “fully support the United Nations in its attempt to regain control of this volatile situation.”

In the U.S., the Democrats have postured as “tough” on North Korea, attacking the Bush administration from the right. Harry Reid, Democratic leader in the Senate, put it sharply: “Distracted by Iraq and paralyzed by internal divisions, the Bush administration has for several years been in a state of denial about the growing challenge of North Korea, and has too often tried to downplay the issue or change the subject.... The first step toward ending North Korea’s nuclear weapons program must be to ensure that this alleged first nuclear test is also the last” (Agence France-Presse, 9 October).

The Democrats regained control of the Senate and House of Representatives in the recent U.S. mid-term elections in large part because voters were dismayed by the seemingly endless occupation of Iraq. But the Democrats are, in fact, imperialist warriors par excellence. Virtually every major U.S. imperialist action in the 20th century was carried out by Democratic presidents—because U.S. rulers are aware that the Democrats’ posture as “friends” of working people makes them better able to sell U.S. imperialism’s wars to the population. Indeed, Bill Clinton was preparing to bomb North Korea into submission in 1994 had he not obtained a promise from Kim Jong Il to cease attempts to reprocess plutonium from fuel rods. What the Democrats are offering is a superior “war on terror,” one that would have as today’s prime target North Korea as an opening shot against the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The predatory aspirations of the U.S., joined among others by its Canadian junior partner, are so apparent that even some of those sham socialists who eschew the defense of the deformed workers states under the preposterous fiction that these are capitalist societies feign sympathy for North Korea’s plight. Thus, the International Socialists (I.S.) published a statement by their co-thinkers in South Korea (the “All-Together” group) that noted how, through its “naked threats” against the Pyongyang regime, “Washington was in effect begging North Korea to develop nuclear weapons” (*Socialist Worker*, 28 October). While opposing UN sanctions, All-Together denounces North Korea’s nuclear test as “a dangerous gamble” that “has nothing to do with socialism” but could “have a negative impact on people’s movements in South Korea, Japan, etc.”

The I.S.’s progenitors were baptized during the Korean War when they capitulated to British and U.S. imperialism and refused to defend the Korean social revolution from imperialist attack. Today they write, “The only way to stop nuclear proliferation is to force the US to quit threatening North Korea.” Here the I.S. betrays their abjectly reformist faith that a good and harmless imperialism can be created through forcing, pressuring or otherwise cajoling the rulers in Washington, who seek nothing less than world domination, to clean up their act. An end to war and devastation requires the overthrow by the proletariat of the imperialist world order, and that task cannot be accomplished without the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist international party committed to that end. It is to that purpose that the Trotskyist League and ICL devote all our resources.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 879, 27 October



## Anti-China Protectionism...

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bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese Revolution was of world-historic significance, overthrowing the rule of the imperialist-backed Chinese bourgeoisie and laying the basis for an enormous leap in social progress. A nation that had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. In a country defined by abject peasant backwardness, the revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous status.

Particularly since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Canadian and other imperialist powers have had as a central goal the destruction of the Chinese workers state, aiming to restore capitalist rule in order to turn the Chinese mainland into a gigantic sweatshop. They have a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, they aim to undermine the workers state by strengthening internal counterrevolutionary forces, including through capitalist investment. On the other, they are exerting unremitting military pressure against China. The incursions into Afghanistan and elsewhere in Central Asia by the U.S. and its allies—including Canada—have significantly tightened the military vise around China. The U.S. has also strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim, placing antiballistic missile systems in the region and signing a joint declaration with Japan in defense of capitalist Taiwan.

Just as workers in Canada and the U.S. must defend their unions against the bosses despite the sellout labour leadership, it is the duty of the international working class to *defend China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution*.

The gains of the Chinese Revolution have, however, been undermined throughout by Stalinist misrule. The bureaucracy that rules in China is not a class but a privileged caste that sits atop the workers state. Following the Stalinist dogma of “socialism in one country” and its corollary, “peaceful coexistence,” the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime, from Mao Zedong up through today, has conciliated imperialism, not least through selling out revolutions in other countries. Since Mao’s death, his successors have

embarked on a program of “market reforms” whose impact has been deeply contradictory. While penetration by offshore Chinese and imperialist capital has strengthened internal counterrevolutionary forces, increased trade and investment have also led to a marked increase in development, including through the importation of industrial machinery. (See “China’s ‘Market Reforms’—A Trotskyist Analysis,” *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 874 and 875, 4 August and 1 September, for an extensive treatment of this question.)

Insofar as it offers up low-wage Chinese workers to large imperialist corporations, the Beijing bureaucracy acts as a labour contractor for the international bourgeoisie. The same Stalinist regime conciliates imperialism at the international level by such acts as voting in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the North Korean deformed workers state’s nuclear testing. This is but one example of how CCP rule undermines the system of nationalized property and the defense of the deformed workers state itself. In recent years, Chinese workers and peasants have waged constant battles against the effects of the bureaucracy’s “market reforms.” A Leninist-Trotskyist party, committed to defending and extending the gains of the 1949 Revolution, must be forged to lead China’s powerful working class, at the head of the peasants and urban poor, to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy through *proletarian political revolution*.

### The CAW, David Miller and Bombardier

But who are the social-democratic misleaders of the CLC, CAW et al. to howl about the lack of workers’ rights in China? For years these labour fakers have let the bosses get away with sweeping attacks on workers’ jobs, union rights and benefits. CAW president Hargrove has long raved against Japanese and Korean cars, and now the CAW tops are warning of the “threat” of cheap imports from China. Yet in Ontario alone, tens of thousands of auto workers are employed in non-union plants, including Japanese-owned Honda and Toyota and Canadian-owned parts plants, notably the union-busting Magna. Hargrove & Co. wage no serious fight to organize these plants. Instead they criminally pit workers in the Japanese-owned factories against the CAW by denouncing the products they make, because they are “foreign”! *Organize the unorganized! The entire auto industry must be unionized!*

The union tops’ anti-China protectionism was in full flower this fall over the awarding of a \$700 million subway train manufacturing contract for the Toronto Transit Commission. After Montreal-based Bombardier was given the contract for production at its Thunder Bay, Ontario plant, a furor erupted when Siemens of Germany claimed it could do the work more cheaply, in part by assembling trains in China. While right-wing councillors tried to make political hay against NDP mayor David Miller for awarding the contract to Bombardier as a sole-source supplier, the CAW, which organizes the Thunder Bay plant, went into overdrive to back their friend Miller, thereby pitting Canadian workers against their brothers and sisters in China.

Cynically manipulating workers’ fears of losing their jobs, on September 25 the Toronto Labour Council organized a chauvinist “Made in Canada Matters” rally at City Hall before the vote that

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China Labour Bulletin

**Tianwang Textile Factory workers struck for almost seven weeks in 2004 against Hong Kong bosses after privatization of plant.**

## Anti-China Protectionism...

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approved the Bombardier contract. While Miller intoned, "Public money used to buy subway cars made in Canada helps keep jobs and technology in our country," senior CAW official Bob Chernecki called on workers to "oppose politicians who want to ship jobs overseas" (*CONTACT* Newsletter, 29 September). A few months earlier, TTC chairman and NDP councillor Howard Moscoe railed: "I don't want to build my cars in a communist regime.... I want to make my cars where it benefits Canadian workers" (*Northern Ontario Business*, 5 June).

The claim that Canadian workers have a common interest with Canadian bosses is a pernicious lie: here, as everywhere, the interests of labour and capital are irreconcilable. What is needed is an internationalist fight against the capitalist exploiters, who are manifestly incapable of providing decent conditions for workers anywhere. Job losses can be fought by militant class-struggle actions such as plant occupations. Last May, Toronto ATU transit workers gave a taste of labour's potential power when they struck against management harassment, safety violations and arbitrary shift changes, shutting down North America's third-largest transit system in an "illegal" walkout. NDPers Miller and Moscoe were in the forefront of denouncing this strike and are seeking massive fines against the union.

The unions should fight for demands like a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, enabling the available work to be shared among all workers. If the capitalists are unwilling to run certain plants or sectors of industry—out of pure greed, or because plants may be obsolete or resources depleted—then workers must put up a hard fight for long-term wage protection and retraining at company expense. Such demands go against the grain of the irrational capitalist economic system of production for profit. Only socialist revolution and the establishment of an international planned economy—where production is based on human needs as determined through workers democracy, not the profits of a tiny exploiting class—can put an end to joblessness and misery everywhere.

### For Internationalist Proletarian Leadership!

The anti-Communist union bureaucrats in Canada, as in the U.S., have a long record of dirty work on behalf of their "own" imperialist rulers. This was driven home at this year's Toronto Labour Day parade. "Made in Canada Matters" was a central theme of the march, and among the contingents was one from the reactionary Chinese Falun Dafa religious sect. Back in the 1980s, the labour misleaders were avid champions of Polish *Solidarność*, a reactionary movement masquerading as a trade union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. The American AFL-CIO union tops channelled millions of dollars of CIA money to this counterrevolutionary "union." In Canada, the B.C. Federation of Labour and NDP organized an anti-Communist picket against a Polish ship, while the CLC put on its payroll one Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, a rabidly reactionary supporter of *Solidarność*, who openly made common cause with the U.S. rulers on every issue from CIA-backed counterinsurgency in Central America to the West European "peace" movement.

As they did in East Europe and the former Soviet Union,



Young Spartacus

**Spartacists call to defend gains of Chinese Revolution at April 2001 protest in Berkeley, California.**

the U.S. and Canadian labour tops are abetting the imperialist drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China. Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule, plunged the working people into mass unemployment, falling life expectancy and all-around social degradation. Capitalist restoration in China, a much poorer and less developed country, would bring even deeper misery and devastation, and would further embolden the capitalists worldwide in their attacks on workers and oppressed minorities.

Genuine solidarity with the embattled Chinese worker and peasant masses must be based on opposition to the rapacious imperialist rulers and defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution. The smashing of capitalist class rule was the crucial precondition for China to commence the economic and social modernization necessary to bring millions of toilers out of poverty and degradation. Substantial trade with and investment from more industrially advanced imperialist countries has brought crucially necessary modern technology, permitting further economic progress. But the CCP bureaucracy's dismantling of the state monopoly of foreign trade; its promotion of policies that have produced substantial new domestic capitalist forces while sharply increasing inequality; and above all its anti-revolutionary appeasement of imperialism on the global scale—all this points to the need to replace Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the revolutionary-internationalist rule of soviet democracy. The all-round liberation of the Chinese masses ultimately rests on winning support, including crucial economic aid, from successful socialist revolutions in the imperialist centers of Japan, North America and West Europe.

Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an *international* fight. In Canada that means fighting to break workers from the flag-waving chauvinism and China-bashing pushed by the labour tops and NDP. As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party, we warn against the deadly dangerous trap of calls to "defend Canadian jobs" against foreign competition. We live by the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner more than 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite." ■

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!...

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solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Mexico who are being victimized by vicious government repression" (see article, page 10).

Williamson addressed the urgency of the fight for Mumia's freedom, stating, "If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through." Williamson placed Mumia's case in the context of the "increased bipartisan attacks on civil liberties and the frame-up conviction and sentencing of leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart to 28 months and her co-defendants Mohamed Yousry to 20 months and Ahmed Abdel Sattar to an outrageous 24 years," as well as the attacks by the Bush administration on defendants' *habeas corpus* right to challenge evidence. She stressed that "while all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions or reliance in the capitalist courts." Williamson continued:

"There is no need for a trial to prove that Mumia is innocent—the facts speak for themselves. The evidence of Mumia's innocence is overwhelming. The PDC has fought to get this evidence out, well before the conclusive piece of evidence that helps tie it all together—the confession of Arnold Beverly—was exposed. Mumia has been in prison or on death row for nearly 25 years. He doesn't need another 'day in court.' He needs his freedom."

Powerfully supporting this appeal, just days before the rally, a full-page statement calling to free Mumia and signed by more than 200 black and labor activists and prominent individuals around the world appeared in the major Harlem-based black newspaper the *Amsterdam News* (26 October). The statement (printed in this issue with a partial list of signatures on page 23) specifically points to the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot the policeman; it is titled: "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man."

The rally heard taped greetings from Mumia and a recording of a moving speech by his sister Lydia Barashango at the Oakland rally. A statement was read out from New York's 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East union declaring: "We support the demand to free Mumia Now!" Besides speakers from the PDC and LBL, the audience was addressed by Jose A. Arroyo, vice chair of Section 115 of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, Lynne Stewart and Pam Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Arroyo described the rally as being "united with one common cause, and that is we are in the class struggle" and referred to the TWU strike last December. An immigrant from Mexico, Arroyo described his horror at watching the news of the May 1985 firebombing of MOVE, saying that he "saw how the government was burning an entire block of people, with children inside!" The audience was read a statement from Leonard Riley Jr. of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422: "Coming from South Carolina and coming out of the 'Charleston Five' experience, I know first hand the full potential and extent to which the government will go to act against those that openly challenge their policies.... It was only through national and International solidarity of the labor movement that the Charleston 5 were eventu-



Workers Vanguard

San Francisco, 24 April 1999: "Millions for Mumia" rally mobilized around call for new trial, catering to illusions in racist "justice" system that railroaded Mumia to death row.

ally freed." Riley's statement concluded: "We Can and We must use the collective forces of the Labor Movement to free this innocent man. Free Mumia Now!"

Addressing the rally less than two weeks after her sentencing, Lynne Stewart expressed her determination to challenge her frame-up conviction and sentencing for the "crime" of being a zealous advocate on behalf of her client, the Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. She received a standing ovation. Later in the program, Monique Code read a statement from Mumia's son Jamal Hart, who was framed up and sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges for speaking out in his father's defense.

### Free Mumia: Which Way Forward?

The core debate at the rally tackled the question of why support for Mumia was demobilized over the years, which must be understood in order to build the kind of militant mass protest movement that can win his freedom. As Williamson said in her opening remarks, "The fact that people are not mobilizing and filling the streets now like they once did for Mumia does not go unnoticed by the courts." She continued:

"Many so-called socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization have at one point or another taken up Mumia's case. But it is a question on what basis they take it up. It boils down to a difference between reforming the capitalist state and organizing working people independent of it and to fight it. Many of these leftist groups were fighting on the basis of winning the courts over to Mumia's side and tying the masses to have faith in the courts, instead of fighting on the basis of winning the masses to the fight for the freedom of an innocent man. And now that Mumia stands on his last legal legs in court, with small exceptions you hardly hear a peep from most of these groups."

In fact, the organizations mentioned by Williamson were notable for their absence from this rally.

Speaking for the New York Labor Black League, which was initiated by and is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, TWU Local 100 member Tom Cowperthwaite declared, "Black liberation cannot succeed apart from united class

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## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!...

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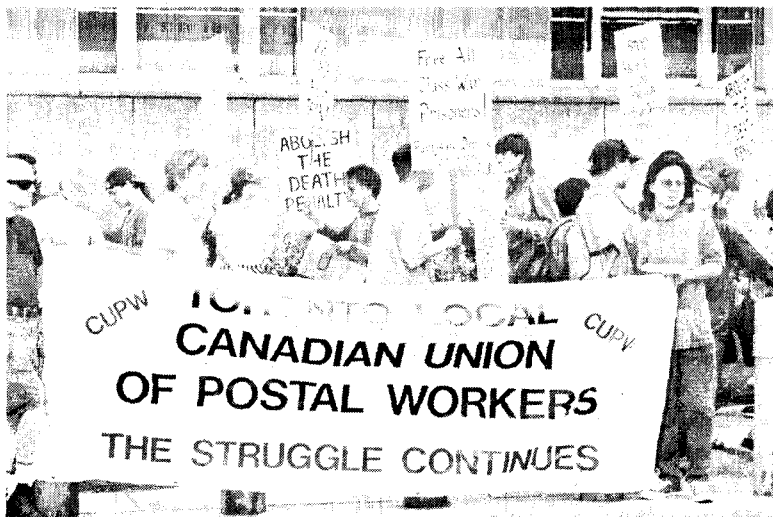
struggle against the capitalists; working-class emancipation cannot succeed without an implacable fight against anti-black racism. Taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight against racial oppression *and* working-class exploitation."

Cowperthwaite was loudly applauded when he championed the TWU's strike action, saying, "I'm proud that we showed our union power for three days last December. We paralyzed the racist, union-busting MTA and the city itself. That's the same power we need to *free Mumia* and all class-war prisoners." He continued, "In every workplace, the words 'Strike!' and 'Free Mumia!' should ring out in the same breath."

Cowperthwaite illustrated the capitalist state as a machine of class repression by pointing to its role in the transit strike: "The government and courts only intervene into the unions to hogtie and destroy them as fighting organizations. Just look at the recent court injunctions, fines and prison time imposed on TWU Local 100.... The LBL says: 'For complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state! Cops and security guards out of the unions! No to union-suing! Labor must clean its own house!'" He said:

"A host of phony socialist groups, liberals and black nationalists derailed the struggle for Mumia in the late '90s by pushing the demand for a 'new trial' and sowing illusions in the same government that framed him up. During every political show trial in this country's history—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Rosenbergs—the liberals and reformists have sown false hopes in the supposedly evenhanded scales of justice."

In her remarks, Pam Africa gave credit to the PDC for its many years of work on behalf of Mumia. She has often cited the legal efforts of PDC attorneys on behalf of Mumia, including bringing out the Beverly evidence, which is but one part, although a crucial part, of the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence. As Erica Williamson noted in her address, the PDC first learned of Mumia's case from MOVE member Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the government's firebombing of the MOVE commune on 13 May 1985, in which eleven men, women and children were burned to death. The PDC defended MOVE and for 20 years



SC photo

Trade unionists join Toronto June 1995 demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal, part of international outpouring of protests that stayed the executioner's hand.

has included MOVE members in its program of monthly financial stipends to class-war prisoners.

Directly responding to Williamson's and Cowperthwaite's criticism of the role played by the liberal-reformist left in demobilizing support for Mumia, Pam Africa stated: "I want to dispel the myth that people who call for a trial for Mumia is the cause of the movement being splintered." Speaking of those who might support the death penalty and don't know whether Mumia is innocent but see that he "didn't have a fair trial," she said that "you don't run these people off." Her comments were applauded by many, underlining the range of political views of those in attendance.

Pam Africa defended the Workers World Party (WWP) and Jeff Mackler of Socialist Action (SA), saying "they do work" on behalf of Mumia. She continued by saying that "a lot of people aren't here tonight because we do not understand how we offend each other and you cannot pull people in offending them." She pointed to the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" protests, which the WWP and SA heavily built, as a high point in mobilizing for Mumia and mentioned as well the ILWU stop-work action that shut down West Coast ports that day. She went on, "You know what broke this movement up? It's fear. It's racism. It's classism. And the terrorism that was in the hearts of this government, when they looked out there on April the 24th, 1999, when they saw the people united, moving up against them.... They had to stop that."

She also took issue with the PDC and LBL speakers' assertion of the strategic importance of mobilizing the labor movement in this struggle, asking about the poor and the unemployed: "They stood beside the workers. I'm saying we must give credit to all those people who worked to free Mumia." She spoke of Italian Americans, Mexican Americans and black nationalists who came out for Mumia at that time. She also pointed to "black policemen" who were "there for Mumia."

The PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein, who was on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999 and led the investigation that turned up evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the Beverly confession, responded from the platform: "I want to begin by really genuinely thanking Pam for raising her criticisms here at this meeting.... I'm not offended by that. And neither should anyone who we criticize be offended. It's a question of how best to fight forward for Mumia's freedom as part of the broader struggle for the liberation of us all." "What the capitalist class sees in Mumia," Wolkenstein said, "is the spectre of black revolution. And because of that they will stop at nothing, *nothing*—lies, coercion, falsifying evidence, disappearing evidence of Mumia's innocence, campaigns of all sorts to create dissension and all of that. I couldn't agree more that our main enemy is the capitalist state. Now the question is, how do you fight it?"

### For Class-Struggle Defense!

As Wolkenstein explained, the first step is understanding the nature of the capitalist state as "the instrument of repression for those rulers of this country, the capitalist class," who "will stop at nothing against a possible unity of the working class, against the consciousness...that they must struggle for socialist revolution and not accept the parameters of capitalism." Wolkenstein noted that it was very important that the 1999 union leadership came

# Mumia's Greetings to PDC Rallies

The following recorded greetings from Mumia Abu-Jamal were played at the October PDC rallies.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa!

Dear friends and comrades of the PDC:

Thank you for your hard and arduous work in the unions and the streets on behalf of my life and freedom. I, *we* thank you all. This struggle for justice has been long and bitter, yet we struggle on, as we must. The law, Marx said, is but the will of one class made into the law for all. We have seen how the law is made and

unmade, how legal precedents become suggestions, and how the law changes from case to case—all in support of repression. We've seen the racial exclusion of jurors and the racist comments of judges, false confessions and more. Yet, the struggle continues. I thank you all for the part you play in that struggle.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa!

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

out in defense of Mumia and that they had signed the statement that appeared in the Amsterdam News. "But they would do better," she said, "if they were here today as a first step fighting for Mumia." She won applause for saying that they should have "been prepared to bring out their membership in defending the transit workers when they were out on strike" and "to commit themselves along with every other union here, that labor will *stop* in this city until Mumia is free."

Wolkenstein continued, "That consciousness is the consciousness that *we must win people to.*" "Our numbers on a street in a demonstration show our desire to stand for something.... But that is not the same thing as being able to stop this system, *shut it down!* These are very different things. And that is why we talk about the power of the working class. It is not a dismissal of the good will, the heart, the needs and the oppression that otherwise exists in society. It is not a statement that those people who are unemployed are not part of the struggle. But that is the duty of the labor movement: to *organize* the unemployed, to *fight* for jobs for the unemployed, to *unionize* people across the board."

Wolkenstein answered Pam Africa on the role of black cops, some of whom, like the Black Guardians, had been welcomed into Mumia protests in the past: "You know what I want those black cops to do? I want those black cops to *tell me what they know* about the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, because there were tons of black cops involved in the frame-up." Wolkenstein insisted that those cops, precisely "because they're cops" who "defend the capitalist system, and are part of the gunning down of blacks and immigrants and poor and strikers, are just as much the enemy of all of us here as a white cop!"

The PDC's polemics, Wolkenstein said, were directed not at individuals who came out for Mumia protests because of their particular liberal or religious beliefs, or even centrally at bourgeois organizations like Amnesty International, whose views are antithetical to the Marxist understanding of the state. "Who we are addressing our criticisms to," she emphasized, "are those organizations that say they are socialist. That say they are for the workers. That say they're for black revolution and for black freedom. It's those organizations that play the game that has been played for decades and decades and decades, which is to say, to use the excuse: 'People aren't ready for this yet. They haven't gotten there yet. We can't go too far in advance of people yet. We must bide our time.'"

Wolkenstein continued, "I want to make a point that the *more* evidence that came out of the frame-up, from 1995 to 1999, the *more* those so-called left organizations decided to

hold people *back* from their understanding of the nature of the courts. Because it was clear that there was a frame-up.... The more the evidence came out, the more those organizations said: 'We are *not* going to argue for Free Mumia, that Mumia is innocent. We are *not* going to argue that people need to understand that this is a racist system, that we cannot have any illusions in the court and that we'll need a mass mobilization on the streets, and that's the only way we will get the courts to respond'."

Pointing to a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting" that included among its 70 participants representatives of the WWP, SA and Refuse & Resist, Wolkenstein stated, "I'll give a criticism of the Partisan Defense Committee. We weren't there at that meeting fighting for what we should have been fighting for." She continued, "What did they decide to do at this leadership meeting? They decided they would consciously make the demand for 'Millions for Mumia' be 'new trial for Mumia.' Not 'Free Mumia.' And not anything that opposed the death penalty. And this was already after there was a worldwide campaign where millions and millions of people...had signed onto statements and demands and rallies and resolutions that said 'End the racist death penalty. Free Mumia'."

"There are going to be liberals who are going to organize on the basis that Mumia is a wonderful man," Wolkenstein continued. "And he is. And he writes beautifully. And he does. And that the trial was unfair. Which it was. And they will mobilize on that basis. But that's not enough. And you know what? *That will not get Mumia free.*" She emphasized, "There is no way, given the determination of this state to execute Mumia, that he could be freed short of a mobilization that recognizes the depth of the hatred the state has for him."

Holding up the *Amsterdam News* ad, Wolkenstein said, "There are accusations being made that to raise the Beverly evidence, to raise the demand for Mumia's immediate freedom, to raise the demand that he is an innocent man is divisive, that it's sending decent people away. Well, there are plenty of decent people who do not have our politics who signed onto this statement. Because they can when it's presented to them.... They were ready to do this years ago. Who didn't allow them to do that is the so-called left that decided that the only way that you could build a mass movement was by taking people *back*, retarding their consciousness, stopping them from drawing the lessons of Mumia's case."

Wolkenstein also answered charges often raised by liberals that Mumia never told the courts that he was innocent. "Mumia said he was innocent the night he was shot.... He said he was innocent during his trial. He said he was innocent

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**HOLIDAY APPEAL FOR CLASS-WAR PRISONERS****Friday, Dec. 15, from 7 to 10 p.m.****Steelworkers Hall, 25 Cecil Street, Toronto**

(1 block south of College at Ross Street, west of Queen's Park Station)

**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Mumia Is an Innocent Man!****\$5.00 for advance tickets, \$8.00 at the door.****All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund.****Special Guest Speaker: Jonathan Piper,****Partisan Defense Committee; Attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal, 1990-1999****Musical Performance by: Faith Nolan**

Other speakers:

**Dave Bleakney**, *Canadian Union of Postal Workers***Frank Dreaver**, Founder, National/International Spokesperson, *Leonard Peltier Canadian Coalition***Gabriel Galang**, *Political Hip-Hop Association*, University of Toronto, Mississauga**Ali Mallah**, *Canadian Arab Federation*; VP – Equity, *Canadian Union of Public Employees, Toronto District Council\****Miriam McDonald**, *Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste*  
**Macdonald Scott**, *No One Is Illegal*; Member, *Law Union of Ontario\**

\* Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

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**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!...***(continued from page 21)*

in his 2001 affidavit that accompanied the legal pleadings along with the Beverly evidence." Mumia's statement to the court that he was not guilty of the crime he was charged with "were the words that Sacco and Vanzetti used." She continued, "Mumia knew why he was in court.... He was guilty of being a Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, a black revolutionary. He was guilty of being a journalist who reported the truth. He was guilty of not doing the bidding of the police and the government."

**Mobilize Now!**

The questions posed in the debate from the podium continued in the floor discussion. A supporter of the Free Mumia Coalition asked the audience to sign a petition to name a Harlem street in honor of Mumia. But as Williamson explained, the PDC regretfully was unable to sign the petition because it called for a "new and fair trial" and did not call for his freedom or say that he is innocent.

A supporter of the PDC described her work with another group supporting Mumia that was going to put out a fundraising letter. She said she asked them, "Why don't we put in the letter that he's innocent? Well, all hell broke out. 'We can't do that, we'll alienate people. Some people think he's guilty'."

SL spokesman Don Alexander counterposed our revolutionary integrationist program for black liberation to the dead end of black nationalism. Referring to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Russia in 1917, he said, "One of the important components of that revolution was its internationalism. And it was the fight of the Russian Bolsheviks that actually won the early Communist movement to understand the need to fight against black oppression in the U.S. as central to the struggle for working-class revolution, not separate from it." The Black Panthers "represented the best of a generation of black militants that wanted to make a social revolution. But their so-called program of revolutionary nationalism rejected

mobilizing the multiracial working class as an ally of the struggle for black freedom. That made them easy pickings. It wasn't just the FBI that smashed them, but it was the fact that they did not have a program that was capable of uprooting black oppression, which is rooted in the capitalist system."

In a brief outburst in the midst of the discussion period, Pam Africa charged that there was "racism" in the room. This attempt to deflect the vigorous debate drew a sharp rebuke from Rachel Wolkenstein: "What we have here is a bunch of demagoguery because there's differences, and we're going to have differences. But I am not going to tolerate an attack on our organization as being racist because you have a disagreement."

Another Spartacist speaker pointed out that the Harlem rally took place in the midst of one of the capitalists' periodic "elephant-and-donkey show" electoral farces, which "serve to perpetuate the myth that this country is democratic or can be fair for working people and the oppressed." She pointed to "the agents of the capitalist class in the labor movement" as well as leftists "who push the lie that this system can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. And I'll give you a stellar example of that. Millions of people protested the racist imperialist war against Iraq.... And where did that go? That got channeled in this country into the dead end of 'Anybody but Bush'." She continued, "The best way that we arm people to fight racism, exploitation and war is by telling the truth about what this system is about and what program it's going to take to fight to get rid of it and organize the working class."

The debate at the rally was a welcome example of the kind of political struggle that must take place to drive the fight to free Mumia forward. As Erica Williamson stated in concluding her opening remarks: "Everyone here must take this case back to their unions, to their campuses, to their community groups." The rally concluded with the chant: "Free Mumia Now!"

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 880,  
10 November

# We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal is now on the "fast track" in the federal appeals court and the state is determined to carry out his execution.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. Sentenced to death based on his political history and beliefs, Mumia has spent 24 years on death row for a crime he did not commit. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and a barbaric outrage, it is the lynch rope made legal.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal exemplifies the race and class bias of the U.S. justice system against workers, black people, the poor and all the oppressed. The notorious trial judge, Albert Sabo was overheard at the time promising, "I'm going to help them fry the n---r." Racist jury-rigging, false testimony coerced through police threats, and prosecutorial cover-up were the basis for Mumia's conviction. Both the Pennsylvania state courts and the federal courts have refused to consider the reams of documented evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. Foremost is the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the police officer, and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting.

We stand with the millions around the world—workers, students, death penalty abolitionists, fighters for black rights and immigrant rights, socialists—who have taken up the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

**An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!**



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\*Organization listed for identification purposes only

This statement was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. Partial list. For full list of signatories, visit [www.partisandefense.org](http://www.partisandefense.org).

**The time to act is now! Join the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!**

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# For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

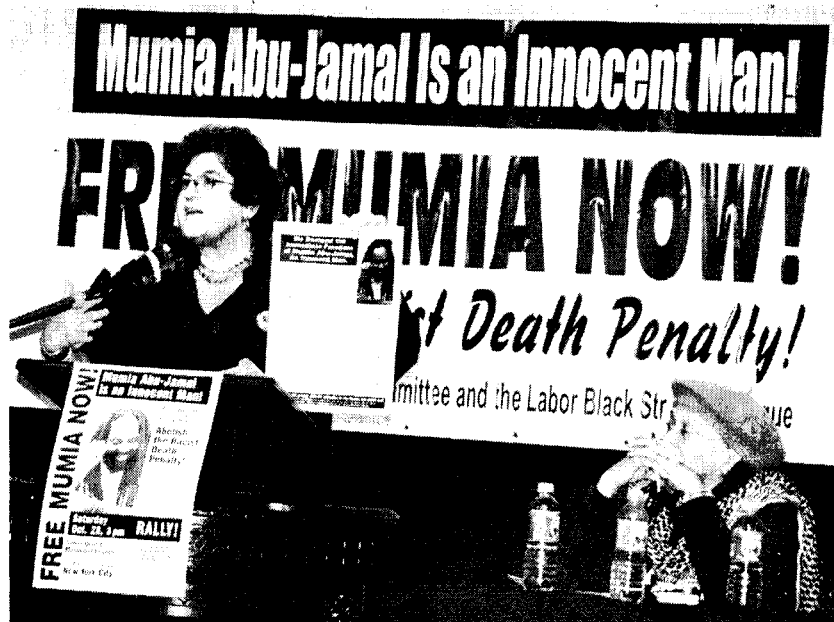
## Debate at Harlem PDC Rally

As part of the urgent effort to revitalize mass protest on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, more than 250 people turned out for an October 28 rally at Harlem's Salem United Methodist Church called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense. Framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman on 9 December 1981, Mumia is on death row for having been a leader of the Black Panther Party, a MOVE supporter and an eloquent and effective opponent of racist oppression.

Recognizing that Mumia's case is now at a critical juncture, the PDC and Labor Black Leagues organized the Harlem rally and others in Los Angeles, Chicago and Oakland in October under the slogans: "Free Mumia now! Mumia is an innocent man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is in danger—Mobilize now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" The rallies brought together speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs raising their own views on which way forward in the fight to free Mumia. That crucial debate was the defining feature of the Harlem rally.

The PDC's August 25 rally call (printed in *Workers Vanguard* No. 876, 15 September) laid out our perspective to "win activists to the understanding that Mumia's defense must be based on a class-struggle perspective—organizing independently of the racist capitalist state that has framed him up." The call stated:

"Worldwide protests, crucially involving trade unions, won a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. Millions rallied to Mumia's cause out of revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias and war.... But they were demobilized by a host of reformist and liberal organizations that appeal to bourgeois forces who see in Mumia's case an isolated 'miscarriage of justice' that could be rectified with a 'new trial.' This meant rejecting the very reasons Mumia's



Workers Vanguard

Harlem rally, October 28. PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein (left) shows *Amsterdam News* ad with statement signed by over 200 people demanding Mumia's freedom. Pam Africa (right) of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

case won such broad international support.

"That worldwide movement must be revived and infused with a new strength and militancy built on the understanding that *there is no justice in the capitalist courts.*"

### Harlem Rally: United Struggle for Mumia

The Harlem rally drew a wide range of activists, including members of the New York Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Black Panther Party veterans, as well as students from an array of NYC-area campuses. It pointed toward the kind of united-front action that is necessary to mobilize broad social forces, particularly the trade unions. The watchword must be unity in action with full freedom of criticism for participating organizations.

The PDC's Erica Williamson, who chaired the event, opened her remarks by condemning the killing of four protesters in Oaxaca the night before and calling for "international

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