



Drop the Charges Against Leftist Anti-APEC Protesters!

For Working-Class Protest Against State Repression!

We reprint below a Spartacist leaflet issued following anti-APEC protests.

SEPTEMBER 11—The Spartacist League of Australia condemns the state repression meted out during the recent Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Sydney. We protest the arrest and beating of leftist anti-APEC demonstrators and others who found themselves in the cross-hairs of state repression such as journalists and photographers. Drop the charges now! Over the two-week period leading up to and including the summit, some 88 people were reportedly arrested and many are

now facing charges.

For more than a week during APEC, Sydneysiders got a close-up view of the arrogant and brutal state forces that daily target Aborigines, immigrants, anti-racist youth and militant unionists in capitalist Australia. At a cost of \$170 million, the city was transformed into a fortress in which virtually the entire population was treated as enemy suspects. Such was the experience of accountant Greg McLeay, who was savagely tackled to the ground by police and then imprisoned for 22 hours after simply trying to cross the road!

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Cops brutally attack photographer at anti-APEC protest.

Herald Sun

ALP's Rudd Backs Howard's Racist War on Aborigines

Cops/Military: Out of Aboriginal Communities!

In early August, the Howard government rammed through federal parliament some 500 pages of draconian legislation codifying its take-over, enforced by cops and backed by the military, of 73 Aboriginal townships and communities in the Northern Territory (NT). The laws impose a five-year federal government "lease" of Aboriginal land (with many communities being pressured to sign away 99-year leases); the "permit system" under which communities controlled entry onto their lands is also largely scrapped.

Outrageously all Aboriginal residents in the prescribed areas face having 50 percent of welfare payments "quarantined" and subjected to an "income management regime" overseen by government bureaucrats. To ensure as many residents as possible are subject to this paternalism, the Howard government axed the "work for the dole"-type scheme, the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP), because payments are considered wages and therefore not subject to the "quarantine" laws. CDEP is to be replaced with "Structured Training and Employment Projects." These vicious, racist projects, based on "mutual obligation," are designed to tighten and control all aspects of the lives of Aboriginal people. Against all such punitive and deeply exploitative schemes, we demand jobs for all at union wages and conditions. Unions must fight to organise Aboriginal workers!

The legislation also upholds the puri-



July 2007: Aboriginal women and children under military occupation, Wallace Rockhole, NT. Australian cop/military intervention maintains poverty, desperate living conditions in Aboriginal communities.

Lindsay Moller

tanical prohibition on pornography and alcohol. Hefty penalties apply for alcohol possession including 18 months jail or a \$75,000 fine for having a mere 1,350 ml—less than two bottles of wine! As shown by continuing black deaths in custody, being arrested for having a drink could mean a death sentence. Meanwhile, thousands of Aboriginal youth and children have reportedly endured "health checks" as part of the government's witchhunt for

"child abuse." So far, the main "findings" are the well-known, horrendous levels of treatable ear infections, described by one doctor as the worst in the world.

A glimpse into the reality of the occupation for Aboriginal communities was recently given by award-winning poet and writer, Jennifer Martiniello. Returning from a visit to the NT in late August, she angrily reported that throughout Alice Springs town camps Australian

Federal Police have been conducting house-to-house raids without warrants, subjecting households to surveillance and photographing all children without consent (bushtelegraph.wordpress.com, 26 August).

The government's legislation was passed with all Labor MPs voting in support. In Western Australia, the state Labor government has rounded up scores of men in towns such as Halls Creek for alleged "child abuse." Meanwhile NT chief minister and ALPer Clare Martin has worked with the federal government to prevent Aborigines moving from remote communities to major centres, worried that alcohol bans will result in "an influx of people in urban areas...the last thing she wants" (abc.net.au, 6 July)!

Once an economic backwater, Darwin is slated to become a major mineral-exporting port, the gateway to oil and gas wealth ripped from East Timor and wider imperialist exploitation in the region. It is no accident that it is also the centre of a growing military presence in the Territory, used to help enforce capitalist "stability" in the Asia-Pacific region and here "at home." Along with the spy base at Pine Gap and other large U.S. military bases under construction, this military build-up also targets the Chinese deformed workers state, where the imperialists aim to reverse the 1949 social revolution that overturned capitalism.

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For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!

(continued from page 1)

A five-kilometre long, 2.8-metre high, concrete-reinforced steel fence was erected to seal off areas hosting the summit. Designated "restricted zones" were viciously enforced by gun-toting cops as snipers took aim from rooftops and helicopters buzzed overhead. Some 5,000 police and army were mobilised, backed by 1,800 private security guards, rapid response 4WD riot trucks and water cannon. Building on legislation enacted before the 2000 police state Olympics and subsequent draconian "anti-terror" laws, the military were ready with extraordinary domestic powers to interrogate civilians and seize documents. The special force killers of the SAS were on standby with "shoot to kill" powers.

This vast military force was combined with an hysterical government-led campaign to demonise protesters as potentially violent or terrorists. Police used the pretext of drug searches and vehicle inspections to stop, search and harass a convoy organised by the Socialist Party which was making its way from Melbourne to Sydney for the protests. Outrageously the government assembled a "restricted persons" list that threatened many activists with immediate arrest if they joined anti-APEC protest actions. This repression, enforced by the NSW Iemma state Labor government along with the federal Liberal/National coalition government, was designed to intimidate and stymie all protest against APEC—a confab of bloody imperialist statesmen, their victims and intended victims. Through summits such as APEC, the imperialists seek to further their exploitation of oppressed dependent countries and foment capitalist counter-revolution in the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states.

Despite extreme intimidation, up to ten thousand people turned out for the main protest on 8 September. This included contingents from the maritime and fire brigade unions. Some of those on the "restricted persons" list, like Solidarity supporter Paddy Gibson, courageously defied government orders to stay away. The brutality of the state forces was clearly displayed on the day as they sporadically provoked and attacked protesters. After numbers at the rally significantly dwindled, police moved in and assaulted Gibson and others before hauling them away. Up to 18 people were arrested and a number have been charged. After the rally, Spartacist supporters joined protesters gathered outside the Surry Hills police headquarters in solidarity with the detained leftists.

In a provocation against the demonstration, a fascist group calling itself "New Right AUS/NZ" mobilised at the start of the rally, likely with the state's go-ahead. Later the cops shielded the vile fascists from angry protesters, including Spartacist supporters who sought to mobilise unionists and others to drive

Down With "War on Terror" Repression! Drop the Charges Against Tamil Activists!

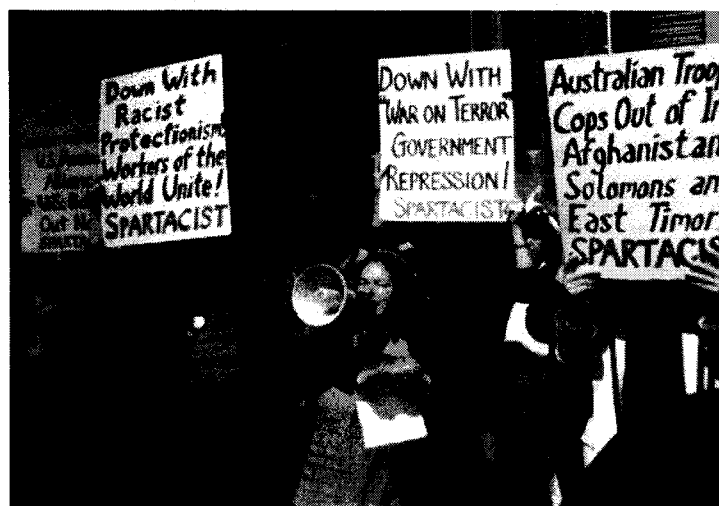
SEPTEMBER 15—On 14 June the Partisan Defence Committee sent the following letter to Attorney-General Philip Ruddock protesting the arrest and detention in May of Aruran Vinayagamoorthy and Sivarajah Yathavan, both of Sri Lankan Tamil background. The two men were detained under the "anti-terror" laws, accused of diverting tsunami relief funds to a "terrorist" organisation after they raised money for Tamil victims of the 2004 Boxing Day tsunami in Sri Lanka. On 10 July a third man, Arumugam Rajeevan, was arrested in Sydney and extradited to Melbourne on similar charges. All three have since been re-

leased on bail pending the outcome of committal hearings now underway. The three men are also charged with "belonging to a terrorist organisation"—to wit the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)—even though the LTTE is not "listed" as a proscribed organisation (despite legal preparations reportedly underway and awaiting the nod from the federal government). Tamil organisations like the LTTE have been targeted for suppression by the Australian and other imperialist governments, including through raids and arrests here in November 2005. These latest charges come in the context of stepped up military actions by the

Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan government to drive the LTTE from its strongholds in the largely Tamil areas in the northeast of Sri Lanka and to increase repression against Tamils in Colombo.

While our Marxist views are opposed to the nationalist politics of the LTTE we stand in their defence against the Sri Lankan army and government, which has massacred tens of thousands of Tamils and forced hundreds of thousands more into exile since the 1980s. We stand for the right of self-determination of the Tamil people, for the right of an independent Tamil Eelam!

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ASP photo

Spartacist contingent at anti-APEC protest fought for revolutionary opposition to racist Australian imperialism.

them out of the rally. In contrast, rally organisers including supporters of the Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP) called on protesters to ignore the fascists—ultimately a suicidal course. A revolutionary leadership of the rally would have made clear the deadly threat and tried to mobilise appropriate action. Our program to stop the fascists is centred on the independent mobilisation of the working class and its allies.

The DSP, along with Socialist Alternative (SAIt), are prominent in the class-collaborationist Stop Bush Coalition. A key organiser of the anti-APEC protests, the coalition's main rally demands included "Stop Bush," "Make Howard History" and "Bring the troops home." These demands amount to little more than an appeal for a kinder, gentler Australian imperialist state, preferably administered by a Labor government backed up by the bourgeois Greens. The reformists peddle the lie that imperialism is simply a policy rather than a *system* of capitalist exploitation and subjugation. Indeed, in the name of "human rights," the DSP mobilised for Australian im-

perialist troops to occupy East Timor in 1999 while SAIt enthusiastically marched in the chauvinist "Troops in" rallies. To this day the DSP refuse to call for Australian troops out of East Timor!

In contrast, we Trotskyists fight for revolutionary opposition to racist Australian imperialism and demand not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military! At the anti-APEC protests we called for racist Australian troops/cops to get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Solomons and East Timor; we protested the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance and demanded U.S. bases out; we called for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution! While the reformists demanded "Bring the troops home," our placard "Cops/Military Get Out of Aboriginal Communities Now!" pointed to the fact that the Australian military is already at "home," carrying out a vicious racist occupation of Aboriginal communities while enforcing a naked land grab. They were also very much "at home" in Sydney this month, mobilised to help enforce the suppression of the anti-APEC protests!

The Australian capitalist rulers transparently used APEC to bolster their oppressive laws, refurbish their instruments of repression and perfect police/military measures. It highlighted yet again that the capitalist state—with the police, army, prisons and courts at its core—is not neutral. Its purpose is to maintain the power of the capitalist class and to suppress the working class and anyone else who might challenge the bosses' exploitative rule. The police are not "workers in uniform," as those like the Socialist Party contend, but the professional thugs of the bourgeoisie. They have *no place* in the workers movement!


Cops, prison screws, security guards out of the unions now! For working-class actions to protest racist state repression!

As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote in *State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another." The capitalist state cannot be cleaned up, reformed or pressured to act on behalf of the workers and oppressed; it must be shattered through victorious workers revolution. Such a course demands a proletarian internationalist program. We fight against the poisonous nationalism pushed by the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, who preach the lie that workers have a common "national" interest with the capitalist class. As we declared at the rally: "Down With Racist Protectionism! Workers of the World Unite!"

In the context of the upcoming federal elections, the SL says "No vote to the ALP!" We seek to break workers from illusions in the ALP, fighting to split the working-class base away from the pro-capitalist tops in the struggle to forge the indispensable instrument—a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a tribune of the people—to lead the fight to expropriate the capitalist class. Only then will it be possible to build a new, socialist society based on a centrally planned economy where production is for human need, not for the profits of a tiny minority. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

* * *

ASP postscript: In a recent *Green Left Weekly* (19 September), the DSP announced it is now for the withdrawal of Australian imperialist troops from East Timor on the basis that the intervention no longer has the support of the "full spectrum of East Timor politics." We do not know what opportunist appetites led the DSP to change—on paper—their longstanding and grotesquely social-chauvinist position. But one thing is certain: it in no way reflects a principled Marxist opposition to Australian imperialism. The DSP National Committee leadership continue to loudly trumpet their chauvinist campaign for the bloody Australian imperialist intervention in East Timor in 1999 and uphold their subsequent refusal to call for troops out following the 2006 intervention (reaffirmed earlier this year, just months after the Australian military gunned down two East Timorese in a refugee camp). Beware: these social-chauvinist lackeys remain drummer boys for Australian imperialist interventions. (For more on the DSP, see article on page 6.) ■

Australasian SPARTACIST 

For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Marxist newspaper of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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Our comrade Diana Kartsen died on April 12 from ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, better known as "Lou Gehrig's disease"). Although increasingly paralyzed as the disease progressed, Diana fought with every ounce of strength to contribute to party work and discussion, and for the preservation and continuity of the Prometheus Research Library where she was Librarian.

Diana's death is a painful blow to our comrades internationally, and to no one more than her companion and comrade Ed Kartsen. Our hearts go out to Ed, to Diana's family and to others close to her. We are bitter that we were robbed of a comrade of Diana's caliber, not least because backward religious elements at the helm of the U.S. imperialist ruling class have condemned millions to suffer hideously by blocking stem cell research that might lead to a cure for ALS and other diseases. Diana's dedication to human emancipation was also a struggle to free science from subordination to reactionary obscurantism through international socialist revolution.

Comrades who had the privilege to know and work with Diana benefited from her camaraderie in multiple ways: as a political and military leader in demonstrations; as a department head who ensured that comrades were given a thorough political briefing and overview as the precondition to any assignment, no matter how pressing the tasks or short the time at hand; as a wry wit and sympathetic friend to share a drink with; as a moral person with a strong sense of right and wrong whom you could count on for good advice. In a letter to comrades on the day Diana died, Ed Kartsen succinctly conveyed her strengths:

"Diana has been correctly honored for her military command capabilities and as an inspiring leadership role model for many of the younger cadre. Of course she should also be honored for her lifelong work in the party to preserve the political history of our movement in her library work. This was an expression of her understanding of the importance of historic knowledge for the development of Marxist theory and program. She had a clear comprehension of the unity of mental and physical labor, that is, of theory with practice. She appreciated the value of maintenance, and the concept of systems.

"Her understanding of the value of knowledge included the understanding of the critical importance of acquiring new knowledge about the political and natural world. Diana's pursuit of knowledge was driven with the same determination she showed on the battlefield and she took an active interest in learning the principles of dialectics. Diana combined organization and theory and understood both to be necessary in the fight for a socialist future of the human race."

Diana was won to Marxism and the Spartacist League as a student at the University of Chicago during the tumultuous period of the Vietnam antiwar movement. One comrade recalled seeing "this striking young woman with red flowing hair and a visible hammer and sickle pin on her jacket striding across campus." While a graduate student specializing in Islamic art, she was won from the orbit of the International Socialists to authentic Trotskyism—to the importance of defending the gains of the Russian Revolution and building a party capable of leading the fight for new Octobers.

After working for a period of time as a close supporter of our Revolutionary Marxist Caucus in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), in October 1971 she became a founding member of the Chicago branch of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth group of the Spartacist League. Shortly thereafter she went to live and study in India, where she functioned under the political direction of the party. She joined the Spartacist League in 1974 after her return.

That same year, a Perspectives and Tasks document passed at the SL/U.S. Fourth National Conference stated:

"One of the crucial tasks of the vanguard of the proletariat is the struggle to function as the memory of the working class. An important component of this struggle for continuity is the systematic assembling, propagation and critical assimilation of the primary documentary history of the workers movement. Given

Diana Kartsen



1948-2007

the passage of time and the accumulation of distortions and vulgarizations, only the precise, verified reconstruction of past realities can serve as a true compass....

"We recognize that archival work constitutes an important party task and project the regular assignment of a qualified comrade to direct this work."

Diana was the qualified comrade found to lead the work of the Prometheus Research Library, drawing on her experience as an assistant at the Tamiment Library at New York University. The Prometheus Research Library's collection grew out of the 40-year accumulated and organized collection of SL National Chairman James Robertson. With Diana as Librarian and Jim as Director, the PRL accumulated over 6,000 books and periodical volumes. Particular emphasis is on minutes of leading committees and internal discussion materials from our revolutionary forebears.

She also led the Library through the painstaking archival research and other work involved in the publishing of two books on historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon (*James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* and *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933*), a publication of Trotsky's *Third International After Lenin* in the original Russian and six *Prometheus Research Series* bulletins.

There are few positions in top party leadership and administration where Diana did *not* serve. The delegates at the SL's Sixth National Conference in 1980 elected Diana as a candidate member of the Central Committee. For a period of time she was department head for the International Secretariat while also holding down the Library. First elected as a full member of the Central Committee in 1983, Diana was later elected to the SL/U.S. Political Bureau and to the office of National Secretary, paying particular attention to the often conflicting demands of central office departments and SL locals and to politically organizing the necessary discussion to prioritize our work. She also served for some years as Political Bureau secretary. Diana's objectivity, fairness and integrity particularly suited her longtime role as the Central Committee representative to the party's Central Control Commission.

Diana was also recognized as the party's best general. In May 1981, she received a battlefield promotion from candidate to alternate member of the Central Committee and won a commendation from the Political Bureau for fighting to marshal our forces against a daisy-chain goon squad set up by the reformist Workers World Party to seal off a rally by our Anti-Imperialist Contingent at an El Salvador demonstration in Washington, D.C. While Workers World appealed to Democratic Party

"doves" to set a more "humane" policy for U.S. imperialism, our contingent drew the class line over the civil war raging in El Salvador with the slogans "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

From that day forward, Diana was a central military and political leadership component of almost every mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League or Partisan Defense Committee to stop the KKK and Nazi fascists, and dozens of other demonstrations.

With pain and sadness, and determination to continue the struggle to which Diana dedicated her life, comrades worldwide give the party's best general a last, strong comradely salute.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 891, 27 April



Diana leading our contingent at Philadelphia demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal, 12 August 1995.

Racist War...

(continued from page 1)

Recalling the 2002 exposé of troops in Townsville, a video of Darwin soldiers posted on the Internet in early August showed one dressed in the robes of the murderous, fascist Ku Klux Klan. Such troops—many returned from East Timor and the Solomons—now occupy Aboriginal communities. We reprint below a Spartacist League protest statement issued in late June following Howard's announced takeover.

JUNE 27: Declaring a "national emergency," the Howard government is moving contingents of cops, backed by troops, to occupy some 60 Northern Territory (NT) Aboriginal communities. To facilitate this naked land grab, federal parliament is to be recalled to override the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights Act and likely the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act. In the name of "law and order" against "child abuse," the government is imposing an immediate puritanical ban on alcohol and pornography. In a chilling, racist, state-sponsored campaign of abuse and humiliation, they want to subject Aboriginal children and youth under 16 years of age to outrageous genital "medical examinations." They are also threatening to starve impoverished Aboriginal families by withholding already meagre welfare payments for such reasons as their kids don't or won't go to school, which are invariably under-resourced and in some cases racist or non-existent!

Howard's attacks have been met with fear and anger from Aboriginal communities. Women and children have already begun fleeing Mutitjulu, the first community to face the police/military takeover. This vividly recalls how terrified Aboriginal parents had to hide their children from the all-powerful "Protector" or mission manager, events powerfully portrayed in the film "Rabbit-Proof Fence." Indeed Howard intends to turn the clock back to the days of the protector where the systematic physical, emotional and sexual abuse, which accompanied the mass institutionalisation of Aboriginal children *stolen* from their parents and used as forced labour, was rife. This was accompanied by capitalist theft of land on a grand scale by cattle barons and mining companies.

Howard's assault on welfare within Aboriginal communities is a template for gutting welfare across the entire population. Furthermore, increased police repression, backed up by troops, comes on top of draconian laws already restricting the rights of *all*, from "anti-terror" laws to anti-union laws. Targeting the most vulnerable today, the government is greasing the skids for broader attacks on the morrow. The working class has a direct interest in taking up the fight to defend

Aboriginal people and all the oppressed. **of consent" laws. The government uses the watchword "child sexual abuse" as a pretext for greater state intervention in Aboriginal lives.**

For working-class protests against racist state repression! Down with Howard's martial law! No to cop/military occupations of Northern Territory Aboriginal communities!

With polls projecting a defeat for Howard in the upcoming federal elections, the military occupation of Aboriginal communities is widely recognised as another of his pre-election ploys to garner white racist support while sowing racist divisions amongst the working class and oppressed. Disgustingly the government's

The very real social pathologies of domestic violence, abuse of children, and drug addiction—problems which exist throughout capitalist society—are exacerbated by the brutal subjugation and enforced marginalisation of Aboriginal people. But it is the capitalist state itself which is the greatest instigator of violence against Aboriginal people, who, for example, know all too well that for a black man



Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
Children at "Darwin Half-caste Home" at Kahlin Compound. Throughout 1930s government intervened to take Aboriginal children away from their mothers.

plan was immediately backed by the federal ALP leader Kevin Rudd, who scrambled to outdo the government by promising a "war cabinet" and a 20 percent increase in federal police numbers if elected. Victorian and New South Wales state Labor premiers quickly pledged contingents of cops to join Howard's occupation force. Northern Territory ALP chief minister, Clare Martin, simply complained that the intervention should be sustained for decades! In states with a significant Aboriginal population, Labor premiers balked at participating, complaining they had not been consulted by Howard beforehand. Australian Capital Territory chief minister, Jon Stanhope, is the only prominent ALP leader to state the obvious truth that these moves against NT Aborigines are racist.

Using the reactionary views pushed within the Aboriginal community by flunkies like Noel Pearson, the government's current offensive has been prepared by an ongoing campaign to blame Aboriginal people for their own oppression. Many have already spoken out against the government's ghoulish plan to subject NT Aborigines under the age of 16 to "medical examinations" for sexual abuse. This proposal ratchets up the bourgeoisie's reactionary and hysterical anti-sex witchhunt, which is designed particularly to regiment youth by demeaning, abusing and punishing all those who engage in *consensual* sexual activity outside the bounds of the reactionary "age

detention can often be a death sentence. This state, which consists at its core of the courts, prisons, police and military, exists for the purpose of enforcing capitalist rule over the exploited and oppressed masses.

It is grotesque hypocrisy for Howard and his minister for Aboriginal oppression, ex-army commander Mal Brough, to portray themselves as upholding the rights of Aboriginal children! With its prison guards, police and "Aboriginal Protection Boards," the bourgeois state has systematically killed and raped Aboriginal men, women and children for over 200 years. The Howard government has whipped up racist fear and hatred with the lie that refugees had thrown their "children overboard"; it has incarcerated refugees, including children, in hell-hole detention camps; and it is an enthusiastic junior partner in the bloody imperialist military occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, which have left hundreds of thousands of men, women and children dead.

A recent health report noted that Aboriginal people are four times more likely to die before the age of 25 and 13 times more likely to be in jail, stating that "Indigenous Australian youth are disadvantaged on almost every welfare criterion" (Age, 31 May). As the head of paediatrics at Royal Darwin Hospital recently pointed out, the topmost causes of suffering among Aboriginal children are overwhelmingly eminently treatable poverty-related conditions such as lung infections, rheumatic heart disease, anaemia and malnutrition. **Down with attacks on welfare! Aboriginal people need jobs for all at equal wages and massive education, health and housing programs, including the provision of clean water and electricity. For complete equality including equal access to decent public amenities! No to forced medical examinations! For free quality health-care and education for all!** However, elementary justice for Aboriginal people and all the oppressed and exploited demands not some limited and ultimately reversible concessions by the bosses but the expropriation of industry, mining and agriculture from the capitalist class through victorious workers revolution. **We need a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights!**

Howard aims to massively roll back land rights. As Pat Turner, a former head of the recently abolished Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, remarked: "We believe that this government is using child sexual abuse as the Trojan horse to resume total control of our lands." Some

90 Aboriginal and welfare organisations have released a statement attacking the government's plan as a smokescreen for a massive grab of those lands that had been reclaimed from the capitalist rulers. This land grab paves the way for large petrochemical, mining and agribusiness to loot the incredibly lucrative resources found there. Aborigines are now facing a colonial-style military occupation similar to that which the Howard government has imposed on the oppressed people of the Solomon Islands and East Timor while plundering their resources. **Racist Australian troops/cops hands off Aboriginal lands! Get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Solomons and East Timor!**

Howard's declaration was also a preemptive strike against any outpouring of justified anger over the whitewash "trial" of the Queensland cop, Chris Hurley, for the brutal killing of Aborigine Mulrunji Doomadgee in the Palm Island lockup in 2004. Hurley's acquittal by an all white jury gives a green light to an escalation of cop killings of Aborigines in the lockups and on the streets and will further embolden fascist scum like the KKK who terrorise besieged Aboriginal communities across the country. The current cop/military occupation will mean more Aborigines in prison and more deaths in custody. Only five days after the whitewash Hurley verdict, a 44-year-old Aboriginal man died in police custody. Meanwhile Palm Island Aboriginal leader Lex Wotton is still facing serious charges for the "crime" of protesting the cop killing of Mulrunji! **Drop the charges now! For union/black/minority action against racist terror!**

There can be no justice from the capitalist courts or governments! The brutal White Australia capitalist order was built on the plunder, theft, slaughter and degradation of the indigenous inhabitants and the systematic exclusion of Asian and dark-skinned people. The multiracial trade-union movement, which has been on the receiving end of federal coalition and state Labor governments' relentless attacks, must take action *with* Aboriginal people against their common enemy—the bosses' state.

Only the organised working class has the objective interest and social power to take on the racist capitalist rulers and win. But as long as the working class buys into the bosses' racist divide-and-rule schemes, it will never forge the consciousness and unity necessary to liberate itself from the chains of capitalist exploitation. We communists of the Spartacist League of Australia fight to break the working class from the Laborite nationalism and loyalty to the capitalist state pushed by the pro-capitalist union leaders.

Against the Labor politicians, trade-union misleaders and their left tails who serve to subordinate the working class to capitalist rule, it is urgently necessary to build an internationalist Leninist vanguard party. Such a party, fighting to lead all the exploited and oppressed against every manifestation of capitalist oppression, will be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP from its pro-capitalist and nationalist leadership.

It is the class struggle of the multiracial proletariat, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, that can open the road to overthrowing this deeply racist, decrepit, capitalist system through workers revolution. Only under the rule of the working class and based on a planned collectivised economy will it be possible to address the special needs of Aboriginal people created by more than two centuries of capitalist injustice and oppression. The multiracial working class must come to the defence of their Aboriginal brothers and sisters now! **Cops/military out of Aboriginal communities! For proletarian-centred defence of Aborigines against racist terror! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!** ■

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Spartacists Intervene at Aboriginal National Day of Action

Fighting for a Revolutionary Perspective

On 14 July Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters joined national protests against the whitewash acquittal of the Queensland cop Chris Hurley for the brutal killing of Aboriginal Mulrunji Doo-madgee in the Palm Island lockup in November 2004. Many at the rallies also voiced their opposition to the outrageous federal government police/military takeover of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, rightly recognised as an open grab for Aboriginal land. Our leaflet condemning this racist occupation (see page 1) was well received by protesters in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne.

Spartacist supporters addressed both the Brisbane and Melbourne rallies. Our teams raised defence of Palm Island Indigenous man Lex Wotton who is facing state prosecution following angry protests on the island sparked by the killing of Mulrunji. We demand: Drop the charges now! We uniquely called for union/black/minority mobilisations against escalating racist terror. The working class must unleash its social power in order to defend not only itself but all those targeted by capitalist injustice including the deeply oppressed Aboriginal people!

The daily racist terror suffered by Aborigines was highlighted by many speakers at the rallies. In Melbourne, an Aboriginal woman gave the crowd a chilling account of being bashed semi-conscious by cops, who picked her up as she was about to attend an "after-show" party in a wealthy Melbourne suburb. They claimed she was a thief. Only when her student ID fell out, as they were removing her clothing, did the police stop bashing her and toss her into a cell. When she later refused to sign a statement saying she had been well-treated, they locked her up again for a few more hours.

While there was plenty of anger among protesters against such raw racist terror, rally organisers worked to channel this into appeals to the same capitalist state that promotes and carries out the terror! Thus, key demands of the Melbourne demonstration—endorsed by the Freedom Socialist Party, Socialist Alliance, Resistance and Socialist Alternative among others—sought to pressure the state to change its priorities by funding "community controlled services not troops, cops and martial law!" The demands were crowned by a call to "Implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody!" referring to the 1991 findings of the "inquiry" established by the federal Hawke/Keating Labor government. These demands were replicated in one way or another at the Sydney and Brisbane demos.

This reliance on the state through royal commissions is also pushed by many Aboriginal activists across the country, including prominent Brisbane-based Socialist Alliance supporter Sam Watson. Indeed the Brisbane rally put forward the demand to "open a new Royal Commission into all deaths since—including Mulrunji's death in the Palm Island watchhouse."

The very idea of a royal commission ought to be repellent to anyone fighting for the rights of workers and the oppressed. For more than 200 years the truth of police terror against Aborigines has been repeatedly written in blood and covered over! The 1991 Royal Commission findings endorsed the police and coroner verdicts in all 99 cases of Aboriginal deaths it reviewed. Not one cop was ever prosecuted and since then hundreds more have died at the hands of the

Spartacist League intervention at 14 July Melbourne protest opposed racist Australian imperialism abroad, defended indigenous Palm Island man, Lex Wotton.



state! More recently, in 2001, the federal Howard government established the Cole Royal Commission into the building industry as part of its union-busting drive. This spearheaded the current government witchhunt against the CFMEU construction union, including the formation of the widely-hated Australian Building and Construction Commission.

In a powerful speech to the Melbourne rally, Spartacist supporter, Neil Florrime, polemicised against the reformist political leadership of the demonstration, explaining that those who call for implementing the recommendations of royal commissions, or to make cops accountable, are selling a lie that the state can serve the interests of the working class and oppressed. He pointed out that the job of royal commissions and similar government inquiries into black deaths is to whitewash systematic racist killings at the hands of the state and that the killing of Mulrunji is the implementation of the findings of the royal commission! Using the examples of the acquittal of Hurley and the frame-up of black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in the U.S., he stated the basic truth that there is no justice in the capitalist courts!

Any appeal for the state to investigate itself serves only to sow illusions in the very enforcer of Aboriginal oppression. The capitalist state, consisting at its core of the army, cops, courts and prisons, exists and is refurbished in order to defend the interests of the tiny layer of

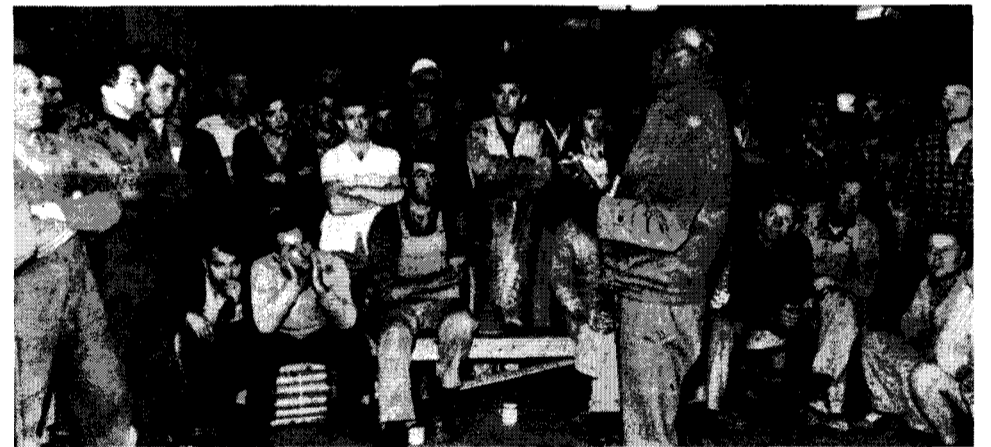
capitalist rulers. The state cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed. It must be shattered through workers revolution.

We fight for independent working-class defence of the besieged Aboriginal people. This class-struggle perspective is no pipe-dream. There are powerful, albeit far too few, examples of such struggles against White Australia capitalism. The famous 1966 Gurindji Aboriginal stockmen's strike at Wave Hill in the Northern Territory, which followed the land claim by the Yolngu people, got significant backing and material support from unions. During this struggle Aboriginal leaders from the Northern Territory were warmly welcomed by construction

workers on many building sites in New South Wales.

Today Aborigines, immigrants, leftist protesters and unionists are targeted by increased state repression. It is the working class with their hands on the levers of production who can, by withdrawing their labour, bring the capitalist profit system to a grinding halt. Based on our communist program, we fight to unite the social power of the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed to beat back the attacks by the bosses and their machinery of repression. The proletariat can only free itself from capitalist slavery when it fights for all the oppressed and exploited under capitalism.

As our Melbourne speaker concluded, we need a workers revolution to rip the power out of the hands of the capitalist rulers and establish a workers state which puts society's resources at the disposal of the working people. This perspective requires a fight within the unions to break the working class from the nationalism and reliance on the capitalist state fostered by the union bureaucracy and the ALP, itself founded on defence of White Australia capitalism. It is in the process of this struggle against the program of Laborism within the workers movement that the multiracial revolutionary workers party, vital to liberating the exploited and oppressed, will be built. ■



Target
Captain Major, Aboriginal leader of Newcastle Waters strike addresses building workers in Sydney in 1967. For working-class defence of Aboriginal people!

Tamil...

(continued from page 2)

Using the criminal attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001 and the Bali bombings as a pretext, the capitalist rulers in Australia and around the world have seized the opportunity to jack up state repression at home and wage colonial-style wars of repression in Afghanistan and Iraq. The intent of augmented police powers is to accustom people to the restriction of their democratic rights and to create a climate of fear aimed at quashing in advance any social struggle against the bloated capitalist profit system that consigns the working class and oppressed to increased exploitation and oppression.

Under the "anti-terror" laws introduced by the Howard government and enforced by ALP state governments the definition of "terrorism" is so sweeping and vague it can be used against almost anyone on any pretext. To be targeted, you don't even have to be actively opposed to the Australian government or actually do anything at all. The raft of laws target, in the first instance, immigrant organisations, but ultimately are aimed at all

opponents of Australian imperialism, the entire workers movement and the left. The targeting of Tamil activists highlights how these measures are really about political suppression. It is in the interest of the working class to come to their defence. The working class has the social power to fight the "anti-terror" laws, but is hamstrung by the Laborite pro-capitalist leadership in the unions. For a class-struggle fight against the "anti-terror" and anti-union laws! Drop the charges against Aruran Vinayagamoorthy, Sivarajah Yathavan, Arumugam Rajeevan now!

To: Philip Ruddock MP

We protest the arrest and detention of two men of Sri Lankan Tamil background on 1 May 2007 in Melbourne by the Australian federal and Victorian police. Aruran Vinayagamoorthy and Sivarajah Yathavan were charged under the "anti-terror" laws with diverting tsunami relief funds to a "terrorist organisation" because they reportedly raised money for victims of the 2004 Boxing Day tsunami. The two are accused of being members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

This follows the arrest of members of the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee which were carried out at the behest of

the Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan government simply because the committee allegedly collected monies for tsunami-stricken regions of Lanka controlled by the LTTE. The Sri Lankan government has used international tsunami relief as a weapon of war against the oppressed Tamil population, reportedly stopping it getting to Tamil areas. Amid widespread speculation that more arrests could follow we demand the federal and state police and ASIO keep their hands off the Tamil community! The targeting of Tamil activists highlights how the "anti-terror" measures are being wielded as a tool of political suppression. We note the federal government currently has plans to outlaw the LTTE as "terrorists."

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. We condemn these arrests as a racist attempt to demonise the Tamil population and engender patriotic/xenophobia in order to divide the working class, while strengthening the arsenal of state repression. Free Aruran Vinayagamoorthy and Sivarajah Yathavan and all those charged under the "anti-terror" laws! Drop the charges! ■

Again on Why China Is Not Capitalist

The following letter exchange is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (WV) No. 894, 8 June, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). A previous letter to WV by Chris Slee, a Democratic Socialist Perspective cadre, and WV's reply is reprinted in Australasian Spartacist No. 198, Winter 2007.

Dear Workers Vanguard

Responding to my letter arguing that China has become a capitalist state, you say that: "The 1949 Revolution smashed bourgeois rule in China, and that remains the case today. At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate Communist Party (CCP) political power, the explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucracy. And when that happens, the question will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation". (WV no. 890)

But why do you assume that "bourgeois elements" will need to "eliminate Communist Party political power", rather than using the CCP to implement a policy of restoring capitalism? The CCP is the party of the bureaucracy: but the bureaucracy is not a reliable defender of the workers state.

Discussing the future of the Soviet Union, Trotsky wrote: "Let us assume—to take a third variant—that neither a revolutionary nor a counterrevolutionary party seizes power. The bureaucracy continues at the head of the state. Even under these conditions social relations will not jell... [The bureaucracy] must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations. One may argue that the big bureaucrat cares little what are the prevailing forms of property, provided only they guarantee him the necessary income. This argument ignores not only the instability of the bureaucrat's own rights, but also the question of his descendants.... Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class". ("The Revolution Betrayed", Pathfinder Press 1972, page 253-4)

In China the transformation of the

bureaucracy into "a new possessing class" is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule of the CCP.

You point out that state-owned enterprises remain dominant in certain strategic industrial sectors and in the banking sector. But historically it has not been unusual for a capitalist state to have a strong state-owned sector of the economy. The British Labor Party nationalised the coal mines and railways in the 1940s. Iraq's Baath Party nationalised the oil industry.

Today, with the dominance of neoliberal ideology, the privatisation of formerly state-owned industries is occurring



Shenzen, October 2004: Workers at Computime, a Hong Kong-mainland joint venture company, protest low wages, harsh working conditions.

in nearly all capitalist countries. China too has been privatising rapidly. But it has so far refrained from privatising certain key sectors. The imperialists are not satisfied: they want more rapid and complete privatisation, and unfettered access to all areas of China's economy.

This conflict may indicate that the Chinese regime wishes to maintain a certain degree of independence from imperialism, like past bourgeois-nationalist regimes such as those of Nasser, Saddam Hussein, etc, or like Iran today.

You point out that "during the incipient proletarian political revolution in China in 1989, the People's Liberation Army initially refused to move against the workers of Beijing and the military leadership itself began to split, before new units were brought in to crush the rebellion. Such splits are hardly characteristic of the armed forces of capitalist class rule. But they do reflect the contradictions inherent in a workers state under bureaucratic rule".

I would argue that the crushing of the incipient political revolution in 1989 (and the ensuing purge of the state apparatus)

prepared the way for the restoration of capitalism. By early 1992, less than three years after the Beijing massacre, Deng Xiaoping was urging the whole of China to imitate Guangdong province, where capitalist economic relations were the most highly developed.

You point out that the Chinese economy has been growing rapidly, unlike the former Soviet Union whose economy collapsed after the restoration of capitalism. This rapid growth is partly due to the huge influx of foreign capital which has selected China as a key location for production of commodities for the world market, and partly because China still retains

mental distortion.

We noted in our earlier reply that in *The Revolution Betrayed* and other works, "Trotsky explained that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state." Summing up the section from which Slee (selectively) quotes, Trotsky laid out what was historically posed in the Soviet Union: "on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break the resistance of the workers"; "on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena."

There is no question that elements in the bureaucracy and especially among their offspring have enriched themselves through China's economic "reforms." But as was true in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, for the "right of testament" and the "right of property" to become dominant in China would require a counterrevolution that destroys the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state. Trotsky categorically rejected the notion that the Stalinist bureaucracy could transform itself into a capitalist class through the gradual privatization of the collectivized economy. As he wrote in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933):

"The Marxist thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history sweeps madly ahead, but also to the periods of counterrevolution, when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism." (emphasis in original)

Trotsky projected that the "inevitable collapse of Stalinist bonapartism" would pose directly and immediately the historical alternatives of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. And that is what *actually happened* first in East Europe and then the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1992. In every case, the restoration of capitalism required ousting the Stalinist governments and replacing them with imperialist-backed, anti-Communist regimes. The militaries were reconstituted, their officer corps purged of pro-socialist individuals; Boris Yeltsin banned the Communist Party; anti-Communist witchhunts raged through those societies (and still do). Contrary to Slee's assertions, nothing remotely similar transpired in China following the brutal suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests. While that incipient political revolution was crushed, the working class was not smashed. In fact, the power it has shown in massive defensive struggles indicates the potential "to overthrow the bureaucracy" through proletarian political revolution.

Here we would note that Slee does not deign to mention his longtime affiliation with the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), whose forerunners during Cold War II *enthusiastically supported* imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces in the former Soviet sphere, from Lech Walesa's Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin's "democrats" in Russia. It is simply cowardly for Slee to evade answering the polemics in our first reply against the DSP's track record

continued on page 8

Chris Slee
Melbourne
Australia

WV replies: In replying to Chris Slee's previous letter (WV No. 890, 13 April), we noted that he abuses revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky's writings on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the former Soviet Union to prop up the anti-Marxist notion that capitalist rule has been restored in China through an accumulation of "market reforms" implemented by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime. Now Slee cites a passage in *The Revolution Betrayed* in which Trotsky discussed the inherent tendency of the Stalinist bureaucracy to generate capitalist-restorationist elements from within its own ranks. This, Slee writes, supports his assertion that "in China the transformation of the bureaucracy into 'a new possessing class' is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule of the CCP." Here, again, is a funda-

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Young Spartacus

What We Fight For

The Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) intervenes into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We look to the example of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 that smashed capitalism through workers revolution and established the world's first workers state. Today we fight for new October Revolutions!

The SYC struggles to break the pro-capitalist ALP's political hold over the working class, in opposition to the fake socialists who paint the ALP as a "lesser evil" rather than the betrayer of the interests of workers. Against the illusion that a better life for workers and the oppressed can be won through parliamentary measures and the reform of aspects of capitalism, the SYC fights to win youth to the program of international workers revolution.

We have consistently defended the Chinese, North Korean, Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states and forthrightly opposed Australian imperialism's predatory military forays. At demonstrations and meetings the SYC has fought for Australian imperialist troops and cops to get out of East Timor,

the Asia-Pacific, Iraq and Afghanistan. We have been in the forefront in Australia in fighting for the freedom of American black political prisoner and eloquent journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, and for the abolition of the racist U.S. death penalty. We have consistently opposed the racist Australian capitalists' vicious attacks on immigrants, refugees and all minorities including the besieged Aboriginal people and today call for the dropping of the charges against Palm Island Aboriginal leader Lex Wotton, and for union/black/minority action against racist terror! We defend all class-war political prisoners regardless of our political differences with them. We have prominently defended the anti-G20 protesters charged by the Bracks and Iemma state Labor governments. An injury to one is an injury to all!

This is all part of our Marxist program to mobilise the working class in defence of all the oppressed. We fight to win youth to the perspective of building a multi-ethnic, revolutionary vanguard workers party essential for the victory of socialist revolution. If you agree with our program below and want to fight for a socialist future, free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join the SYC!



ASp photo

Sydney, 8 September: SYC and Spartacist League march in anti-APEC protest, fighting for proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary program.

including the right to marry and divorce! State out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activity called "crimes without victims" such as prostitution, pornography, and drugs!

5 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Close the hell-hole "detention centres"! No deportations! Immigrant workers are key to class struggle—organise so-called "illegal" workers! For full union wages and conditions for all workers! Down with the racist "war on drugs" targeting in particular immigrant youth! Down with the "war on terror" which particularly targets immigrants, workers and the left! Free all the detainees! Down with anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry! Fascist terror is not a matter of free speech! No reliance on the capitalist state! For mass labour/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists!

6 The capitalist state—at its core the cops, courts, prisons and standing army—is an instrument of organised violence wielded by the capitalist class against the working class and oppressed. The state is not neutral and cannot be reformed—it must be smashed through workers revolution! No illusions in police "reform" or royal commission whitewashes! No to "community control" of the police, which sows illusions in the racist state! Defend the victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! For mass labour protests against cop terror! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defence! Abolish the Senate and reactionary relics like the monarchy and governor-general! Down with anti-democratic compulsory voting and mandatory preferences! No support to the racist bourgeois "republicans"! For a workers republic, the dictatorship of the proletariat!

7 Australian capitalism was founded on the dispossession and attempted genocide

of the Aboriginal peoples. We support any attempts by Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of the land which has been stolen from them, and to get whatever financial compensation they can from the tight-fisted, racist ruling class. Racist Australian military/cops out of Aboriginal communities! We fight for complete legal equality; for jobs for all; and for massive health and education programs to address the oppression of Aboriginal people on the reserves, in the wretched "fringes" and inner cities. Down with racist state terror! "Reconciliation" is a racist hoax—for a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights! Only socialist revolution can end the deep-going oppression of the Aboriginal peoples, laying the material basis for a society not based on brutal exploitation and all-sided racism.

8 For free, quality education for all, including overseas students! No fees! Abolish HECS! For open admissions and a full, state-paid living allowance for all! Abolish the campus administration! For worker/staff/student control of the universities! Down with government and administration interference in student organisations! Cops off campus! Security guards, hands off the left! Drive army and ASIS/ASIO recruiters off campus!

9 For separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Down with state funding for private and religious schools! For a single, secular school system! Down with "religious education" in state schools!

10 The ALP is the historic party of "White Australia." Proudly pro-imperialist, it has been trusted by the ruling class to run Australia during both inter-imperialist world wars. A bourgeois workers party, it upholds the rule of racist capitalism. Organically tied to the ALP, the trade-union bureaucracy acts as the agent of the capitalist class in the workers movement, spreading the lie of a common "national interest" between workers and their exploiters. Split the working-class base from the pro-capitalist leadership of the ALP—break with Laborism! For a class-struggle leadership of the unions! For a multiracial, revolutionary workers party which opposes every manifestation of capitalist injustice and oppression in the fight for socialist revolution! Look to the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 tsarist Russia! For new October Revolutions! For an international centrally planned economy, under the rule of the working class! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Join the SYC!

1 Mobilise students behind the social power of the working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! One out—all out! For industrial unions, not the treacherous division of unions by craft! For union hiring halls! For the closed shop, where every worker is in the union! For union-run job recruitment and training programs to recruit those historically discriminated against—Aborigines, immigrants, women. Organise the unorganised! Down with slave-labour "work for the dole"! Down with "junior rates" of pay and multi-tier wages which pit younger and older workers against each other! Down with all anti-union laws! Government, courts out of the unions—labour must clean its own house! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Down with Arbitration and the Industrial Relations Courts! Down with racist protectionism—whether in anti-"globalisation" or "fair trade" guise or otherwise—which pits workers in Australia against workers in other countries! Workers of the world unite!

2 Australia is a jackal imperialist power which attempts to lord it over Southeast Asia both as "deputy sheriff" for U.S. imperialism and to pursue the interests of the Australian capitalist class in the super-exploitation of the oppressed masses in Asia. Down with the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance! U.S. bases out now! Down with the Japan/Australia military pact and all of Australia's regional military agreements! U.S./Australia get out of the Philippines, Afghanistan and Iraq! Hands off Iran! We stand opposed, first and foremost, to our "own" imperialist rulers—the main enemy is at home! Not a person, not a cent for the imperialist military! All Australian imperialist troops get out of East Timor, the Solomon Islands! Hands off the South Pacific! Beware the fraud of "humanitarian" imperialism! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their lackeys and

victims! Defeat Australian imperialism through workers revolution!

3 Down with anti-communist China-bashing! Defend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which smashed the rule of the landlords and capitalists, throwing off the yoke of imperialist exploitation, and collectivising property! For unconditional military defence of the deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and attempts at internal capitalist counterrevolution! Close the U.S./Australia spy station at Pine Gap—dagger against China, North Korea and Vietnam! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish regimes of workers democracy based on the power of workers councils and revolutionary internationalism!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free abortion on demand! For mass labour-backed mobilisations to defend abortion clinics against attack by religious bigots! Down with parental consent laws! Down with attacks on Medicare, public health services! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for gays

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China...

(continued from page 6)

of support to capitalist counterrevolution.

These are not abstract historical disputes. The counterrevolutions that swept across the Soviet sphere following the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism were not historically inevitable. The fall of the "hardline" Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in October 1989 precipitated an *incipient proletarian political revolution*. At this critical moment in history, our international tendency mobilized all its available resources to intervene in the DDR in order to provide revolutionary leadership for the striving of East German workers for a genuinely socialist society.

Opposing the drive for reunification with the capitalist-imperialist West German state, we fought for the replacement of the disintegrating Stalinist regime in the DDR by a government based on democratically elected workers and soldiers councils. Such a workers government would have been a decisive step toward the revolutionary reunification of Germany, opening the road for proletarian revolutions to establish a Socialist United States of Europe. And when in August 1991 Boris Yeltsin and the pro-imperialist "democrats" seized power in Russia, our comrades in Moscow called upon the multinational Soviet working class to oppose and resist the ascendant forces of capitalist restoration.

The critical battles that will determine the fate of the People's Republic of China remain to be fought out. As in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the decisive arena in which a capitalist counterrevolution would have to triumph is at the political level—the conquest of *state power*—not simply through the quantitative extension of the private sector, whether domestic or foreign-owned. A few years ago there was an interesting article ("The Ownership Reform in China: What Direction and How Far?") by Sujian Guo, an émigré anti-Communist Chinese academic in the U.S., challenging the widespread notion that China has already become or is fast becoming capitalist:

"How to privatize such a huge estate of state ownership *within the framework of the existing political system and structure* is really problematic and technically unworkable. The experience of other former communist countries has shown that there is no single case of making privatization successful with the communist party remaining in power and its political system intact." (emphasis in original)

—*Journal of Contemporary China*, August 2003

If, as Chris Slee contends, the Beijing bureaucracy has restored capitalism in China under the economic domination of Western and Japanese imperialism, one would expect the U.S. and Japanese rulers to be strongly supportive of the CCP regime, just as Washington backed Yeltsin. The reality is that the U.S. imperialists, their West European and Japanese allies and their Australian junior partners remain *fundamentally hostile* to the People's Republic of China and its government, a hostility actively pursued at both the military and political levels.

Right after the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Bush Sr. administration announced plans to build an anti-missile "shield," the main purpose of which is to achieve effective nuclear first-strike capability by intercepting a counter-strike by China's small arsenal of long-range missiles. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and also North Korea, recognizing their need to develop effective nuclear weaponry to counter the imperialist threat.

At the political level, the imperialists aim to replay in China the strategy used during Cold War II in East Europe and the

1992. "A qualitative turn was made in 1992 by the Chinese regime," we are informed, "toward an orientation of *replacing* the staid, planned economy with a capitalist economy throughout *the whole of China*" ("The Class Nature of the Chinese State," January 1999; emphasis in original). This position is a threadbare "theoretical" rationale by which Slee and his colleagues justify their longstanding support for counterrevolutionary forces directed at China in the name of "anti-Stalinism."

As we previously noted, even *before* the DSP formally claimed that China had become capitalist, these anti-Communist

economic immiseration since the country was opened to large-scale industrial investment by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie and Western and Japanese corporations. Quite the contrary.

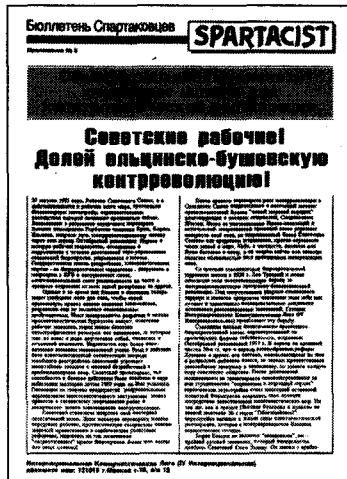
What is true is that there has been an enormous widening of economic inequalities between a layer of capitalists and an increasingly affluent petty-bourgeois stratum made up of government functionaries and managerial/administrative/technocratic personnel on the one side and the working class and peasantry on the other. It is also true that the 20 to 30 million workers, disproportionately women, who were laid off from small and medium-sized state-owned enterprises when these were privatized, restructured or closed down in the mid-late 1990s have suffered real economic hardship. However, the large majority of China's urban workers and also peasants have experienced a considerable improvement in their living standards since the end of the Mao era.

When Mao died in 1976, over three-quarters of the labor force was engaged in farming and over 80 percent of the population lived in the countryside. Today, over 50 percent of the labor force is employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector, and 40 percent of the population is urbanized. From a Marxist standpoint, this is a *progressive* development of historic import. So, too, is the corresponding quantitative and qualitative expansion of China's industrial capacity. Over a hundred million peasants, especially young men and women, have escaped from the squalid poverty and cultural barrenness of rural life and become an integral part of an urban industrializing society. Even those working under sweatshop conditions in the Pearl River and Yangzi River deltas are materially much better off than their parents and siblings who have remained on the family farm.

All of these facts demolish Slee's false equation of today's China with Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, where capitalist counterrevolution has inflicted massive economic devastation and social degradation. At the same time, "market reforms" have bred ever-sharpening contradictions, setting the stage for a social explosion. A proletarian political revolution that ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishes a government based on workers and peasants councils would radically restructure and reorganize China's economy in the interests of the workers and rural toilers. It would reintroduce centralized planning on a rational basis and reinstitute a state monopoly of foreign trade while working toward an egalitarian redistribution of income and wealth.

Undoubtedly, such a regime would face bitter opposition from the imperialists, from economic blackmail to military belligerence. But no less certainly, proletarian political revolution in China would serve as a base for the struggle for workers revolution against the capitalist-imperialist system internationally, smashing through the lie of the "death of communism" fostered by the imperialists and their "leftist" tails following the destruction of the Soviet Union.

China remains a relatively poor country, a condition aggravated by hostile imperialist pressures. To raise China's populace to the socioeconomic level of the First World and then above that level is possible only through proletarian socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries (Australia being a junior member of the First World club). In order to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties capable of leading such revolutions, it is necessary to politically defeat the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. The pernicious role of groups like the Australian DSP lies in providing a left cover for the anti-Communism and imperialist chauvinism of the labor lieutenants of capital in their respective countries. ■



Boris Yeltsin and fellow capitalist-restorationists outside Moscow "White House," August 1991. ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"



Sipa

former Soviet Union: promoting domestic anti-Communist oppositional forces. In fact, while a fledgling capitalist class exists on the mainland, it is not a politically conscious class with its own political party or the equivalent.

The counterrevolutionary machinations of U.S. imperialism are clearly in evidence in Hong Kong, the former British colony and capitalist enclave where (unlike the mainland) the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political organization. Washington, abetted by London, has actively championed the Democratic Party and other right-wing oppositional groups there. On the mainland, the U.S. ruling class is encouraging such anti-Communist "dissidents" as Li Jianqiang, a lawyer and convert to Christianity who is involved in the self-styled "rights defense" movement. While visiting Washington last November to meet with the Bush administration's China "specialists," Li was interviewed by the CIA's Radio Free Asia. Shortly after that, he described China as a "super jail" and its leaders as "ruthless dictators" (*New York Times*, 25 February).

And where do Chris Slee and the DSP stand in this battle? The DSP first publicly declared that China had become "a capitalist state" in 1999, backdating this historically momentous event (which they somehow failed to notice at the time) to

social democrats were supporting all manner of counterrevolutionary forces directed against the Chinese deformed workers state. The DSP raised the call for self-determination (i.e., independence) for Taiwan, the island statelet ruled by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie under the military protection of U.S. imperialism. It lauded the pro-imperialist "trade-union activist" Han Dongfang, director of the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin* and darling of anti-Communist circles in Washington.

Chinese workers are indeed being "ruthlessly exploited in capitalist sweatshops" set up under Beijing's "market reforms." But Slee's complaints are but an echo of the anti-Communist protectionism of the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy and Australian Labor Party. The DSP is such a fervent advocate for "democratic" imperialism that it openly called for Australian troops to invade East Timor in 1999 and to this day refuses to call for their withdrawal!

The role of Solidarność in Poland demonstrates that the imperialists, utilizing the services of their labor lieutenants, are capable of cynically manipulating the discontents and legitimate grievances of the working class against a Stalinist regime for their own reactionary ends. When Stalinist bonapartist rule in China collapses—and it will—Trotskyists will have to continue, under changed circumstances, the political combat against elements fomenting anti-Communism and preaching the virtues of Western-style "democracy" in the reawakened Chinese workers movement.

Slee maintains that the significant socioeconomic development of China during the post-Mao "reform" era, which saw the highest rate of economic growth of any major country, has had "catastrophic" consequences for the Chinese working class. Contrary to his unsubstantiated assertions, China's working class as a whole has *not* experienced absolute

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principle. We do not accord to the state the right to determine who shall live and who shall die. In the U.S., the death penalty is the legacy of slavery, racist legal lynching.

We also took up Mumia's case as part of the fight against the state deeming perceived political opponents to be terrorists. The Black Panther Party and the MOVE organisation were considered the terrorists of that time. And that meant it was legitimate for the state to blow them away in the dead of night, to frame them up on vague conspiracy charges. Mumia was targeted by the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), placed under daily surveillance at the age of 15 and put on the list of those to be rounded up and put in concentration camps. Mumia's conviction and death sentence were the continuation of the government vendetta against the Black Panther Party that led to the murder of 38 Panthers and the frame-up convictions of hundreds, and part of the crescendo of legal frame-ups and outright terror tactics directed at the MOVE organisation.

The fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal has everything to do with the fight against the post-September 11 "war on terror", which has led to witchhunts against immigrants, primarily Muslims, and provided justification for the evisceration of democratic rights and a massive increase in state surveillance and repressive measures, including the open use of torture.

The ultimate target of this state repression is the multiracial workers movement. The fight to free Mumia is part of the fight for black liberation, and the broader fight for socialist revolution and therefore for the liberation of us all.

Mumia's Trial: A Kangaroo Court

We are here on the eve of Mumia's appeal arguments in the federal court on 17 May. In a matter of a few months, the court will decide what is next for Mumia—death, life in prison or possibly more legal proceedings. The US federal appeals court is not required to consider all the issues that Mumia has raised—and virtually every democratic right, from freedom of speech and association to a trial based on due process, was violated in Mumia's case. The appeals court is deciding whether or not to uphold Mumia's death sentence. The court is *not* considering *any* evidence of Mumia's innocence or the state frame-up. The state and federal courts have refused to even consider the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

The federal court of appeals is "allowing" only three of Mumia's more than 20 legal issues. These are the racially biased jury selection and the District Attorney's

(DA) prejudicial summary argument undermining the jury's role by stating that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal". Lastly, the court is hearing a challenge to the kangaroo-court, lynch-mob post-conviction hearings from 1995 to 1997 before the notorious judge Albert Sabo, popularly known as the King of Death Row. Sabo outright stated at the time of the 1982 trial that "I'm going to help them fry the n---r."

In fact, the legal arguments before the appeals court are issues researched, developed and formulated in the lower courts by myself and Jon Piper, another lawyer associated with the PDC who was part of Mumia's legal team. In the abstract, considering the questions of law and fact applied to Mumia's case, there is no reason that Mumia should not win on appeal. But the reality is that the capitalist courts do not mete out impartial justice—and Mumia is a man the state wants dead.

To impact on that upcoming appeals court decision, a mass mobilisation based on the international working class and its allies is necessary and urgent, now more than ever. The mobilisation must be on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man, the "voice of the voiceless", a man on death row because of a political, racist frame-up. Mumia should never have been arrested, convicted, sentenced to death or spent one day in jail! Our fight—and demand—is to free Mumia, now!

But instead the fight for Mumia has been and continues to be demobilised by a policy pursued by liberals and the reformist left of impotent appeals to the justice and fairness of the capitalist courts, represented by the call for a new trial, a fairer process. To understand the politics behind this demobilisation—and to turn this around—let's first examine the legal and factual issues in Mumia's case.

The Frame-Up

The prosecution's story is that in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, two people were on the street corner of Locust and 13th in Philadelphia—Billy Cook, who is Mumia's brother, and Daniel Faulkner. Mumia, then 27 years old, known for his mild manner and for being level-headed, supposedly saw his brother being beaten by the cop and ran across the parking lot, shooting the cop in the back. As the cop was falling down, he supposedly shot Mumia in the chest. Then Mumia supposedly stood over the cop, then lying prone on his back, and shot directly down several times at his head, "execution style". This is all lies, a fantastical frame-up by the police and prosecution.

In the post-conviction court hearings in Mumia's case in 1995, '96 and '97, over ten years ago, the prosecution's evidence was exposed over and over as false—based on witnesses who were threatened or bought, nonexistent ballistics evidence and a totally fabricated confession

invented by the police two months after the shooting.

As I will further explain, on a factual level, there is not a scintilla of evidence against Mumia. What is there for a jury to hear and consider?

Regarding witnesses: the prosecution produced at trial one supposed eyewitness, the prostitute Cynthia White, who, according to the police, is now dead. No witness, including Cynthia White, testified that Mumia shot Faulkner. At the 1982 trial, Cynthia White said she saw Mumia with a gun in his hand as he ran across the parking lot. But two prostitutes and one other woman who knew White have since sworn that White admitted this was false testimony under threats from the cops. Two of these women stood up to vicious cross-examination in the post-conviction hearings. Two eyewitnesses,

different direction than Mumia.

Moreover, there is evidence directly in support of Mumia's innocence already testified to in court hearings in '95, '96 and '97. Vietnam vet William Singletary was an eyewitness to the shooting and testified in '95 that Mumia arrived after Faulkner was shot and that the shooter, wearing a green army jacket, came from the parked VW and then ran from the scene. Singletary told this to police the night of the shooting, and he was repeatedly threatened, his gas station was vandalised, and he was driven from town during the 1982 trial. Other witnesses, including Dessie Hightower, who testified at the trial, said they saw someone run from the scene. At the post-conviction hearing in '95, Hightower told how he was singled out for a lie detector test and other coercion in an attempt to stop



Workers Vanguard

Witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at press conference during Mumia's March 1997 PCRA hearings.

William Singletary and Dessie Hightower, testified that White wasn't on the corner during the shooting.

The other supposed key eyewitness, a cab driver named Robert Chobert, admitted at the post-conviction hearing to receiving favours from the prosecutors. And he admitted to a defence investigator that his cab was not parked where the prosecution asserted it was and that he was not in a position to see anything. This is confirmed in photos of the scene recently brought to light by Michael Schiffmann.

Regarding Mumia's supposed confession: the hospital confession supposedly made by Mumia the night of the shooting was decisively exposed in the 1995 post-conviction hearing to be a prosecution and police fabrication, invented at a DA roundtable meeting some two months after the shooting to prepare cops for their trial testimony. No police report from that night mentions Mumia's confession, and in fact a cop who was with Mumia all night directly said that Mumia "made no comments".

Regarding ballistics: the utter nonexistence of ballistics and other physical evidence is crystal clear. There is no evidence that Mumia's gun was even fired that night, let alone that the bullet in Faulkner's head wound matched Mumia's gun. There are recently uncovered photos showing the cop at the scene walking around with his fingers all over a gun. There are discrepancies in police reports regarding the type of bullets in Mumia's gun. There is a missing bullet fragment from Faulkner's wound and a missing medical examiner's X-ray of Faulkner's body. There is no physical evidence of Faulkner being shot as described by police—straight down at his head while lying on the sidewalk. There are no divots (marks) on the sidewalk. The bullets found at the scene do not support trajectories of Mumia shooting the cop, but rather that there was more than one shooter and that one came from a totally

him from testifying at trial.

Veronica Jones testified in 1996 that she had seen someone run from the scene and that police threatened her with long jail time on robbery charges unless she testified differently at trial. In 1997, prostitute Pamela Jenkins testified that other cops were there during the shooting, including one Larry Boston. She also testified that prostitute Cynthia White was a police informant and performed sexual favours for cops. Another witness came forward who testified that he saw undercover cops on the scene at the time of the shooting.

The Beverly Confession

Even under the constraints of Sabo's totally biased court, the DA's evidence was smashed to smithereens over ten years ago. It would be reasonable to expect that as more and more evidence of the conscious police frame-up was brought out in court proceedings, a movement defending Mumia Abu-Jamal would embrace these legal developments. The new evidence from the court proceedings could only support a mobilisation in defence of Mumia—on the basis of Mumia's innocence and the fact that a black political activist was framed up by a state determined to see him dead. But in effect this legal evidence was rejected! The so-called left in the U.S. that belatedly took up Mumia's defence in 1995 and afterward did not take up the call to free Mumia now, which the PDC mobilised around, but *rejected* that demand as the basis for mass protests, centring their demands instead on the call for a new trial.

In early 1999, in preparation for a likely denial of the Pennsylvania court appeals and in preparation for federal *habeas corpus* proceedings, Jon Piper and I, with some other lawyers, intensely again combed over the records of the prior proceedings and the state's evidence and also renewed investigation efforts. In 1999, Mumia's brother admitted that the passenger in his VW, Ken Freeman, said

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Just Out!

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that he was involved in the shooting of Faulkner and he ran from the scene after the shooting.

Arnold Beverly confessed that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. Moreover, Beverly stated that he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly states that he was wearing a green army jacket and that he himself was shot that night. The police connection for the hit, according to Beverly, was Larry Boston, who Pamela Jenkins stated in the '97 hearing had been on the scene at the time of the shooting.

At the time of Faulkner's murder in 1981, there were at least three ongoing federal investigations into police corruption in Philadelphia, including police-mob connections. I recently learned that the Justice Department had evidence against some 400 Philly cops from those investigations and wanted to bring indictments. But the federal judge overseeing the investigation said to pick only the top 20 or so. Of the police involved in Mumia's case, at least one-third were indicted sometime over the next few years on corruption charges.

An FBI informant who was key to those federal prosecutions confirmed that at the time of Faulkner's shooting, the word was out that the Feds had a police informant. A former federal prosecutor acknowledged that they had a police informant whose brother was also a cop, like Faulkner's. The commanding officer of the Central Police Division, where the murder of Faulkner took place, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation on federal corruption charges. These cops were the *chain of command* in the frame-up of Mumia.

Inspector Giordano was the ranking officer on the scene—and the central witness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after the arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption but had been the right-hand man for Frank Rizzo, the former Philadelphia police chief and mayor. Giordano was involved in the daily surveillance of Black Panther Party members, and he led the police Stakeout team in the 1970 attacks on the Philly Panthers. Giordano was the police supervisor of the year-long 1977-78 siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. He knew just who Mumia was.

It is with these facts in mind that the

confession of Arnold Beverly must be considered. Remember the prosecution's lying evidence. Beverly states that there was more than one shooter and that they ran from the scene. This explains witnesses seeing a passenger in the VW and seeing the shooter running away. Beverly's confession explains the absence of ballistics evidence supporting the prosecution's scenario—how the shooting happened, the direction of the shots, the conflicts regarding the calibre of the weapon. Beverly states that Mumia was



Labor Defender

Above: U.S. International Labor Defense (ILD) led 20,000 workers at April 1927 rally in New York City's Union Square demanding freedom for anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti (right). PDC's fight for Mumia's freedom stands in tradition of working-class defence policies of the ILD, under its founder and first secretary James P. Cannon.

shot not by Faulkner but by another police officer on the scene. That fits with the trajectory of the shot to Mumia and the statement of a homicide cop at the scene who reported that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. It is also supported by a witness who said that Faulkner's gun was in its holster when he was taken away from the scene. The gun that was allegedly Faulkner's was likely a "throwaway"—it was inoperable and dirty.

Moreover, some five witnesses including two cops have said that the shooter wore a green army jacket. Both Beverly and Freeman were wearing green army jackets that night. But Mumia was wearing a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes on the front, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. This is incontrovertible evidence that there was at least one person there at the shooting who was not Billy Cook or Mumia. This fact, along with the bullet trajectories and the absence of bal-

listics evidence supporting either the shooting of Faulkner or the shooting of Mumia, is absolute refutation of the police and prosecution version.

Mumia's arrival on the scene gave the cops a two-for-one. Mumia was well known. It had been a short span of time, less than ten years, between Mumia's prominence as a Black Panther and his becoming a prominent MOVE supporter and journalist. And prosecutions of MOVE members, including trials following the Powelton Village police siege, had

intention was to finish Mumia off by taking him to police headquarters for further questioning. Mumia's crime that night was that he survived the cops' attempt to kill him, too.

To complete the picture: despite Giordano being the senior officer at the scene who allegedly heard Mumia confess and found the murder weapon, he never testified at Mumia's trial. He resigned from the police force the day after the trial was over. In 1986 he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of thousands of dollars in illegal pay-offs during 1979-80. He didn't spend any time in jail.

Reformists Demobilise the Fight for Mumia

Thus, the proof of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up is overwhelming. But Mumia's former lawyers suppressed the Beverly confession and the totality of the supporting evidence. Long-time "movement lawyer" Len Weinglass rejected this evidence as too hot, unbelievable, and co-counsel Dan Williams said it would lead to arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! But this is not unbelievable, and to claim so denies the reality of the cops and the courts.

In fact, there is no limit to examples of the conscious frame-up of innocent people in the bourgeois courts. Before their convictions were exposed as complete government fabrications, the Guildford Four spent 15 years in prison, and the Birmingham Six were incarcerated for 16 years after being sentenced in the 1970s as part of British imperialism's war of terror against Irish nationalists. Before his release in 1997, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison for a killing the FBI's own wiretap logs showed he could not have committed, while New York Panther leader Dhoruba bin Wahad was imprisoned for 19 years on frame-up charges before his release in 1990. "War on terror" repression has also taken many innocent victims.

Moreover, Mumia's case has been presented in court after court—each has denied the evidence of his frame-up and innocence. That includes three evidentiary hearings, plus three motions and two appeals to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, a federal habeas corpus petition filed in the U.S. District Court, a revised federal petition and yet another state court petition as well as three applications for hearing to the U.S. Supreme Court. A federal judge's reversal of Mumia's death sentence in December 2001 was immediately appealed by the prosecution, and Mumia has never been off death row since his conviction in 1982.

As a lawyer for Mumia, I had fought in the defence team to bring forward the evidence of the police frame-up and his innocence. When it was decisively clear with the rejection of the Beverly confession, Billy Cook's statement and all the other supporting evidence that Mumia's lead counsel, Len Weinglass, would not allow this, Jon Piper and I resigned from the legal team in July 1999. It was a betrayal of Mumia's legal defence to preclude bringing evidence of his innocence into the courts. And this betrayal is paralleled by so-called leftists who are behind the coalitions acting under the name "Free Mumia" but who mobilise on the basis of reliance on the justice and fairness of the courts and the call for a new, fair trial for Mumia.

To what end and for what purpose would leftists demand that this clearly innocent man be subjected to a new trial? As you can see, there is no evidence to be considered. Mumia himself submitted his own affidavit declaring his innocence when the Beverly confession and other evidence were finally submitted to court



Boston Public Library

taken place just a couple of months before the Faulkner shooting.

At the scene after Faulkner was killed, the cops tried to kill Mumia. He was critically wounded from a gunshot in the chest, through his lungs and to his liver. He was rammed into a lamppost and thrown into a police van. Giordano himself beat Mumia in the police van and later said Mumia had confessed to shooting Faulkner and that he threw his gun on the ground. The other cop who was in the van said there was no such confession. Giordano arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who was promised favours and protected by the police. Giordano was the cop who first reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street (according to the police radio records, some 14 minutes after hordes of cops arrived in the area). This contradicts the official police story that Mumia's gun was found within a minute. Giordano's

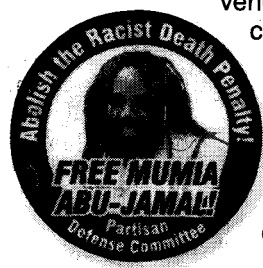
Join the Campaign!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defence!

Make a contribution today, payable to Partisan Defence Committee, write "Mumia legal defence" on the back of the cheque and mail to the address below. Every cent of such contributions is transmitted to Mumia's legal defence team via Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York.

Organise protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organisations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organisation to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicise Mumia's case in your union or organisation's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC badge: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$2 for 25 copies. **Order from/make cheques payable to Partisan Defence Committee, PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230. Contact us on (02) 9281 2181 or (03) 9654 4315.**



Mumia Is an Innocent Man
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Partisan Defence Committee
July 2008

The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Is Innocent!

Anatomy of a Frame-Up

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British, Greek Unions: Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

The following union statements are reprinted with an adapted introduction from *Workers Vanguard* No. 898, 14 September.

With a U.S. federal appeals court likely to rule at any moment on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, it is all the more critical for the organisations of the working class and the oppressed to speak out and act now. We print below two of the more recent statements issued by trade unions around the world affirming Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. The first is a 7 August statement of the All Workers Militant Front (PAME) trade-union federation in Greece, signed by Giorgos Pontikos of the International Relations Department. PAME is associated with the Greek Communist Party and represents a half million workers in more than 200 unions. The second is a 28 August appeal by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Britain and Ireland to its members. We print the NUJ appeal as it appears on the union's Web site.

As the NUJ letter points out, hundreds of other trade unions and individual unionists, as well as anti-racist organisations and prominent individuals, have joined in signing a statement initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., calling for "the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man." Among those demanding Mumia's free-

dom are two major labour federations in South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions. In Australia, the Victorian state branches of the Maritime Union and Communications Union (CEPU) have also signed the statement.

The PDC/U.S. along with its fraternal organisations in several other countries have called for emergency protests in the event that the Third Circuit Court of Appeals upholds Mumia's death sentence, which was reversed in 2001, or denies his appeals for a new trial or a new hearing. The fate of this passionate fighter for social justice must not be allowed to rest in the hands of the racist, capitalist courts. Now more than ever, it is necessary to translate into action the sentiment expressed by the thousands upon thousands of workers, youth and fighters against racial oppression that Mumia must be freed immediately. **Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!**

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent

Mumia Abu-Jamal, known for his struggles against injustice, racism and state violence, has been on death row for 24 years following a rigged trial.

The sensational case of Mumia is the tip of the iceberg. It throws a spotlight once again on the *class-biased and racist American justice system*.

PAME, which represents the class

union movement in our country, demands:

The immediate release of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Free Honorary Member on Death Row 25 Years

The death row case of NUJ honorary member Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a critical stage and the union is asking members to take urgent action to support him.

Twenty-five years ago Mumia Abu-Jamal was convicted in the US for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. He has been threatened by the death sentence ever since. Many are convinced he was framed for his political beliefs and activism as a journalist who fought with passion and conviction against racial, ethnic and class bias and for social justice.

The NUJ made Mumia an honorary union member in 1995 and NUJ members have continuously helped campaign for his immediate release.

Evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner but have been ignored for more than 25 years and the Pennsylvania state and federal courts have rejected or even refused to consider this evidence. The NUJ believes he should be freed.

Mumia's case is now at a critical juncture

and time is of the essence. In May this year, the US Third Circuit Court of Appeal in Philadelphia heard oral arguments in the appeal—both by Mumia and the prosecution. Shortly the courts will decide what is next for Mumia—death, life in prison or possibly more legal proceedings.

There is an urgent need to revitalise the mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man and the NUJ is asking members to write to the US ambassador asking for justice for Mumia.

Please send letters to Ambassador Robert Holmes Tuttle, US Embassy, 24 Grosvenor Square, London, W1A 1AE.

Last year, [NUJ general secretary] Jeremy Dear joined the hundreds of trade unionists, anti-racist groups, journalists, authors and others who have signed an internationally-circulated statement entitled, "We demand the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man."

Other signatories to the statement in Britain include the Fire Brigades Union, the Communication Workers Union, Bob Crow of the RMT [rail, maritime and transport union], Gareth Peirce, Michael Mansfield, Ken Loach, the poet Benjamin Zephaniah, and Tony Benn. International signatories include the novelists Nadine Gordimer of South Africa, Dario Fo of Italy, and the railway workers section of the powerful CGT union federation in France. ■

in 2001, with a new legal team. Mumia states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

The bogus argument has been raised that the Beverly evidence is "divisive". But since 1995, long before the Beverly confession, the so-called left rejected the evidence of the extent of the state frame-up and the political lessons to be drawn from that. This became explicit at a January 1999 "leadership meeting" of some 100 groups and individuals—including the Workers World Party, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Refuse & Resist (associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party)—who debated the question. The decision pushed by the reformist left, represented as well by the International Socialist Organization, was to "broaden" the movement and go to the "mainstream". They renounced the demands to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty in favour of the slogan: new trial for Mumia.

At all stages of the case, the reformists' political line is that the next court will be the just one. When the state courts ruled against Mumia, illusions were spread that the U.S. federal court would fairly rule on his petition. Now illusions are being spread in the fairness of the U.S. appeals courts since the U.S. federal court upheld Mumia's conviction. And in between court proceedings, the reformists undertook no significant mobilisation.

These were political decisions, pure and simple. They were not based on fact—on Mumia's innocence and the enormity of the proven frame-up. Rather, the reformist left attempted to limit the political mobilisation in defence of Mumia to an appeal for fairness in the courts. They appeal to bourgeois liberal forces who see Mumia's case not as the political and racist frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice", an aberration that threatens to stain the democratic process.

Even the legal papers that I filed in 1995-97, and agreed to by Mumia's lead counsel at the time, Leonard Weinglass, did not focus on the call for a new trial!

We called for dismissing the charges because of the magnitude of the frame-up. Because if you want to deal solely on the plane of what the law in the United States says, the suppression of evidence and the falsification of evidence are such that the whole case should be thrown out. This is part of the reason that I say that calling for people to mobilise around the demand for a new trial is not guided by legal precepts, as is often claimed, but by a *political programme*.

The System of Capitalist Injustice

Mumia's case is a real-life case of police frame-up, an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, which is not neutral. The state, with its cops and supported by the courts, is a machine of organised violence on behalf of one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system against the working people, against minorities. The job of the courts is to mete out capitalist injustice. That is the lesson of the Haymarket martyrs, anarchists executed in 1887 in Chicago for leading struggles for the eight-hour day; of the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, framed up in Massachusetts on murder charges and executed in 1927; of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths arrested in 1931 who spent nearly two decades in Alabama prison hellholes on bogus rape charges, eight of them sentenced to death; of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 on espionage charges as part of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

The slogan for a "new trial" represents a programme of reliance on the racist capitalist courts that at every level have upheld Mumia's frame-up conviction. In the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case that sanctified slavery in the U.S., the Supreme Court said that a black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect. The capitalist state and its courts have made clear that *Mumia has no rights the courts are bound to respect*.

Thus the significance of the Beverly evidence and why it has been suppressed

in the legal battles as well as on the political plane has a simple answer. The Beverly evidence exposes the fraud that the American bourgeois legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates the unity of purpose of the cops, prosecution and courts in upholding the capitalist rulers' interest. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge *but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice*. The role of the reformist left is to act as an obstacle to the development of that understanding. They promote the same illusions in the "justice of the courts" as liberal journalists David Lindorff and Michael Schiffmann, whose writings ostensibly on Mumia's behalf actually *undermine* the fight for his freedom (see "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice,'" *Workers Vanguard* No. 892, 11 May).

Their purpose is to promote the notion of the inviolability of the bourgeois state. This means denying Mumia's innocence. It means denying the extent of the state frame-up and why. This all serves to politically disarm and demobilise those who are drawn to Mumia's cause. This political policy served to demobilise a mass international movement. It has meant rejecting the very reasons that millions around the globe took up Mumia's cause: revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial oppression and ethnic bias, war; identification with Mumia's fight against "the system" and for justice for all of humanity.

To free Mumia now, to save him from execution or the slow death of a lifetime in prison, it is necessary to organise on the basis of a class-struggle defence. While that means utilising all possible legal proceedings, class-struggle defence is based on an understanding of the nature of the capitalist state, and that there can be no reliance on its courts but all reliance on the power of the working class and its allies.

The courts do not sit in judgment and rule in isolation. There is a pressure that can be brought to bear. But it will take an

international mobilisation of the masses, centrally labour and its allies—youth, minorities, immigrants—to turn the tide and obtain Mumia's freedom. It was an international mobilisation crucially including trade unionists, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., that stayed the executioner's hand when Mumia was ten days from execution in 1995. It took that mobilisation to get the stay of execution, to push the courts to abide by their legal obligation to allow Mumia to pursue his legal appeals. Now, with the possibility that the courts could reverse the overturning of Mumia's death sentence, the issue is Mumia's very life—whether execution or the slow death of life imprisonment.

The work undertaken by the PDC, our fraternal defence organisations and the International Communist League over the past months to revive the struggle for Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man is a step forward. Hundreds of individuals and organisations, including unions representing tens of thousands of workers, have signed our statement emphasising Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. But we need a mass movement based on the power of the working class, the power seen in its ability to withhold labour through strike action. Imagine, for example, what it would mean if Philadelphia and New York transit workers struck, not only to secure a decent wage, health care and job conditions but to demand Mumia's freedom! What it would mean for labour to withhold its power in other capitalist centres, stopping communications, transport and industry, demanding: **Free Mumia now!**

Mumia is up against the vast resources of the capitalist state. But there is a road for victory for Mumia—for his freedom. That begins with the understanding that the class enemy will stop at nothing—from lies to terror—on the street and in the courts. Freedom for Mumia lies in understanding that the power to fight and win lies in the class struggle—in the mobilisation of the multiracial, multiethnic proletariat. **Free Mumia now!** ■



Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We reprint below an edited presentation to a 5 May London rally by U.S. Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, a member of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team from 1995 to 1999. Mumia, an award-winning journalist and former Black Panther Party spokesman, has been on Pennsylvania's death row in the U.S. since 1982 when he was framed up on a false charge of killing a policeman. The London rally, held in the lead-up to Mumia's 17 May federal appeals court hearing, was called by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain as part of an international campaign to revitalise mass, labour-centred protest on Mumia's behalf. A similar event was held in Germany on 12 May (see "International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 893, 25 May, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.)

In Australia, PDC protest meetings were held in August in both Melbourne and Sydney. They included a screening of the PDC video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. In the presentation which followed, PDC spokesman Chris McCarthy noted that it was only in 1985 that the last legal vestiges of the death penalty were removed in Australia following considerable social struggle, including by trade unionists, particularly in the 1960s. He continued:

"However ongoing Aboriginal deaths at the hands of cops and prison screws—from John Pat, to Eddie Murray to TJ Hickey to Mulrunji Doomadgee—show that a *de facto* death penalty operates in Australia and applies most particularly to Aborigines. The current cop/military takeover of Aboriginal lands in the Northern Territory further highlights the racism endemic to this capitalist system. It will mean more Aborigines in prison and more deaths in custody."

In addressing Mumia's frame-up, McCarthy pointed to the vicious class bias of the bourgeois courts. He highlighted the case of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), framed up and severely persecuted for their class-struggle opposition to Australian imperialism during World War I. He also noted the 1980s frame-up of Norm Gallagher, former head of the Builders Labourers Federation, as part of the Hawke federal Labor government's smashing of the BLF and broader union-busting attacks. The job of the capitalist courts is to mete out capitalist injustice in the interest of the ruling class.

The speaker told the rally that the fight for Mumia's freedom has everything to do with opposing the "war on terror." In Australia, this bogus war is prosecuted by federal Liberal and state Labor governments alike. Internationally the "war on terror" has meant stripping back democratic rights hand-in-hand with a massive increase in state surveillance and repressive measures:

"As the Barwon 13, Mamdouh Habib, Jack Thomas, David Hicks, Mohamed



Workers Hammer

Haneef, the Tamil community and many others are all too well aware, it has led to vicious witchhunts against Muslims and immigrants. It has incited racist reaction on the streets and served to divide the working class.

"The ultimate target of this state repression is the multiracial workers movement. The draconian Australian Building and Construction Commission laws targeting the construction union have been patterned on elements of the 'anti-terror' laws. It is in the interests of the proletariat internationally to take up the fight against the 'anti-terror' and the anti-union laws."

In his remarks, McCarthy also addressed Mumia's 17 May federal appeals

rallies in Sydney and Melbourne. The powerful Victorian and NSW branches of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), the Australian meatworkers union and the Newcastle and NSW South Coast Labour Councils endorsed these rallies. Other unions such as the NSW AMWU and CFMEU construction unions as well as New Zealand seafarers sent letters of protest to the Philadelphia authorities.

Today such international support must be rekindled (see box, page 11). Currently, unions in Australia such as the MUA (Victorian branch) and Communications, Electrical and Plumbing Union (Communications Division) in Victoria as



COC Productions

Above: Mumia Abu-Jamal. Left: Rachel Wolkenstein speaking at 5 May London rally organised by PDC.

racist, political frame-up."

The presentation which follows is reprinted from a July 2007 *Workers Hammer* Special Supplement reporting on the 5 May London Mumia rally. *Workers Hammer* is published by the Spartacist League/Britain.

It's been 25 years since Mumia's conviction for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, a crime the police, prosecution and courts know Mumia did not commit. Mumia has been on death row all this time, isolated in a cell that he describes as living in a toilet. He was framed up for his political beliefs and activism, for having been a Black Panther Party (BPP) member, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who fought with passion and conviction against racial, ethnic and class bias, against cop terror, for social justice.

As Mumia said some 17 years ago in the interview in the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, he is "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." Since then Mumia has not changed his political views. He has not been intimidated into silence.

To the capitalist rulers, Mumia represents the spectre of black revolt, of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. For them, Mumia is a dead man on leave. All elements of the "criminal justice system" supported by both parties of American capitalism, Democrats as well as Republicans, have colluded to kill this innocent man.

Why is Mumia's cause one that needs to be fought for internationally? The PDC took up Mumia's case in 1987, some 20 years ago, because Mumia's case is the fight against the ultimate weapon of state terror, the death penalty. We are opposed to the death penalty as a matter of

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Speech at London Rally

court hearing. More than 500 supporters rallied outside the Philadelphia courthouse including a PDC contingent which mobilised under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal is Innocent—For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Him Now! There is no Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" At the courthouse, PDC Labor Coordinator, Gene Herson, stressed that "The multiracial labour movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down—must be mobilised independently of the forces of the capitalist state."

It was mass international protest, crucially including trade unionists, that stayed the executioner's hand in August 1995 after a death warrant for Mumia had been signed. This included support from unions and others in Australia, with a range of Aboriginal, immigrant and student individuals and groups helping to build successful PDC-initiated protest

well as others including Australia Asia Worker Links, the prisoner rights group Justice Action and Sydney-based Aboriginal activist Jenny Munro have signed the PDC-initiated statement titled "We demand the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man." In a 9 June statement last year Brisbane Aboriginal supporter of Socialist Alliance Sam Watson declared: "Mumia must be allowed to walk free. He is a warrior for his people and his voice is one that must never be silenced."

Following Mumia's 17 May hearing, Rachel Wolkenstein warned that a decision could come within weeks and, whatever the decision, it will likely be appealed to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court. Underscoring that there should be absolutely no illusions in the appeal proceedings, she stressed: "This makes it all the more urgent to revitalise mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man and the victim of a