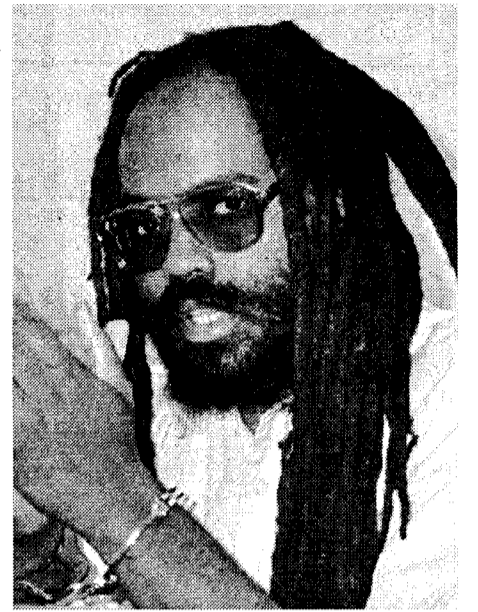


Pennsylvania Supreme Court Upholds Racist Frame-Up

Mumia Abu-Jamal in Grave Danger



WV Photos

Freedom for Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on October 30, the day the Pennsylvania Supreme Court announced its frame-up ruling against Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is now under immediate threat of death by the state's executioners. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man, an eloquent and outspoken opponent of racism and injustice who has been hounded by the Philadelphia police and FBI since the time he

Urgent Statement of the Partisan Defense Committee

was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Jamal remained in the cross hairs of the cops as he went on to become a renowned journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization in the late 1970s. Continuing the decades-long political vendetta against Jamal, this morning the Pennsylvania Supreme Court issued a 71-page ruling endorsing each and every aspect of his racist frame-up and false conviction for

New York City, October 31: Emergency protest called by PDC drew range of trade-union, left and defense organizations.

the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner.

This judicial ruling has been prepared by a sinister campaign by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police and its supporters. To grease the skids to the execution chamber, these forces recently took out a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* (14 June) and other major newspapers around the country. Only days before the ruling, the *New York Post* (25 October) ran a rabid editorial raving against Jamal as a "cop killer" who should be put to death. The purpose of this racist crusade is to manufacture a climate of "public opinion" for the legal lynching of Jamal. *We cannot let this happen!*

Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has long vowed to sign a new death warrant as soon as the state Supreme Court ruling was announced. In 1995, it took a massive campaign of international protest, including by trade unions representing

millions of workers from Italy to South Africa, to stay the hands of the executioners when Ridge had signed an earlier warrant for Jamal's death that summer. While Jamal's attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defense, what is urgently needed right now are mass mobilizations particularly drawing on the power of the multiracial working class to demand: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

It is no accident that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling was released only days before the upcoming elections—as Ridge campaigns for another term as governor—amid a heinous, murderous campaign of bigotry against homosexual rights and the right to abortion, and as both the Democratic and Republican parties promote the speedup on death rows around the country. The "right-to-life" terrorists who assassinated Dr. Barnett Slepian last week are the same forces

who howl for racist legal lynching. Only this week, a 29-year-old black man, Jeffrey Blake, was released from prison in New York after his 1991 murder conviction was shown to be based entirely on fabricated testimony. If New York State had had the death penalty at the time of Blake's frame-up, this innocent man would likely not have lived to see his exoneration.

The crusade to kill another innocent man—the most prominent death row prisoner in America today, Mumia Abu-Jamal—is precisely designed to sanctify the state's machinery of death. Jamal's case throws a spotlight on what the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about.

In a demonstration of flagrant bias, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling dismisses as "incredible" every piece of testimony by witnesses testifying on Jamal's behalf and every piece of evidence submitted by Jamal's defense team. At the same time, they find totally "credible" every action and piece of testimony by

continued on page 5



**NYC Emergency Protest:
"Free Mumia Now!"**

SEE PAGE FOUR

**Racist Vendetta Sent
Mumia to Death Row**

SEE PAGE SIX

Build PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

"The class conscious worker accords to the class war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem" (*Labor Defender*, September 1926). With these words, James P. Cannon, the founder and first secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD), expressed the class solidarity which animated the ILD's work on behalf of those imprisoned for fighting the exploitation and oppression of this capitalist society. It is in this tradition that the Partisan Defense Committee is holding its 13th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive for today's class-war prisoners.

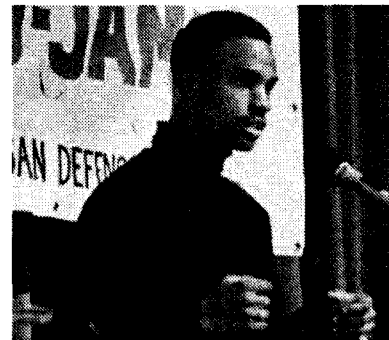
This campaign helps to sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. This is not an act of charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice to those inside prison walls as we struggle for their freedom.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! This December will mark 17 years of Mumia Abu-Jamal's imprisonment. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist, "Voice of the Voiceless," MOVE supporter—Jamal was framed up on false charges of killing

a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and defiance of the racist capitalist order.

Now, the rejection of Jamal's appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court places him in grave danger. Pennsylvania governor Ridge long ago vowed to sign a death warrant for Jamal in the event of such a ruling. *We must not let them kill Mumia!* In the summer of 1995, it took a massive campaign of protest—by death penalty abolitionists, labor and anti-racist fighters internationally—to stay the executioner's hand. We aim to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class not only to free Mumia but to put the state's killing machine out of business for good.

Jerry Dale Lowe is a United Mine Workers member framed up on federal



Jamal Hart

WV Photo

ings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is in the high-tech Administrative Maximum (ADX) torture chamber at Florence, Colorado.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. A militant anti-racist, he was a leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has languished in prison for over 30 years. He is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, California.

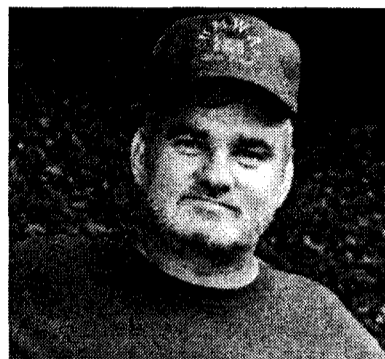
Eight MOVE members are in their 21st year in prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home, falsely convicted of killing a police officer. They are **Chuck Africa** and **Michael Davis Africa**, Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa**, **Janet Holloway Africa** and **Janine Phillips Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Edward Goodman Africa**, Camp Hill; **Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa**, Dallas. Tragically, another MOVE prisoner, **Merle Africa**, died in prison on March 13.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in February to 15½ years on bogus firearm possession charges. He was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department took over the case in order to have Hart thrown in prison. He is not eligible for parole.

Send Your Contributions Now!

All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013; phone (212) 406-4252.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. ■



Jerry Dale Lowe

WV Photo

charges in the July 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. For the "crime" of defending his union, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail in Ashland, Kentucky with no possibility of parole.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of the racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony and sentenced to life. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen the sentences so that they can be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur**, arrested in 1984 and '85, are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bomb-

The Red Month of November

November 7 (October 25 in the old Russian calendar) marks the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which was finally undone by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 after decades of Stalinist betrayal. Writing shortly after the execution of anarchist labor militants Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, *International Labor Defense (ILD)* founder and later Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon observed that November also marked the anniversaries of the execution of



TROTSKY



LENIN

the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in 1887 and of other American working-class militants. In the tradition of Cannon's ILD, the Partisan Defense Committee today seeks to mobilize labor in the urgent fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Such struggles are key to forging an international revolutionary party to lead new October Revolutions and put an end to racist capitalist repression for good.

A red stream runs through the month of November, marking in its course many struggles of the working class of this country, here with defeat there with victory, always with inspiring record of working class courage, exemplary in its noble devotion to the cause of the oppressed, magnificent incidents of solidarity and self-sacrifice, instructive milestones along the difficult road to liberation. It is a record to sharpen the hatred of labor to jailors and assassins, to increase the respect and pride we have for our fighters....

In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the I.L.D. brought out with cameo clearness the main lines of its program. The first of these was unity of all working class forces. In the Sacco-Vanzetti conference it initiated could be found an all-embracing reflection of all elements in the labor movement: Communist, Socialist, Anarchists, Syndicalists, members of the American Federation of Labor and of the I.W.W. and other independent unions, and scores of fraternal organizations. Even when slanderous attacks were launched against the I.L.D. and attempts made to split the united movement, the International Labor Defense continued to forge forward with patient persistence for unified action.

Secondly, the reliance upon the class movement of the workers. We pointed out incessantly that the Sacco-Vanzetti case was an instance of class persecution and not an accidental case of the "miscarriage of justice." We drew therefrom the conclusion that only by the class action of the workers for whom Sacco and Vanzetti were being groomed to die could save them from such a fate. The history of the many Sacco-Vanzetti cases of the past decades in this country confirmed our belief that militant workers could expect no "justice" from capitalist courts and judges, and that their vindication could be guaranteed only by the workers' movement....

Let the working class of America ring with our fighting slogan: Build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system! We want to make the third annual conference of International Labor Defense a sounding board for this militant appeal.

Red November is for our heroes and martyrs, for our battles and for our victories! On with the glorious struggle for liberation, for the freedom of the workers from the prisons of capitalism and from the greater prison which is capitalism!

—James P. Cannon, "The Red Month of November," *Labor Defender* (November 1927)

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

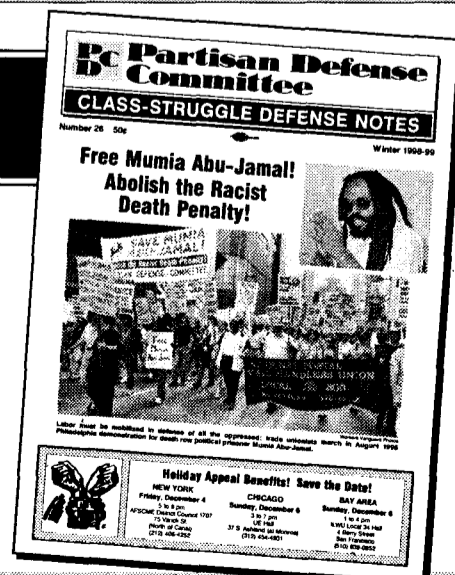
New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 4 5 to 9 p.m.	Sunday, December 6 3 to 7 p.m.	Sunday, December 6 1 to 4 p.m.
AFSCME District Council 1707 75 Varick St. (at Canal)	UE Hall 37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)	ILWU Local 34 Hall 4 Berry St., San Francisco
For more information: (212) 406-4252	For more information: (312) 454-4931	For more information: (510) 839-0852

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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6 November 1998

Workers Revolution Will Avenge Reign of Terror

Pinochet: Mass Murderer of Chilean Workers, Leftists



Pinochet (seated) with other Chilean military killers as troops round up leftists in Santiago during 1973 coup. Right: Relatives of Pinochet's victims demand justice at London protest last month.

NOVEMBER 1—The “arrest” of General Augusto Pinochet in London two weeks ago was celebrated by mass outpourings of the victims of the former Chilean military dictator. On October 25, some 35,000 protesters gathered in the Chilean capital of Santiago to demand that the butcher finally receive some measure of justice. Among them were relatives of the many thousands tortured and “disappeared” under the reign of terror ushered in by the September 1973 military coup. But the misplaced hope that Labour prime minister Tony Blair or U.S. president Bill Clinton—spokesmen for the imperialist bourgeoisies which served as Pinochet’s patrons—could bring this mass murderer to justice were shattered only three days later.

On October 16, a British court had ordered that Pinochet be placed under “arrest”—i.e., that a police guard be stationed outside the posh London medical clinic where he had gone for treatment. The court’s action came in response to a request from a Spanish judge that Pinochet be extradited to stand trial there for the murder of Spanish nationals during his reign of terror. On October 28, Britain’s High Court overturned the lower court, ruling that the mass murderer could not be brought to trial for crimes committed as a “sovereign” head of state. Pinochet was immediately granted bail and will likely soon be jetting back to Santiago.

The whole exercise has been rife with cynicism and hypocrisy on the part of all the capitalist governments involved. The notion that the Madrid regime, heirs of the fascistic Franco dictatorship, could bring a right-wing dictator to justice is bizarre. The Blair government, despite hyping an “ethical foreign policy” which has fooled no one so much as Labour’s fake-left camp followers, squirmed from the moment Pinochet was detained. Indeed, the Chilean strongman has repeatedly visited Britain for cozy chats with former Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher without facing even a hint of government censure, much less arrest. Pinochet’s successor, the government of Christian Democratic prime minister Eduardo Frei—which granted immunity to Pinochet, even anointing him a “senator for life”—predictably opposed the detention. This tool of the International Monetary Fund, Wall Street

and Washington howled about an affront to its “national sovereignty.”

More ominously, spokesmen for “human rights” imperialism proclaimed this “An Arrest That Serves as a Warning to Other Tyrants”—as a London *Independent* (19 October) editorial was titled—invoking “super-sovereignty” to justify the seizure of any foreign ruler deemed out of step with Washington or London. The *Independent* argued that “the long arm of international law” should now also reach out to abduct Serbia’s Slobodan Milosevic. In the U.S., Congressional Republicans screamed for the arrest of Cuban leader Fidel Castro the next time he visits New York for a United Nations gathering. This is no idle threat, as U.S. imperialism showed when it invaded Panama eight years ago to seize and imprison out-of-favor strongman Manuel Noriega, a former CIA “asset,” on “drug charges.”

Such cynical justifications for imperialist “law and order” were echoed by self-described “revolutionaries” who have made their peace with the capitalist order. The French section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), bemoaned the failure of the government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin to “proceed with the arrest itself” and lamented how other “state criminals” like Milosevic are treated with “impunity” (*Rouge*, 22 October). This grotesque appeal to the criminal imperialist bourgeoisie which perpe-

trated mass slaughter from Indochina to Algeria is not surprising given the LCR’s longstanding support to Jospin’s Socialists in and out of power.

Pinochet and his many henchmen and patrons will receive the swift justice they deserve only when they are brought before a workers tribunal which includes surviving victims and comrades of those tortured and slaughtered by the Chilean bourgeoisie. That requires forging a Chilean Bolshevik party—stepped against the class-collaborationist popular-front betrayal which paved the way for Pinochet’s reign of terror—to lead the proletariat, rallying behind it all the oppressed, to power. Only workers revolution, extending from Chile throughout the Americas—including in the belly of the imperialist beast—can avenge the horrendous crimes perpetrated on workers and leftists by the U.S.-backed Pinochet dictatorship.

Popular Front: Not a Tactic But the Greatest Crime

Pinochet’s arrest came barely a month after the 25th anniversary of the 11 September 1973 coup which overthrew the “Popular Unity” (UP) government of Socialist Party (SP) president Salvador Allende and killed Allende along with thousands of militant workers and leftists. The two events have occasioned a spate of articles, books and films which by and large idolize Allende and glorify his perspective of a nationalist and parliamentary “Chilean road to socialism.”

The Allende regime and the 1973 coup were defining political events for a generation of leftists around the world. The UP was a “popular front,” a *bourgeois* coalition of Allende’s SP, the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), the bourgeois Radicals and several minor petty-bourgeois parties. The historic, crushing defeat of the Chilean working class at the hands of Pinochet’s butchers was a tragic example of how the popular front disarms the proletariat and sets it up for bloody defeat. In “Chile After the Coup” (WV No. 42, 12 April 1974), we wrote:

“It is necessary to drive home to socialist militants and the working masses that the death and destruction wreaked by the September coup were the product of the Stalinists’ and social democrats’ counter-revolutionary policies of ‘peaceful transition to socialism’ and ‘popular front’ with sectors of the bourgeoisie.”

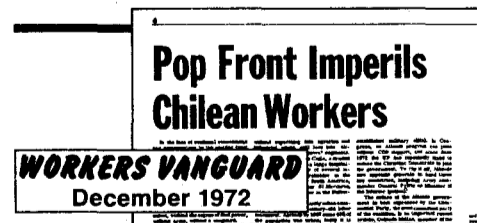
These lessons had already been purchased in the blood of the proletariat on more than one occasion, most notably in the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, when a “people’s front” government very similar to the Chilean UP likewise served to demobilize and suppress revolutionary struggle by the masses, who were pressing for expropriation of industry and land to the peasants. Writing on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed:

“The question of questions at present is the People’s Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People’s Front. In reality, the People’s Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism.”

—Leon Trotsky, “The Dutch Section and the International” (July 1936)

The experience of the Chilean UP, which was supported by much of the left internationally, amply confirmed Trotsky’s statement. And that experience is no less relevant today, as far more right-wing social-democratic and bourgeois “popular front” formations have been installed to administer capitalist governments through much of West Europe—again with the avid support of a gamut of fake-revolutionary groups—to enforce anti-worker austerity and anti-immigrant racism.

Allende’s UP was elected in 1970 on a
continued on page 8



1976 NYC protest on third anniversary of rightist coup. Spartacist League warned from outset that popular front would pave the way for bloody defeat.



NYC Emergency United-Front Protest

"Free Mumia Now!"

Within hours of the announcement that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had rejected Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal appeal against the frame-up conviction which sent him to death row, the Partisan Defense Committee issued an urgent statement denouncing the decision and calling for an emergency protest the next day outside New York City's Cooper Union. The PDC immediately contacted trade unions and other organizations in the NYC area with the aim of building the broadest possible mobilization to demand: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

The PDC's non-sectarian, class-struggle defense strategy is based on the understanding that the social power to

organizations agreeing with the demands of the demonstration can speak in their own name, carry their own slogans and distribute their literature. In addition to speakers from the PDC, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Club, the protest was addressed by South African anti-apartheid fighter and former political prisoner Dennis Brutus and by representatives from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and the Black Radical Congress (BRC). Other speakers included a supporter of the Worker-communist Party of Iran who had himself suffered years in prison under Khomeini's reactionary Islamic terror, as well as supporters of the International Socialist Organization

and its politicians. This kind of "unity" hurts the cause of the labor movement and the fight for Jamal's freedom by obscuring the enemy—the capitalist state—and lulling the working class with illusions that the state can somehow be "pressured" into doing the right thing. That is why open political debate and sharp polemics are *crucial*.

To fight for Jamal's freedom, for example, the ISO's view that cops and prison guards can be part of the workers movement must be defeated. The ISO has also supported intervention by the courts and Justice Department into the Teamsters and other unions in the name of fighting "corruption." The labor movement is increasingly threatened

Stalinism poisoned the left with gangsterism and censorship in the service of "unity" with one's "own" capitalist class. At the Cooper Union protest, leading ISO member Sherry Wolf took the microphone to call for "unity" and denounce "sectarian splits and divisions." All leftists who have been on the receiving end of the ISO's often violent policy of censorship and exclusionism could only rejoice if the ISO were to really cease its sectarian practices.

Notably, neither the ISO nor any other fake-left group addressing the protest uttered a word about how the Democrats are no less fervent than the Republicans in beefing up the repressive forces of the capitalist state, including the speedup on death row. The reformists and nationalists place their hopes in the supposed neutrality of the capitalist state—particularly in its Democratic Party face. This was evident in the main banner at a protest later that day in midtown Manhattan, which featured the call for a "new trial" to free Jamal. The whole history of the racist vendetta against Jamal, not least the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling, amply proves that the racist "justice" system is completely rigged against the working class and the oppressed. The demand that this innocent man, the victim of a horrendous frame-up by the cops and courts, be tried again in the same racist capitalist courts buys into illusions in a "justice" system which presumes that all blacks and leftists are guilty. We say: *Free Mumia now!*

We publish below excerpts from the SL and SYC speeches at the PDC-initiated protest.

* * *

Jane Kerrigan, Spartacist League

Yesterday's ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court is simply yet another page in the vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal that's been waged by the Philadelphia police, by the FBI and into which the whole machinery of the capitalist state has been thrown, including its machinery of death. Mumia is an innocent man. Mumia is an eloquent spokesman for all the oppressed. Mumia is the "voice of the voiceless," and it's that voice that they now want to silence through death. This underlines what the racist death penalty in this country is all about.

In 1995, there was a mass mobilization of protest internationally, which drew on the power of unions with millions of members from South Africa to Italy to the United States. That is what we urgently need to mobilize today, because it is in the hands of the multi-racial working class that there lies the social power, not only to free Mumia, but to free us all from a system which condemned Mumia to death and which every day kills countless others on the streets, through police terror, mass unemployment, lack of medical care, the abolition of welfare. The racist rulers of this country—Democrats as much as Republicans—have created a climate of reaction, which was brought home in the murder of Matthew Shepard, a young gay man; which was brought home in the assassination of the courageous Dr. Barnett Slepian. Now they want to kill Mumia to sanctify their state machinery of death. We must stop them!

In a message from death row in 1993, Mumia powerfully captured the contradiction of a ruling class that must enforce its rule through terror. He started by pointing out that the Clinton Democrats were out-Reaganing Reagan and out-Bushing Bush, that these were the two parties of capital. And he continued:

"The extension of the death penalty to dozens of new crimes is not a reflection of a secure state, but a state swimming in insecurity.... As they scuttle the Constitution and create judges fit for a star chamber, they loosen the very ground on which they stand, quickening their fall. This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia and in Baghdad, which mows down babies in Somalia, is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what is into what must be."

And what must be is the revolutionary



WV Photos

Left: PDC-initiated protest at Cooper Union. Right: March called later in the day by Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition.

fight capitalist repression and oppression lies with the working class which produces the wealth of this society. While the PDC supports pursuing every legal avenue in Jamal's defense, in actively championing Jamal's cause for over a decade we place all confidence in the power of the working class and no confidence in a judicial system which is part and parcel of the capitalist state apparatus.

The first speaker at the protest, PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Jamal's attorneys, read Mumia's statement from death row denouncing the court decision and declared: "This court decision was a frame-up decision. It was a decision endorsing a racist frame-up, a political bias that is engendered by the nature of the capitalist justice system, which is capitalist injustice."

This protest, the first significant action in response to the court decision, was organized as a united front, in which all

(ISO) and the Internationalist Group. Many of the groups and individuals who joined the protest were participants in a conference at Cooper Union marking the 150th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto.

In initiating labor-centered, united-front defense actions for Jamal, we aim to infuse the multiracial working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the entire capitalist system. Such actions allow not only for the greatest possible unity in struggle but also for the free debate of contending strategies and programs, which is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class and anti-racist youth.

Too often, "unity" is bandied about as a pretext to censor and suppress the Marxist views of the SL, in order to build impotent liberal coalitions aimed at appealing to the capitalist government

and hogtied by having the class enemy in its own house, through government intervention and through the union misleaders' "organizing" of cops, security guards and prison guards. With court-controlled and cop-infested unions, the working class *cannot* effectively fight the racist cop frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal which is just one instance of a whole system of racist capitalist oppression. Cops out of the unions! Government hands off the labor movement!

It is also necessary to defeat through open political debate arguments like that made by BRC speaker Sam Anderson that "white radicals" should "organize" in racist strongholds like Howard Beach in New York City. In portraying such racist enclaves as emblematic of the "white working-class community," Anderson's nationalist demagoguery reinforces the racial divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers to maintain their system of exploitation and accepts the defeatist notion that the multiracial labor movement cannot and will not be mobilized in Jamal's defense. The ruling class has singled out Jamal for its vendetta precisely because this former Black Panther and MOVE supporter represents defiance of their whole system of oppression and exploitation. It could not be clearer that black rights and workers rights must go forward together or they will be thrown back separately. The trade unions are one place in this deeply racist society where there is any real racial integration. It is precisely the unity of the working people, organized at the point of production, that gives labor its tremendous potential leverage and the power to achieve revolutionary social change.

We Trotskyists fight for *class* unity in action and no-holds-barred political debate, in the best traditions of the Marxist movement before the syphilis of

SYC Emergency Speakouts

Protest Supreme Court Frame-Up Ruling!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

BERKELEY

Tuesday, November 10, 12 noon
Sproul Plaza, U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Tuesday, November 3, 4:30-5:30 p.m.
George Sherman Union, Boston University
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Thursday, November 5, 12 noon
Outside Cobb Hall, University of Chicago

Organizing Meeting:

Tuesday, November 3, 6 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
For more information: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, November 5, 12 noon
Meyerhoff Park
(in front of Kerckhoff Hall)
UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK

Tuesday, November 10, 1 p.m.
Main Building, Washington
Square East and Washington Place
New York University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

To be announced
Call: (415) 777-9367



Coalition of Black Trade Unionists spokesman Lester Green (far left), anti-apartheid fighter Dennis Brutus.

transformation of this society, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. In fighting to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class to take up the cause of Mumia's freedom, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee seek to imbue the working class with the understanding that the capitalist state, its cops and its courts exist to defend the class rule and profits of the few, profits which are based on the increasingly hideous exploitation and oppression of the many. There is no justice in the capitalist courts.

What must be, if we are to prevail against this state and its grisly executioners, is a new leadership of the labor movement which fights it out through class struggle, not the treacherous class collaborationism of the current labor misleaders, who shackle the unions to the class enemy, particularly through the agency of the Democratic Party. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system based on brutal exploitation and rooted in the racist oppression of the black population in this country. As Karl Marx wrote at the time of the American Civil War, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

The working people of this country need their own party, a revolutionary workers party that doesn't respect the property rights of the bourgeoisie, one which says we produced all the wealth of this country, we want it and we're going to take it; a workers party which inscribes on its banner the fight for black freedom,

a workers party which inscribes on its banner the rights of the desperate immigrants, the rights of all the oppressed in this society.

The fight for Mumia's life is urgently posed. We must mobilize all our forces for his freedom, for the abolition of the racist death penalty and for the abolition of this entire system of brutal exploitation, oppression and death.

Jacob Zorn, Spartacus Youth Club

The sinister forces that are whipping up a campaign against Mumia are also whipping up a campaign against blacks—as witnessed by the racist lynching of James Byrd in Texas—against homosexuals, against women's rights. These are part of an attempt to ratchet up exploitation—an attack that is carried out not just by the ultraright forces in the Republican Party but also by the Democratic Party of Bill Clinton, which has thrown black women and children off welfare, which has carried out attacks against labor, which has carried out imperialist attacks abroad. Those who want to fight against exploitation must have no illusions in the Democratic Party.

Look at the future that capitalism offers youth today. A future, in this city for example, of armed police acting as "security" guards in the public schools, which are nothing more than holding pens. A future of racist cops acting as an occupying army in the ghettos and the barrios, of anti-black and anti-immigrant attacks and of misery and exploitation—if you're lucky enough to get a job. Our fight to free Mumia is part of our fight to abolish the racist death penalty, part of

by Faulkner—had run from the scene of the shooting. The prosecution's claim that Jamal's legally registered pistol was the murder weapon is refuted by the simple fact that there is no evidence at all that Jamal's gun was even fired that night, much less by Jamal. Another central pillar of the prosecution's case—that Jamal had "confessed" to the shooting while in the hospital that night—has likewise been fully exposed as a lie. Indeed, there was no report of said "confession" until *more than two months* after the shooting.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court spits on the whole of this mass of evidence of Jamal's innocence. It also sneers at the clear evidence that black people were systematically excluded from the jury in Jamal's 1982 trial. Yet this was simply another instance of the racist jury-rigging which was shown to be widespread and common when a ten-year-old "training" videotape by the Philadelphia D.A.'s office was made public in 1997.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, rubber-stamped by today's ruling, demonstrates that there is no justice in the racist capitalist courts. As we stressed in building labor-centered protests during the summer of 1995 on the eve of Mumia's threatened execution, the social power to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. After decades of defeat, the labor movement has demonstrated renewed combativity, from last year's UPS strike to the walk-out which shut down the GM empire this summer. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will

A Statement from Death Row by Mumia Abu-Jamal

"I Remain Innocent"

Once again, Pennsylvania's highest court has shown us the best justice that FOP money can buy. Ignoring right reason, their own precedent, and fundamental justice, they have returned to the stranglehold of death. In their echoes of the tortured logic of Judge Albert Sabo, they have reflected a striking fidelity to the DA's office. If it is fair to have a tribunal who are in part admittedly paid by the FOP—and at least one justice who can double as DA one day and a judge the next in the same case—then fairness is just as empty a word as "justice." To paraphrase Judge Sabo, it is "just an emotional feeling."

In recent months the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld death sentences in cases where an impartial reading of transcripts or pleadings would make an honest affirmation all but impossible. They have ignored all evidence of innocence, overlooked clear instances of jury taint, and cast

a dead eye on defense attorneys' ineffectiveness. What they have done in my case is par for the course. This is a political decision, paid for by the FOP on the eve of the election. It is a Mischief Night gift from a court that has a talent for the macabre.

I am sorry that this court did not rule on the right side of history. But I am not surprised. Every time our nation has come to a fork in the road with regard to race, it has chosen to take the path of compromise and betrayal. On October 29, 1998 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court committed a collective crime: it damned due process, strangled the fair trial, and raped justice.

Even after this legal *legerdemain* [sleight of hand] I remain innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty. Any ruling founded on injustice is not justice. The righteous fight for life, liberty, and for justice can only continue.

31 October 1998

the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League's fight against racist capitalism in this country and internationally. We say that the only way to get rid of misery, the only way to get rid of the attacks on youth and immigrants is through a struggle against racist capitalism and a fight for socialist revolution.

It is necessary for youth to mobilize behind the power of the multiracial working class that creates the wealth in this society and has the power to end capitalism and class exploitation. It is to this power that youth must look, both to get rid of their own oppression and to fight against capitalist state terror, such as that aimed against Mumia.

It's good that many different organizations representing different viewpoints are here today to join in the struggle to free Mumia. And unity is absolutely necessary. But so is forthright political clarity and struggle within the left and the

workers movement on what it's going to take to get rid of oppression, to get rid of capitalist exploitation and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The International Socialist Organization has time after time helped sow illusions in the role of the cops, has said that cops can be won to the working class in struggle. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs say that cops are the deadly enemies of the working class, and that the capitalist state must be smashed and cannot be reformed.

Similarly, Jan Norden from the Internationalist Group got up here and talked about the need to free Mumia. But people should know that the Internationalist Group's co-thinkers in Brazil are up to their knees in bringing the capitalist courts into the workers movement there. Workers and students must have no illusions in the capitalist class and in the capitalist state. This is especially important now in the struggle to free Mumia. ■

Grave Danger...

(continued from page 1)

the Philadelphia cops. The Philadelphia Police Department is so notorious for its racist frame-up system that even the U.S. Attorney General filed a civil rights lawsuit in 1979 charging "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse" of witnesses and suspects. In the last three years alone, hundreds of convictions in Philadelphia have been thrown out on such grounds.

The Court ruling also upholds every action by notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the original farce of a trial and the Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearings beginning in 1995, with the absurd statement that "our judges are honorable, fair and competent." Sabo's pro-prosecution bias was so blatant that even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October 1996), which generally serves as a mouthpiece for the Philadelphia Police Department, complained that Sabo's "heavy-handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing."

Despite the rigged trial and hearings conducted by Sabo, a mountain of evidence has come out demonstrating Jamal's innocence and the tactics of lies, coercion and terror wielded by the Philadelphia District Attorney's office and the cops to secure Jamal's conviction. At least *five witnesses* from *five different vantage points* told police that another man—not Jamal, who was found slumped on the street after being shot in the chest

be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself.

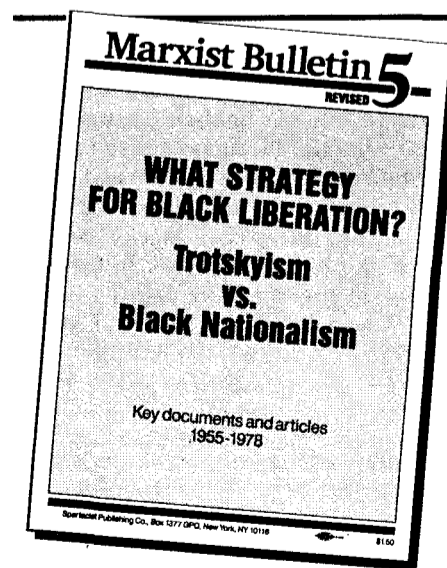
All who are committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom must mobilize in the unions, on the campuses, in communities across the country and around the world. Join the protest tomorrow outside Cooper Union at Astor Place, Saturday, October 31, 1:30 p.m. Another protest has also been called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition at Grand Central Station, Park Ave. South and 42nd Street, at 4 p.m. tomorrow.

**Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the racist death penalty!**

The October 29 Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling against Mumia Abu-Jamal places the life of this courageous, eloquent spokesman for the oppressed in immediate danger. All fighters against racist repression, all opponents of the barbaric death penalty must join the fight to free Mumia now! Mobilize your unions, your student and community groups. Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-

0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370. ■



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Racist Vendetta Sent Mumia to Death Row

The following article is reprinted from the Spartacist League publication Black History and the Class Struggle No. 15 (August 1998).

13 JULY—On 7 August 1995, Mumia Abu-Jamal was granted a stay of execution ten days before he was scheduled to be put to death. What stayed the hand of the state's executioners was a massive international campaign of protest enlisting broad sections of the labor movement, civil libertarians, leftists and youth, as well as several heads of state including Nelson Mandela of South Africa and French president Jacques Chirac.

At the time the death warrant against him was lifted, Jamal and his legal defense team were in the midst of a battle in the courtroom of notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, fighting to reverse Jamal's frame-up conviction and death

the massive protests that succeeded in saving Jamal's life in August 1995, the pro-death penalty and law enforcement forces now seem more determined than ever to defeat and deflect the strength of that movement."

Throughout the winter and spring of 1995, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated rallies in the United States and internationally aimed at mobilizing support for Jamal. In August of that year, days before the death warrant was stayed, PDC-initiated protests for Jamal centered on the power of organized labor were held in major cities across the U.S. These protests were infused with the understanding that the social power of the multiracial working class must be mobilized in Jamal's defense and organized according to the principle of non-sectarian, united-front defense. Now in this phase of the struggle—the crucial race against the executioner's clock and the fight for

(PCRA) hearing in the summer of 1995 and two subsequent appeal hearings have thoroughly exposed the prosecution's case as an assemblage of lies manufactured through police coercion of witnesses and the systematic withholding of evidence of Jamal's innocence from the defense.

The Witnesses

The frame-up prosecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal began on 9 December 1981 at about 3:55 a.m. near the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia. Police officer Faulkner had pulled over a VW driven by Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, which was carrying another passenger. The cop began beating Cook, and this was witnessed by Jamal who was driving a cab through the area at the time. Jamal stopped, the cab and approached the scene. Shots rang out, and when police

police that he saw the actual shooting and that a third man—not Jamal and not his brother—shot the police officer and ran away. Yet the police coerced most of these witnesses to change their stories through manipulation—including the promise of favors—and outright terror, while the prosecution suppressed all evidence of Jamal's innocence and supplied false information to the defense.

At the 1995 PCRA hearing, one of the eyewitnesses, William Singletary, was called by the defense to testify. A decorated Vietnam veteran and Philadelphia businessman, Singletary was found at the scene by arriving police on the night of 9 December 1981. At the 1995 hearing, it was Singletary who testified that he saw another man shoot the cop and run away. Singletary described how, after clearly stating his observations to the detectives on the night of the shooting, he was held for hours at the Police Administration Building, where cops repeatedly tore up or threw in the trash the statements they did not approve. Singletary testified that finally a Detective Green warned him "to write what he wanted me to write," and that "they would take me to the elevator and beat me up." Singletary finally wrote a false statement denying he had seen the shooting. It was this statement that was given to Jamal's attorney in the 1982 trial, in which Singletary was not called to testify. At the 1995 hearing, Singletary said that he was forced to abandon his business as a result of constant police harassment, threats and suspicious damage to his gas station. Finally, he fled the city in fear of the police and was only found by Jamal's defense team many years later.

Another eyewitness was Robert Chobert, a white cab driver who told a police inspector at the scene in 1981 that the man who shot the policeman "ran away." The night of the shooting, Chobert reported to police that the shooter weighed 225 pounds. This couldn't have been Jamal, who weighed 170 pounds and was found by the police slumped on a curb, bleeding from a shot fired by Faulkner. By the time he was called to testify at the 1982 trial, Chobert had changed his story to claim that Jamal was the shooter. Why Chobert would reverse his original account became clear at the 1995 hearing, where he testified that at the time of the shooting he had been driving his cab



WV Photo



South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

sentence for the 1981 shooting of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sabo, who presided over Jamal's original 1982 "trial," predictably ruled against Jamal's appeal in a 154-page decision issued on 15 September 1995, only four days after the closing arguments in the appeal hearings. Further evidence of Jamal's innocence and of prosecutorial misconduct presented in two subsequent appeal hearings was also denied by Sabo in decisions that echoed virtually verbatim the prosecution's frame-up case. Jamal's appeal is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

With a decision expected to come down any time now, the sinister forces who want to silence forever the man who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing indictments of the racist brutality of American capitalism are again gearing up their campaign for death. On June 14, supporters of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and others who want to see Jamal dead took out a full-page ad on the back page of the Sunday New York Times "Week in Review" section raising a cry for Jamal's execution. As Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, wrote in a letter of response which the Times refused to print:

"Since this sinister ad only repeats old, discredited tales and completely ignores the evidence presented in Jamal's appeals, one is left to ask, 'Why now?' The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court is about to render a decision on Jamal's appeal of Judge Sabo's predictable denial of a new trial for Jamal. Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, who signed Jamal's death warrant in June 1995, has vowed to once again order Jamal's execution should he lose his appeal. Anticipating the possibility of a repeat of

Jamal's freedom—our job is above all to bring to the international working class the consciousness that the way out of this whole system of racist capitalist injustice is the struggle for socialist revolution through the instrumentality of a Leninist proletarian vanguard party which fights as a *tribune of the people*.

V.I. Lenin, leader of the victorious Russian workers revolution in 1917, described the need for a party which, like the Bolshevik Party, is able to "produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation...in order to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal more than provides just such a picture of police violence and persecution and the impulse to genocide represented by the institutionalized barbarism of the death penalty, which stands at the pinnacle of a legal apparatus of racist repression and capitalist injustice in the United States.

The PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, published shortly after a death warrant had been signed against Jamal in 1995, exposed the travesty of justice which put this innocent man on death row. As noted in the pamphlet's central article, the prosecution's frame-up case rested on three legs: three eyewitnesses who identified Mumia as the only person who could have killed Faulkner; the claim that Mumia "confessed" to the shooting as he lay bleeding from near-fatal wounds in the hospital that night; that Mumia's gun which was found on the scene was the murder weapon. Evidence and witnesses at the Post-Conviction Relief Appeal

arrived two minutes later, Faulkner was found critically wounded on the street. Nearby, Jamal was slumped on the curb bleeding profusely from a bullet hole in his chest.

At the scene, four eyewitnesses told police they saw a black man flee. In the following week, another eyewitness made the same statement to the police. One of these witnesses even reported to the

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Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 15

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

New York City, August 1995: Labor-centered united-front demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee, part of international campaign of protest and publicity that won stay of Jamal's execution.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

without a license while still on probation for felony arson—specifically, throwing a Molotov cocktail at a public grammar school. Chobert also admitted that prosecutor Joseph McGill had promised to “look into” getting his driver’s license back. For the next ten years, he continued to drive without a license, unhindered by the police.

Dessie Hightower, a young black accounting student, also told police at the scene that he saw the shooter run east down Locust Street away from the scene. Deborah Kordansky reported seeing the shooter run in exactly the same direction from the window of her hotel room overlooking the corner of 13th and Locust. Later in the week following the shooting, Veronica Jones, a prostitute who was at a corner a block away from the scene, told police that she saw two black men “jogging” from the scene.

At least *five witnesses* from *five different vantage points* had told police that they saw the shooter flee the scene! Yet at the 1982 trial, only Hightower maintained his original true account of what he had seen, despite the cops’ attempts to intimidate him. Hightower was also the only witness the police subjected to a polygraph test, which they falsely said he had failed. Deborah Kordansky did not take the stand in 1982 because, as Mumia’s original trial attorney testified at the 1995 hearing, she “didn’t like black people” and “didn’t want to help the defense.” At that hearing, Kordansky acknowledged the veracity of those statements and that she had told police that she saw the shooter run away. Chobert, a felon who was more than susceptible to police manipulation, changed his story. Singletary was coerced into making a false statement, as was Veronica Jones.

In 1996, Jones courageously came forward to present her true account at an appeal hearing in Jamal’s case which was ordered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Here Jones testified that just days before she was supposed to testify in Jamal’s 1982 trial she was visited in jail—where she was facing serious felony gun charges—by Philadelphia police detectives and threatened into retracting her eyewitness account. Jones was later put on probation on charges that carried a sentence of up to 15 years in prison. She testified at the 1996 hearing: “I was to name Mr. Jamal as the shooter.” Jones refused to do so, but at the 1982 trial she retracted her true account of seeing two shooters running from the scene.

But the frame-up of Jamal doesn’t end with police coercion and manipulation of witnesses. Physical evidence demonstrating that another man—other than Billy Cook, Jamal or Faulkner—was at the scene of the shooting was *suppressed* by the police and the prosecution for *more than 13 years*. At the 1995 hearing, it was revealed that the police had found a driver’s license belonging to a third person in a pocket of Faulkner’s uniform on the night of the shooting. The license was in the name of Arnold Howard. At this hearing, Howard testified that he and two other black men were taken into cus-

tody on the night of the shooting as suspects in the killing of Faulkner. Howard also stated that police tested their hands for nitrates—to see if they had fired a gun—a test they allegedly never performed on Jamal!

Despite Howard’s ironclad alibi for his whereabouts, he was held for 72 hours and then released. But, as he testified in court in 1995, he had told the police the name of the man who had borrowed his license—Ken Freeman. A friend of Billy Cook’s who ran a vending stand with him in downtown Philadelphia, Freeman was also taken into custody the night of the shooting. According to Howard’s tes-



Power of labor must be mobilized in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal: August 1995 protest initiated by Partisan Defense Committee in Oakland, California on eve of Jamal’s scheduled execution.

timony, Freeman was told by police that he had been identified in a lineup by a female witness. Freeman died mysteriously of a heart attack at the age of 34 in May 1985, on the night after the bloody police bombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia which killed eleven black men, women and children and destroyed an entire black neighborhood.

In 1995, the defense attempted to present Billy Cook, who has never been called to testify in Jamal’s case. In an affidavit submitted to Judge Sabo, defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein said that Cook would testify that he had a passenger in his car that night and that the passenger had shot Faulkner. Cook, who feared that he would be arrested or killed by the Philly cops if he gave testimony defending his brother, would not appear in court because Sabo refused to provide him any protection from being jailed on outstanding bench warrants. Cook then disappeared.

While intimidating witnesses who could demonstrate Jamal’s innocence, the cops provided ample protection for the prosecution’s star witness, Cynthia White, after coercing her into giving false testimony. White, a prostitute, was the only witness to claim to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand. Yet no other witnesses who were on the scene can even recall seeing her there. At a 1997 appeal hearing in Jamal’s case, another prostitute and friend of White’s, Pamela Jenkins,

testified that shortly after the shooting White had told her that “she was in fear for her life from the police” who “were trying to get her to say something about the shooting.” White was allowed to work the streets as a prostitute for years without any harassment by the police. In 1987, when White was facing felony charges in court, Philadelphia homicide detective Douglas Culbreth intervened to argue that she should be released from jail without bail. She was released and never showed up in court again.

Jenkins, who was a pivotal government informant in a 1995 investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia’s 39th District, also testified that White was a police informant. The use of police informants to frame up innocent people, particularly those who have been targeted by the government and the cops, is standard operating procedure. In 1997, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)—who like Jamal was a former leader of the Black Panther Party—was finally released from prison after 27 years on evidence that the chief prosecution witness against him was a government informant. This critical fact demonstrating the pro-police bias of this witness was not disclosed to the defense during Geronimo’s trial. In Jamal’s case, the prosecution has now conveniently “disappeared” White, claiming that she is dead without even providing fingerprints to demonstrate that the corpse they claim is White is in fact her.

The “Confession”

Another central pillar of the prosecution’s case, which was retailed again in the F.O.P.’s advertisement for death in the

the 1982 trial, was subpoenaed by the defense in the 1995 hearing. When asked about the flat contradiction between his original report and his later statement that Jamal had confessed, Wakshul incredibly claimed that he hadn’t recognized the “importance” of Jamal’s supposed confession until a “round table” meeting called by the District Attorney’s office to orchestrate the cops’ testimony. Here prosecutor McGill solicitously asked police officers “to raise their hands if they heard” Jamal confess and Wakshul raised his hand.

This was the first time this meeting of the cops and the D.A. was made public. Wakshul also gave the lie to the prosecution’s argument that he was unavailable to testify at the 1982 trial. In 1995, Wakshul acknowledged that while he was officially listed as being on vacation during the original trial, he was at home in Philadelphia waiting to be called by the prosecution to testify.

Once Again on the Non-Smoking Gun

For the past 16 years, the prosecution has brazenly claimed that Jamal’s licensed .38 calibre gun was the murder weapon. At the time of the shooting, the medical examiner’s report specifically said that Faulkner was “shot with .44 cal[ibre].” The prosecution’s own expert admitted that neither the bullet from Faulkner’s head nor one recovered at the scene could be matched to Jamal’s gun. Moreover, a copper jacket found at the scene could not have come from either Jamal’s or Faulkner’s gun—evidence which again points to the fact that the shooter was a third man who fled the scene.

Reports also show that the medical examiner had removed two pieces of lead from the wound in Faulkner’s head. While the examiner had measured both fragments and included this information in his autopsy report, one of the bullet fragments mysteriously disappeared. Only one was received and examined by the police lab. No one from the prosecution’s side can explain what happened to the missing fragment, nor can they deny the significant impact it would have on findings regarding the calibre of the bullet. But most damning of all is the fact that there is no evidence that Jamal’s gun was even fired, much less by Jamal!

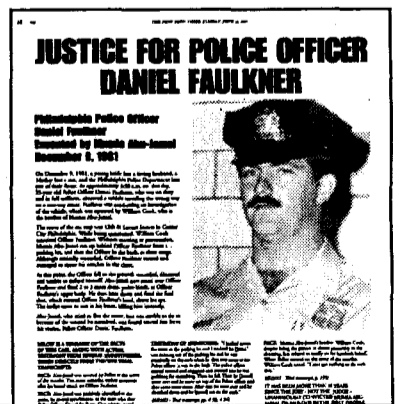
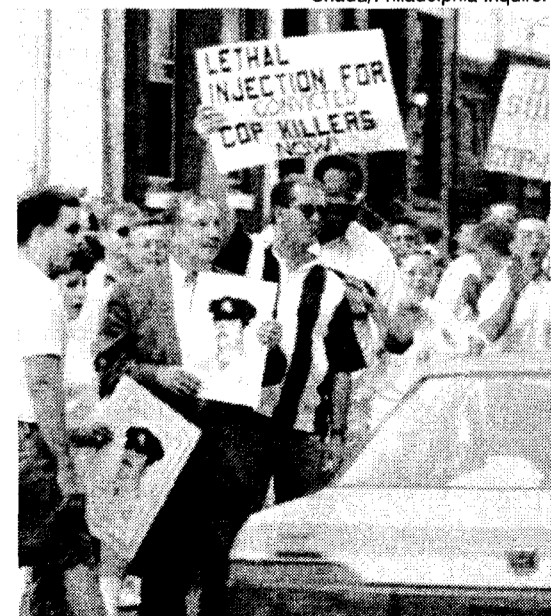
At the 1995 hearing, a weapons expert who himself was a former Philadelphia police instructor and former head of their crime lab, testified that he found it incredible that the police had failed to conduct any of the standard tests to tell if the gun had been recently fired by Jamal. Considering the tight gang mentality of the police, it is all the more incredible that they didn’t conduct such tests in order to pursue the killer of one of their own. Or maybe they did and subsequently buried the results that demonstrate Jamal’s innocence.

Another new eyewitness, Marcus Cannon, who was walking up the street at the time of the shooting, saw two white men who appeared to be part of a street scene jump into action with guns drawn like undercover cops and rush toward the

continued on page 9

New York Times, is the claim that Jamal confessed his guilt on the night of the shooting, after he had been critically wounded and then nearly beaten to death by the cops. The account of this supposed “confession” was not even reported for *over two months* after the shooting. The original official police report by Officer Gary Wakshul, who was with Jamal the entire time from his arrest through his medical treatment, said that “during this time, the negro male made no comments.” Wakshul, who the prosecution claimed was unavailable to testify in

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer



Philly cops screaming for Mumia’s execution besiege hospital workers union hall in 1995. Sinister ad in *New York Times* (14 June 1998) marked escalation of cop vendetta against Jamal.

Pinochet...

(continued from page 3)

platform promising widespread nationalizations against the backdrop of an immense upsurge in class struggle. Landless peasants were increasingly occupying the vast landed estates while the number of workers strikes—particularly by the powerful copper miners, steel workers and railway employees—skyrocketed. Violent repression by the cops and military failed to check the explosion of class struggle. The most notorious of the massacres was the March 1966 killing of eight copper miners by troops under then-Colonel Augusto Pinochet.

In order to take office, Allende struck an agreement with the Christian Democrats, the dominant bourgeois party. In a "Statute of Constitutional Guarantees," Allende vowed not to touch the military officer corps and to outlaw workers militias. Socialist and Communist Party leaders constantly preached confidence in the supposed "neutrality" of the "democratic" military. But Marxists understand that the capitalist state at its core is a repressive apparatus—cops, military, and the prison system—which serves to defend private property and the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The Chilean armed forces, far from defending the "constitutional regime," spearheaded the counter-revolutionary drive that brought Pinochet to power.

As the social tensions in Chile sharpened, the country was increasingly polarized between the working class and the capitalists. The UP government suppressed peasant land seizures and sent riot cops to suppress workers demonstrations and strikes, but its inability to resolve the deepening social crisis only further infuriated the bourgeoisie. As the gulf between the two fundamental classes widened, Allende's policies of "moderation" drove the desperate petty bourgeoisie to seek a "radical" solution in the camp of reaction. This laid the basis for the rapid growth of fascist groups like Patria y Libertad, mass right-wing demonstrations, and the political atmosphere for the military coup. The reactionary mobilizations were actively aided and stoked by a massive CIA "destabilization" campaign.

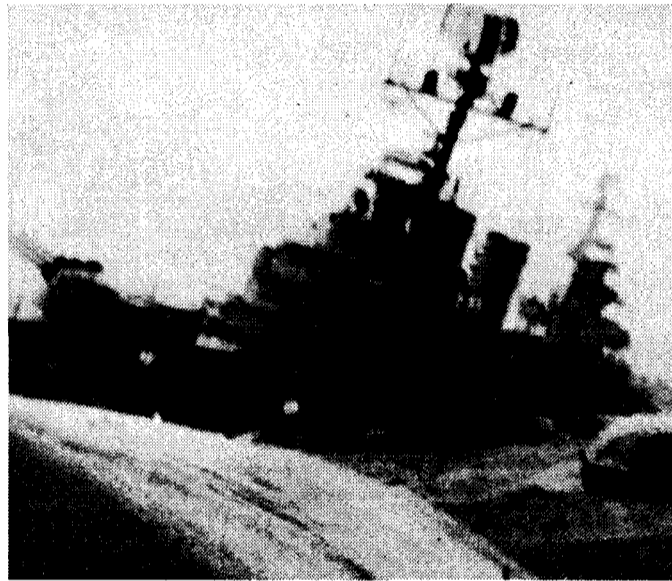
In the face of the right-wing offensive, the UP government tried vainly to appease the capitalists while stepping up repression against the workers. After a 1972 "bosses' strike" by truck owners and shopkeepers, Allende brought military leaders into the government and promulgated a law which permitted raids by the military in search of arms. This law was used against the unions, occupied factories, and workers parties, while the fascists built up their arms stockpiles. The country was in a prerevolutionary situation, as *cordones industriales* (workers committees)—embryonic dual-power formations—emerged in the industrial centers. As the putschists actively plotted against him, Allende named General Pinochet, one of the foremost "constitutionalist" officers, as head of the army and brought him into the government. Both politically and literally, the Socialists and Stalinists disarmed the proletariat and set it up for the "White terror" to come.

Scant weeks later, Pinochet led the reactionary coup, unleashing one of the bloodiest waves of terror in the history of Latin America. To accomplish their goal, the annihilation of the organized workers movement, the generals carried out a reign of terror that left thousands dead. Untold thousands more were thrown into concentration camps where many were horribly tortured, and up to 100,000 were forced into exile, where they continued to be hounded and assassinated by Pinochet's thugs and imperialist secret police agencies. In order to increase the profits of domestic and foreign capitalists, Pinochet's reactionary regime moved to reduce the working class to a near-starvation level of existence, imposing brutal austerity policies designed by "neo-liberal" University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman and his "Chicago Boys."

For a Trotskyist Party— For Workers Revolution!

Virtually alone on the left, the Spartacist League argued from the outset against support to Allende's class-collaborationist coalition. Immediately after the 1970 elections, we warned (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 19, November-December 1970):

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."



Captain Hector Bonzo

During 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war, British imperialists perpetrated mass murder with sinking of Argentine ship Belgrano. Capitalist government of Labour prime minister Tony Blair will not bring Pinochet to justice.

Cuban Stalinist leader Fidel Castro, idol of Jack Barnes' ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S., actively promoted Allende and his "parliamentary road," admonishing Chilean copper miners to work harder since their mines had been nationalized and even hobnobbing with Pinochet in Santiago before the coup. Today, Barnes' *Militant* (2 November) vituperates against the "flagrant abuse of the national sovereignty of Chile" posed by the arrest of Pinochet.

The centrist USec, with which the reformist SWP was then linked, acted as a left tail on the popular front. In the mid-1960s, the Chilean USec joined with a number of Stalinist and social-democratic groups in forming the Castroite Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), which hailed Allende's election



Teachers throughout Chile protested last month to demand wage increase. Defying intense repression, miners and other workers have waged repeated struggles against starvation austerity.

as "a step forward for the masses" (*Punto Final* [Chile], 13 October 1970; see "Chilean Leftists on Allende," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973). In the early 1970s, a new USec group emerged in Chile which, while calling for the formation of workers militias and consolidation of the *cordones industriales*, likewise fostered illusions in the Allende regime, appealing to it to extend the nationalizations. Until just before the 1973 coup, the USec refused to characterize the UP as a popular front, instead labeling it "a reformist government of

parties—like Blair's Labour government in Britain—is a *capitalist government*.

More recently, the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO)—linked to Tony Cliff's SWP in Britain—has retrospectively promoted the "left" credentials of the Allende popular front. A flyer for an October 8 ISO forum in New York City crowed, "After electing Allende, a Socialist, as President, the Chilean people began to take control of the land and the factories." The leaflet amnesties the reformist misleaders by placing all the blame for the defeat of the "revolution in Chile" on Pinochet and the CIA. An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (25 September) cynically criticizes leftists in Allende's Chile for having "put their hope in convincing the government to be more radical." But that is precisely what the Cliffites themselves do, from support to Blair's Labour government in Britain to their recent liquidation into Rifondazione Comunista in Italy, a key prop of the popular-front government there until a couple of months ago.

The impact of the catastrophic defeat inflicted in 1973 remains evident in Chile today. Despite the transition to a "parliamentary democracy" in 1990, Pinochet retired as head of the armed forces only this year and workers strikes and protests continue to be met with brutal repression. Two months ago, police assaulted a demonstration in Santiago marking the anniversary of the coup, killing two people. When 800 coal miners held a protest in the capital against mass layoffs last year, they too were attacked by riot cops with tear gas and water cannon. National unions are illegal—the average union has only 62 members—and collective bargaining is limited to individual workplaces. Nonetheless, copper and coal miners have defied the police-state repression to wage desperate struggles in defense of their livelihoods in recent years.

The Chilean "economic miracle" touted by imperialist ideologues has meant crushing poverty for the working class and the oppressed. While a handful of the semicolonial elite cruises around in Mercedes limousines, 45 percent of workers lived below the official poverty line in 1994, and real wages have

a multiclass character" in which the reformist workers parties supposedly had "hegemony" (*Revolución Permanente* [Chile], 15-31 August 1973).

Behind this verbal sleight-of-hand lay a program of capitulation to the popular front. As Trotsky insisted in the case of the Spanish popular front in the 1930s—in which the Stalinists and social democrats were likewise "hegemonic"—even the presence of the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie in such a class-collaborationist formation is sufficient to ensure its bourgeois character. When reformist parties enter such coalitions, the contradiction between their proletarian base and pro-capitalist program is suppressed, and any electoral support for them, however critical, is flatly counterposed to Marxist principles. In any case, a government composed even exclusively of reformist



Washington Post

Pinochet, embraced as "constitutionalist" military leader, meeting with President Allende only one month before September 1973 coup. Earlier that year, popular-front government unleashed cops to break up Santiago protest by 4,000 strikers from El Teniente copper mine.



London Times

New Evidence...

(continued from page 7)

site of the shooting. Pamela Jenkins also testified that there were several police officers present at the time of the shooting. Yet the presence of these cops or the substance of what they witnessed has never been released by the prosecution to the defense.

Racist Frame-Up Machine: The Cops, the Courts and the D.A.

The blatant frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal throws into sharp relief the whole nature of the capitalist state as a machinery of repression and violence in defense of the propertied rich minority that rules this society against all of the exploited and dispossessed. Judge Albert Sabo—known as the “king of death row” for handing down more death sentences than any other sitting judge in the U.S.—presided over all the appeals hearings, as he had over Jamal’s 1982 trial. His prosecution bias was so blatant that even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October 1996), which generally serves as a mouthpiece for the racist Philly cops, complained that Sabo’s “heavy-handed



Susan Schary

Court artist's depiction of defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein being dragged to jail in handcuffs on orders of "hanging judge" Sabo during Jamal's 1995 PCRA hearing.

hand over autopsy slides. “Explaining” these blatant attempts at intimidation, Sabo told the defense, “Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling.” A year later, when Veronica Jones came forward to give her true account of what she witnessed at the scene of Faulkner’s killing in 1981, she was arrested while on the stand on an outstanding bench warrant issued *more than two years earlier in New Jersey!*

At every session of the 1995 hearings, a praetorian guard of armed Philadelphia cops organized by the F.O.P. occupied one side of the courtroom. On the other side were Jamal’s family and supporters, who were subjected to search by a metal detector and harassed by court guards. Outside the courtroom in July 1995, Philadelphia hospital and health care union Local 1199C was besieged by 300 gun-toting cops for daring to rent its hall for a Jamal benefit.

While hardly unique to Philadelphia, the coercion, intimidation and terror practiced by the Philly police force is notorious. In 1979, the U.S. Attorney General filed a civil rights lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia and the police department, charging a pattern of persecution which reads like a litany of police practices in apartheid South Africa. The suit cited “widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse,” including “shooting nondangerous, nonviolent, fleeing criminal suspects” or “suspects who cease flight,” “shooting criminal suspects who make gestures or verbal comments while surrendering,” and “physically abusing the witnesses (including victims) of shootings to discourage them from disputing the justification of the shooting fostered by the Homicide Division.”

In the midst of Jamal’s 1995 PCRA appeal hearing, Philadelphia was again rocked by further revelations of police corruption, brutality and frame-up of innocent victims. In one case, they set up a 53-year-old black grandmother, Betty Patterson, on charges of cocaine and crack dealing. The “evidence” was drugs which were planted in Patterson’s house

by cops attempting to frame up her sons in a murder case. Patterson was jailed for three years! In 1996, she won a million dollar lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia. Since the start of what has become known as the 39th Police District scandal, *300 convictions* have been thrown out and many innocent victims of this frame-up machine freed from prison.

Hard on the heels of the cop corruption scandal came the revelations of a pervasive pattern of racist jury rigging. The latest disclosure came right from the horse’s mouth: Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham. In a transparent election ploy against a rival for her office, Abraham released a ten-year-old “training” videotape showing an assistant D.A. giving a one-hour lecture—shot through with blatant racism—tutoring new prosecutors in the “art” of rigging juries, particularly to exclude blacks. While this training tape caused something of a sensation, what it revealed was simply standard operating procedure. In Jamal’s 1982 trial, eleven blacks were excluded from the jury. Those who were allowed to serve fit the racist criteria given in the D.A.’s video: blacks from the Deep South where, the D.A. argued, its “different way of living”—i.e. the heritage of virulent Jim Crow racism—would have instilled a “respect” for police authority. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal’s defense from including this blatant evidence of jury rigging in his appeal.

The trail in the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal goes from the cops through the D.A.’s office and straight up to the office of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. In the immediate period before Jamal filed his appeal papers in 1995, prison authorities opened and copied privileged correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys. The copies were forwarded to Ridge, who signed a warrant of execution three days before Jamal’s attorneys submitted their legal papers seeking the overturn of his conviction. In late 1996, a federal judge in Pittsburgh ruled that the state had violated Jamal’s basic

constitutional rights. This decision—the first and only acknowledgement by any judge that Jamal’s rights had been violated by the state—is now being appealed.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. A form of institutionalized state terror, the death penalty is directly descended from the system of black chattel slavery codified in the Supreme Court’s Dred Scott decision that blacks “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” The death penalty is the Jim Crow lynch rope made legal. Today, its victims are overwhelmingly blacks and Hispanics whose lives the ruling class of this country consider worthless. The centrality of the death penalty to the state’s machinery of repression was baldly put in the D.A.’s reply to Mumia’s motion for a stay of execution during his 1995 hearing: “The death penalty...is the highest exercise of the state’s authority; and it should not lightly be disturbed.” Revealing the state’s utter racist contempt for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, it grotesquely argued that: “The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay”!

After winning a stay in 1995, Jamal warned of the danger that this would be used to dissipate and defuse the mobilizations that had stayed the executioner’s hand. In his column titled “The Stay,” he wrote:

“The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now....”

“Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge who did what higher courts would’ve done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement, in Philadelphia and beyond, thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations.

“Whatever the reasoning, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not ‘stay’ one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*”

There are many who seek to mobilize to demand a “fair trial” for Jamal. But if anything, the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—from the original 1982 trial to the subsequent appeal hearings—starkly demonstrates that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. While Jamal’s attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defense, what is urgently needed are mass mobilizations drawing on the power of the multiracial working class. In taking up the fight for Jamal’s freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. And in doing that they will be taking steps down the road to the emancipation of all of the working people and oppressed through a victorious socialist revolution that smashes the chains of capitalist exploitation and degradation. ■



Philadelphia Daily News

Philly cops brutalize Delbert Africa in 1978 siege of MOVE’s Powelton Village home.

tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing.”

At the 1995 hearing, Sabo denied Jamal’s defense any discovery, quashed over 25 defense subpoenas and ruled out the presentation of any evidence on several defense claims. When Rachel Wolkenstein objected to the quashing of any evidence of racial bias in the application of the death penalty in Philadelphia, Sabo ordered her to be handcuffed and thrown in jail. A week later, Leonard Weinglass was fined \$1,000 for taking “too long” to

continued to drop. Women are subjected to particularly savage oppression: abortion is outlawed under all circumstances, even to save a woman’s life. Pinochet’s dismantling of social security in favor of a privatized pension scheme in 1981—touted as a model by opponents of Social Security in the U.S.—meant a massive transfer of wealth from the working class to the domestic bourgeoisie and the imperialists. U.S. insurance giant Aetna, for example, controls over half of the country’s second-largest pension fund. Meanwhile, over one-third of Chilean workers don’t qualify for any retirement benefits at all.

With the growing global financial crisis threatening to engulf South America and the horrors of Pinochet’s reign of terror again under the spotlight, Chile could turn into a powder keg of social struggle. Notably, the utterly reformist

CP has recently registered significant electoral gains.

The Chilean proletariat has already paid in blood for the reformist politics preached by the CP and the social democrats. It is necessary to forge an authentically Bolshevik vanguard party of the proletariat—steeped in opposition to bourgeois nationalism and all manner of class collaborationism—committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. To avenge the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship, to sweep away the arrogant Chilean oligarchy and its bloodthirsty military protectors, to overthrow the yoke of imperialist domination requires a thorough-going socialist revolution which places the proletariat—standing at the head of all the oppressed—in power as part of the fight for proletarian revolution throughout the Americas. ■

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Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

League speaker denounced the Christian Coalition and other right-wing outfits which helped incite this atrocity. She continued:

"We Trotskyists fight for free abortion on demand, including access in areas where it is not presently available, as part of the necessary struggle for free, quality health care for all. In this, as in all social struggles, we look not to the reactionary bourgeois state but to the social power of the working class. Women's liberation requires the overthrow of capitalism."

Break with the Democrats!

It is precisely to the reactionary bourgeois state, particularly in its Democratic Party face, that liberals and bourgeois feminists such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) look to defend women's rights. At the SYC protest, a NOW speaker focused her remarks on getting out the vote for New York Democratic Party Senate candidate Charles Schumer, an ardent advocate of the racist death penalty, in the November 3 elections. And with the exception of an SL speaker who denounced Clinton's Democrats for axing welfare for millions of poor and minority women and children, a NARAL protest in New York City two days earlier was essentially a Democratic Party election rally.

While Clinton won the presidency in 1992 in good part because of his stand on the formal right to abortion, the "pro-



WV Photo



Victoria Hellman

United-front defense of abortion clinic in San Mateo, California, 1993. "Right to life" terrorists are linked to KKK and other fascist nightriders.

are now carried out in hospitals. Even approval of the inexpensive drug RU 486, which would enable women to have safe, non-surgical abortions, has been blocked by Congress. The ghettoization of abortion services in specialized, often isolated clinics sets up both patients and providers for harassment and worse. While remaining nominally legal, the right to abortion has increasingly been gutted through a combination of legislative restrictions, such as parental consent rules and mandatory waiting periods, and outright terror by Christian fundamentalist bigots. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (28 October) titled "The Doctor in the Bullet-proof Vest," Pablo Rodriguez, medical director of Planned Parenthood of Rhode Island, described the daily horrors he and his family face—from violent blockades and "wanted" posters on his clinic door to malicious vandalism like scattering roof-

ing nails on his driveway. Explaining that such torments are typical for all abortion providers, Rodriguez concluded:

"The results are obvious. Abortion may remain legal in this country, but there will soon be so few providers that access will become limited and in some cases unavailable."

Abortion is now taught in only 12 percent of all medical schools, and then often as an "elective" course added to an already grueling load. There remain only 900 doctors throughout the country who perform the procedure. They are overwhelmingly motivated by an ideological commitment to women's rights and the memory of back-alley butchery before the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling, and they are literally a dying breed. An article in the *New York Times Magazine* (18 Janu-

ary) noted: "Today, 59 percent of all abortion doctors are at least 65 years old. That's not a typo: nearly two-thirds are beyond legal retirement age."

Anti-Abortion Terror Network

Stressing that democratic rights are indivisible, we noted in "Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder" (WV No. 699, 23 October) that the assault on abortion rights is the cutting edge of a reactionary offensive against all the oppressed, including anti-gay bigotry and the broader anti-sex witchhunt which has even ensnared the White House. The bomb-by-night terrorists and killers are emboldened by the war on the poor, minorities, immigrants and other sectors of the oppressed carried out by both major capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

In "The Anti-Abortion Terror Network" (WV No. 614, 13 January 1995), we detailed the well-documented links between "right to life" outfits like Operation Rescue and outright fascist groups. The killer of Dr. David Gunn was connected to "former" Klansman John Burt, who also worked with the murderer of Dr. John Britton. "Pro-Life Virginia" head Donald Spitz, who led the campaign to defend Gunn's killer, now rails that Slepian "reaped what he sowed" and hails his murderer as a "hero." And it was the KKK which originated the use of "wanted" posters to target abortion providers; the "Confederate Knights of the KKK" raves that "Jewish-engineered legalized abortion" is a plot to "destroy the white race."

Dr. Slepian himself may well have been singled out for death because he was Jewish. A 1988 siege of his home by anti-abortion bigots screaming "murderer" took place during Hanukkah. (When Slepian wielded a baseball bat to defend his family from the bloodthirsty mob, assault charges were brought against him.) Three of the four other doctors who narrowly survived similar sniper assassination attempts over the past four years—each in the days leading up to Veteran's Day, November 11, marked in Canada as Remembrance Day and by anti-abortion bigots there as "Remember the Unborn Child" Day—were Jewish. Slepian's name was on an Internet hit list of abortion providers, which includes addresses and detailed biographical information on all family members and is linked to the "Army of God," a group claiming responsibility for a number of clinic bombings. Slepian's name was crossed off this list immediately after his assassination.

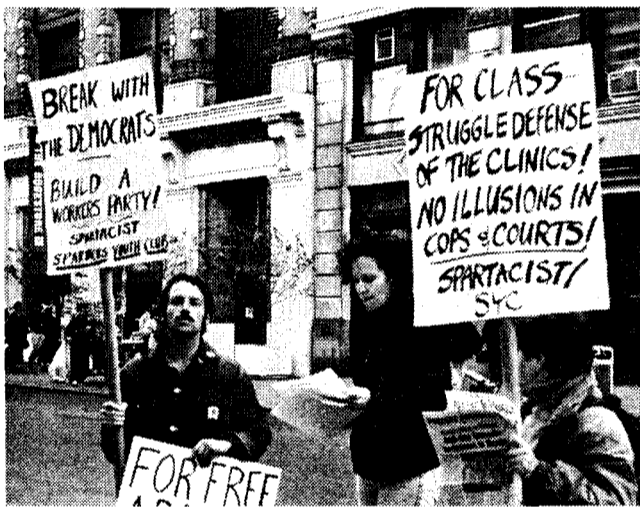
These deeply sinister outfits are the true face of the assault on women's rights today. While mainstream capitalist politicians hypocritically decry the murder of Dr. Slepian, it is the Congressional onslaught on abortion rights—embraced by Democrats as well as Republicans—which legitimizes and encourages the terrorist killers. A recent article in *U.S. News & World Report* (1 June) estimated that "antiabortion forces have lost only 10 out of 80 abortion votes in Congress since 1995." The House recently voted overwhelmingly yet again to ban what the bigots describe as "partial birth" abortions—the spearhead of a legislative drive to completely overturn *Roe v.*

Wade. Clinton's veto of this ban is based solely on his insistence that it allow for some exceptions on the grounds of a "mother's health."

The legalization of abortion was the result of the mass social struggles of the 1950s and '60s—particularly the fight for black rights—and the U.S. bourgeoisie's willingness to grant a handful of reforms as it was subjected to humiliating defeat in its dirty imperialist war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. But under capitalism, such reforms are easily reversible. Racist and anti-woman bigotry and terror spring directly from the system of capitalist exploitation itself. The right to abortion cuts against the grain of pervasive religious moralism and "family values" conservatism which prop up the institution of the family—the main source of women's oppression in class society and the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie passes down private property from one generation to the next. The emancipation of women requires a socialist revolution which will uproot the private property system and replace the family with socialized childcare and housework to bring women fully into social and political life.

The fight to defend the right to abortion—and to make that right meaningful for millions of working-class, poor and minority women—requires a break with the partner parties of capitalism. The bankruptcy of the liberals' and feminists' reliance on Clinton's Democrats is revealed not least in the absence of any significant outpouring of protest in the wake of the killing of Barnett Slepian. It is necessary to disperse the rightist mobs who lay siege to the clinics through mass mobilizations backed up by the social power of the labor movement.

The fight to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of the rights of blacks, immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed is critical to forging the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the working class in a socialist revolution which sweeps away this system of wage slavery and all-sided oppression. **All honor to Dr. Barnett Slepian! Defend the clinics with mass mobilizations! Free abortion on demand—Free, quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!** ■



Young Spartacus

New York University, October 29: SYC-organized speakout counterposed fight for mass mobilizations to defend abortion clinics to liberals' reliance on Clinton's Democrats.

choice" Democrat's devastation of welfare and the continuing assault on Medicaid have made any sort of health care, including abortions, even more inaccessible to poor and working women. The latest budget bill signed by Clinton on October 21 promulgates or continues a plethora of anti-abortion measures, including a ban on abortions in overseas military hospitals, in the Indian Health Services and under Medicare, denial of abortion coverage for federal government workers and denial of public funding for abortions in Washington, D.C. and in federal prisons.

Nearly six years into the Clinton administration, fully 84 percent of all U.S. counties have no abortion facilities at all, while only 7 percent of all abortions

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Taslima Nasrin...

(continued from page 12)

Slepian by "right to life" terrorists.

Below we reprint a leaflet issued by the TL/LT on October 29 and distributed by the ICL internationally.

Taslima Nasrin is a passionate advocate of women's freedom and an opponent of religious reaction and murderous communalism. Today, the Bangladeshi woman writer is in hiding, threatened with death by Muslim fundamentalists and with imprisonment by the government in Dhaka for "blasphemy" and "insulting Islam." In Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries on earth, capitalist oppression falls hardest on women, millions of whom are locked away in *pardah* (seclusion) under Islamic law, and kept as the mostly illiterate property of fathers or husbands. Nasrin's writings have been a special target of fundamentalist wrath because of their outright challenge to male dominance and their blunt critique of Islam.

As Nasrin herself said in a statement dated October 25, "Women in Bangladesh...are taught for centuries that they would be the slaves of men. I wanted to wake [them] up so they can struggle for their freedom." The defense of this courageous woman is vital to the fight for women's emancipation throughout Asia. The Trotskyist League and International Communist League therefore commend the initiative of the Worker-communist Parties of Iran and Iraq (WPI) in organizing protests in defense of Nasrin internationally.

The WPI's position is in stark contrast to most of the intelligentsia and self-proclaimed feminists in Bangladesh and elsewhere in the Islamic world, who have ignored Nasrin's case, or even actively denounce her. These people fear Taslima Nasrin because, in confronting head-on the explosive questions of women's oppression and religious bigotry, she threatens to disturb the pipedream of an orderly, liberal capitalist development for neocolonies of imperialism like Bangladesh.

Worse yet, some so-called leftist organizations have embraced the very forces of Islamic reaction which today scream for Nasrin's death. Notably, the International Socialists [I.S.—co-thinkers of the British Socialist Workers Party and

the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.] have been all but silent on the plight of Taslima Nasrin for more than four years. This is hardly an oversight. The I.S. supported the Islamic "mass movement" which took power in Iran in 1978-79, an unparalleled disaster for women, workers and oppressed nationalities like the Kurds. Earlier this year, the I.S. outrageously defended agents of the Iranian regime against militant protest at the Toronto International Women's Day fair. The Trotskyist League stood together with the WPI, who initiated the action which drove out the agents of this deeply misogynist torture regime.

While we join with the WPI in the urgent fight to save Taslima Nasrin from murderous religious reaction, we do take issue with one of the demands raised in their campaign call. The WPI demands that the Bangladesh government "guarantee the safety of Taslima Nasrin and her mother while they are in the country." We on the other hand demand that this regime *keep its hands off* Taslima Nasrin. We note that it is precisely the "secular" Bangladesh government which, bowing to pressure from Muslim religious leaders, has issued the warrant for Nasrin's arrest.

The WPI's evident hopes in the potential neutrality of the capitalist Bangladesh state is in keeping with their program for Iran, entitled "A Better World." This document raises an extensive series of reform demands, calling to "impose on capitalism the most far-reaching reforms." Such calls feed dangerous illusions in a supposed progressive potential of the capitalist state, which is in fact the central weapon for upholding bourgeois rule against the working class.

At bottom, this perspective reflects the WPI's failure to transcend the framework of "revolution by stages." In the "first stage," the working class in the neocolonial world is called upon to support (or look to) bourgeois nationalist forces to undertake the task of creating an independent capitalist "democracy." However, the weak local bourgeoisies of countries like Iran and Bangladesh, tied by a thousand threads to imperialism and terrified of their "own" oppressed masses, *cannot* achieve even democratic tasks such as agrarian revolution, political democracy and the separation of state and religion. As has been repeatedly shown—from China in 1925-27 to Indonesia in 1965 and Iran in 1978-79—the "first stage" ("democratic revolution") does not lead toward socialism but means the massacre of communists and devastating defeat for

the oppressed.

The WPI has sometimes explicitly appealed to the UN or other imperialist agencies to intervene on the side of the oppressed. For example, a statement by the Worker-communist Party of Iraq for a September 14 demonstration in London defending Iraqi political prisoners called for a "team of international inspectors to visit Iraqi prisons" to investigate prison conditions. And a 25 May Internet posting by the Iraqi WPI demanded a UN-supervised plebiscite on Kurdish independence, claiming that UN observers would "give legitimacy to the results of



Taslima Nasrin with her mother in 1994, before fleeing Bangladesh in face of threats of imprisonment and death.

the referendum."

In the neocolonial world, Trotskyists fight for the program of *permanent revolution*: the overthrow of imperialist domination through workers revolution, uniting all of the oppressed behind a revolutionary internationalist Leninist vanguard party. In particular, such a party will mobilize the revolutionary determination of women workers, as the Bolsheviks did throughout the Muslim East following the Russian Revolution of 1917. In Bangladesh today, women comprise fully 80 percent of the manufacturing workforce. Throughout Asia, the millions of proletarian women will be a motor force for socialist revolution.

This struggle is inextricably tied to the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centers themselves. Indeed, the stranglehold of religious reaction has been deliberately strengthened by the imperialists in order to secure their domination. For example, in the 1980s, the U.S. armed reactionary Islamic forces in Afghanistan in their "holy war" against "godless Communism" represented by the Soviet Red Army. The CIA funneled millions to their Afghan cutthroats, who waged war to reimpose the head-to-toe veil—symbol and instrument of the enslavement of women—and who murdered teachers for teaching young girls

to read.

The horrors of Taliban rule in Afghanistan today are the direct result of the victory of that imperialist-backed anti-Communist *jihad*. Anti-Soviet "leftists" like the I.S. hailed the CIA's religious assassins. In contrast, we hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, demanding "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We condemned the 1989 withdrawal of Soviet forces by the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy, a treacherous appeasement of imperialism which helped pave the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union itself.

Since capitalist counterrevolution engulfed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, religious reaction has been sharply on the rise in the imperialist centers as well. As Taslima Nasrin has said, "Every religion oppresses women." In North America, women's rights—especially the right to abortion—are central targets of violent Christian fundamentalist bigotry. Fanatical right-wing outfits like Campaign Life and the Christian Coalition have whipped up a crusade to ban abortion again, rabidly denouncing doctors and clinic workers as "serial killers."

Such ravings are an open incitement to murder. Only a week ago, respected Buffalo physician Dr. Barnett Slepian was gunned down by an anti-abortion fanatic. Four other doctors who provide abortions have been wounded by sniper attacks in cities across Canada and in upstate New York. The fight for abortion rights is on the cutting edge of the fight against religious and capitalist reaction in North America today. The WPI's declaration that "The Worker-Communist Party is against the act of abortion" ("A Better World") puts them on the wrong side of this vital question.

We Trotskyists fight for free abortion on demand, including access in areas where it is not presently available, as part of a necessary struggle for free quality health care for all. In this, as in all social struggles, we look not to the reactionary bourgeois state but to the social power of the working class. Women's liberation requires the overthrow of capitalism. Liberals and pseudo-leftists seek to invest the forces of imperialism with a supposedly "democratic" mission. This has been repeatedly displayed in calls by self-proclaimed leftists for UN or NATO intervention against Iraq and most recently Serbia! In sharp contrast, we say that the imperialist rulers are the main enemy of the world's working people.

We commend the WPI for its initiative in actively campaigning in defense of Taslima Nasrin. Recognizing our differences, we are pleased to unite in action today in defense of this fighter for women's rights against the deadly threat to her life by fundamentalist reactionaries.

As part of our fight to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, the essential instrument for the liberation of humanity, we say: Defend Taslima Nasrin! Bangladesh government, keep your bloody hands off! Women's liberation through world socialist revolution! ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

BOSTON

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Friday, November 20, 7 p.m.
Sever Hall, Room 102
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat—The Russian Revolution
Tuesday, November 10, 6 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
University of Chicago
5811 S. Ellis
For readings and information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Tuesday, November 10, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University
(LaGuardia Pl. & Washington Sq. South)
For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

The Family and Women's Oppression

Thursday, November 12, 7:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
Riddell Room
University of Toronto
33 St. George Street (north of College St.)
For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Independence for Quebec! Nationalism Is Poison to Class Struggle!

Thursday, November 12, 7 p.m.
Student Union Building
Room 212A, UBC
For readings and information: (604) 687-0353

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

VANCOUVER

The Fight for a Trotskyist Party "Who We Are and What We Fight For" Programmatic Theses of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Friday, November 6, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Women and Revolution

Issue No. 44

Winter 1994–Spring 1995

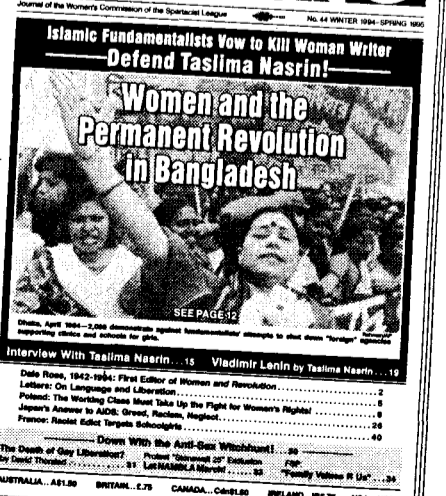
Contents include:

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- Women and the Permanent Revolution in Bangladesh
- Interview With Taslima Nasrin
- Vladimir Lenin by Taslima Nasrin

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Women and Revolution



WORKERS VANGUARD

Doctor Assassinated in Upstate New York

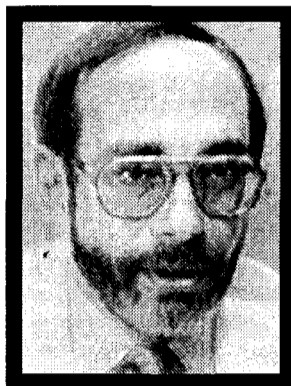
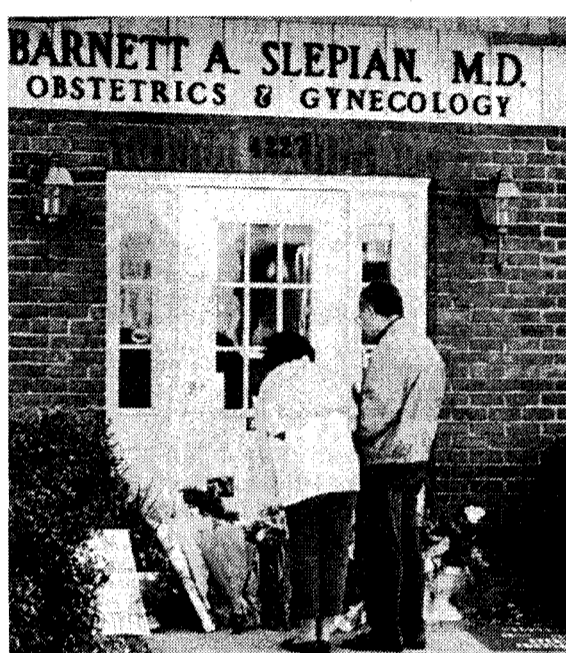
Anti-Abortion Bigots' Trail of Murder

The bloody war against women's right to abortion waged by "right to life" terrorists has now claimed another life. On the night of October 23, Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot in the back in his own kitchen, murdered by a sniper lurking in the shadows outside his suburban Buffalo home. The 52-year-old abortion provider was gunned down in front of his wife and their four sons, only moments after returning from the synagogue where he had offered a memorial (*yahrzeit*) prayer on the anniversary of his father's death.

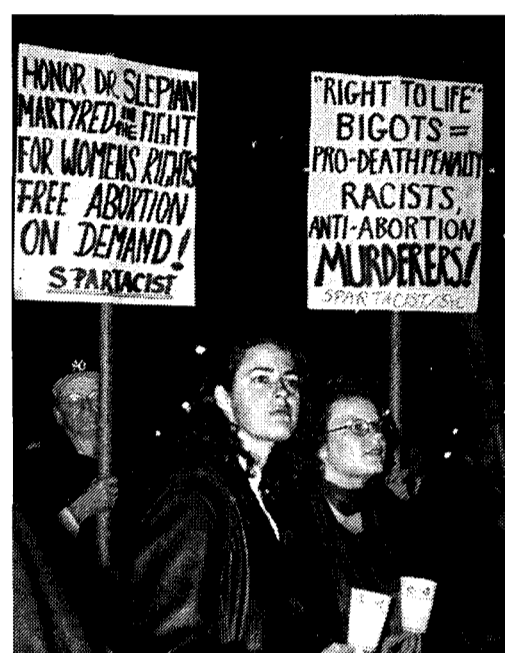
Dr. Slepian was the only staff physician at the only clinic providing abortions in Buffalo, a city of 300,000, and the only facility in all of western New York State where the procedure is available to poor women on Medicaid. There are today only three facilities providing abortions in this area. Two other clinics in the city had been forced to shut down by a massive siege by anti-abortion bigots in 1992. The only other doctor working at the Buffalo clinic has now resigned in fear for his own life.

"He knew the risks well," said one of Slepian's friends. "He was dedicated to providing women with safe and legal abortions and was unwilling to abandon his clients because of threats." Barnett Slepian's name is the seventh on the roll call of those cut down in the line of duty by anti-abortion terrorists since 1993: Dr. David Gunn, shot dead in Pensacola, Florida, 1993; Dr. John Britton, shot dead along with an escort in Pensacola a year later; Lee Ann Nichols and Shannon Lowney, shot dead in a clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, 1994. And a fire-bombing in Birmingham, Alabama earlier this year left a security guard dead and a nurse severely wounded.

Only two weeks before the shooting of Barnett Slepian, 21-year-old Matthew



Dr. Barnett Slepian, murdered for his courageous commitment to women's right to abortion. SL joined in October 27 NYC demonstration of outrage.



AP, WIVB-TV

WV Photo

Defend the Clinics with Mass Mobilizations! Free Abortion on Demand!

Shepard was sadistically tortured to death by anti-gay thugs in Wyoming. Just as Shepard's murder was directly prepared and incited by a vicious crusade by the Christian fundamentalist right and the likes of Senate Republican leader Trent Lott demonizing homosexuals, so the killing of the heroic doctor in Buffalo was the result of a frenzied war on abortion waged by bigoted mobs on the streets and promoted in the halls of Congress by "respectable" politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

In the wake of the latest atrocity, there

have been renewed calls for more police protection for abortion providers and for reinforcement of measures like the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. Such laws have done less than nothing to stop the mobs besieging the clinics. According to a survey by Feminist Majority, in 1996 almost half of all clinics or clinic staff were subjected to "severe violence." In fact, these laws can be and are used against picketing strikers and leftist protesters. Only six hours before Slepian's murder, his wife alerted the cops of threats against abortion pro-

viders in the area, yet the police did nothing. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court has increasingly hemmed in the right to abortion in the 25 years since its legalization. And only last month, an Ohio judge ordered a pregnant young woman to remain in prison on minor felony charges explicitly to prevent her from getting an abortion.

At a demonstration of outrage over the murder of Dr. Slepian, initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club at New York University on October 29, a Spartacist *continued on page 10*

Down With Fundamentalist Terror! Defend Taslima Nasrin!

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Sections of the International Communist League joined in protests last week initiated by the Worker-communist Parties (WPI) of Iraq and Iran in defense of Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin. Faced with an arrest warrant as well as a *fatwa* (religious edict) death threat for her outspoken opposition to Islamic fundamentalism, Nasrin fled the country in 1994. Returning this September to visit her dying mother, she was again subjected to threats of imprisonment

and death and forced into hiding.

On October 30, our comrades participated in protests in New York City, Los Angeles, London and Sydney, Australia. The following day, the Canadian Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste joined demonstrations in Toronto and Vancouver. Also among the hundred people who turned out in Toronto were representatives of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers as well as supporters of Socialist Action and the Ontario Coali-

tion Against Poverty. A TL speaker linked the threats against Nasrin with religious anti-woman terror in the U.S. and Canada. TL signs included the calls, "Defend Taslima Nasrin! Bangladesh Government Keep Your Hands Off!" and "Down With Anti-Woman Bigotry—Free Abortion on Demand!" The TL contingent, joined by WPI supporters and others, then marched to a nearby protest against the murder of Dr. Barnett *continued on page 11*



New York City, October 30: one of the international protests initiated by Worker-communist Party.

WV Photo