

Racist state killing of Brian Douglas

On 3 May two cops from Kennington police station in London stopped Brian Douglas for a minor driving offence. Five days later Douglas died in hospital, the result of being beaten about the head with the new "American-style" police batons. The two police officers responsible have been given "compassionate leave" to recover from "personal trauma". Douglas is dead, the first killing with the new batons—another black victim of the racist "law and order" of capitalist Britain. Over two thousand people took to the streets in two angry protest demonstrations after the killing.

A few weeks later cops charged with the manslaughter of Joy Gardner were acquitted. Special deportation and extradition squad police and immigration officers stormed into her home on 28 July 1993. Gardner died of asphyxi-

ation after being trussed up and pinned to the floor, with thirteen feet of adhesive tape wrapped around her head. The cops, who were only charged with manslaughter, not murder, claimed that they were simply following government "procedures". Last October, Joseph Nnalue died when he fell from a fourth floor window of his home after immigration police burst in. The acquittal of Joy Gardner's killers is a green light to the police and immigration officials to terrorise refugees and asylum seekers, and an attempt to terrify black and Asian communities.

On 9 and 10 June the anger of Asian youth boiled over in the Manningham district of Bradford, sparked by a police attack on an Asian family. Youth battled with riot cops and on the second night attacked white-owned property. In this heavily Muslim area male

unemployment is more than 35 per cent, with Pakistani and Bangladeshi unemployment four times that of whites. Racial tension had been heightened over the Lumb Lane "red light" area. In a dangerous twist, Asian vigilantes, with the tacit co-operation of the police, have engaged in a reactionary moralistic campaign to drive out prostitutes, both black and white. This can only exacerbate tensions. Prostitution should be decriminalised. Unemployment, poor housing, deprived schools, racial attacks and police harassment is what capitalist Britain offers minority youth. The Criminal Justice Act, which passed through parliament unopposed by Tony "law and order" Blair's Labour Party, provides cops with increased powers to attack trade unions, blacks, Asians, minorities and youth.

Public relations exercises in "community policing" cannot hide the brutal reality. Calls for community control of the police are reformist chimeras and demands for "independent" enquiries are only invitations to cover up. Fascist and racist attacks must be met with the independent mobilisation of the multi-racial working class and its allies among the oppressed black and Asian communities. Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! Down with the racist immigration and nationality laws!

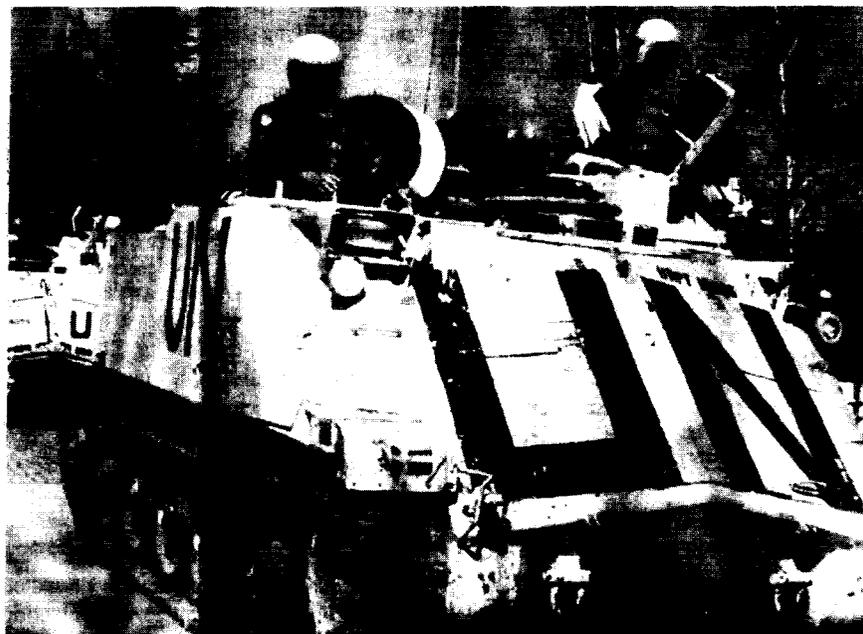
It is capitalism which breeds racism and incites its guardians in blue to act with impunity against the oppressed. Joy Gardner and Brian Douglas will never see justice, but the masses of other potential victims of this rotten system will, when capitalism is overthrown and workers rule established.

Britain/US/UN/NATO out!

Imperialist rivalry and the Balkan slaughter

Last month, American warplanes bombed Bosnian Serb forces, which responded by taking British, French and other UN "peacekeepers" hostage. Clinton then announced that US ground troops would participate in "a reconfiguration and a strengthening" of the UN forces. More than 23,000 US military personnel were dispatched or readied for deployment to the Balkan region. On 3 June at a NATO meeting in Paris, Pentagon chief Perry pledged US air support for a European "rapid reaction" force. Yet that same day, following the downing of a US flier by Serb anti-aircraft rockets, and facing an uproar by the Republican-dominated Congress and a hostile public reaction, the American president backtracked, saying it was "extremely unlikely" US soldiers would be involved, and then only to evacuate the UN forces.

This kind of zigzag and double-talk is by no means unique to the hapless and inept Clinton gang. Far from it. Sounding macho, France's newly elected rightist president, Jacques Chirac, declared that French troops would no longer be "humiliated" by the Serbs but would now fight back. The new 12,500-strong quick-reaction force has been set up for just that purpose. The French aircraft carrier *Foch* was dispatched to the Adriatic to join the USS *Theodore Roosevelt*. At the same time, French officials were negotiating a private deal with Bosnian Serbs to release UN "peace-



Swedish UN troops patrol Tuzla in central Bosnia. Balkan wars have exposed and intensified imperialist rivalries.

keepers" being held hostage against further NATO air strikes, and they are now talking of pulling out their troops—the largest contingent of the UN/NATO forces in Bosnia—by the end of the year.

The latest development is the decision on 26 June by the German government to send armed forces to the Balkans. Tornado fighter jets equipped with sophisticated radar-jamming equipment will join NATO

flights and provide air cover for the UN rapid-reaction force. This marks a major step for post-reunification Germany, which has grown increasingly assertive since annexing East Germany in 1989-90. Bonn has already sent two warships to the area, and German officers are on board AWACS planes directing NATO air strikes, but this move marks the first combat mission for German military forces since World War II. The decision is expected to be approved by the Bundestag (parliament), and has split the opposition Social Democrats. Still, German war minister Volker Rühle emphasised that Bundeswehr ground troops will not be sent to the former Yugoslavia, where memories of the Nazi invasion are strong.

All of the parties involved in the Balkan blood-bath—the various Western imperialists, the Russians, the local nationalists—engage in constant manoeuvres, backstabbing and reversals of policy. There have been countless and contradictory UN and NATO resolutions and "peace" plans,

continued on page 12

Tory bastards brawl over Europe Blair stands ready to serve the City

see page 2

Down with the Bolivian state of siege

Reprinted below is a statement distributed by the Spartacist League/Britain at a demonstration in London on 25 April, protesting the brutal repression of trade unionists in Bolivia. Since then the COB union federation bowed to the state of siege and on 1 May called off its general strike. Soon after the teachers also returned to work after 50 days of hard struggle. Several hundred unionists and leftists are still being held under military law.

On 18 May, a meeting organised by the (Workers Power/League for a Revolutionary Communist International-initiated) Bolivian Union Solidarity Committee drew over 100 people from the left and labour movement including Labour MP,

Tony Benn. But whilst speaking out against the anti-union attacks, various fake-left organisations like the Workers International League (WIL) and WP postured as opponents of class collaborationism. Leading WIL spokesman, Richard Price said that the history of Bolivia showed that it's fatal to rely on petty bourgeois nationalists. However he didn't mention that his organisation called for a vote to the ANC/COSATU/SACP, *nationalist popular front* in the South African elections last year! Meanwhile a WP supporter cribbing from our statement, described how Jeffrey Sachs had used Bolivia as a guinea pig for capitalist restorationist policies in Poland and the

USSR. Never mind that WP had supported CIA-backed, reactionary Solidarność in Poland and stood in support of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in Moscow, August 1991.

It was a Spartacist League speaker who detailed our principled stance of defence of the gains of October and opposition to treacherous popular front betrayal. As our statement makes clear, class collaborationism has left a bitter legacy of defeat in Bolivia. The proletariat of Bolivia desperately needs its Bolshevik party.

The state of siege decreed by the Bolivian government at midnight, April 19 is an assault on the trade-union movement and a frontal attack on the rights of the working people and horribly impoverished masses of this Andean country. This act of force is aimed at smashing the general strike under way for the last three weeks, which in turn was called to back up the 80,000 teachers, on strike for a month and a half against the government's plans to "privatise"—ie, liquidate—public education.

That these "exceptional measures" are intended to behead the workers movement was clearly shown by the police raid on a national meeting of the Central Obrera Boliviana in the capital of La Paz where over 100 COB leaders were arrested and loaded onto trucks, hauled off to the military airport of El Alto and then flown to internal exile in disease-ridden jungle areas of the country. All together, more than 1000 workers, teachers, students, peasants and others have been arrested, and according to official figures more than 300 are presently being held in jails and places of detention around Bolivia.

Above all, this is a brazen attempt to install a "virtual dictatorship"—as COB leader Oscar Salas managed to exclaim before being dragged off—in order to implement draconian "neo-liberal" austerity policies made in the USA. Bolivia is touted as the model for the vicious "shock treatment" of Harvard's expert in capitalist starvation, Jeffrey Sachs, who based on his "success" in decimating the already miserable living standards in Bolivia went on to devise similar plans to consolidate counterrevolution through impoverishing the workers in Poland and the USSR. Dreamed up in academic think tanks, endorsed by Washington and Wall Street, ordered by the IMF, these monstrous schemes are now being enforced by riot sticks and automatic rifles of the Bolivian government. In this, they are assisted by the DEA squads, who have trained the notorious drug-trafficking "anti-drug" units of the Bolivian military to unleash terror against peasant coca growers. We demand: US imperialist agencies and "advisors" out of Bolivia now!

The mass arrest of the COB leadership took place even before the "exceptional measures" were announced. Earlier that day, a squad of the Bolivian navy arrested peasant union leaders who were meeting in the town of Copacabana. And news dispatches report a raid by more than two dozen heavily armed police on the residence of Guillermo Lora, leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party). The martyrdom of his brother, mine workers leader César Lora, vilely murdered by the military 20 years ago this July, is vividly remembered by Bolivian workers, as is the murder of union and leftist leaders when the García Meza junta assaulted and demolished the

COB headquarters in 1980. And around the world, the Bolivian army is reviled for its mercenary role in the CIA assassination of Ernesto Che Guevara.

The Partisan Defence Committee has sent a message to the Bolivian embassy denouncing the raids and arrests, demanding the stage of siege be lifted and all victims of the reactionary crackdown released. We call on working-class organisations and defenders of democratic liberties around the world to join in protesting the Bolivian government's dictatorial measures and assault on the labour movement. The international working class holds the government of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada responsible for anything that happens to those it has seized.

President Sánchez clearly intends to repeat his "exploit" of 1985-86, when after defeating a march on La Paz by the militant tin miners, the government in which Sánchez was then the economic czar simply closed down the state-owned mines. In March 1985, at the height of a general strike, the unions had effectively occupied the capital. But as in any real general strike, the question was sharply posed: which class shall rule? The COB leadership under veteran caudillo Juan Lechín did nothing, and eventually voted to disband the occupation. Nor did Lora's POR wage the crucial fight to build workers militias and workers councils (soviets) as the vehicle for a proletarian fight for power.

In the aftermath of this ignominious defeat, the number of miners of the state Comibol corporation was reduced from 30,000 in 1986 to less than 3,000 today. The rest were driven off the altiplano and forced to cultivate coca to survive. Meanwhile, under the watchword of "capitalisation" President Sánchez and his family bought up the most lucrative mines to line their own pockets. Today the Bolivian government seeks to bludgeon the workers, teachers, students and peasants into submission to its starvation plans dictated from Washington. But even propped up on the bayonets of its mercenary army, the regime of looter-in-chief Sánchez de Losada will not rest easy. The US will not stand by its "democratic" would-be dictator when his usefulness is at an end any more than it did with earlier American puppets, from Trujillo to Somoza.

The proletariat of the altiplano has given magnificent examples of heroic struggle in the almost half a century since the tin bosses of *la rosca* were driven from their palatial mansions. But at the height of the 1952 uprising by workers and peasants, the possibility of workers revolution was aborted as the COB gave its backing to the same National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) that is today in power. At that crucial time Lora's POR called for all power to the left wing of the bourgeois-nationalist MNR (led by Lechín) rather than fighting for a workers and peasants government. Two decades later, in 1971, the POR formed a "revolutionary front" with army general Juan José Torres as the fraudulent "answer" to the coup by dictator Hugo Banzer. (Torres quickly laid down his arms.) In the name of Bolivian exceptionalism, such all-too-typical class collaboration has over and over been the bane of the Bolivian proletariat.

What is necessary is a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the class-conscious Bolivian workers, at the head of the oppressed Aymará and Quechua Indian masses and aided by their allies around the globe, in the struggle to put an end to the capitalist tyranny which has meant that ever since colonial times the base of the silver mountain of Potosí has been surrounded by Indian labourers' hovels. The wealth of this long-suffering land belongs to those who produce it! For an authentic Bolivian Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International! ■

Tory bastards brawl over Europe Blair stands ready to serve the City

As we go to press, the Tory party has erupted in internal warfare after prime minister John Major announced his resignation as party leader. Major hopes that his *coup de théâtre* will net him the large party vote of confidence needed to repair his damaged and frail leadership. *Guardian* commentator Hugo Young called Major's action, "the only thrilling thing he has ever done" (23 June). But it may yet be the last "thrilling" thing he ever does, particularly as festering Tory discontent promises to involve aspiring leaders Michael Portillo and Michael Heseltine. But John Major and all the Tory leadership contenders have been involved in the government's grinding anti-working-class austerity and union-busting, racist attacks against minorities and imperialist aggression against working people the world over.

Already the "squeaky clean Thatcherite" former Welsh Secretary John Redwood has announced his candidature, apparently with Thatcher's blessing and the support of former Tory chancellor Norman Lamont. These connections alone probably guarantee Redwood the hatred of the majority of the population. He hopes to muster the support of the Tory xenophobes for a policy of massively increased defence spending alongside a programme that evinces admiration for Newt Gingrich and the American "New Right", promotes more religion in schools and a vendetta against single parents.

The British bourgeoisie is being torn apart by the results of the end of the Cold War and the threatened loss of its "special relationship" with US imperialism. This is at the heart of the Tory schism and the dispute over "European integration". It

reflects the most bitter division in the ruling class since the pre-World War II fight between the pro-German faction of Halifax and the equally anti-Soviet "anti-appeasement" camp of Churchill. It is only the latest round in the European divide. Thatcher was brought down by mass opposition to the Poll Tax, which intersected division over Europe inside her Cabinet, manifested in the 1990 leadership elections which she lost. Moreover the "Eurosceptics" are criss-crossed with the hardline pro-Unionist faction of the Tory party. It is this combination of anti-German xenophobia and Ulster Unionism which is catalysing Major's troubles.

Financial Times journalist Joe Rogaly remarked that there are three Tory parties in the Commons today: "The third Tory party is led by Tony Blair" (24-25 June). Labour leader Tony "law and order" Blair is waiting in the wings. One of the reasons he is popular with the bosses' press is that he represents the big business view, inclined towards closer ties with Europe. Blair promises that under Labour capitalism will be safer than ever. It is the most right-wing leadership since Ramsay MacDonald openly betrayed the working class by breaking with Labour to head up a coalition "National Government" in 1932. The Labourite fake left are predictably egging on Blair's electoral bid, but as we said in *Workers Hammer* no 144:

"Miserable British capitalism, a sea of poverty and oppression. Miserable British Labourism, a puddle of cowardice and betrayal. It would be hard to dream up two better arguments for the perspective of building a revolutionary Marxist party, committed to class struggle all the way up to smashing the capitalist state and establishing a planned socialist economy." ■

WORKERS HAMMER



For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!
For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Branche, Andrew Gatsos (Editor), Alec Gilchrist, Patrick Lardit, Eibhlín McDonald, Alan Mason, Len Michelson, Ellen Rawlings, David Strachan, Jo Watt (Managing editor)

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Lorraine Richards

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Kathie Tennant

Published by Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

Subscriptions: £3 for 1 year, Europe outside Britain & Ireland £4, overseas airmail £7

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

Printed by Cherwell Valley Lithographic Ltd (TU). ISSN 0267-8721

Spartacist leaflet to AWL school

Socialists have nothing to debate with Ken "B special" Maginnis

The imperialist-brokered "peace deal" in Northern Ireland, under the heel of the British Army, backed up by the sectarian and heavily armed Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and Royal Irish Regiment (RIR), is a fraud; a recipe for further subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority and intensified communal conflict. Any leftist organisation with a gut-level hatred of imperialist rule would demand that the British Army (butchers of the oppressed from Ireland to India) get out, and would defend the Catholic population against the repressive forces of the state. Not so Sean Matgamna's Alliance for Workers Liberty (AWL), whose "weekend of socialist debate" in London this 30 June to 2 July, entitled "Ideas for Freedom", features a "debate" with Ulster Loyalist politician Ken Maginnis!

Exactly what does Ken Maginnis MP have to do with "workers liberty", and what is there for socialists to "debate" with him? He is the "security" spokesman of the Ulster Unionist Party and a paid "adviser" to the RUC. After a stint in the murderous sectarian B Specials (*Northern Ireland—A political directory, 1968-88*, Flackes and Elliott), he served in the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) from 1970 to 1981. The UDR, today known as the RIR, was notorious for its level of interpenetration with the Loyalist paramilitaries. This collusion extends from the cold-blooded murder of three members of the Dublin-based Miami Showband in 1975, while Maginnis was still on "active service", to the continuing passing of security files on Catholics to Loyalist death squads.

Today Maginnis is cultivating credentials as part of the "liberal wing" of Ulster Unionism, mainly in southern Ireland, where he has found friends among supporters of the Mary Robinson popular front. Maginnis is a far cry from what could even be described as a bourgeois liberal. Last year he called for "selective" internment in Northern Ireland, and when RUC chief Sir Hugh Annesley made noises about "scaling down" army and police activity to encourage the IRA ceasefire, Maginnis called for Annesley's resignation and castigated him for "parleying and pandering to" the IRA (*Independent*, 12 August 1994). Not surprisingly, he voted against reducing the age of consent for homosexuals in Britain from 21 to 18. No socialist, no trade union militant, no decent Labour Party activist should want to have anything to do with the putrid exercise of "debating" this reactionary frontman for the RUC/RIR. (Where does this line of debating any bourgeois reactionary or cop spokesman end? Would the comrades of the AWL want to "debate" Frank Rizzo? He's the notorious racist ex-mayor and ex-police commissioner of Philadelphia, whose threat directed at the "new breed of journalism" bore its bitter fruit in the frame-up leading to Mumia Abu-Jamal's death sentence.)

That the "debate" with Maginnis is not an isolated aberration is demonstrated by another of this weekend's "debates", that with Hizb-ut-Tahrir, Islamic fundamentalists who have been at the centre of contro-

versy on campuses and in the National Union of Students. We oppose state and university administration/student union bans and censorship of this group. Such bans would set dangerous precedents and necessarily partake of a racist expression in this overwhelmingly white country with its established Christian churches. But notwithstanding that Hizb-ut-Tahrir draws its support mainly from oppressed Muslim minorities and has been the target of reactionary racism, it is itself a racist, sexist, homophobic and anti-Jewish organisation which denies the Holocaust. In predominantly Muslim countries, such an organisation is akin to the clerical fascists of the National Salvation Party in Turkey or the Algerian fundamentalists who murder unveiled women. Revolutionaries and socialists have no business in debating this outfit. And making "fine" distinctions between "agreeing to argue" and "inviting" to debate, as does the Revolutionary International League in justifying its supporter's own debate with Hizb-ut-Tahrir at Kingsway College, is just so much codswallop.

Not so long ago the AWL, to its credit, organised a public meeting for Taslima Nasrin, the Bangladeshi fighter for women's rights who has been threatened with death by Islamic fundamentalists. Our comrades joined with AWL supporters in defence squads to defend that meeting against Hizb-ut-Tahrir types. At the AWL conference an Algerian socialist is invited to speak about the situation in Algeria, where organisations just like Hizb-ut-Tahrir torture, rape and murder to subjugate women to their fundamentalist dictates. Workers Liberty's seemingly schizophrenic behaviour is in fact quintessentially social-democratic. Like most of the fake left in the orbit of the Labour Party, the AWL sided with the CIA-backed reactionary *mujahedin* in Afghanistan against the Red Army, whose presence offered Afghani women the possibility of escaping from chattel slavery. At bottom the AWL's faith in parliamentary-style debate with anyone rests on social-democratic illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state.

Workers Liberty's "debate" with Maginnis is obscene, but not unique. Militant Labour in Belfast have gone even further down the same suicidal path, openly hosting a representative of the Loyalist death squads on their platform. Militant boasts that on 9 May they organised "an historic meeting" to discuss "Is there a future for socialism", and gave a platform to one Billy Hutchinson, spokesman for the Progressive Unionist Party, which Militant Labour unashamedly explains is "widely considered to be the political wing of the Ulster Volunteer Force" (*Militant*, 19 May). That is precisely what the PUP is—a front for the fascistic UVF, who have perpetrated some of the most savage atrocities in Northern Ireland, from the "Shankill Butchers" in the mid-1970s to "spray jobs" in Catholic-frequented pubs and bookmakers' shops.

A mere ten days prior to Militant's "historic meeting" in Belfast, Hutchinson's UVF marched through London protected by Combat 18 fascist para-

militaries, with whom they are well connected. This C18/Loyalist march attacked left paper sellers at a London Labour Party conference (probably including some of Militant's own members), propelling Militant to cancel a planned London public meeting. The Loyalist/fascist mob then proceeded to Downing Street to protest John Major's "peace" process.

When Hutchinson proclaims himself a "socialist", it has an alarming ring of Strasserism, ie that wing of the Nazis which stressed "socialist" demagoguery. Trotsky repeatedly warned the German Communist Party of the dangers of adapting to this, and they repeatedly ignored his warnings—part and parcel of their criminal refusal to fight for an effective workers united front to counter the fascists. Militant honcho Peter Hadden took Hutchinson at his word and, obscenely invoking rhetoric against "sectarianism" and for "workers unity", he welcomed the opportunity to debate with "others who've come to socialism by different routes". Imagine that Protestant workers from the Harland and Wolff shipyard or Shorts' factory strike in protest against a UVF murder of a Catholic worker (as they have done in the past), and then along comes Militant to offer a platform for the UVF in the name of "workers unity"!

We insist on the *immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland*, as a basic prerequisite for any kind of progressive solution. We seek a proletarian resolution, on both sides of the Irish Sea, in which the British imperialist state power, the southern Irish clericalist state and the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland—of which Ken Maginnis is a representative par excellence—must be shattered and replaced by the working class seizing power.

Contrary to both Militant and the AWL, who cheered on the capitalist counterrevolution, the destruction of the Soviet Union was a massive defeat for the working class. As well with its demise, the ANC, PLO and Sinn Féin went openly looking to imperialists for "deals". The IRA's ceasefire announced last August is part of Sinn Féin's quest for a "negotiated settlement" with British imperialism, pursued through the "good offices" of the southern Irish clericalist state and underwritten by US imperialism. But there can be no democratic solution to the oppression of the Catholics under capitalism; forcible reunification of Ireland would simply reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant minority. The partition of Ireland and the resultant sectarian statelet of Northern Ireland, defined against the Catholic, clericalist state in the South, has served to reinforce the communal divide, and Protestant fears of incorporation into a Catholic state can well be utilised to precipitate a form of "ethnic cleansing". Revolutionaries defend the IRA when it has been fighting against the British Army and state repression, while politically opposing the nationalism of Sinn Féin, which often involves criminal murder of Protestant civilians. We fight for an end to discrimination against Catholics, and for jobs for all, worksharing on

full pay and a sliding scale of wages and hours. Militant and Workers Liberty pay lip service to working-class unity, while cosying up to Loyalist representatives. They both uphold the (Unionist) tradition of the now-defunct Northern Ireland Labour Party, whose demise came about in large part because they refused to wage even a minimal fight for civil rights for Catholics in the 1960s.

What drives Workers Liberty and Militant to participate in this current whitewash of the most reactionary forces of Ulster Unionism is their fundamental belief in the "democratic" nature of the British state. Welcoming the representatives of outright brutality against Catholics into leftist meetings is the rotten fruit of sowing deadly illusions in imperialist "peace" schemes. This in turn is a product of their years-long adaptation to the British Labour Party, which dispatched the army to Northern Ireland in 1969, and which today backs Major to the hilt. Both organisations consistently refuse to call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the troops, instead painting the army as "peacekeepers", which could only be pulled out when a "democratic" solution is in place. Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* has insisted that "Only the British army has held the six-counties unit under one rule. Without that, intra-Irish civil war would have bloodily redrawn the political map of Ireland" (*Socialist Organiser*, 2 December 1993). Actively supporting redrawing the border as a "federal solution" under capitalism, *SO* says: "But from a socialist point of view, if they want it (Protestant autonomy not the present ridiculous partition, with its 45% of Catholics in the 'Protestant-Unionist' state) then they are entitled to it both under capitalism and after we have buried capitalism" (*Socialist Organiser*, 2 December 1994). Their scenario, which implies a "bloodless repartition", presumably due to the "civilising" presence of the British Army, is a lie and a recipe for a communalist conflagration.

At bottom these last-vice-roy-of-India socialists assume that the working class is incapable of transcending sectarianism, and that the Protestants are totally wedded to Loyalism. In all likelihood, a definite resolution of the character of the Northern Ireland Protestant community will be reached with the withdrawal of the British Army, but it will depend on the circumstances in which this occurs. In the context of an upsurge of class mobilisations, directed also against imperialism, opportunities would certainly arise for a class determination of the question.

Workers Liberty advocates a "Labour Party" in Northern Ireland with close links to the pro-imperialist British Labour Party and to the pro-Unionist, class-collaborationist Irish Labour Party of Dick Spring. What is desperately needed on both islands are genuinely revolutionary parties, built in opposition to all forms of Labourism, dedicated to smashing capitalist rule. British troops out of Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! No to forced reunification—for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! ■

Dáil prohibits abortion referral

Free abortion on demand!

**For women's liberation
through socialist
revolution!**

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the women's liberation movement in Ireland. But 25 years on, what has been gained? Women still cannot get abortion referral let alone free, safe, legal abortion. The right to divorce does not exist and the "target" date for the divorce referendum has been postponed yet again. Child care facilities are virtually non-existent, unemployment stands at 20 per cent and women (who only make up about 38 per cent of the workforce) earn on average only 68 per cent the average male wage.

"There is more than enough unfinished business here to keep things going for another 25 years" was the gloomy assessment of the *Sunday Tribune* (21 May). But the women's liberation movement strategy of pressuring the bourgeoisie for change is a reformist dead-end. Even the most minimal gains for working people, women and minorities have been achieved only as a result of social struggle. And under capitalism, every reform remains reversible; the restrictions imposed by the abortion information Act is the latest example. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for genuine women's liberation.

In the 1992 constitutional referendum Ireland voted by a majority of three to two in favour of the right to information and a woman's right to travel outside Ireland for an abortion. The Dublin Spartacist Group (DSG) advocated a "yes" vote for the referendum questions dealing with these two minimal rights, while fighting for free abortion on demand. But we stood in opposition to this year's abortion information Bill, which became law in May, because of its imposition of severe restrictions on abortion information.

The new Act allows only information that is "non-directive", which means that an abortion referral by a doctor or counselling agency is now illegal. Under the Act a doctor can be struck off the medical register and fined £1500 for so much as contacting an abortion clinic on behalf of a woman patient. The Act also includes provisions that interfere with the confidentiality of the doctor/patient relationship, giving police the power to seize medical records. Even information on billboards or "unsolicited" leaflets about abortion is deemed illegal. Films and plays could also be banned if they are judged to "advocate" abortion. Meanwhile anti-abortion doctors are given a "conscience clause", allowing them to opt out of providing medical advice to women seeking abortions, and absolving them of any responsibility to refer women to sympathetic doctors. The abortion information Act will lead to more cases like that of 15-year-old Ann Lovett, who died after giving birth in a grotto in County Longford in 1984, too afraid to seek help.

For free abortion on demand!

The fundamental right to abortion is a match to the explosive social tinder of

women's oppression in Ireland. It has been a focal point of legal and social struggles over the past twelve years, particularly since the Catholic hierarchy, along with the Pro Life Amendment Campaign and the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) forced and won a referendum (known as the Eighth

they shy away from fighting for the basic right for free abortion on demand. At the time of the X case, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) capitulated to the liberal bourgeoisie's restrictive "special grounds" for abortion line. An SWP leaflet proclaimed "Rape victims have the right to abortion!" *We say: all women have the*



Workers Hammer

DSG contingent at Dublin demonstration protesting Charles Windsor's visit to Ireland, 31 May.

Amendment) which "copper fastened" the banning of abortion into the Constitution. The issue came to a head again in 1992 when a young 14-year-old pregnant girl (an alleged rape victim) tried to get an abortion outside the country. By ruling her attempt illegal the High Court essentially placed every Irish woman seeking an abortion under house arrest. The whole issue became known as the X case as tens of thousands, mostly young women, joined demonstrations against the High Court ruling. The government eventually backed down and allowed the X case woman to leave the country for an abortion. And to defuse the enormous anger over the issue the government held the 1992 referendum on abortion information and travel. Last year the Trinity College Student Union and Union of Students in Ireland, which had published handbooks containing the telephone numbers of abortion clinics in England were forced to pay massive fines to the SPUC after a lengthy legal battle.

Anywhere from 5-10,000 women from Northern Ireland and the Republic are forced to travel to England each year for an abortion. Women are allowed some basic information about how to obtain an abortion in England and only then if they can afford it. We demand free, safe, legal abortion on demand. In clericalist Ireland the church controls (with few exceptions) both the health and education facilities. Any campaign that fights for abortion rights means fighting for the medical resources to carry it out, ie ending church control over health care. *We demand freely available contraception on demand! For the complete separation of church and state! For free secular and quality health care!*

While the Irish fake-left groups all claim to stand for women's liberation,

right to abortion! On the International Women's Day march in Dublin this year, the SWP limited the demands of the demonstration to the call for more abortion information.

At the same demonstration Militant Labour distributed a leaflet supporting the abortion information Bill, complaining that, "Yes the bill is a step forward but it is a watering down on what people voted for." Their leaflet went on to demand: "No exporting our problems abroad. For the provision of abortion in Ireland through the health service." Aside from leaving out the question of the grounds and costs of abortion, the leaflet panders to the reactionary notion that abortion is a shameful "problem". The problems for Irish women who seek abortions are caused by the fact that they are not provided free and on demand.

The Dublin Abortion Information Campaign (DAIC), a coalition of groups including the Irish Workers Group (IWG —sister organisation of the British Workers Power group), Red Action and the Workers Solidarity Movement (WSM), limits its campaigning to minimalist calls for abortion information. Yet each of the fake-left components of DAIC formally claims to stand for free abortion on demand. But never when it counts!

In 1992 most of the left were ensconced in the campaign for constitutional reform. The IWG still proudly stands by the position they held at the time, that "the key task remains repeal of the Eighth amendment", even while acknowledging that this does not challenge the 1861 act illegalising abortion (*Class Struggle*, Journal no 24, 1995). The 1861 British Act is the very same legislation that stops thousands of women in Northern Ireland from obtaining abortions. A DSG leaflet at the

time nailed the constitutional cretinism of the "Repeal the Eighth Amendment Campaign" (which the IWG actively built) as the "Keep Abortion Illegal Campaign".

Fighting for free abortion on demand means having to confront the Labour Party and the Democratic Left misleaders, who capitulate to the Catholic church. Both parties, government coalition partners of the bourgeois Fine Gael, supported the abortion information Act. A Labour Party spokesman explained that: "It is an altered Bill and doesn't meet with Labour criteria but we are in Government with two other parties now" (*Irish Times*, 23 February). These social-democratic betrayers use coalition "unity" with Fine Gael as a means to excuse their treachery.

Far from confronting the Labour Party and Democratic Left, *Socialist Worker* and Militant Labour called for a vote for Mary Robinson, the candidate of the Labour Party popular front, in the presidential elections. During the 1992 election the SWP, Militant and IWG called for a vote to Labour and Democratic Left, both of which openly declared their intentions of joining in a coalition government. The DSG stood out as opponents of the popular front. We said no vote to Labour, the Workers Party or Democratic Left and warned that such a class-collaborationist alliance would necessarily be anti-woman, anti-Traveller, anti-working-class and pro-imperialist.

As for the petty-bourgeois nationalists of Sinn Féin (SF), they have no answer to women's oppression. For SF the woman question is second rate and subordinate to the national question and the establishment of a Catholic capitalist united Ireland. To take a stand on women's rights would mean confronting the Catholic church and as a result splitting their own movement, just as they were split over the X case. In 1992, SF supporters were found on demonstrations both for and against the right of women to travel to have abortions. Their nationalism means that they have no interest in mobilising women on both sides of the communal divide against their oppression.

In 1992, Mary Robinson was elected as president of the Republic, the candidate of a popular front that included everybody from bourgeois parties like Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats to the social-democratic Labour Party and Workers Party. Mary "I'm opposed to abortion" Robinson was the liberal bourgeoisie's preferred candidate, because she offered the possibility of heading off growing outrage over clericalist Irish society, but also as a signal to reactionary Loyalists. This was after all the woman who resigned from the Labour Party in 1985 over the Anglo-Irish Agreement because it was too great a "culture-shock" for Unionists in Northern Ireland.

The same political thinking lies behind the passage of the abortion information Bill. The *Sunday Tribune* (14 May) observed that the bill "will also help reassure opponents and critics on the other side of the Border who have maintained stoutly for half a century that the republic is a confessional theocratic state". These measures are just window-dressing aimed at giving the appearance of distance from the

Catholic church. But Ian Paisley and his ilk are just as opposed to abortion, divorce and rights for gays as the reactionaries of the Catholic church.

The liberal agenda both tries to inch Irish society forward, heading off social struggle, and to appease Loyalism in order to broker an imperialist "peace". But as we have warned, the imperialist "peace" deal over Northern Ireland "will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* no 138, November/December 1993).

The British imperialists are not withdrawing their troops from Northern Ireland, abandoning the Northern Ireland Unionists or ending the systematic discrimination against the Catholics. But according to the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), a group of embittered quitters from the ICL, "to say that whatever 'settlement' is eventually cooked up will 'necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority' is not 'necessarily' true. It could be at the expense of the Protestants" (1917 no 16, 1995). To believe that the current "peace process" could really be about the reversal of the terms of oppression shows deep illusions in the British bourgeoisie and a pandering to the fears of the Unionists. For a start it belies reality. Since the "peace deal" there have been continued RUC attacks on Republicans and oppressed Catholics. Not surprisingly the IBT article makes only a scant reference to the imperialist "deal" in the Middle East where the PLO polices the Gaza strip for the Israeli state, or to South Africa where the ANC nationalist popular front government smashes strikes and evicts squatters in the interests of neo-Apartheid capitalism.

The systematic discrimination against Catholics and the economic devastation of the province's industry, which has meant dire poverty for the Protestant working class as well, simply cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism. *Revolutionary Marxists fight for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. No forcible reunification! Not Orange against Green but class against class! For an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles!*

Down with anti-sex, anti-woman reactionary moralism!

The case of Father Brendan Smyth, convicted of child abuse, brought down the previous Reynolds Fianna Fáil government. It has now returned to haunt the current coalition government although the pro-Robinson bourgeoisie has used the case to tarnish the reputation of the Catholic church and present the Irish state in a more modern secular light to the bourgeoisie in Northern Ireland.

Rape and child abuse are horrific crimes and we certainly do not oppose the prosecution of perpetrators, but the Smyth case and the X case have been used by the government to mount a reactionary moralistic campaign aimed at bolstering the institution of the family, the chief instrument of women's oppression under capitalism. We insist that sex involving young people is not *a priori* a crime. In addition to calling for a radical lowering of the legal age of adulthood, we are in favour of replacing the whole network of "age of consent" laws with the principle of effective consent, applicable to people of all ages. *Government out of the bedroom!*

The front-page newspaper headline, "Keep the paedophiles out of our schools" is in step with the bourgeoisie's reactionary moralism. One would normally expect

T&G elections: Morris and Dromey, no choice

In the recent election for general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&G) there was no basis to support, however critically, the incumbent Bill Morris against Tony Blair crony, Jack Dromey. The second largest, and one of the most powerful unions in Britain, the T&G has been dominated by left of centre Labourite figures for the last forty years. The election contest, subjected to media hype and conducted amidst bitter personal accusations, is not without its significance. But, contrary to the illusions of the fake left, who mostly and predictably lined up behind the barely "left" Morris, there was no decisive divide between the two candidates. The contest for T&G leadership was an intra-bureaucratic conflict that did not go beyond an exchange of rhetoric among loyal Labourites. Old-style treachery was pitted against New Labour betrayal.

A victory for Jack Dromey would have strengthened Tony Blair's hand in the pursuit of an accommodating and docile union leadership which will not make any difficulties for a future capitalist Labour government at the beck and call of the City and international finance. Dromey denounced Morris for "year in and year out, threatening the chances of a Labour government" and proclaimed that this union election was about ensuring that there would be a Labour government led by Tony Blair. Together with his wife, shadow Labour spokesman on employment Harriet Harman, Dromey is part of Blair's inner circle, and his election campaign has been assisted by the same advisors who ran Blair's successful attack on Clause IV. Despite paying reluctant lip-service to the T&G's call for a minimum wage, Dromey clearly supports the Blair/Harman refusal to commit a future Labour government to anything without the CBI's approval.

such a line from the Legion of Mary and/or SPUC. But this headline came from the paper of the Workers Solidarity Movement (spring issue). In trying to "relate" to anti-church sentiment, they end up on the side of right-wing reaction and its campaign to drive any teacher with "suspect" sexuality out of the schools. In the same article they defend the rights of priests and nuns to teach in schools. We note that their headline seemed to have a short shelf life, and WSM members took to featuring the back-page article about a long-settled trade union dispute.

The campaign against child abuse is being used to channel outrage into calls for more state intervention. When the jail sentence for the man convicted of unlawful carnal knowledge in the X case was drastically reduced this spring, a demonstration was called outside the Dáil in protest. The SWP reported the demonstration with a solemn warning of the possible right-wing trajectory of calls for state intervention (*Socialist Worker*, 1-13 April 1995). They neglected to mention that they were also on the demonstration calling for the judge's sacking. Presumably the other judges are OK for the SWP. But what about Travellers, leftists, Republicans and trade unionists who have been at the receiving end of brutal Irish justice?

Stop Youth Defence/SPUC reaction!

Fascism in Ireland has historically organised in alliance with the Catholic right, often with an overlapping membership. It seeks to mobilise around reactionary ideology centring on the family and

But if Dromey is a fully paid-up Blairhead, that hardly makes Morris a valid alternative, let alone a class warrior. *Guardian* journalist, Seumas Milne, admits that "The irony of all this is that Morris is no leftwinger. On both industrial and political strategy, it would be hard to put a smart card between him and his challenger" (*Guardian*, 24 May). Instead of fighting the T&G's loss of membership (more than halved from two million in 1975, with 200,000 lost since he took over in 1991), Morris hired outside consultants to help "downsize" the T&G. Although he was the main spokesman for the T&G's defence of Clause IV, Morris argued inside the union's executive to drop this stance. And while calling on the next Labour government to repeal the Tory anti-union legislation of the eighties, Morris refuses to countenance any struggle against and outside these laws, leaving strikes like that at Badgerline to go down in isolated defeat. While many T&G members today don't earn the T&G's proposed minimum hourly wage of £4.15, Morris' "campaign" is not to mobilise the union in class action but to plead with the Labour Party to pass legislation when it comes to power. Some apologists for Morris, like *Labour Briefing* (June 1995), tout the fact that he is black and "a national figure promoting [black people's] agenda" as an argument for supporting him. It was Morris who played a key role in organising the TUC demonstration against racism in early 1994, which served to channel mass anger and militancy into electoral support to the Labour Party. Despite the T&G's contretemps with the modernisers, Morris has repeatedly called for unity behind Tony Blair.

For revolutionaries and militants committed to class struggle, the basis for gov-

ing critical electoral support to a candidate in such a union election, must be that they represent a decisive break in the direction of class struggle, against the habitual reformist betrayal of the Labourite misleaders of the working class. Without this, a so-called "left" candidate is simply a part of the division of labour, coralling militant workers who are repulsed by his more openly treacherous "right" brethren. The SWP's *Socialist Review* (June 1995) frets that "many ordinary TGWU members are unaware of any real difference between the two candidates". Alarmed by the workers' clear-sightedness the SWP, along with most of the fake-revolutionary left—Militant Labour, *Socialist Organiser*, *Workers Power* et al—hasten to brush up Morris' credentials and forecast wondrous implications of his victory. These fawning socialists, for all their complaints and whining, refuse to struggle to break the working class from their Labourite misleaders, right and "left". *Workers Power* (June 1995), ever eager to prove its mastery of "tactics" explains that "In other circumstances, revolutionaries might have given critical support to a challenge to Bill Morris' four-year reign at the T&G." Organisations like *Workers Power* who advocate putting Labour into office no matter what the circumstances, are little more than Labour's loyal "left" appendages in constant search for a lesser evil while, just like Bill Morris, uniting behind Tony Blair to campaign for the "New" Labour Party come next election. In sharp contrast genuine Marxists fight to break the working class from the treacherous Labourite bureaucracy. What is desperately needed is a revolutionary party, forged in hard political struggle against the Labour and trade union misleaders, to lead the working class in the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution. ■

women's oppression. The reactionary Youth Defence contains a hardened core of fascist thugs, who physically target pro-abortion forces, trade unionists and leftists. The anonymous letter bomb hoaxes sent to the Well Woman Clinic and the Irish Council of General Practitioners on 9 June shows the threat that the fascists pose. *For mass trade union mobilisations to stop Youth Defence/SPUC reaction!*

The fascists today are small but the bourgeoisie keeps them in reserve. If the popular front cannot contain workers' struggles, the bourgeoisie will turn to its other weapon, the fascists, to smash the organised workers movement. The efforts of fascist scum are nurtured by religious bigots like retired judge O'Hanlon who believes that "law-making power is derived not from the State or the people of the State but from God" (*Irish Times*, 1 March 1995) and refers to the abortion information Bill, as part of a "climate of death".

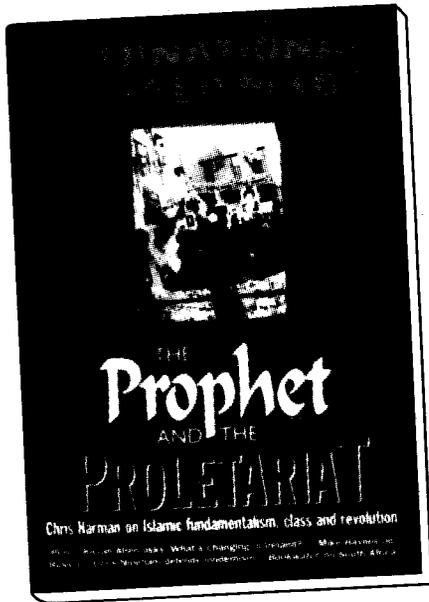
Workers must rule in Ireland if women are to be free

The potential for working-class struggle is palpable in Ireland. Industrial confrontation is looming at TEAM Aer Lingus where redundancies are again on the agenda. Electricity Supply Board workers are threatening industrial action in response to planned job cuts. This June locked-out *Irish Press* journalists occupied the newspaper offices for five days in response to the sacking of a journalist, and workers at Dunnes Store are currently on strike.

It is working-class struggle which will win real gains for the class as a whole and for women and the oppressed. The organised working class has the power to shut down production and ultimately, to overthrow capitalism. But revolutionaries must win the trade unions to a programme of struggle not simply on economic issues but in the interests of all the oppressed. For example, trade unions must be won to fighting for free abortion on demand. In a country with a high trade union membership, women make up a greater proportion of unionised workers than their percentage in the workforce. But to mobilise the working class to fight for women's rights will mean a political struggle for a revolutionary programme against the sellout trade union bureaucracy.

Irish capitalism cannot provide full employment, much less free women from domestic slavery. The fight for jobs for all, equal pay for equal work, free abortion on demand, free 24-hour child care, the right to divorce, will not be won through appealing to the liberal Irish bourgeoisie, the Labour Party or Democratic Left. Working-class struggle in defence of women's rights in the Republic can be a catalyst for cross-communal struggle in Northern Ireland. Only working-class revolution and the establishment of a planned economy can provide the material conditions for women's liberation, freeing women from the domestic drudgery of the home to play a full part in social life. Above all what's needed is a revolutionary party, a tribune of the people that will fight for the liberation of women and all the oppressed. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

"Third camp" social democrats pander to Islamic fundamentalism



Cliffite journal trumpets supposed "anti-imperialism" of Islamic reaction.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has provoked some striking disorientation among supposed leftists. Many, under the pressure of the Cold War, already bought into imperialist anti-Sovietism, using as an excuse the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalinist rule. But few could match the frothing Stalinophobia of the international tendency led by Tony Cliff and his British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which proclaimed the ascendancy of Yeltsin counterrevolution in Moscow as "the Russian Revolution of 1991"! Today, without the pole star of hatred for what Reagan called the "evil empire" to guide them, the Cliffites have locked onto a bizarre infatuation with Islamic fundamentalists. Their US affiliate, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), has taken to giving public forums with titles like "Islamic Fundamentalism: Anti-Imperialist or Reactionary?" A flyer for a 22 November 1994 ISO forum in Berkeley declared, "Islamism ... must be transformed into an independent, revolutionary socialist perspective."

For decades, the calling card of Cliff's social-democratic outfit was its description of the Soviet Union as "state capitalist". From the time of the 1950-53 Korean War on, this nonsensical "theory" served as a justification for lining up with imperialism (first veiled, then openly) against the USSR and any state they considered a Soviet "satellite". From arch-reactionary *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, who butchered teachers as "communist infidels" for educating girls, to Polish Solidarność, that company union of the CIA and the Vatican, no anti-Soviet movement was too retrograde for Cliff & Co's enthusiastic support. More recently, the Cliffites joined the Miami *gusano* mafia in hailing a counterrevolutionary riot in Cuba (see "Tony Cliff's US cohorts: *gusano* socialists?" *WH* no 143, November/December 1994). But even for this crowd whose stock in trade was vituperating against Soviet "totalitarianism", it's hard to get worked up over the "threat" of Fidel Castro and the Kim dynasty in North Korea.

In harmony with the bourgeois refrain of a supposed "death of communism", a couple of years ago the Canadian Cliffites

SWP/ISO and the veil

held a "debate" under the title "After Communism, What's Left for Socialism?" Now they give the answer. Left rudderless in imperialism's "New World Order", these opportunists have been trailing in the wake of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists, such as those in Algeria who brutally murder unveiled women, foreigners, and anyone they perceive as representing modern culture. The Autumn 1994 issue of the Cliffites' journal *International Socialism* has a 60-page lead article by SWP "theoretician" Chris Harman on "The Prophet and the Proletariat", complete with a green cover and Arabic-looking lettering. Meanwhile, the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (20 August 1994) proclaims, "Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries" (emphasis in original).

And, come to think of it, we can recall but a single article in the Cliffite press in defence of Taslima Nasrin, the courageous Bangladeshi writer condemned to death by Islamic clerics who judged her fight against anti-woman bigotry and her denunciations of both Muslim and Hindu chauvinists in Bangladesh and India to be an affront to their "religious feelings" (see *Women and Revolution* no 44, Winter 1994-Spring 1995). This brief article in *Socialisme International* (no 78, January 1995) allows for the need to "stand with her against the death threats", but devotes most of its content to denigrating Taslima as a champion of women's liberation. The article criticises her for "respect for the state", neglecting to mention, of course, that the Cliffites themselves routinely petition the racist imperialist state to ban fascists. Earlier the SWP defended Salman Rushdie against the *fatwa* (edict calling for his death) issued by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, and even published an interview with Rushdie early on. But for the Cliffites, who have made a career of being "State Department socialists", their reticence on Nasrin and current infatuation with Islamic fundamentalism goes along with Washington's current stance (shared by sections of West European social democracy) to "do business" with "moderate" fundamentalists, from Iran to Algeria.

The Harman article in *International Socialism* is all about "contradictions of Islamism". He treats Islamic fundamentalist "mass movements" as radical petty-bourgeois nationalist formations, which "have taken up anti-imperialist slogans and some anti-imperialist actions". But despite their populist rhetoric, their denunciations of the "Great Satan" of the US and occasional jibes at the IMF, seeking to whip up support among the desperately impoverished masses from Teheran to Algiers, the Islamic fundamentalists are firmly committed to maintaining capitalist exploitation. While sprinkling a few caveats about, Harman waxes increasingly enthusiastic, reaching a crescendo as he writes of the "Islamic intelligentsia around

Khomeini in Iran":

"They were not, as many left wing commentators have mistakenly believed, merely an expression of 'backward,' bazaar-based traditional, 'parasitic,' merchant capital.' Nor were they simply an expression of classic bourgeois counter-revolution. They undertook a revolutionary reorganisation of ownership and control of capital within Iran even while leaving capitalist relations of production intact...."

A neat trick, if you can do it.

For the Cliffites, Iran is part of a pattern of radical, "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary" "Islamism" throughout the Muslim world. Thus the British SWP writes:

"The Iranian revolution of 1979, which was rapidly taken over by the Mullahs, the popular Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion, the Palestinian intifada, which was more and more influenced by the fundamentalists, all contributed to the revival of anti-imperialist feeling, filtered through religion, of broad masses of North Africans."

—*Socialist Review*, February 1992

This is hardly a reflection of "anti-imperialism", as the Cliffites would have it, but rather of despair and reaction, which both emotionally and in its sociological base has much in common with Hitler's "National Socialism". Though looking to the past, the Islamic fundamentalist wave is a response to the oppressive conditions of the late 20th century. Its present rise as a mass movement is the reactionary reflection of both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead-end of nationalism.

This can be seen most clearly among the Palestinians and in Algeria. The PLO nationalists are now acting as the murderous enforcers for Zionist tyranny, driving the historically secular Palestinian masses into the arms of Hamas fundamentalists. Algeria won its war of independence against France, but this anti-colonial victory did little to alleviate the exploitation and social oppression of the masses, who now turn to fundamentalism as an answer.

From Iran and Afghanistan...

The Cliffites' fascination with "Islamism" repeats the opportunist left's disastrous capitulation to the reactionary mullahs who came to power in Iran a decade and a half ago. Khomeini's victory led to the execution of thousands of leftists, Kurds, women, homosexuals and any opponent of theocratic rule. Harman starts off his article with a polemic against the *New Left Review's* Fred Halliday for counterposing a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie in Iran to the left's support for Khomeini. Halliday said the left should have "come out in a firm and united way against the clerical forces and in alliance with the 'liberals'" around Bakhtiar, the first prime minister after the overthrow of the shah, who was soon purged by the Khomeinists ("The Iranian Revolution



Reuters

Algeria: FIS declares fundamentalist leader Abassi "our president".

and Its Implications", *New Left Review*, November/December 1987). Halliday is a pretty easy target, since during the Persian Gulf War he came out for the US/NATO attack on Iraq!

In debunking this certified "social-imperialist", the *International Socialism* article adopts a pseudo-"radical" posture:

"The Islamic regime in Iran dominates discussions on Islamic revivalism, much as the record of Stalinism dominates discussions on socialism. And often, even on the left, very similar conclusions are drawn. The Islamists are seen, much as the Stalinists were once seen, as the most dangerous of all political forces, able to impose a totalitarianism that will prevent any further progressive development."

But while today Harman claims to be arguing against those, like Halliday, who called the Iranian mullah regime "Islam with a fascist face" as well as against those who "see the Islamist movements as 'progressive'", the Cliffites' own record places them clearly in the latter camp. At the time of Khomeini's victory, the ISO in the US ran laudatory articles on the mullahs' "mass movement" with headlines like "The Form—Religious, The Spirit—Revolution!"

The criminal support for reactionary fundamentalists in Iran by leftists around the world was a monstrous betrayal. In contrast, the Spartacist tendency put forward a programme for proletarian revolution, declaring: "Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs! Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution!" Uniquely on the left, we warned that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the *chador*

Contact addresses

Spartacist League/Britain

Glasgow
PO Box 150, Glasgow G3 6DX
0141-332 0788

London
PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU
0171-485 1396

Dublin Spartacist Group

PO Box 2944
Dublin 1
Tel: 01 830 4230

(the head-to-toe veil), restore barbaric punishments (eg flogging, amputations), suppress national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as the shah.

Cold War anti-Sovietism and tailing the fundamentalists came together for the Cliffites over Afghanistan. For a decade, Washington armed and supported the fundamentalists' reactionary *jihad* (holy war), using the opportunity to wage a proxy war against the Soviet Union. We forthrightly hailed the intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan against the mullah-led forces, and we called for the extension to Afghanistan of the social gains of the October Revolution. But the Cliffites were foursquare on the side of reaction. In Britain, SWP leader Paul Foot succeeded in provoking an anti-Soviet frenzy on the floor of Parliament by right-wing Tories and Labour "lefts" alike, through incendiary "revelations" in his *Daily Mirror* column of the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be sent to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan (*Spartacist Britain* no 24, August-September 1980).

In the US, the ISO bombastically proclaimed all-out support to the mullahs:

"Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs."

—*Socialist Worker*, May 1988

In the first place, the ISO's predecessor, the Shachtmanite International Socialists, had to go through considerable contortions to belatedly and minimally defend the Vietnamese against the US, using the "democratic" argument of "self-determination" in order to evade the fundamental issue of a Stalinist-led *social revolution*, however bureaucratically deformed. And what the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan "gave heart to" was the forces of bloody counterrevolution. From East Berlin to Moscow, the SWP and ISO cheered the restoration of capitalism, which meant mass unemployment, racist terror and rampant attacks on women's rights.

... to "Holy War" in Algeria

The question of Islamic fundamentalism is by no means limited to a historical examination of the lessons of Iran and Afghanistan. The issue is posed again sharply in Algeria, where the bloody military regime and reactionary Islamic fundamentalists are locked in a gruesome civil war. And it is centrally to Algeria that the Cliffites address themselves. Harman writes of the "contradictions" of the FIS, the Islamic Salvation Front, which he claims is "caught between respectability and insurrectionism". He does not even hint at the fact that the "insurrectionism" of the FIS aims to set up a reactionary theocratic dictatorship.

The SWP says: "We are on the side of the Islamists when they confront the state—but only then" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 August)! The Cliffites get a little queasy when the Algerian fundamentalists assassinate teachers, journalists, leftists. But what about when they "confront the state" by blowing up nationalised factories, derailing government-owned passenger trains and burning down state schools? Presumably Cliff et al would be applauding. Yet the Cliffites' "Islamist" line is not going down very well with some of their own supporters, notably women.

When the sinister Islamic fundamentalists swept the first round of parliamentary elections in Algeria three years ago, the SWP gushed that "the breakthrough of the FIS reflects the rise of revolutionary feeling". They felt compelled to add a rider about FIS strikebreaking and how they "argue that women should remain at

home", concluding:

"All this offers opportunities for socialists, as long as they are clear about the FIS. They have to support them against attacks from the regime in so far as they represent, in however confused a way, an opposition in which large numbers of the dispossessed and sections of the working class put their trust. At the same time socialists have to be implacably hostile to their politics. They must defend women's rights and democratic rights."

—*Socialist Review*, February 1992

This talk of defending democratic rights is so much eyewash, to hide the fact that a fundamentalist victory in Algeria—which

DPA



Socialist Worker

Organ of the International Socialist Organisation

May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

ISO supported CIA-aided mujahedin cutthroats in Afghanistan, cheered Soviet withdrawal which meant death for women, leftists.

the Cliffites support—would impose an Islamic dictatorship that would wipe out any semblance of democracy and spell death—literally—for unveiled women. And there is strong evidence that the Cliffites actually hammered their pro-FIS line down the throats of their comrades in Algeria, where such illusions are truly suicidal.

On the eve of the first electoral victory of the FIS in the June 1990 municipal elections, a spokesman of the Communist Movement of Algeria (MCA), interviewed in the journal of the French Cliffites, characterised the FIS as "ultra-reactionary" and even "a fascist current" with principles, ideology and political action "similar to the National Front in France". At the same time, the MCA representative limited his programme to the "struggle for democracy" through elections and the formation of a "democratic and revolutionary opposition" (*Socialisme International*, May 1990). But when the FIS swept the parliamentary elections of December 1991, *Socialisme International* (February 1992) declared: "Revolutionaries in Algeria must fight side by side with these people, even in actions called by the FIS." They even presented the FIS as a force which could be pressured into opposing imperialism! As they explained it, "in order to come to power, the FIS needs the masses' support and such a regime would be opposed to the policy imposed on Algeria by the IMF". However, the precondition for breaking the stranglehold of the international bankers cartel of the IMF and the domination of the world market is a proletarian revolution overthrowing capitalism and extending to the imperialist centres.

The MCA, which a footnote in Harman's article coyly says "no longer exists", joined the Cliffites and entered the PST (Socialist Workers Party), the Algerian section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. There they formed an "opposition" which published a document, "Balance Sheet and Perspectives of the PST" (23 October 1992), which managed the singular feat of never once mentioning the FIS and the need to fight it. Nowhere in this document, or Harman's article, or any of the Cliffites' documents, is there the

slightest understanding that the role of Marxists is to lead the *working class* in a fight for power against both the bloody military regime and the reactionary fundamentalists. In contrast, the Trotskyist Platform Tendency of the PST, which cohered on an internationalist programme around the Russian question (including defence of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and opposition to Polish Solidarność) and the fight for workers revolution in Algeria, declared:

"The FIS is the sworn enemy of the proletariat, minorities and women.... At present the regime imprisons FIS militants, tomorrow, like yesterday, the rul-

Cliffites write, in justification of the Islamic headscarf, that "exposing women's bodies in modern society is one of the forms expressing the oppression of women in presenting them as a sexual object" (*Socialisme International*, December 1994)! And SWP honcho Alex Callinicos went so far as to declare that "the headscarf is not a sign of the 'imprisonment of women' but of modesty"! In Algiers, women and even schoolgirls have been beaten and in several instances shot and killed by Islamic fundamentalists for failing to obey this reactionary code of "modesty".

For generations, Stalinists and social democrats reshaped the classic Menshevik schema of the "two-stage revolution", counselling the working class to support supposed bourgeois "progressives" as an illusory "first step" toward socialist revolution. This suicidal policy of class collaboration has inevitably led to bloody defeats, from China in 1927 to Allende's Chile in the early 1970s. But at least the so-called "progressive" nationalists like Chiang Kai-shek vaguely aspired to modernise their countries (such as opposing the binding of women's feet), even as they violently repressed the working class. The Islamic fundamentalists, whom the Cliffites see as allies in "anti-imperialist" struggle, dream of turning the clock back to the age of the prophet!

The Cliffites' grotesque genuflection before Islamic fundamentalism is not simply a bizarre aberration. In the Soviet Union, which they called "state capitalist", they sided with any and all "anti-Stalinist" forces, no matter how reactionary. In Algeria, which actually is a capitalist country with a heavily stratified economy, they likewise bloc politically with the most retrograde opponents of the military regime. It is interesting that as the imperialists proclaim the "death of communism", both ex-Stalinists and social democrats have gravitated into unsavoury alliances with far right-wing nationalist forces, from the "red-brown" coalition in Russia to the Cliffites' yearned-for "red-green" coalition in Algeria.

The only thing is, comrades, it takes two to tango, even in a *chador*. And to the Islamic fundamentalists, all socialists are infidels, to be punished accordingly. The Cliffites' policy is suicidal for themselves and any workers, youth or women unfortunate enough to be influenced by them. The proletariat must be galvanised politically around a programme not to replace the uniformed dictators with robed theocrats but to achieve their own class rule, not to be thrown back into benighted medievalism but to take society forward to socialist emancipation and enlightenment.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 613, 30 December 1994

In defence of progress

Today, the Cliffites' fascination with the Islamic fundamentalists is hardly limited to Algeria. In France last year, the Mitterrand-Balladur government, as part of its campaign of whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria, waged a racist campaign of expelling from school girls who wear the Islamic headscarf. In opposing these attacks, our comrades of the Ligue trotskyste de France have also sharply warned against the fundamentalist danger. In contrast, the Cliffites politically tail after the fundamentalists. The French

WORKERS HAMMER

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League

- 1-year subscription to *Workers Hammer* for £3.00 includes *Spartacist*, organ of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist); and *Women and Revolution* (Overseas subscriptions: Airmail £7.00; Europe outside Britain & Ireland £4.00)
- 1-year subscription to *Workers Hammer* PLUS 22 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, Marxist fortnightly of the Spartacist League/US for £8.00. Subscription includes *Spartacist*, organ of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist); *Women and Revolution*; and *Black History and the Class Struggle*

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____ Telephone _____

Make cheques payable/post to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

Jamal...

(Continued from page 16)

The threatened execution of Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in this country since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of Jamal takes place in the context of President Clinton's drive to bring back COINTELPRO and abridge fundamental freedoms for the entire population and of a bipartisan assault on every social program from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto population.

The death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." Clinton's new crime bill, passed just before last year's elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making the death penalty the law of the land even in states that abolished it. By mid-May, 24 people were executed in the U.S. this year—a pace that will nearly double the highest yearly total of executions since the reinstatement of the death penalty in 1976. On June 7, just one day after South Africa abolished the death penalty, the U.S. Senate passed Clinton's anti-terrorism package, which limits inmates to one federal court challenge to their death sentence within one year of conviction. This measure is a virtual death sentence for the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* by which 40 percent of death sentences are overturned. The American ruling class wants a compliant and "disciplined" populace. Mumia stands as a symbol of defiance against this racist oppression. That is why they want him dead.

Jamal's case has become a rallying point for all those who want to fight against this whole racist onslaught. In February and March the PDC and its fraternal organizations across the seas organized demonstrations and rallies which drew support from increasing numbers of minority, immigrant and labor organizations. Since February nearly \$20,000 has been raised for legal defense. More recently, support has rolled in from the powerful black trade union movement in South Africa. These workers see in our fight against the legacy of slavery represented by the "legal" lynching of Jamal a



Workers Hammer

Labour MP
Jeremy Corbyn
addresses
demonstration
for Jamal,
London 7
June.

reflection of their own struggles against apartheid state terror and the criminalization of political dissent.

Across Europe, where capitalist counter-revolution in the former deformed workers states has brought poverty, disease and fratricidal war in the East, accompanied by emboldened fascist activity and anti-immigrant witchhunts in the West, Jamal's case has been embraced by trade unionists, Holocaust survivor groups and immigrant youth who see in the fight for this imprisoned former Black Panther Party leader the struggle against the forces exploiting and oppressing them as well. The mushrooming support from the organized workers movement is particularly important in linking the fight for Mumia's life with living struggle outside the prison walls.

A lynch mob is on the rampage

In a moving statement to his supporters massed outside Philadelphia City Hall for the June 5 press conference and rally, Jamal pointed out that Ridge signed the death warrant knowing that Mumia's attorneys were filing a petition for a new trial on June 5. "Everyone in the state of Pennsylvania knew we were coming Monday" to file. Ridge's action "was clearly political. He is at the call of those who are calling for my blood."

If Albert Sabo, the judge who sentenced Mumia to die, is the King of Death Row, Governor Ridge clearly aspires to be the Crown Prince. In office for just four months, Ridge has already signed a staggering 15 death warrants and presided over the first Pennsylvania execution in 33 years. In response to inquiries why he signed Mumia's warrant, Ridge's office replied, "to fulfill a campaign promise." That promise was made to the racist thugs in blue, the Philly cops who tried to kill Jamal in the street 14 years ago and who have been trying to silence him ever since.

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) has been on a rampage to force Jamal's execution. They have seized on the publication of Jamal's new book, *Live from Death Row*—a collection of his intensely compassionate writings about the horrors of racism, injustice and prison life—to rev up their frenzied drive for the legal lynching of this powerful spokesman for the oppressed and to intimidate the countless thousands who have raised their voices to save him. Addison-Wesley, the publisher of *Live from Death Row*, has been the target of FOP harassment, including a plane flying over their publishing house trailing a 30-foot streamer reading, "Addison-Wesley Supports Convicted Cop Killer."

In May, when *Live from Death Row* hit

the bookstores, the capitalist media launched an orchestrated campaign and deafening drumbeat for Mumia's death. In a lead editorial worthy of witchhunter Joe McCarthy, the *New York Post* railed that "The Left Fetes a Cop-Killer," denouncing Jamal's defenders and in particular those who would be participating in public readings from *Live from Death Row* on May 20. One, featuring Giancarlo Esposito, was picketed by 50 screaming white racists from the Philly, New York and New Jersey Fraternal Orders of Police. The May 18 "Eye on America" segment of Dan Rather's CBS-TV national evening news featured an equally vile smear job, preceded the day before by a lengthy article in the *Washington Post* and earlier pieces in the *Boston Globe* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*. The crusade to kill Jamal moved into high gear last year in a successful attempt by the FOP and others to cow National Public Radio into canceling a series of commentaries by Jamal.

The press announcement that Mumia's book was about to be published upped the ante against Jamal. The prison authorities cut off all paralegal and press visits in retaliation for increased support for Jamal and publication of the book. In the latest atrocity, Jamal has been placed in disciplinary custody on charges of "conspiring" with his attorneys and supporters to publish the book.

The attempted book-banning by jack-booted FOP thugs in uniform underscores the essential truth: *they want to lock up Mumia's ideas and kill the writer*. Like the writers Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, whose liberating views threaten those who benefit from a repressive society, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sentenced to die because his ideas, his courage and his humanity threaten the rulers of this whole system of injustice. Jamal has become the focal point of the broader fight against the racist death penalty, and that is why the forces of death seek to vilify him. They want the public to fear and loathe the nearly 3,000 prisoners on death row as nameless, faceless "brutes"—and Mumia's eloquent, compassionate writings expose this lie.

The macabre race to the slaughterhouse reaches beyond the Philadelphia cops and Governor Ridge to the highest levels of government. In mid-May President Clinton attended the national FOP's annual gathering in Washington, and later met with FOP leaders where he grotesquely equated leftist protesters of the '60s with fascist terrorists reveling in the slaughter of innocent people in Oklahoma City. Emboldened by the "law and order" drive, the racist cops act as if they stand above the law, as demonstrated by the rampage by drunken New York City cops in Washing-

ton, D.C. The Philly cops showed their idea of "justice" ten years ago when they bombed the MOVE commune, with explosives provided by the FBI, setting off a firestorm that killed eleven black people, including five children, and consuming an entire city block. Mark Goldberg, a Jewish ex-cop, is suing the police department for half a million dollars, charging he was driven out of the department by the open anti-Semitism of his superior officers. And now Pennsylvania's top cop, Attorney General Ernest Preate, Jr., has pleaded guilty to mail fraud and agreed to resign over a scandal involving illegal gambling operations. John Shaw, the former head of the Philly FOP, now resides in a federal penitentiary, convicted of corruption.

Meanwhile, in a crude attempt at intimidation, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office sent out an official letter on June 2 to prominent supporters of Jamal including the actors Ed Asner, Mike Farrell, Ossie Davis and Whoopi Goldberg, denouncing their support for Jamal as "misguided, misinformed" and repulsive. The D.A.'s office stated ominously that Addison-Wesley's "decision to publish Mr. Abu-Jamal's book and reward him with a profit for his deed, looks to be the only true miscarriage of justice here." So much for the "balanced" scales of "blind" justice. From the governor's mansion to the D.A.'s office to the FOP, the entire legal system in Pennsylvania, as regards the Jamal case, recalls the stench of Alabama in the days of Jim Crow when the powers that be similarly railed against "New York lawyers" and "outside agitators." Mike Farrell, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, publicly responded to the attack with a letter printed in the *Philadelphia Daily News*:

"Given the retrograde tone of the campaign being waged—and signed onto by too many normally responsible journalists—one understands why so many of the disfranchised find themselves willing to believe the powers-that-be are once again conspiring to remove from their midst an articulate and passionate voice who offers an alternative vision."

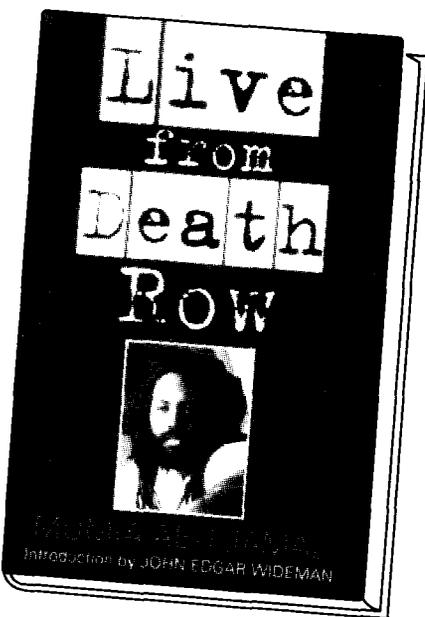
In their campaign to assassinate Mumia Abu-Jamal, the media have cynically trotted out the dead police officer's widow, Maureen Faulkner, claiming that this innocent man must die so that she will again be able to get a peaceful night's sleep. Do any of them inquire how the wife and children of Mumia Abu-Jamal sleep, knowing that their husband, father and grandfather is targeted for death? One of the demagogic lies pushed by the FOP's friends in the press was that Jamal turned and smiled at Maureen Faulkner when the ballistics expert held up her husband's bloody shirt in evidence at Jamal's June 1982 trial. Trial transcripts show that Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this happened, because the judge excluded him from much of his own trial!

From Oakland to Sydney: Mumia must not die!

While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia. Were it not for the mass mobilizations against Jim Crow "justice," the Scottsboro Boys would have been executed for a crime they did not commit.

In the largest death penalty protests in this country in decades, thousands across the country and in some 35 cities around the world poured into the streets to demand that Jamal not be executed.

• **Philadelphia:** Some 600 Jamal supporters filled the plaza outside Philadelphia's City Hall for a press conference organized by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal in conjunction with the filing of Jamal's legal



Jamal's new book of prison writings has thrown the racist pro-death forces into a frenzied campaign to silence him and to intimidate his supporters.

Join the campaign

papers on June 5. For the first time the Philly press corps, who have been echoing the Fraternal Order of Police calls for Jamal's head, got to hear the anatomy of Jamal's frame-up and proof of his innocence from lead attorney Len Weinglass and PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein. Speakers included Pam Africa of the Concerned Family and Friends, Ed Jarvis of the PDC, Clark Kissinger of Refuse and Resist! and former political prisoner Dhoruba bin Wahad. Ray Martinez, an SEIU organizer in Puerto Rico and adviser of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal flew in to express his support.

- **New York:** Four hours later over 1,000 protesters marching to a beating drum ringed New York's Madison Square Garden. Although a phalanx of cops prevented protesters from using bullhorns, chants of Free Mumia! Free Mumia! could be heard for blocks. A truck driver passing by who blew his horn in solidarity was pulled over and arrested.
- **Oakland:** Over 500 angry protesters rallied in downtown Oakland to demand "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Kiliu Nyasha, a former Panther who remains active in the fight to free political prisoners despite being confined to a wheel chair, told the crowd, "I wrote Mumia and I told him I will not go through losing you like I went through losing George Jackson." ILWU International President Brian McWilliams sent out a notice urging ILWU members to attend the rally, and addressed the rally himself as the union banner waved from the speakers platform. Owen Marron, Executive Secretary of the Alameda Central Labor Council linked the rollback of union rights with attacks on the black community and pledged labor support for the fight for Jamal's life:

"We're all taught in school that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights protects us, and gives us justice, but it does not. The only way people get justice is to exercise their rights, and that's what we're doing here today.... We in organized labor know that the law is not just. For too many years the courts and the police were owned by the employers; they exploited the workers. Every time that we had a good strike, they would go to court, get injunctions and break our strikes.... [W]e know the history of Philadelphia: the bombing of the row houses, the destruction and the terrible loss of life, women and children. The only way we're going to stop that is to keep demonstrating like this and to try and convince the people who run the government in Pennsylvania not to execute an innocent man. Give him a fair and just trial and we in the labor movement will be with you, and all the other organizations. And if we keep at it, we will get justice for our brother."

Hundreds more demonstrated in Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Washington, D.C. An evening rally in Minneapolis on June 3 was disrupted when police on horseback charged into the peaceful crowd of 200, spraying mace and arresting eleven people. The Boston rally at the memorial to the courageous black Civil War soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment heard a statement from Julius and Ethel Rosenberg's children, Robert and Michael Meeropol.

"Make no mistake about it, the answer to the question of whether something like our parents' case could happen again is a snarling YES pronounced by the Supreme Court and new Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Our parents were almost saved by the mobilization of thousands of Americans. Mumia can yet be saved if we devote ourselves wholeheartedly to spreading the word about his specific case and also about the awful way the Death Penalty is used as the ultimate weapon against

MOBILISE NOW! was the message at the 7 June emergency demo outside the US embassy in London. Initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee in response to the signing of the death warrant for Jamal, the protest drew more than 15 organisations and 150 people. Speeches were interspersed with loud, angry chants of "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Speaking for the Spartacist League, Andrew Gatsos underlined the resonance which Mumia's fight has found among the oppressed and working people in Britain and pointed out that, "the legal formality regarding capital punishment... didn't stop the murder of Joy Gardner" or of Omasase Lumumba or Brian Douglas. Gatsos concluded, "It's going to take a workers revolution to put the capitalist state machinery of death out of business once and for all!" Other speakers included representatives from the NUJ, RMT and NATFHE; the Green Party, the Alliance for Workers Liberty, the National Union of Students executive, Workers Power, Friends of MOVE, African Liberation Support Campaign, the Revolutionary Communist Group, the Turkish organisation Devrimci Sol and more.

In Glasgow, a 24 June united-front protest meeting initiated by the PDC and supported by the Scottish Region of the Fire Brigades Union and the Glasgow University Labour Club drew two dozen people. Brian Meechan of the GU Labour Club said, "The framing of Jamal represents a naked political expediency on the part of the American ruling class...." Partisan Defence Committee speakers urged those in attendance to "make this campaign your own", by raising funds for Mumia's legal defence, passing motions for active support of Jamal in their unions and other organisations, and publicising the case. Actions and meetings in defence of Mumia are being organised in Birmingham by a committee of trade union and socialist organisations and individuals.

On 15 June, the European Parliament passed a "Resolution on the death penalty

political opponents of the status quo—both to kill the most dangerous and to frighten the rest. We must not be frightened. We must not shy away from the defense of Mumia. We must make sure that NO AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER suffers the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state. With the recent abolition of the death penalty in South Africa, today the United States is the only Western power to engage in the state-sanctioned slaughter of its own people. Echoing earlier movements in Europe against chattel slavery in America, today the demand, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!" rings out in many languages on the streets of Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Amsterdam, Tokyo, and elsewhere.

In London on June 7 about 150 people protested outside the U.S. Embassy. Jesse Jackson was informed of the death warrant for Jamal while he was on tour in England. At a public meeting on June 4, Jackson told his audience, "We are all in prayer that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die by capital punishment. We must stop this killing. It does not make sense."

Mumia's colleagues in the National Union of Journalists are actively involved



in the United States and the case of Abu-Jamal", calling on the Pennsylvania governor to grant Mumia a stay of execution and a retrial. And in Britain, 36 MPs have so far signed a *second* Early Day Motion in the House of Commons, condemning the death warrant signed by Ridge and noting its "vindictive timing".

FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost more than a million dollars. Send a contribution for Mumia's legal defence to the PDC at BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, and make your cheque payable to the PDC, writing "Jamal legal defence" on the back. All these funds are sent in their entirety to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York. To date over £2000 has been raised in Britain and Ireland, including donations from the FBU, the NUJ, the Scottish Branch of the GPMU, two branches of NATFHE, and £500 from the rap/hardcore/dance group Fun-da-mental, as well as many individual contributors.

SPREAD THE WORD! ORGANISE PROTEST! Order bundles of the

in the fight for the "voice of the voiceless" and the NUJ Deputy General Secretary addressed the June 7 protest in London as did representatives from other unions and a very broad spectrum of socialist groups. Jeremy Corbyn, a Labour Party Member of Parliament, told the crowd,

"This proposed legal murder of someone who is not even guilty of the crime for which he has been charged is yet another example of the brutality of the law and order lobby in the United States and indeed exactly the same law and order lobby that is at work in this country as well."

In Germany some 300 people protested on June 8 at the U.S. Consulate in Berlin to demand Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. The IG Medien journalists union, which elected Mumia to an honorary position on their Berlin executive committee earlier this year, issued our demo call under their union's signature. A mixed Turkish/Kurdish/German youth group, D259, unfurled a huge banner bearing a black panther and reading "Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal." Speakers included PDS members of parliament, student leaders, and a statement was read by the international Auschwitz (survivors) committee.

Markus Wolf, a Jewish survivor of Hitler's Third Reich, former head of East

US Partisan Defense Committee's journal *Class Struggle Defense Notes*, special issue on the campaign, from the PDC in London (20 copies for £6). Get a copy of the PDC video, "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal" (£15) and arrange video showings for your friends and co-workers. Prepare for emergency demonstrations—get on the PDC phone chain to organise in your area. You can purchase Mumia's book *Live from Death Row* at Index Books in London, but ask your local bookshop to order it today!

SEND PROTESTS to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA. Within a week of signing Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax numbers daily to try to stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal. As we go to press the phone number is (717) 787-2500 and the fax is (717) 783-8609.

WRITE TO JAMAL to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090, USA.

German intelligence and victim of a vicious witchhunting campaign by the German Fourth Reich, issued a statement:

"Even before the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany and the persecution of our family, my parents declared the significance of solidarity exemplified by the injustice imposed in the USA on the Italians Sacco and Vanzetti. During Nazi rule and the Holocaust we owed our lives to international solidarity.... I therefore ask every individual who has met with injustice or who is fighting for his rights to join the demand to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal."

A June 6 protest outside the U.S. Consulate in Vancouver, British Columbia was heavily built by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, which also participated in the Toronto rally. Demonstrations took place in Sydney, Australia on June 7 and in Melbourne the following day. About 100 people demonstrated in Paris, France outside the American Consulate on June 8. A statement from the CGT dockers union in Marseilles was read, saying, "The dockers of the port of Marseilles love liberty and life too much to remain silent in the face of racist injustice and the heavy silence of the death penalty!" Demonstrations and pickets in Amsterdam were held on June 7 and 8 and are also scheduled for June 15 and 16.

continued on page 10

Jamal...

(Continued from page 9)

Cities around Italy are plastered with posters calling for Mumia's freedom and a national demonstration is planned on June 24 in Rome.

Stop racist legal lynchings

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal justice system.

Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. It represents the legacy of slavery—legal lynching—a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. As Jamal wrote in the prestigious *Yale Law Journal*, "You will find a blacker world on Death Row. African Americans, a mere twelve percent of

the national population, compose about forty percent of the Death Row population." Over 80 percent of those sent to death row from Jamal's Philadelphia are black, some *one third of those on the row from Philadelphia sent there by... Judge Sabo*, a former under-sheriff for 16 years and member of the Fraternal Order of Police.

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

State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death

penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

In any struggle for social justice it is essential to have a crystal clear view of who your friends and who your enemies are. The Partisan Defense Committee has led the way in organizing broad-based united-front defense efforts. We abhor the suppression of any political views for lowest common denominator "unity." Within the framework of fighting for Jamal there can and must be open political discussion and debate. However, **there is no place for cops, who are the front line of this whole system of racist terror, in a struggle for justice.** Unfortunately, one of the speakers at the June 5 press conference was Ron Hampton of the National Black Police Officer's Association, which recently sent a letter opposing Jamal's execution. Whatever their personal feelings about the death penalty may be, these black cops are no less a part of the capitalists' bloody terror machine than the white racist thugs—their brothers in blue. Speaking for the PDC Ed Jarvis protested this cop's presence, noting:

"This legal lynching is one side of the legal lynchings that go on every day against black people, against working-

class people by both black as well as white cops on the streets of every major city of this country....

"Reagan's feds in collusion with black Democratic Mayor Goode bombed the MOVE household in 1985, killing eleven people including young children, babies. Clinton's feds caused the fiery death of almost a hundred people in Waco, including children. And after the fascists bombed and killed in Oklahoma the Clinton administration seized this opportunity as a chance to push anti-Arab racism, as a chance to step up the campaign to eliminate the democratic rights of the majority of the American people.... "It is time to respond to the legal lynch mobs. It's time to respond to the strikebreakers. It's time to stop the Democrat and Republican party regimes which have been using these means to suppress working-class people and poor people. It's time to build a working-class party. It's time to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abolish the Death Penalty. Finish the Civil War!"

The campaign to save Jamal is at a critical point. As Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal said, "The warrant is an outrage! Mumia is somebody we desperately need alive. We cannot let them take such a voice from us." ■

The campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal has touched a deep chord in South Africa, where thousands of black unionists and anti-apartheid fighters have vivid experience of the racist prisons and the threat of the gallows which sent hundreds of political prisoners to their deaths. In recent weeks, a number of South African unions, as well as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the predominantly black union federation, have made urgent appeals to save Jamal's life.

African National Congress (ANC) secretary general M. C. Ramaphosa, fired off a protest letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge on June 2, urging Jamal's death sentence be commuted and demanding a retrial of his case. COSATU noted in its letter that the union federation,

"representing one and a half million members, would like to express grave concern at the death sentence imposed on journalist, Mumia Abu-Jamal.... Our organization has struggled against all forms of racism, oppression and the use of the death sentence to silence political activists. We are therefore vehemently opposed to the death penalty on both ideological and humanitarian grounds."

On June 6, in its first major decision, the Constitutional Court in Cape Town abolished the death penalty, ruling that capital punishment was unconstitutional. As *New York Times* Johannesburg correspondent Harold French noted, for decades, execution was used "as a means of terror in enforcing the system of racial separation known as apartheid." Both in the United States and South Africa, the barbarous death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied fundamental rights to whole peoples, reducing man to a beast of burden. The U.S. is the sole Western industrialized country to maintain this vicious racist practice.

For years, Pretoria held the title of "hanging capital of the world." According to the Johannesburg *New Nation* (17 February), during the decade between 1979 and 1989, at least 1,212 people were hanged in South Africa. In the early '80s, railway strikers of the SARHWU union were executed. The executions reached a crescendo during the township revolts of 1983-87. But when the white-supremacist regime decided to open negotiations with the African National Congress, "unbanning" it along with other anti-apartheid groups in February 1990, a moratorium on the death penalty was simultaneously declared.

Taking their place among a growing

South African unions join campaign to save Jamal

number of labor organizations around the world, several key South African unions have joined the fight to save the life of America's only death row political prisoner. These include the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Turning Wheel Workers' Union, the Steel Mining and Commercial Workers Union (STEMCWU), the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), and the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA).

The May 26 protest letter from NUMSA noted:

"On behalf of our 187,000 members of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, we wish to express our grave concern at the death sentence which has been imposed on journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal."

This union, which organizes the combative auto workers from Port Elizabeth to Durban and Johannesburg, is at the very heart of the power of the South African black proletariat. Former union president, now Member of Parliament, Moses Mayekiso faced the death penalty when he was jailed as part of the "Alexandra Five." Mayekiso and his comrades were released in part through an international campaign on their behalf.

The struggle to save Mumia has particular resonance in South Africa, where the fight against the death penalty has been a key part of the struggle against apartheid rule. Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, South African leftists and workers organizations are taking up the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The SACCAWU supermarket workers, who waged a hard-fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery chain, wrote in a letter to Governor Ridge:

"In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political protest.... We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to

silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one such example.

"Your system of justice is on trial. MUMIA ABU-Jamal must not die."

A number of socialist organizations have also joined the fight. Last September, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action wrote that WOSA and the Workers' List Party "call for the immediate abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty, and add our voices to all brothers and sisters in the United States and elsewhere who are demanding a retrial, at the very least, for Comrade Abu-Jamal." The Workers International To Rebuild the Fourth International sent a protest telegram stating:

"Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed. The racist police force will try together with the state to use this case and 'trial' of Abu-Jamal to intimidate other radicals. We take courage from the principled struggle waged by the comrades around Abu-Jamal and support you wholeheartedly."

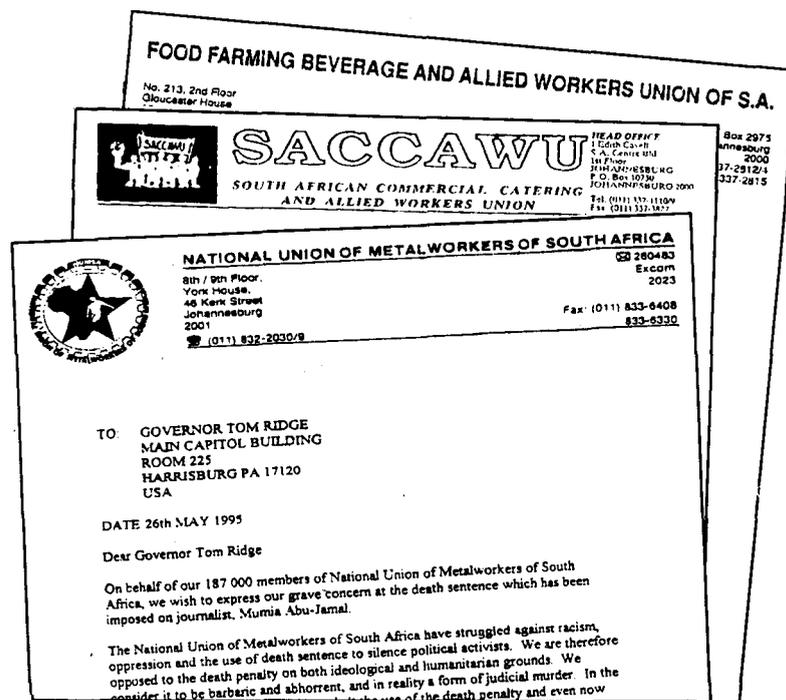
On June 12 the South Africa Communist Party sent a protest. And the New Unity Movement wrote to the PDC that their comrades are "angered and appalled" by the signing of the death warrant, and noted that:

"Governor Ridge and his followers have chosen to ignore the long and dedicated efforts of an international constituency to secure the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal. They now wish to claim the life of Mumia to provide a blood-sacrifice on the altar of mounting fascist war on liberty and justice. We join the PDC in its campaign both to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to secure the complete restoration of his liberty."

Powerhouse of black labor

In the huge class battles to forge the South African black unions, the black proletariat came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was their social weight which rocked the white supremacist regime. The black workers of South Africa are still fighting to obtain their freedom from racist oppression and capitalist exploitation. From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of repression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international workers revolution.

Reprinted from *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* no 22, Summer 1995.



Cliffites in US get lesson in workers democracy

On 17 June, the International Socialist Organization (ISO—affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain) assaulted members and supporters of the Spartacist League who were distributing a leaflet pointedly questioning the ISO's belated defence of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, particularly in light of their view that the racist cops can be won to the side of the working class and oppressed through "struggle". This leaflet is reprinted below.

The ISO's gangsterism is devastating evidence that their "support" to the campaign for Jamal isn't worth the paper it's printed on. For years, while the ISO maintained a stony silence, the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defence organisation affiliated with the SL, initiated mass rallies and protests on behalf of Jamal seeking to unite the broadest possible spectrum of political groups, trade unionists and others in this country and internationally for a common purpose while scrupulously maintaining the right of all participants to raise their own particular political viewpoints.

Who benefits from the ISO's slander, censorship and violence against us? Answer: the racist rulers and their cops who want to see Mumia dead. The FBI's "counter-intelligence program", COINTELPRO, used the same tactics—lies and "dirty tricks" aimed at fomenting disunity and violence—in their campaign against the left, particularly aimed at

destroying the Black Panther Party. Wittingly or unwittingly, the ISO's gangsterism leaves them open to being used as the tool of more sinister agencies.

Our rebuff of the ISO's attack and our immediate full exposure of the incident stands in contrast to their guilty public silence and semi-private and ever-twisting lies on the Internet. Finally, on 24 June, the ISO "Steering Committee" came up with an "official" statement which, however, is not for public distribution! Here we find the following amalgam of slander: the SL's "actions, rather than helping to build our movement, are aimed at destroying it"; "among the Spartacist League's initiatives is the Partisan Defense Committee"; "the PDC has been heavily involved with the campaign to free Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal". You don't need to read between the lines to get the message of this smear job—ie, one of the main organisations fighting to mobilise in Jamal's defence are "thugs" who want to "destroy" the workers movement and therefore... you shouldn't get involved.

It will take more than a large bucket of clorox to make this wash. But again, *cui bono* (who benefits) from the ISO's slanders? The international outcry for Jamal is a thorn in the side of the capitalist rulers who want to press ahead with the first explicitly political execution in this country since the murders of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Seizing on the heinous

bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma, Clinton is ramming through a new COINTELPRO.

The ruling class understands, as do we, that a mass protest to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty strikes a blow against the whole system of capitalist repression. So do their media mouthpieces. The ISO's attack came on the heels of a front-page article in the 16 June *Wall Street Journal* which portrayed Jamal's supporters and the Spartacist League in particular as cultists. Recall the government's mass murder of the black men, women and children in the MOVE commune in Philadelphia or the 87 charred bodies of the Branch Davidians in Waco to understand the deadly impact of being declared a cult on the front page of a major capitalist newspaper.

Beyond the lies, the ISO's statement reveals breathtaking contempt for their own membership. Hundreds of participants at their national gathering in Chicago saw SL supporters distributing literature and engaging in political discussion. Yet the ISO statement asserts that one of our sales teams "carried no literature and made no attempt to talk to any one arriving for the meeting". ISO members face the grim choice of corruption: either they must swear to a story they *know* is not true, or, if they are troubled by lies and violence, they will be driven out of the organisation and perhaps give up on left-wing politics

altogether. In this way, too, the ISO leadership does the bourgeoisie's dirty work.

Clearly the purpose here is for the ISO to control its membership by drawing a blood line. A number of ISO members *have* seen the fight to free Jamal as vital to the fight against racist American capitalism, and one which they rightly thought the ISO should be involved in. Finally their leadership responded with articles in defence of Jamal, but the fact that we have long been in the lead in the campaign for Jamal, mobilising and co-operating with diverse groups and tendencies, gives the lie to the ISO leadership's satanic depiction of our organisation as a bunch of crazed sectarians and "disrupters". Violence and slander is the way they resolve that contradiction.

The abject hypocrisy of the ISO's current stance of opposition to violence is revealed in the following news from South Africa. When a supporter of the ISO's affiliate, the International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), was informed of the Chicago events, he boasted of his own participation in "gooning" Spartacist comrades in Britain and screamed at our comrade, "You are nothing! You are a peanut of an organisation." Troubled by this response, an observer from the South African Communist Party (which claims 50,000 members) replied, "By your logic, then the South African Communist Party ought to do the same thing to you." Think about it. ■
Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 625, 30 June 1995

The ISO, the death penalty and the cops

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

For over a decade, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been entombed in a cell on death row in Pennsylvania for a crime he did not commit, sentenced to die for his political beliefs. A former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist who even on death row continues to use his searingly eloquent voice to expose the crimes of America's rulers, Jamal is the symbol of what the death penalty is all about in the racist, capitalist U.S.A. On June 1, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed an execution warrant against Jamal.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S., has long fought to mobilize the broadest social forces in the fight to save Mumia's life. This cause has been taken up in the U.S. and internationally by many thousands of trade unionists, leftists, writers, artists, political figures and other opponents of the racist death penalty.

After years of silence, the International Socialist Organization published an article in Jamal's defense in the June 9 issue of *Socialist Worker*. This is an about-face and we look forward to the ISO mobilizing its forces in the desperately needed united-front efforts to save Jamal's life. At the same time, taking up the cause of a man who the media, the government and the cops lyingly revile as a "cop killer" must pose some excruciating contradictions for the ISO to deal with (and perhaps this is the reason for their belated defense of Jamal).

The police frame-up of Mumia Abu-

Jamal is stark testimony to the Marxist understanding that the cops are the armed thugs and enforcers for the racist rule of the wealthy few against any who would oppose them. But how does this jive with the ISO's view that the police are "workers in uniform" whose strikes and demands for "union" rights should be supported? One of the baldest expressions of this position was made by John Molyneux a leading "theoretician" of the ISO's parent organization, the British Socialist Workers Party. In his misnamed "Teach yourself Marxism" column, Molyneux opined that "part of the struggle to smash the state may involve supporting rebellions of sections of the police against their officers and employers" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 August 1993)!

Cop "rebellions" are aimed at getting rid of any restrictions on their ability to terrorize the inner cities, smash strikes and exact vengeance against all other perceived "enemies." The Philadelphia police "union," the Fraternal Order of Police, has been on campaign footing to have Jamal put to death. With the backing of other police "unions" they have been mobilizing to silence Jamal and intimidate his supporters. *Socialist Worker* denounces the racism of the Philly cops but presumably the ISO would support them if they were "on strike" for better pay and working conditions i.e., more money to carry out their terror.

In its review of Jamal's book "Live From Death Row," *Socialist Worker* notes that the "most powerful essays in the book describe the barbaric and dehumanizing routine of prison life." The hands-on agents of this barbarism are the prison

guards. Yet the ISO's mentors in the British SWP have happily bragged of prison guards setting up *Socialist Worker* readers' circles!

And what of other police agencies? Since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, Jamal was a target of the Philly cops and the FBI's COINTELPRO program. Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered and hundreds of others jailed on frame-up charges in this deadly FBI vendetta. Jamal is a supporter of the MOVE organization. In 1985, in a joint operation of the Philly cops, city administration, FBI and Reagan government, the MOVE household was fire-bombed, murdering 11 black men, women and children and incinerating an entire neighborhood.

Today, seizing on the hideous Oklahoma bombing, the Clinton administration has rammed through a new COINTELPRO, the "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act," which targets virtually the entire population of the U.S. In a leaflet at UC Berkeley the ISO responded by asking "Can we rely on the FBI to protect us?" That self-proclaimed socialists would even pose such a question, speaks volumes of the ISO's view of the state as a benign and in some cases even a benevolent force (particularly in its Democratic Party face).

That's why the ISO meekly submits control of anti-fascist protests to the racist police. Typically, the ISO waltzes its members and supporters into fenced-in police pens—surrounded by cops with their guns, their gas, their nightsticks and their horses—to impotently "protest" the fascists without ever mobilizing to stop them. That's also why the ISO appeals to the agencies of the U.S. government—anti-labor gangsters with state power—to rid the Teamsters of "mob influence." The whole demeanor and language of the ISO is that of housebroken "socialists" who take care not to "offend" the powers that be and the "public opinion" (i.e.,

bourgeois ideology) the capitalist rulers purvey.

The title of a recent *Socialist Worker* (12 May) article, for example, reads "Death penalty not a deterrent to murder." But the death penalty *is* murder, executed by the racist capitalist rulers. We are opposed to the death penalty on principle. We do not accord this government the right to say who lives and who dies. In racist America, the death penalty is the lynch rope of the Ku Klux Klan made "legal," embedded in a history going back to the slave codes which defined black people as chattel.

For the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty is an integral part of our fight for black freedom in a socialist America. *Now* is the time that all opponents of the racist death penalty—particularly the multiracial working class which has the social power to strike a real blow against this whole system of racist reaction—must be mobilized to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. United-front actions, in which all participants can express their particular views, also allows for the exchange and clash of opinion which is vital to building a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for a socialist America.

It is a good thing that the ISO has finally decided to take up the defense of Jamal. But the ISO's policy of slander, exclusionism and violence are antithetical to the cause of mobilizing mass social protest to save Mumia's life. Less than a year ago, several ISO thugs physically attacked three members of the Spartacus Youth Club outside a death penalty forum at Boston University. Petitions and literature for Jamal were ripped out of our comrades' hands, seized in stacks off our literature table, torn to shreds and thrown out on the street. Substituting the fist for the brain, the ISO leadership's tactics have long been to attempt to draw a blood

continued on page 15

Balkans...

(Continued from page 1)

numerous cease-fires followed by new offensives and counteroffensives. Western governments routinely denounce the Serbian leaders as "war criminals" and then turn around and negotiate new "peacekeeping" arrangements with them. The disarray and divisions among the Western imperialists are mirrored by those of the embattled Balkan nationalists. The Croats and Bosnian Muslims, supposedly allies against the Serbs in a German-sponsored federation, periodically turn on and fight one another. The Serbian nationalist camp, too, is divided into bitterly hostile quite capable of massacring each other.

Fundamentally, the Balkan blood-bath is the product of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union under the pressure of world imperialism. Throughout Eastern Europe that counterrevolution was fuelled by, and in turn reinforced, resurgent nationalism. At the same time, with the disappearance of the Soviet Union the system of Cold War alliances is falling apart in the face of increasing *interimperialist rivalry*, centrally between the United States, Germany and Japan. In announcing Bonn's decision to send air force, army and navy forces to the region, German "defence" minister Rühle "said that contributing to the Balkans mission will give Germany more clout in Europe", the AP (26 June) reported. "The Americans are clearly on the margins of the policy, with Britain and France leading the way," he said."

The wars precipitated by the break-up of Yugoslavia have exposed and intensified the tensions within NATO, which has lost its central reason for existence. Indeed, one right-wing ideologue in the US, Jonathan Clarke of the Cato Institute in Washington, argues for scrapping NATO altogether along with a total withdrawal from Bosnia: "During the Cold War, NATO served a vital purpose. But, by keeping the alliance alive beyond its useful life, American policymakers risk seeing the United States sucked into obscure wars where the American interest is slight and where the American role—as in Bosnia—makes a bad situation worse" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 May).

US policy in the Balkans, or rather the lack of any coherent policy, is not determined by what is happening on the ground in Bosnia and Croatia but rather by Washington's shifting relations with London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow and, indirectly, Tokyo. For all their hesitancy, NATO's insertion of beefed-up strike forces points towards a change in the character, of the war, "subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies to an imperialist war against the Serbs", as we noted in *Workers Vanguard* no 624. In that eventuality, it is the elementary duty of revolutionary Marxists and class-conscious workers to defend the Serbs against an imperialist onslaught.

German Fourth Reich pushed bloody break-up of Yugoslavia

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Emerging from the war with immense popular and moral authority, Tito and his comrades socialised the economy—albeit in a bureaucratically controlled and deformed manner—in the name of the "brotherhood and unity" of the working people of Yugoslavia. Even a former US ambassador to

Yugoslavia, Walter Zimmermann, contrasts the relative national amity under the Titoist system to the fratricidal nationalism of today:

"For all their sins, the Yugoslav Communist leaders rarely incited their captive audience to hate other Yugoslavs for their ethnic origins.... Indeed the main cliché of Tito's Yugoslavia was 'brotherhood and unity.' The nationalists are different. From Belgrade and Zagreb they constantly exhort citizens to hate members of different ethnic groups."

—*New York Review of Books*,
2 February

The murderous nationalism which was characteristic of interwar capitalist Yugoslavia has fed off and driven capitalist

state while restructuring its economy along capitalist lines. But at this point the newly reunified German Fourth Reich entered the scene in a decisive way and steam-rolled its European allies into recognising the independence of Slovenia, Croatia and, somewhat later, Bosnia.

We wrote at the time: "The masters of the Frankfurt banks and Ruhr factories believe that with reunification last year they have reversed the Third Reich's defeat in World War II. In Yugoslavia they are seeking to reverse Germany's defeat in World War I" (*Workers Vanguard* no 531, 19 July 1991). Before World War I, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia were part of the decaying Austro-

where the Muslims were concentrated.

Since the end of 1992, the situation in ex-Yugoslavia has been one of strategic stalemate. The Croat and Bosnian Muslim forces, while building up their manpower and military hardware, have not been strong enough to roll back the Serbs. And the Western imperialist powers, each for different and conflicting reasons, have been unwilling to launch a major war against the Serbs on behalf of their Croatian and/or Bosnian Muslim clients.

Post-Soviet NATO, post-Soviet Russia and the Balkan quagmire

"Step by step, mission by mission, token force by token force, the German



Der Spiegel



Reuters

Serbian civilians (left) held in detention centre by Croatian army, which drove out thousands in recent offensive. Right, fascist Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman (second from left).

counterrevolution. This development was prepared by the bureaucratic deformations and inherent limitations of Yugoslav Stalinism with its programme of building "socialism in one country". Only extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans. As it was, Tito's "market socialism", which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced disparities among the various regions, fuelling resurgent nationalism.

Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy increasingly fractured along national lines. In the late 1980s the strident nationalist Slobodan Milosevic, who took over the leadership of the Serbian League of Communists, trampled on Tito's carefully balanced national arrangements, beginning with a violent attack on the Albanians of Kosovo. Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia", in turn, reinforced anti-Communist nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier, traditionally Roman Catholic northernmost republics of Yugoslavia which were formerly part of the Germanic sphere of influence. Recent documents have revealed that for decades the West German secret service worked closely with the Croatian Ustasha and other right-wing nationalists to bring about the break-up of Titoist Yugoslavia.

As capitalist counterrevolution swept across Eastern Europe, the terminal crisis of Titoist Yugoslavia came in early 1991 when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. The United States, Britain and France made a half-hearted diplomatic effort to preserve a Yugoslav

Hungarian empire, the junior partner of Germany's Wilhelmine Second Reich (empire) led by Bismarck and his successors. The present drive of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism to restore its sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is not simply motivated by historical sentiment or a desire for revenge. This region contains a wealth of minerals of strategic importance to German industry.

The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. A quarter of the Serb population lived outside of its own national republic, mainly in Croatia and Bosnia. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, these large Serbian communities confronted hostile nationalist regimes in Zagreb and Sarajevo. Fear of becoming an oppressed minority, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia, ignited a new series of Balkan wars.

These began in the frontier regions of Croatia as local Serbian militias backed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army fought forces loyal to the fascist regime of Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb. By the end of 1991, the Serbs controlled 30 per cent of Croatia with Tudjman & Co vowing to retake this territory when they were strong enough to do so. Next came the three-sided communalist bloodletting in Bosnia between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. The Serbs—making up about a third of Bosnia's population—were a largely peasant population which owned over 60 per cent of the land in the republic, while the Bosnian Muslims were a predominantly urbanised people. Thus when the war began the well-armed Serb forces were able to take over most of the countryside and lay siege to Sarajevo and the other cities

military is inching its way back toward the battlefield, 50 years after it lost Hitler's war and bid a humiliating farewell to arms", wrote the *Los Angeles Times* (20 June). "Now, with NATO defense ministries putting together a rapid-reaction force for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the postwar German army is on the verge of its most politically charged extra-territorial undertaking yet: 2,000 soldiers, 12 C-160 transport aircraft and about a dozen Tornado attack planes are being readied for possible action in the Balkan war." Following the NATO meeting in Paris, Bonn's defence ministry rewrote its "Order No. 1" for an "out-of-area" deployment of German military forces to include "possible support for a multinational coalition" in Bosnia. Since then preparations have been "going ahead full-throttle for departure in the direction of the Balkans", wrote *Der Spiegel* (19 June). And now the decision to deploy has been made. At the same time, German chancellor Kohl declared, "Germany must in no case allow itself to get drawn into the war."

German imperialism is presently inhibited by the burden of its history from undertaking resolute military action by itself. The atrocities committed by the Wehrmacht and Hitler's Croatian and Bosnian Muslim fascist puppets during World War II are seared into the national consciousness of the Serbian people. The liberal/social-democratic *Die Zeit* (16 June) writes: "All reasons of historical experience and present rationality force the Germans to a 'policy of restraint.' Thus, we will never expose ourselves militarily on our own but only based on an unambiguously documented request from the [NATO] Alliance or the UN in conjunction with others." However, the introduction of the soldiers of

the Fourth Reich into the Balkans, even in guise of UN "peacekeepers", would encounter determined and fanatical resistance by the Serbs. Hence Bonn's strategy is to manoeuvre and pressure the British and French to fight the Serbs to make the Balkans safe for the Deutsche Bank.

Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both World Wars I and II. Partly for that reason, London and Paris saw the break-up of Yugoslavia as an opportunity to reassert their status as regional powers mediating between the contending Balkan nationalisms, acting somewhat independently of the Germans, guiding the Americans and finessing the Russians. The British and French therefore introduced small military contingents into the region to give credibility to their diplomatic manoeuvres. But this is a tricky and dangerous game, which can easily get out of hand. The *Independent* (30 May) recently quoted with approval Bismarck's comments about getting involved with the Balkan conflicts of his day: "One must give these sheep stealers plainly to understand that the European governments have no need to harness themselves to their lusts and rivalries."

In order to avoid becoming harnessed to the lusts and rivalries of the warring Balkan nationalists, especially the Serbs, the British and French want to employ American military power. Whether, and for what purpose, that power should be deployed is currently being hotly debated in Washington and Wall Street. With the end of the Cold War, US ruling circles now see Japan Inc as Enemy No 1. Clinton's rapidly escalating trade war against Japan, especially imposing 100 per cent tariffs on luxury-model Toyotas and Nissans, has rankled the West European bourgeoisies, who fear Washington may do the same to them (see "Clinton Heats Up Trade War", *Workers Vanguard* no 624, 2 June). If Washington now acts in the Balkans with the same unilateral disdain for its imperialist "allies", this would further antagonise the West Europeans, possibly leading to the disintegration of NATO. And the US ruling class does not want that to happen, at least not now.

If the trade war with Japan impinges on Washington's actions and inactions in the Balkans, US relations with post-Soviet Russia are a far more direct and important factor. When in December 1991, following his ascendancy the previous August, Boris Yeltsin kicked Gorbachev out of the Kremlin and declared the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union, the American ruling class celebrated the "death of communism" and looked forward to Russia becoming a junior partner in a Washington-dominated "New World Order". But things haven't worked out that way. As Russia descends into social chaos, rampant criminality and bloody national conflicts (eg, the Chechen war), its new rulers have expressed their own imperial ambitions harking back to the tsarist empire. Increasingly, bourgeois opinion in the US views post-Soviet Russia as a dangerous place and a loose cannon on the world political scene.

Tsarist Russia was the historic great-power protector of its Serbian "little brothers", and the Yeltsin regime has intervened in the present Balkan conflict in order to reassert Russia's role as a great European power. Moscow has simultaneously acted as a lawyer for the Serbs in the international diplomatic arena and as a soft cop towards the Serbs on behalf of the Western, particu-

larly German, imperialists. Thus the Russians helped convince Milosevic to accept the German-sponsored Croatia-Bosnia federation last year. If the US takes a tougher line towards the Serbs, especially backed up by large-scale military action, this would strengthen the forces of anti-Western nationalism in Russia. The *Independent* (29 May) lays out a worst-case scenario in this regard:

"The risk is that Russia and America will become ranged on opposing sides in a war in south-eastern Europe. Last week, it was mainly American war-planes that bombed the Serbs. The Russian president, using Serbian hostage-taking as his cue, has effectively vetoed another raid....

"The most urgent question of all for Europe is how to prevent a new east-west schism on the continent."

The US ruling class—increasingly distrustful of post-Soviet Russia, increasingly hostile to Japan—is inclined to placate the West Europeans over the Balkans. This line was expressed in a candid and cynical way by *New York Times* foreign affairs specialist Thomas Friedman, in a column entitled "Allies" (7 June):

"I don't give two cents about Bosnia. Not two cents. The people there have brought on their own troubles. But I do feel loyalty to the allies who have put their own troops in harm's way.... The Bosnians will come and go, but good friends whom we can count on for solving problems that really do involve our national interest are hard to find."

But for all the pious declarations of America's responsibility to its long-time West European allies, the logic of the Balkan war is intensifying the divisions among the NATO powers as events of the past few months so clearly demonstrate.

Thus another reason Washington's geostrategists are weighing intervention in Bosnia is that in the US' absence the alternative means of bringing an imperialist "peace" to the Balkans would be a German-Russian condominium in the former Yugoslavia, with each keeping their respective clients in line. This is not for now, and certainly not with Washington's man Yeltsin in the Kremlin, but even the distant possibility of such a realignment would give the Pentagon nightmares, providing the masters of now-Greater Germany access to tremendous material resources (oil, minerals, grain), nuclear weapons and delivery systems. If the present national-ethnic civil war is undermining the pretence of a New World Order, a serious split in NATO would quickly put an end to such imperialist illusions.

Britain/US/UN/NATO out of the Balkans!

In late April, the Croatian army launched an offensive taking over western Slavonia, a Serbian-populated region which Serb forces had controlled since the first round of the Balkan war ended in late 1991. More than 5000 Serbian refugees fled the advancing Croatian army as hundreds were killed. The Serbs predictably retaliated by shelling the Croatian capital of Zagreb and renewing artillery attacks on Sarajevo.

The Americans, overriding the objections of the British and French, decided to "punish" the Serbs with air strikes against their arms depots in Bosnia. UN spokesman Fred Eckhardt blustered: "The idea was to send a strong political message that the escalating violence in Sarajevo had to stop." The Bosnian Serbs sent back a stronger message by taking the British and French soldiers hostage and chaining some of them to the arms caches and other potential targets of American air power. The hos-

tages were released in exchange for a promise of no further NATO air raids. The upshot was that the US "get tough" policy towards the Serbs ended in humiliating its West European allies.

From the West European standpoint, insult was then added to injury by the Captain Scott O'Grady affair, the US fighter pilot shot down by Bosnian Serbs who was rescued after hiding in the woods for six days. O'Grady was flown to Washington where he was greeted by Clinton and the media like a conquering hero. Clearly the American people are unwilling to risk the life of even a single US soldier in the Balkan conflict. Pointing to the "extraordinary over-reaction" to O'Grady's rescue, British journalist Martin Woollacott castigated American foreign policy as "selfish, short-term, television-driven and subject to change at short notice" (*Guardian*, 10 June).

These short-notice changes reflect in good part differences within US ruling circles between, to use conventional terms, hawks and doves. But in this case, the hawks want to defeat the Serbs without fighting them. Instead, they propose to build up the war-fighting capacity of the Bosnian Muslim forces. A prominent spokesman for this line is Republican Senate leader and presidential aspirant Robert Dole, who calls for lifting the UN-mandated arms embargo so that the Bosnian Muslims can supposedly fight the Serbs on equal terms.

The debate over the arms embargo has become a diplomatic charade since in any case it is not being enforced. Over the past few years advanced weaponry has been pouring in to the Sarajevo regime, mainly from Islamic countries, with US approval. A senior State Department official conceded, "We're not really against someone helping the Muslims" (*Washington Post*, 14 April). The main "someone" arming the Bosnian Muslim forces is Iran, a state branded by American imperialism as the centre of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism and "international terrorism". But, as the saying goes, politics makes strange bedfellows.

The main obstacle preventing the Bosnian Muslims from getting the weapons they want is, in fact, their sometime ally, sometime enemy, the Croats. Bosnia is land-locked, so tanks and other heavy artillery have to pass through the Adriatic ports in Croatia...and sometimes they don't pass through. Because of their lack of heavy weaponry, the current Muslim offensive to break the siege of Sarajevo is unlikely to result in a decisive victory over the Serbs but only an intensification of the war with massacres and counter-massacres by both sides.

If the imperialist "hawks" now vow to fight to the last Bosnian Muslim soldier, the "doves" place their hopes in, of all people, Slobodan Milosevic. Here is a man vilified for years by Western politicians and the media as the pre-eminent "war criminal" in the Balkans, the architect of "ethnic cleansing". Now he is presented as the indispensable figure to bring

peace to the region. Washington is making a big diplomatic effort to induce Milosevic to recognise Bosnia on the basis of the boundaries it had as a Yugoslav republic in return for dropping the international economic sanctions against Serbia.

There is no doubt that Milosevic is willing to sell out his embattled Serbian brethren in Croatia and Bosnia in order to convince the Western imperialists that he is a man with whom they can do business. But whether the Belgrade strongman can control Serbian forces in Croatia and Bosnia, let alone the ultranationalists in Serbia itself, is another question entirely. The crazed nationalist fanatic Vojislav Seselj—once a Milosevic henchman and ally, now an opponent—argues that "Whatever the superpowers gain with Milosevic will stay only on paper. His negotiating power with other Serbs is minor now." A deal between the NATO powers and Milosevic is no more likely to end the seemingly interminable war in the Balkans than the current Bosnian Muslim offensive.

Milosevic has for some time been carrying out a balancing act, trying to placate the NATO imperialists while singing a different tune in Belgrade. Not only will it be difficult for him to shove a diktat down the throats of those fighting in Bosnia, but Serbian society is not one seamless mass. While Milosevic, now head of the Serbian Socialist Party, has aggressively played the nationalist card, his wife, Mirjana Markovic, is the leading ideologist of the "Communist Alliance-Movement for Yugoslavia", which has been closely linked to the army and claims to oppose nationalism. "For the last three years", she has written, "our newspapers have been making heroes out of war profiteers, killers driven by religious hatred and other criminals who make their sick atrocities out to be acts of patriotism and bravery" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 24 May). More fundamentally, the working class, which has suffered greatly under the imperialist embargo and which in the pre-1991 Yugoslavia on several occasions exploded in ethnically integrated class struggle, can only be harmed by this intercommunal slaughter.

Marxist and proletarian internationalists oppose all sides in the squalid nationalist blood-bath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of workers and peasants of all nationalities. We oppose *all forms* of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from economic boycotts to "peacekeeping" troops to NATO air strikes. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting nationalist claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing nationalist goals. This bloody conflict underscores the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans in a socialist united states of Europe.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 625, 30 June 1995.

Spartacist Youth class series

From the French Revolution to the Russian Revolution Introduction to the history and theory of Marxism

Capitalism, socialism and communism 5 July

The Bolshevik Revolution 19 July

7 pm, upstairs at Liberties Bar, 100 Camden High Street, NW1
(nearest tube: Camden Town)

For readings and more information: 0171-485 1396

Workers Hammer did not appear in June.

FBI files...

(Continued from page 16)

racist cop terror and oppression. From the moment Jamal appeared on the Philadelphia political scene as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, the cops, FBI and who knows which other government agencies had him in their gunsights. These files prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, wide-ranging collusion between the FBI and the Philadelphia Police Department—particularly its Civil Disobedience Unit (CDU) and Intelligence Division “red squads”—extending to at least four other security agencies, including the Naval Investigative Service Office, Military Intelligence, Office of Special Investigation and the Secret Service.

Using its wiretaps, its informants and police spies, the government tracked the teenage Jamal's every move, relentlessly pursuing him at demonstrations, newspaper sales, political meetings and fundraisers—even at picnics. They knew when he was to leave town and when he was to return, intercepting him as he boarded a flight and engaging in “physical observation” of returning flights. They interrogated school officials, contacted employers, harassed Jamal's mother. And the FBI records are only the tip of the iceberg. During the 1960s and '70s, the Philly cops kept their own voluminous files—none of which have been made available—on some 18,000 people. What story do they tell?

Even these expurgated FBI files show that Jamal was targeted for far more than surveillance. His name was placed on two government hit lists: the FBI's Security Index (SI) of those deemed a “threat” to “national security” and the Administrative Index (ADEX) of those to be rounded up and thrown into concentration camps in case of a “national emergency”. Many of the documents bear the file notation “Smith Act”, the notorious “thought crime” legislation under which first Trotskyists and then Communist Party members were sent to prison for “advocating” revolution.

The files prove that, years before he was framed in the death of a Philadelphia cop, the feds repeatedly tried to set Jamal up on serious felony charges—including murder—without any basis. This was S.O.P. (standard operating procedure) in the government's COINTELPRO war on black militants, as the FBI instructed its agents that since the “purpose... is to disrupt... it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge” (Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]). The lies range from the absurd—the photo appended to the files is not of Jamal—to the outlandishly sinister. When the governor of Bermuda was assassinated in 1973, the feds tried to link the killing to Jamal, who had never been anywhere near Bermuda. They also falsely sought to paint him as an “urban guerrilla” associated with the Black Liberation Army, marking him to be assassinated by the cops the way BLA leader Zayd Shakur was.

Jamal came of age politically as 38 of his Panther comrades were gunned down and hundreds of others jailed on frame-up charges in the FBI's deadly vendetta. He himself was clearly a major target in this murderous crusade. The files repeatedly noted that Mumia was an effective and articulate spokesman and writer for the *Black Panther* newspaper, who “made the BPP look good because his approach was very positive”. Indeed, not one among the steady stream of reports to FBI headquarters on Jamal's Panther activities, which were compiled at the rate of virtually one a week, indicated that he was ever engaged in anything other than public speaking and writing. Yet despite the FBI's

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

DATE: 12/9/71

TO : SAC, Philadelphia (157-3937)

FROM : Director, FBI (157-15510)

SUBJECT: WESLEY COOK
EM - BPP

ReurFD-122 11/30/71 recommending subject for Category III of the Administrative Index (ADEX).

Your recommendation for inclusion in the ADEX is approved; however, the subject is being placed in Category II rather than Category III. Your ADEX cards on the subject will be furnished separately.

Subject is being placed in Category II since he has now actively aligned himself with the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party.

The recently formed communications group of the Cleaver Faction, the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network (RPCN) lists Mumia, known to be the alias of Wesley Cook, as its Philadelphia Correspondent. The 11/1-14/71 edition of the RPCN biweekly newspaper “Babylon” contained an article written by Cook under his alias concerning the arrest of H. Rap Brown.

Since subject is an active participant in furthering the aims and purposes of the black extremist Black Panther Party (BPP), he qualifies for Category II.

For criteria for inclusion in the various categories of the ADEX, refer to Bureau airtel to all offices dated 11/15/71 captioned “Security Investigations of Individuals.”

157-3937-183
DEC 10 1971
b7c

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

157-3937-183

FBI's murderous war on black militants placed thousands of radicals, including Jamal, on government ADEX round-up list.

acknowledgement that Jamal “has not displayed a propensity for violence” and was not once found with a gun throughout this period of intense surveillance, the files regularly labelled him “Armed and Dangerous”—a licence for the cops and G-men to shoot first and ask questions later.

And they finally did shoot him, on the night of 9 December 1981. The subsequent trial, conviction and death sentence was a political frame-up pure and simple—like the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—the culmination of years of efforts to “neutralise” Jamal. To send Jamal to death row, prosecutor Joseph McGill told the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's Panther past showed that he had been planning to kill a cop “all the way back then”. Even in their skeleton form, these documents reveal that since “all the way back then” the state has been out to get Jamal. In them you can see the threads leading to the 1982 frame-up which sent Jamal to death row.

FBI's racist vendetta

Of 293 COINTELPRO operations against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. Vast resources, at every level of government, were expended in a ruthless effort to smash this group which adamantly proclaimed the right of armed self-defence against racist terror and attracted young militants with its revolutionary rhetoric against the racist capitalist system. Even with all their deletions and omissions, the files on Jamal offer a glimpse of the overwhelming arsenal of state repression which was deployed against the Panther Party and its members.

The feds decided to open a dossier on the young Jamal when he participated in a 1 May 1969 demonstration at the Pennsylvania State Office Building demanding freedom for imprisoned BPP leader Huey Newton. From that day on a steady stream of “airtels”, “nitels”, memoranda and letters between FBI headquarters and its field agents tracked Mumia's every political move. For example, in one typical four-week period in the summer of 1969, the FBI files include: a memorandum dated 11 August reporting that Jamal spoke at a Hiroshima Day rally in Phila-

delphia; a CDU report on the same rally, also dated 11 August; two “Airtels” to the FBI director, dated 14 August; a 14 August “FBI Notice”; a 19 August “Government Memorandum”, again on the Hiroshima Day rally; and a 4 September FBI report on a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally where Mumia “spoke against the ‘pigs’” followed by a cover note dated 5 September specifically identifying “Wesley Cook, aka Wes Mumia”.

The files are replete with clippings of *Black Panther* articles written by Jamal and reports of his public speeches. It was Jamal's noticeable talent as a young revolutionary journalist and propagandist which attracted so much FBI attention. Such skills made him particularly dangerous in the eyes of the capitalist authorities. From the days of the slavocracy, the racist rulers have always feared literate and articulate black people as a challenge to their power. A 24 October 1969 FBI report on Jamal urged that he be placed under high-level surveillance because:

“In spite of the subject's age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index.”

Already by then, the young Panther activist knew firsthand what it meant to be on the receiving end of the state's murderous “counterintelligence” operations. A 6 October 1969 “airtel” reported on “simultaneous hits” several weeks earlier by FBI and Philadelphia CDU and “Intelligence Squad” agents on the Philly Panther offices and the nearby Webb's Bar, which was frequented by BPP members. In an autobiographical memoir included in his new book, *Live from Death Row*, Jamal recalls how he found himself at the time facing “a .38 special close enough to touch”, while a cop screamed: “If you fuckin' blink, I'll blow your black goddamn head off your shoulders!”

Seven months later, Jamal was set up for another attempted “hit”, as he boarded a flight for San Francisco in March 1970 to work at the Bay Area BPP headquarters. According to a 2 April 1970 report, Assistant US Attorney Tony Lombardio “advised he would authorize the arrest of Cook for violation of the Crime Aboard

Aircraft statute”. More than one Panther activist was shot dead by the cops with the subsequent claim that they had been armed and “resisted arrest”. But in this instance, the FBI was frustrated in its attempt to get Jamal, as the report concluded: “Cook was searched by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation prior to boarding Trans World Airlines, Flight 15; however, no weapon was located.”

By 1970 the BPP was being torn apart through a combination of government terror and internal factionalism between the Huey Newton wing and Eldridge Cleaver, who espoused a militant-sounding guerrillaist strategy from his exile in Algeria. Jamal left the Panthers shortly after the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention held at Philadelphia's Temple University in September 1970, but he remained in the government's cross-hairs. That autumn, Mumia was arrested along with seven other high-school students for demonstrating and distributing literature calling for “black revolutionary student power”. Hearing that Jamal had started a publication called *National Black Liberation News*, FBI headquarters instructed its field agents to determine “if the paper is to be published in Philadelphia” and to submit “complete details concerning its staff, printing, distribution, financing and other pertinent details” (“Airtel”, 19 November 1970).

A 9 December 1971 memorandum from FBI headquarters reported the decision to include Mumia on the ADEX list: “Subject is being placed in Category II since he has now actively aligned himself with the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party.” Again it was Jamal's writing that particularly irked the feds, as they noted that he was Philadelphia correspondent for the pro-Cleaver newspaper *Babylon* and “that Cook in the past has made public speeches and has written ultramilitant articles on the BPP”. The following year, the cops tried to put Jamal away on a weapons charge, as the CDU reported to the FBI that he “was arrested while in the possession of a six inch bladed Exacto knife”. The charges were dropped. Jamal was working as an artist at the time, and had carried the Exacto knife with him from work to attend the trial of another black militant.

Among the most spectacular revelations in Jamal's FBI files is a clumsy plot—foreshadowing the later frame-up in 1981—to stick him with the double murder of Bermuda governor Sir Richard Sharples and his aide. This was based solely on Jamal's presence in 1972 at Vermont's Goddard College—where he was taking courses in the Third World Studies Department—while it had supposedly been visited by “a leading black extremist in Bermuda”. A 13 March 1973 letter from the FBI Acting Director sought to link Jamal to the murders:

“Because of Cook's black extremist background, his possible involvement in the urban guerrilla activities of the Black Liberation Army, and his attendance at Goddard College which attracts black extremists from Bermuda, the investigation to locate him should be intensified and efforts should be made to determine if he had been out of the country over the weekend of March 9-11, 1973.”

This report was a tissue of lies and innuendos from beginning to end. The feds well knew that Jamal was a journalist and public speaker, not an “urban guerrilla”. He had no connection to the BLA. Yet were it not that his employer at Bell Telephone in Philadelphia confirmed that Jamal had been at work during that time, the state might have sent him up for murder long before the 1981 killing of Philly cop Daniel Faulkner.

Paper trail of a frame-up

Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party

in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit — because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defence of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression. The FBI files indicate time and again that they could entertain no hopes that Jamal would turn informant and desert the cause for which he fought. As one such report remarked: "Although he is only 16 years old and has no informant potential, he possesses much intelligence and evidentiary information if he will talk."

There was clearly extensive collusion between the FBI and Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia Police Department. One notable entry in the FBI files is a reference to Jamal's arrest at the age of 14 at the 1968 Wallace protest. The FBI report noted that "Cook was 14 years of age and, therefore, not criminally charged." Indeed, because Jamal was a minor at the time and the charges were dismissed, any record of his arrest was supposed to have been destroyed. Clearly Rizzo's thugs were keeping tabs on the young, articulate opponent of racist and cop terror even before he joined the Black Panthers and were sharing that information with the feds. Without doubt Jamal, identified in the FBI files as one of the top three leaders in the Philadelphia BPP, was a prime target of Frank Rizzo's racist thugs in blue. Document after document in the FBI files lists as its source unidentified cops from the CDU or *Intelligence Division*. According to SA Paolantonio, biographer of Philly police commissioner and, later, mayor Frank Rizzo, the Philadelphia CDU led by George Fencl:

"had a steady stream of informers paid by



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

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

the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In fact, when the FBI began its counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), the agency used Fencl's CD squad as a model. Before Rizzo was sworn in as police commissioner, the Philadelphia Police Department was working closely with his hero, J. Edgar Hoover. Rizzo accelerated that relationship."

And Rizzo and his cops had it in for Jamal. The FBI files are replete with references to Jamal's denunciations in speeches and articles of the notoriously racist Philly cops and Rizzo in particular. Jamal incurred their wrath yet again in 1978, when as a prominent black radio journalist he came to the defence of the MOVE organisation after a mammoth police siege of their Powelton Village home, in which one of the cops ended up being killed by a bullet from another cop's gun. At a press conference, then-mayor Rizzo ominously looked at Jamal as he blamed the officer's death on the "new breed of journalism", warning:

"They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

"Four years later, on 9 December 1981, Jamal was shot in the chest by the cops on a Philly street and left nearly bleeding to death. An officer found wounded nearby died an hour later. The police, having failed to get Jamal so many times before, concocted a frame-up and railroaded him onto death row. Jamal's FBI files are filled with references to the BPP's use of Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book* and especially of the quote "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". This citation, uttered by Mumia in a 4 January 1970 interview in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (which is conspicuously missing from the 700 pages of FBI files, despite the inclusion of numerous other newspaper clippings), was the prosecutor's key argument a dozen years later in demanding that Jamal be sentenced to die on the basis of his political beliefs.

Another notorious travesty in Jamal's trial was the cross-examination of character witness Sonia Sanchez, a renowned poet. Pointing to an introduction Sanchez had written for a book about BLA activist Assata Shakur, who narrowly escaped an execution attempt by New Jersey state troopers only to be framed for the killing

of one of her would-be assassins, the prosecution labelled Sanchez a "friend of cop killers"—suggesting that Jamal must be a "cop killer" as well. What led the prosecution to make a connection between Jamal and Shakur? A 26 September 1973 FBI report said that Jamal's name and phone number had been "located among names and telephone numbers found in notebook number 1 which was obtained from BLA member (deleted) at the time of her (deleted) arrest by NJ State Police".

These files tell only a small part of the story of the government's vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal. We do know that despite FBI protestations that COINTELPRO ended in the mid '70s, state harassment of leftist political activists has continued unabated, not to mention the deadly workings of the Philadelphia police. (In fact, the FBI continued to spy on Jamal even on death row: a 1991 entry absurdly sought to link a prison visit to Jamal by a German human rights activist with a "machine gun attack of American Embassy" in Bonn!) In the 1970s, when Jamal was active as a journalist, Rizzo's cops were gunning down unarmed "suspects" at a rate 37 times higher than even New York's cops. And the collusion between the FBI and the racist Philly cops did not stop with Jamal and the Panthers. When the Philadelphia police dropped a bomb on the MOVE home in 1985—killing eleven men, women and children and destroying an entire city block—it was the FBI which supplied the explosives.

The fight to save Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty is part of the struggle for black equality in America. It will take a workers revolution to put the capitalist state's machinery of death out of business once and for all and bring to justice the hired thugs who have committed untold crimes against the working class and minorities in the name of "law and order". Only then will the records of the government's secret police agencies be opened for all to see. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 624, 2 June 1995.

Open letter to Nelson Mandela

We reprint below "An open letter to President Mandela to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania" by Paul Trehwela. The letter was sent on 16 June 1995, South Africa Freedom Day and anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Trehwela was a political prisoner in Johannesburg and Pretoria between 1964-67. He was the editor of the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (*Spear of the Nation*) underground newspaper, *Freedom Fighter*, in Johannesburg between 1963-64. From 1988 to 1994 Trehwela co-edited the journal *Searchlight South Africa in London*.

Dear President Mandela,

I am appealing to you to use the respect in which you are held internationally to try to stop the execution in the United States of a black political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal.

I am writing to you as a fellow *mugwenya* from the grim time in the early 1960s, when the shadow of the gallows hung over you too.

Abu-Jamal is due to be executed in Pennsylvania on 17 August. He has been involved in radical black politics in the US since he was first arrested at the age of 14, in 1968, in a protest against the presidential campaign of the racist governor, George Wallace. The following year he supported

the founder of the Black Panther Freedom Party, Huey Newton, then in prison.

His trial in 1982, following the death of a policeman in a shoot-out the previous year, was crowded with irregularities.

I have supported the campaign to save the life of Abu-Jamal since 1990, when I spoke at a meeting in London in his defence. I said then that in a society in which 'the black 9 percent of the population of Pennsylvania gives birth to 56 percent of the population on death row, we are in the presence of truly South African conditions.'

If South Africa can suspend the death penalty, that should apply at least equally for Abu-Jamal.

When I think about Abu-Jamal, my emotions go back to the time when my fellow co-accused and I were in the Fort Prison in Johannesburg, on trial, in late 1964. Our courageous solicitor, Joel Joffe, was also the attorney representing the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe heroes Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. On the day before their hanging in Pretoria Central Prison on 6 November 1964, Joel brought us messages from our doomed comrades and we sent our own message of love and solidarity to them, with Joel.

We held a memorial service for them in the yard at the Fort, as I'm sure you did also on Robben Island. Ivan Scherm-

brucker and Eli Weinberg, both now dead, guided our thoughts.

A year later we white political prisoners were transferred from Pretoria Local Prison to Central Prison, when the authorities wanted to use our cells to hold their Namibian prisoners from Swapo, including Toivo, while they brutalised and tortured them.

During the six months we were held in Pretoria Central, we listened to the executions of black prisoners every few weeks, through the singing of the Condemned prisoners in B Wing. It was awful—one of the worst experiences of my life.

Please, Mr President, let our South African experience speak loudly and clearly to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania, in memory of Mini, Khayinga, Mkaba, and so many others. Use the force of your international reputation to urge that the execution be set aside, in the same way that an international campaign helped to stay the hand of the judge in your trial.

The address of the Governor of Pennsylvania is: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, United States of America.

With deep respect,

Paul Trehwela

Cliffite goons...

(Continued from page 11)

line to seal off new members from political debate.

In a taped message from death row to a 1993 New York rally in his defense sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee, Mumia spoke powerfully to what is posed: "This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia and 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." For us, to "transform what is into what must be" means a proletarian revolutionary fight to bring down the entire system of American capitalism which is predicated on racist exploitation.

To accomplish this task there can be no confusion over the nature of the capitalist state, its cops, prison guards and other agencies of repression. While the ISO leadership's belated defense of Jamal smacks of Oscar Wilde's statement that "hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue," those who genuinely want to fight for a socialist America would do well to at least ponder the evident contradiction between this goal and the political views of the ISO.

Spartacist League [US]
16 June 1995

WORKERS HAMMER 4

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Thousands protest execution threat



COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal, death row political prisoner.

The following article is reprinted from *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* no 22 (Summer 1995) published by the US Partisan Defense Committee.

"Today we begin the process of undoing an unjust conviction that was rendered in this building 13 years ago."

— Leonard Weinglass at Philadelphia press conference, June 5

On June 1, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge signed a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal and set Thursday August 17 at 10:00 p.m. as the execution date. Jamal is to be executed for his political activities and beliefs. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, an award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was the victim of a racist frame-up. Human rights groups, labor unions, and other organizations representing millions of people from all over the world are fighting for Jamal's life.

Four days later, on June 5, Jamal's attorneys filed a petition for a new trial in the Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. Based on months of investigation, research and review, these papers demonstrate unequivocally that Mumia, a man who has proclaimed his innocence from the very beginning, was the victim of a politically motivated, racially biased prosecution in which evidence of his innocence was suppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee and other organizations, among them Refuse And Resist!, the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, spread the word about Mumia's case and organized months in advance for emergency protests following the signing of a death warrant. When the warrant was signed, thousands of unionists, students, leftists, civil rights and community activists took to the streets in cities across the United States and around the world to demand Mumia's freedom. *The New York Beacon*, one of New York's black newspapers, appropriately headlined its June 8-

14 issue, "The World Screams, 'Save Mumia'." Most importantly, in Mumia's hometown of Philadelphia, an integrated crowd of some 600 Jamal supporters turned out *en masse* to support Jamal's attorneys at a press conference and rally on June 5 after legal papers were filed demanding a new trial, a stay of execution, and the removal of "hanging judge" Sabo from Jamal's case.

In the first five days after Governor Ridge condemned Mumia to death with a stroke of his pen, Ridge's office was inundated with over 20,000 protest letters, faxes and postcards from around the world. In a futile attempt to elude the tidal wave of protest on behalf of Mumia hitting his office, the governor shut down his toll-free "800" phone number and changes his fax and phone numbers every day. These desperate antics by "Governor Death" can hardly deter the powerful and growing movement to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an internationally renowned writer whose ideas inspire struggles against injustice everywhere.

continued on page 8

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL:

THE FBI COINTELPRO FILES

As death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal fights for his life in the Greene "supermax" isolation facility in Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and its allies in government and the media are accelerating their blood-thirsty campaign to execute this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. Governor Tom Ridge has been signing death warrants at a feverish pace since his inauguration in January, and the cops and their mouthpieces clamour for Jamal to be placed at the top of the list. They want to drown out the many thousands of voices around the world who demand, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" To do so, they have orchestrated a cynical propaganda barrage in recent weeks aimed at painting this compassionate and articulate black man as a vicious "cop killer". Never mind that Jamal is innocent of the crime for which he was sentenced to die, the killing of a Philadelphia cop in December 1981. *This lynch mob wants to see Jamal dead for what he stands for: the cause of black emancipation.*

The sentence of death was passed on Mumia Abu-Jamal long before he ever appeared in a courtroom. At the age of 14, he was brutally beaten by racist thugs, including cops—and then arrested—for

daring to protest at a Philadelphia election campaign appearance by Dixiecrat segregationist George Wallace in 1968. That same year, fanatical FBI chief J Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." From the moment the young Mumia Abu-Jamal (then named Wesley Cook) joined the Black Panther Party, the chief target of Hoover's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), he became, in the eyes of the FBI and Philly cops, a dead man on leave. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a special Jamal campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (no 10, April 1989):

"The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO terror reaching into the courtroom. This time they got him. Mumia has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs, because of what he wrote, because of what he said, because of who he 'associated' with—and because of who he is."

The racist state vendetta against Jamal has now been confirmed by 700 pages of FBI files he recently obtained after almost three years of fighting for them. Even with

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

Report of: [REDACTED] b7C
Date: OCTOBER 24, 1969 Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Field Office File #: 157-3937 Bureau File #:

Title: WESLEY COOK

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

DECLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED] b7C
ON 11/11/94
#1363,302-001

DETAILS: I. BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH

On October 30, 1968, WESLEY COOK, also known as WES, WEST, and MUMIA X, claimed that he was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on April 24, 1954.

[REDACTED] b2
May 5, 1969 b7D

FBI's murderous COINTELPRO targeted Mumia Abu-Jamal as young Black Panther Party activist.

much of the text blacked out and many documents withheld outright, these files make it clear that the FBI and cops were on a mission to use any "dirty trick" in their arsenal

of extralegal terror to silence the man who would become known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his journalistic exposure of

continued on page 14