

Washington Goes Ape Over Iraq Attack **U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!**

AUGUST 7—As we go to press, the United States has dispatched "several hundred" warplanes and several thousand paratroops from the 82nd Airborne and other units to Saudi Arabia. A squadron of F-111 bombers, used in Reagan's 1986 attack on Libya, have been moved to forward bases in Turkey. In addition, three aircraft carrier groups and a battleship are steaming toward the Persian Gulf to blockade Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The U.S. imperialist cops of the world think they can "draw the line in the sand." Instead they may find their expeditionary force sinking in a Near East quagmire.

Considering the recent U.S. rape of

Panama, it takes a lot of chutzpah for Bush & Co. to condemn anybody for "naked aggression." But after Saddam Hussein's successful invasion of neighboring Kuwait, they're calling the Iraqi leader a "madman," even a "Hitler" with maniacal expansionist ambitions. A media crescendo built up the "danger" that he might try next to invade that pillar of Western "democracy" in the Near East, Saudi Arabia, where the ruling family revels in the public sport of executions of women, Christians, Jews, Shi'ites, alcoholics, adulterers and Mormons. They're trying to whip up America to defend the sultans' coffers.

Asked about how the U.S. intended to prevent Iraq's hostile takeover of the oil sheikdom, Bush responded in his best "read my lips" Clint Eastwood style, spitting out: "Just wait, watch and learn." But his latest move could make Hussein's day. The Iraqi army has nearly a million soldiers, battle-hardened from eight years of trench warfare in a squalid border war with Iran. The U.S. army is actually *smaller*—only 700,000 troops—and hasn't whipped anything more serious than Panama and Grenada in decades. On Sunday, the Pentagon sent in the Marines to "save American lives"...in its neocolony of Liberia.

The Democrats rallied 'round Bush. Liberal Senator Dodd hailed the U.S. intervention as "the right move." Jesse Jackson earlier approved of the use of force. But they can't have forgotten that Jimmy Carter's presidency sank in the sands of the Iranian desert. If they nevertheless decide to send a million U.S. soldiers into Saudi Arabia, let it be those from the elite universities for a change. Those who *pass* a draft exemption exam should be the ones drafted. And they better find a big expanse in Washington to build the wall with all the names of those who will die.

Washington's bluster comes down to
continued on page 7

Down with the Sheiks! Down with the Colonels! For Workers Revolution!

Bush, Democrats in Trillion Dollar Heist **S&L Ripoff: The Looting of America**



Brady/Uniphoto



Jim Hubbard

The rich get richer, depositors get the shaft and families get thrown out on the street.

The Reagan/Bush crowd have spent the last decade peddling the wonders of capitalist "free enterprise" and denouncing any kind of government "handout" to welfare mothers, unemployed workers and other needy people. It turns out that while the Reaganites, aided by the tag-along Democrats, were denouncing "welfare cheats" and cutting social services, their capitalist pals and yuppie underlings were sucking the public teat dry to the tune of *hundreds of billions of dollars*.

At the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for instance, administration appointees were busy handing out money to people like New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato's white suburbanite pals to build their houses and swimming pools while the poor and minorities were becoming homeless. But HUD-type scandals look like small-time cookie jar theft compared with the savings & loan (S&L) debacle, better known as "Stealing & Looting," which

now threatens to bring down the entire financial house of cards of American capitalism.

The General Accounting Office's latest estimate of the bailout is \$500 billion. Other estimates run as high as \$1.4 trillion, which is more than the entire cost of World War II! But consider even the official government figure of \$500 billion. This is five times the annual salaries of all schoolteachers in this country. It is ten times higher than the annual

budget of the Department of Education. And it is more than 150 times the amount the government is spending in dealing with the AIDS epidemic.

Only last August, Congress had authorized a mere \$159 billion over ten years to shut or sell more than 500 insolvent thrift institutions. But this year they predict over 1,000 will have to be seized, leading to a *de facto* nationalization of at least 40 percent of the industry by the

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ANC and the Apartheid Army

We have received inquiries from veteran civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn concerning the letter in WV No. 505 (29 June) about African National Congress representative Bernard Magubane's speech at a *People's Daily World* fundraiser in Boston. Lynn initially considered the report of talks between the ANC's military arm, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto weSizwe), and the South African army about merging their forces to be "disinformation." We sent to him, and are quoting here for our readers' interest, some of the documentation on this further step by the ANC in its attempt to negotiate "power-sharing" with the apartheid rulers.

"Armed struggle" has been a bone of contention as well between the ANC and the imperialists to whom it appeals for sanctions. At Nelson Mandela's meeting with George Bush, he praised the CIA's man in the White House (notwithstanding the fact that the spy agency had set him up for his long imprisonment), but insisted that under apartheid repression, "the people have no alternative but to resort to violence." Now on August 6 Mandela announced the ANC will suspend the armed struggle in the interest of negotiations and to appease the imperialist chorus from Thatcher to Bush. The apartheid regime's "armed struggle" will continue apace—the killings of black unionists, squatters and youth in the townships which ran into the thousands during the struggles of the 1980s.



ANC leaders with apartheid army butchers (from left): bantustan strongman and former police agent General Gabriel Ramushwana and Major General Wally Black with ANCers Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki.

The meeting ANC spokesman Magubane was referring to was a five-day conference held in Lusaka, Zambia at the end of May, which brought 70 delegates of Umkhonto weSizwe together with the South African apartheid army. The *London Guardian* (30 May) reported, "About

40 former senior officers and others still serving in the South African Defence Force began talks for the first time with leaders of the armed wing of the African National Congress here yesterday." Among the SADF officers present were Commandant Jakkie Cilliers, a former member of the State Security Council, and Major General Wally Black. The conference was reportedly supported by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys but opposed by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

The anti-apartheid *Weekly Mail* (1 June), published in Johannesburg, reported that the officers from opposing sides "agreed on how to build a united defence force." According to the *Mail*, Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the ANC's side of the bargain would be to suspend its armed struggle, while the government would be required to remove troops from the township and halt 'search and kill' operations." It also reported that "Senior ANC official and Umkhonto weSizwe member Edwin Mabitse said his movement's army was 'already ready for integration' and would accept a situation where the 'vast majority of appointments in a new army are based on the skills of the soldiers involved'..."

How dangerous this proposal is can be gleaned from the fact that among those participating as future members of a "non-racial, democratic" army was Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, a former South African secret police agent who is currently the military leader and head of government of the Venda bantustan, where tens of thousands demonstrated in March demanding the resignation of

Ramushwana and his quisling government. The colonel was accompanied in Lusaka by an SADF military intelligence officer, and although Venda is nominally independent, Ramushwana admitted that his army was part of the SADF Far North command.

Just how far the ANC is willing to go in collaborating with the agents of the murderous apartheid state was spelled out at the Lusaka conference by ANC information and publicity director Pallo Jordan, who called for an interim government including KwaZulu bantustan chief Buthelezi (whose Inkatha thugs have killed hundreds of ANC supporters) and the fascist Afrikaans Weerstandsbeweging, whose brownshirted paramilitary forces wave swastika-like symbols and emulate Hitler's Nazis. The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC have always been programmatically committed to this kind of deal. It was the intransigence of the apartheid leaders that stood in the way.

The ANC's "armed struggle" never really had the capacity to do much damage. Under longtime Umkhonto chief of staff Joe Slovo, head of the South African Communist Party, it was kept to low-level guerrilla activity for the purpose of harassment, while the Congress' main efforts went into pressuring the imperialists to pressure the apartheid rulers to enact reforms. (The 1984-86 township revolt was a different matter and largely escaped ANC control.) The tremendous power of the non-white majority in South Africa lies elsewhere, in the organized strength of the black working class. But the aspiring rulers of a "non-racial" capitalist South Africa fear that power and seek to harness it securely to the cart of bourgeois nationalism. It is Trotskyism and its program of permanent revolution which seeks to mobilize the proletariat for its own class interests.

As Engels said and Lenin reiterated, the essence of the state is armed bodies of men dedicated to preserving the property and rule of a class. South African capitalism, which is based on the brutal superexploitation of black labor and requires the oppression of a vast non-white majority by a privileged white minority, does not allow for a "normal" bourgeois democracy. There will be no "democratic, non-racial" post-apartheid capitalist state and army. "Merging" with the SADF can only mean turning Umkhonto weSizwe into strikebreaking mine police for Anglo American. The struggle for liberation and equality of South Africa's toiling masses requires a socialist revolution to smash the white-supremacist bourgeois state. ■



TROTSKY

Remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki: War Crime of U.S. Imperialism

Capitulating to the imperialists down the line, the Soviet bureaucracy claims to have secured "peace in our time." The 45th anniversary of the nuclear annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a reminder of just how deadly an illusion this is. As a manifesto of the then-Trotskyist *Workers Party* headlined at the time, "Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic



LENIN

Destruction in Another Imperialist War." We reprint below an extract from that statement.

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race....

Capitalism in its death agony, writhing in the toils of mortal crisis, has perfected an instrument of all-embracing annihilation. This deadly destructive force, held in the grip of the criminal capitalist rulers, will be used to decimate mankind unless it is snatched in time from their murderous grasp. The workers must awake, and awake quickly, to the realization that war with all its horrors is the product of the capitalist system....

When war began, we exposed the lie that it was a war for "democracy." We laid bare the truth that it was an imperialist war.... Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!

—"There Is No Peace!" *Militant* (18 August 1945)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Weyron Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions \$7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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

No. 508

10 August 1990

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KKK Plans Provocation in Washington

The *Washington Post* (2 August) reports that a fascist group, the "Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," has received a permit to rally on the steps of the U.S. Capitol on Sunday, September 2, during the Labor Day weekend. The Capitol Police immediately issued an ominous statement: "We will have enough officers to ensure that order is maintained during their demonstration. We will ensure their right to demonstrate." So the cops are marshaling their forces to "protect" the white-hooded terrorists in their threatened racist provocation. The KKK is also seeking permits to march along Constitution Avenue and rally at the Washington Monument.

In Washington, the decade of Reagan/Bush rule has been marked by an obsession emanating from the White House and Congress to "take back" this 70 percent black city. Bush yearns to give black D.C., already treated like some internal colony, the Panama treatment. A witchhunt has been mounted against black Democratic Party mayor Marion Barry to railroad him to jail. As the black community steams over the feds' dirty vendetta, a "political lynching by videotape," the announced massive police cover for the fascists' rally smells of a set-up. D.C.

black youth should understand—the cops are after you, so watch out!

According to the *Post*, the Klan group said "they picked Washington because it had been eight years since the last Klan rally here." On 27 November 1982, thousands of anti-Klan demonstrators came out to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization, occupied the Capitol area and triumphantly marched down the route the Klan had threatened to take. The handful of fascists had to be whisked out of town under police escort. The cops then turned their ire on outraged black youth—who were frustrated from being bottled up in a separate Democrat/reformist talkfest diversion—and hurled them through store windows, while trying to violence-bait Mobilization organizers. The police are still smarting over the KKK rout.

The Klan group whose "rights" the cops are protecting is a gang of assassins. The "Christian Knights" are a split-off from the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK." The founder and self-anointed "grand wizard" is Virgil Griffin, who was quoted saying, "We will come to express our views on communism and drugs and integration." What the *Washington Post* didn't tell its readers is that Griffin was one of the

ringleaders of the November 1979 Greensboro massacre. His "views" were spewed out with lead as a KKK/Nazi death squad gunned down anti-Klan demonstrators gathered at a black housing project, killing five leftist organizers. Griffin enjoyed the protection of government agencies, including the ATF, state and local police. None of the killers were ever convicted in court.

Klan groups have recently paraded through Palm Beach and in Houston where they were jeered by anti-KKK protesters. The backdrop for the planned provocation in Washington is resurgent racism across the South and around the country. In Georgia, the Clayton County NAACP offices were firebombed by racist punks twice in mid-July.

Increasingly, fascists like Louisiana Klansman and state senator David Duke are gaining bourgeois "respectability." Duke's bill banning affirmative action was recently passed in the Louisiana House of Representatives. Notorious Birmingham church bomber J.B. Stoner is now a candidate for Georgia lieutenant-governor, and ax-wielding racist Lester Maddox is again running for governor. These violent fringe elements take their cue from the racist rightist coloration of official policy

in the Reagan/Bush years.

The fascists have their sights set on blacks, leftists, gays and the entire union movement. Now they are threatening to turn up in Washington on Labor Day weekend, where they will assemble a few hundred feet from the Teamsters' and AFL-CIO national headquarters. A labor movement worth its salt would make short shrift of these fascist killers and sweep this garbage off the street! But the likes of Lane Kirkland would let the lynchers parade their racist terror on Sunday, then hold a do-nothing Labor Day event on Monday.

The Spartacist League has insisted that the power of labor is key to drive the fascists back into their holes. In November 1982, it was the support of black labor, from longshore and shipyard unions in the Virginia Tidewater area and steel workers in Baltimore to government workers in D.C., which made it possible to build the Labor/Black Mobilization and bring out thousands of black youth and other opponents of Klan terror. With a class-struggle leadership, leading behind it the masses of the oppressed, the working class is the force to oust the whole racist capitalist system and their mad dogs in white sheets.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

ILGWU Organizing Drive Setback

Three hundred unionists rallied at the gates to the Domsey Trading Corp. in Brooklyn on July 17. They joined 200 mostly Haitian and Hispanic immigrant workers, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), striking the used clothing retailer and exporter to win union recognition. Now in its eighth month, the Domsey strike is the spearhead of a widespread organizing drive in the garment sweatshops of Brooklyn's Williamsburg section, part of a national "Campaign for Justice" to unionize the largely immigrant garment industry workforce, which is subject to racist abuse, miserable pay, and unsafe and unsanitary working conditions.

The Domsey rally came one week after the ILGWU lost a key vote to represent most of the 5,000 garment workers targeted by the union's organizing drive in Brooklyn. For 15 years many of these Williamsburg sweatshop workers have been "represented" by a company union, Local 17-18, which never holds elections and has signed no-strike, sweetheart deals with the bosses' Williamsburg Trade Association. After a court-ordered election contest with the company union, the ILGWU tops confidently expected a union victory, running a full-page ad in *El Diario* with praise from Democratic mayor David Dinkins. Over 1,000 workers assembled at Eastern District high school on July 11 for the vote. But in a stunning defeat which has organizers reeling, the ILGWU lost to the bogus union.

ILGWU organizers told WV that the garment bosses pulled out all the stops, stuffing the ballot boxes and threatening workers with plant closings and retaliation if they voted for the union. Workers were videotaped as they were let into the meeting single-file by company rent-a-cops. But the ILGWU bureaucrats rolled over and played dead. The centerpiece of their losing strategy is reliance on the courts and labor boards, and their "friends of labor" capitalist politicians.

What could and should have been done, which would go a long way to winning this battle, is to turn the Domsey strike into the organizing focus to shut down all the Brooklyn garment industry. Dispatch flying squads to shut down scab shops. Union defense guards would counter the bosses' hired thugs. And instead of cloaking themselves in the red, white and blue and spouting



Domsey workers rally for union rights, Brooklyn, May 31.

racist protectionist poison, the union should champion full citizenship rights for the largely immigrant garment workers.

The union tops have criminally hung the Domsey strikers out to dry, after many of them sacrificed everything to fight for the ILGWU. At the July 17 Domsey rally, ILGWU president Jay Mazur was joined by Jesse Jackson and a collection of pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats. After Domsey bosses led a threatening and provocative demonstration of scabs against the rally, Jackson waved to the owner like a long-lost friend. The popular-front labor misleaders all sang empty words of solidarity while counseling the Domsey strikers and the hard-pressed garment workers to play by the bosses' rules.

It is necessary to use the power of NYC labor to shut down the sweatshops and teach the scabherders a lesson. Instead of a long, losing strike, the Domsey battle should become an example of militant, class-struggle solidarity. Teamsters and ILA longshoremen can make short shrift of Domsey's export business—the largest of its kind on the East Coast—by hot-cargoing its rags on the docks. Hospital and phone workers can stop the scabs cold by massing on the picket lines at Domsey.

But this would mean a political break with the capitalist Democratic Party, and confronting Dinkins and his scabherding cops, whose large presence on picket lines has harassed the strikers since day one. Organize Williamsburg! Victory to the Domsey strike!

AFL-CIO Tops Sabotage Abortion Rights

In a groveling refusal to defend women's rights, the AFL-CIO executive council voted at its summer meeting in Chicago not to support women's right to abortion. After delegates from the garment, textile, public employee and health care unions at the AFL-CIO convention last fall demanded that the federation take up the defense of abortion rights, Lane Kirkland hand-picked a committee to make a "recommendation" to the council. Chaired by Food and Commercial union president William Wynn, infamous for knifing the Hormel strike, the committee bowed to the "Right to Life" bigots, "deferring to the individual judgments" of member unions. New York Cardinal O'Connor, who blesses the thugs who assault abortion clinics, had threatened to campaign among workers to withhold union dues.

When abortion rights are under vicious attack, from the clinic invaders to the Supreme Court, the capitulation of the AFL-CIO tops is criminal. The labor bureaucrats funnel millions in union funds to capitalist politicians, including anti-abortion and pro-death penalty Democrats like Pennsylvania governor Robert Casey.

These ossified, job-trusting labor traitors condemn poor and working-class women to the back-alley butchers, just as they refuse to lift a finger against racist oppression, abandoning black and Hispanic workers to ghetto hellholes and slave-wage, non-union jobs. The "labor lieutenants of capital" whine that defending abortion rights will "split" the labor movement. The opposite is true: by championing the rights of the most exploited and most oppressed, labor can draw into its ranks the best working-class fighters.

Like abortion rights, health and medical benefits for workers everywhere are under attack. From Pittston to phone, workers have fought hard to defend these gains. The Spartacist League calls on labor to defend the clinics: organized union contingents could make quick work of the "Operation Rescue" thugs! For free, safe abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all! ■

Sinister Frame-Up of British Miners Leader

LONDON—National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) president Arthur Scargill is the target of a massive smear campaign by the British bourgeoisie. From the time of the bitter, hard-fought 1984-85 miners strike, Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher has been waging a vengeful, vindictive campaign to bring down this militant union and its president. In this she has been ably assisted by her "loyal opposition" in Neil Kinnock's Labour Party. The witchhunt also aims at tightening the legal straitjacket Thatcher has sought to impose on the trade unions since she came to office a decade ago.

The forces arrayed in the latest attack on the NUM include egophile Robert Maxwell and his pro-Labour *Daily Mirror* rag, the scab Union of Democratic Miners (UDM), certain Labour Members of Parliament, Trades Union Congress (TUC) leader Norman Willis, a Russian fascist outfit with links to Western intelligence operations in the Soviet Union and a host of other scum. Multimillionaire Maxwell kicked off the campaign with utterly false allegations that Scargill and NUM executive member Peter Heathfield pocketed monies meant for the aid of striking miners received from Libya and the Soviet Union.

When the lies of personal corruption collapsed, a new line of attack was dredged up with charges that Scargill had secretly manipulated Soviet donations that ended up in the accounts of the Paris-based International Miners Organisation (IMO), of which he is also president. And when they were unable to substantiate that, the *Sunday Times* (5 August) rehashed the "Libyan connection" with the bogus headline, "Gadaffi: How I handed over the Libyan cash to Arthur Scargill."

The charges of financial irregularity are a smokescreen for what the bourgeoisie and its minions really have against this Stalinoid left-social-democratic trade-union leader. They cannot forgive or forget his trade-union militancy. Maxwell's story conveniently broke as the press was denouncing anti-poll tax protesters as "lawbreakers" and "violent"—the same slanders hurled at striking miners five years ago. Widely despised for enforcing Thatcher's tax, Kinnock and his Labour cronies are remembered by militant miners for their vicious strike-breaking role as "Thatcher's poodles."

Maxwell fumes that Scargill "tried to bring down an elected constitutional government of the country"—in other

Scargill Witchhunted

words, he led the most serious class conflict Britain had seen in decades. As class war raged in the coalfields, Thatcher ordered out thousands of cops, turning entire sections of the country into virtual occupied territories. When naked terror failed, the government sent out an army of "sequestrators" to steal every penny of NUM funds, every piece of

maintained defiant to the end—even in defeat—but that their stand inspired an outpouring of international working-class solidarity. The present campaign against Scargill centres on the fact that he took measures to keep funds sent to the miners during the strike out of Thatcher's dirty hands. Of course the accounts were kept secret; Thatcher had her snoops



NUM president Arthur Scargill arrested after "Battle of Orgreave" during 1984-85 miners strike. Ruling class and their Labour/TUC lapdogs cannot forgive Scargill for trade-union militancy.

union property they could lay their hands on. Assets were seized and frozen; the union was put into receivership. The government was out to *starve* the miners into submission.

For his refusal to sacrifice the miners and their families on the altar of the bosses' laws, Scargill has earned the undying enmity of the capitalist rulers and the cringing Kinnock Labourites who knifed the strike. At the recent NUM conference, Scargill received a standing ovation when he spoke, declaring: "I apologise to no one for the role I played during the period which has been tantamount to a state of war against everything that this union stands for."

What particularly burns the NUM's enemies is that the miners not only re-

running all over Europe trying to uncover and seize NUM funds. Many of them were also kept secret from the union executive; it "leaked like a colander," recalled Scargill.

NUM members remember well that it was massive financial support from workers and minorities in Britain, and from supporters around the world, that kept their families alive for a year. Soviet trade unionists mobilised massively for this union which refused to go along with Reagan/Thatcher's anti-Soviet war drive—they sent shipments of food and organised free holidays for strikers' children in the Soviet Union. The pro-Communist French CGT union federation regularly delivered food parcels to the miners. From South Africa, impoverished

black mineworkers sent whatever they could to help their class brothers and sisters in Britain.

In the United States, the rabidly anti-Communist AFL-CIO tops refused to send a penny to support the British miners. In the face of the "AFL-CIA" official line of hostile unconcern for an embattled union led by a "red," the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., collected \$24,000 including donations and collections from over 70 local unions for the families of striking miners. As a 12 July statement by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain said:

"The threatened police investigation into the NUM is a continuation of the savage vendetta of the Thatcher government to destroy the jobs, livelihoods and trade-union rights of the miners. During the heroic year-long struggle of the miners in 1984-85, workers around the world rallied to their cause with acts of strike solidarity and donations of material assistance. The NUM rightly took measures to keep these funds out of the clutches of the union-busting government. Hands off the National Union of Mineworkers!"

Crucifying Scargill on a Cross of "Russian Gold"

Having failed to destroy the NUM, the bourgeoisie want to crucify it on a cross of "Russian gold." The same bourgeois press which supported Thatcher's every move to starve the miners now wax eloquent on the "hardship" endured by the strikers while denouncing Scargill's "autocratic" methods. Soviet assistance, gratefully accepted, helped the strikers survive—and the anti-Communists hate that.

The outlandish character of the charges conjured up by Maxwell were captured by the satirical *Private Eye* (16 March) in a spoof *Mirror* "exclusive" by "Max Robwell" headlined "Red Scargy's N-Bomb Arsenal": it "reveals" that at the time of the strike Scargill was "secretly amassing a huge stockpile of nuclear missiles...targeted on 10 Downing Street and primed for immediate use." The spoof quotes "Scargill's chauffeur": "he was ready to destroy all life on earth just in pursuit of a 6.5 per cent wage increase for the lads."

The smear charges of personal corruption were manufactured out of whole cloth; even an inquiry generally hostile to Scargill, by Gavin Lightman QC (Queen's Counsel), spiked accusations that Scargill and Heathfield had their hands in the till. As for the IMO funds, Scargill and International Miners Organisation secretary general Alain Simon have insisted that these funds were received after the strike ended and were meant for international aid to miners and not specifically for the NUM. In fact, as the *Financial Times* (7-8 July) reports, the IMO recently contributed 200,000 francs to assist striking miners in Morocco.

When Scargill initiated the IMO in September 1985 as an alternative to the miners federation of the pro-imperialist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, he was subjected to a stream of rebaiting by the bourgeois press. An IMO spokesman, reported the *Financial Times* (7-8 July), saw the attacks on the IMO as part of an ongoing campaign by right-wing unions "that have always viewed the IMO as a Communist 'submarine' and which hope that the collapse of the Communist regimes in eastern Europe will also lead to the collapse of the IMO."

Grotesquely, the NUM national executive committee served High Court writs on Scargill and Heathfield over the IMO funds. An injunction froze IMO accounts in Dublin, Vienna and Sheffield. The NUM executive's action was a spineless capitulation to the witchhunters. Taking the embattled trade-union leaders through the bosses' courts is a violation of the elementary principle that the capitalist state must be kept out of the workers

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International support helped militant miners to survive during bitter year-long strike. Perlson Defense Committee campaign raised \$24,000 to aid embattled miners' families.

WORKERS VANGUARD
19 April 1985

PDC British Miners' Aid Campaign Revives Traditions of Labor Solidarity



PC Partisan Defense D Committee

[illegible]

The Butchenko Affair: Anti-Sovietism Comes Home to Roost

Workers Power Caught With Russian Fascists, Thatcher's Scabs

The Union of Democratic Miners (UDM) is a scab "union" created to destroy the British National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The National Toilers Alliance (NTS) is a Russian fascist outfit with links to one or another imperialist agency going back to Hitler's Nazis in the 1930s. Workers Power is a self-styled Trotskyist group in Britain. What's the connection? Plenty sordid. Workers Power has been caught out lending their services to a sordid cabal of the UDM, NTS and other sinister forces aimed at breaking the NUM and its president Arthur Scargill.

Along with Socialist Organiser, its estranged bloc partners in the Campaign for Solidarity with Workers in the Eastern Bloc (CSWEB), Workers Power organized the tour in Britain of one Yuri Butchenko, "executive member of the Siberian-based Kuzbass Union of Workers." For "nine very successful days," as WP puts it, these "leftists" provided Butchenko with an entrée into numerous workers movement meetings, knowing full well that he was at the very least intimately connected with the fascist NTS, through its British representative George Miller.

Then on July 5, Butchenko appeared at a press conference in London alongside UDM honcho Roy Lynk to lend his voice to outlandish claims that Scargill had salted away up to £10 million of donations made by Soviet miners to the 1984-85 British miners strike. This was just what union-hating prime minister Thatcher and her lieutenants in the Labour right wing needed: a Russian worker, legitimized by speaking before trade-union audiences, taking their side against the most militant union in Britain. Butchenko's claims were picked up and broadcast far and wide by the bosses' media.

Butchenko's surfacing as one of the key players in the anti-Scargill witchhunt forced Workers Power to issue a string of denials, non-denials and conflicting disclaimers, which in sum only confirmed their criminal complicity in this affair. WP tried to pass itself off as a pathetically naive group simply out to make "solidarity" with the "independent workers' movement of the USSR and Eastern Europe" and tragically finding itself implicated in the smear campaign against Scargill. The fact is that these Stalinophobic, rightward-moving centrists have blatantly and directly aided the bourgeoisie, its UDM tool and the Labour/TUC right wing in their attempt to crucify Scargill and break the miners union.

Confessions of an Anti-Communist "Dupe"?

In an attempt to squirm out of its responsibility for setting up Scargill, Workers Power issued three separate statements dated July 11, directed at its various constituencies. None of these have been published in its paper, and we can see why.

Addressing the Kuzbass union, WP called on them to "renounce all links with the UDM" while attacking the NUM leadership for its ties to the official Soviet unions. It even lent credence to the witchhunters' charges by appealing to them: "should you wish to pursue the matter of the money sent by Soviet min-

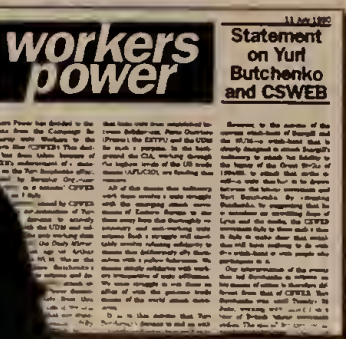


Socialist Organiser

ers to the NUM during their strike, to do so exclusively via the NUM itself."

Addressing the British unions, which the Solidarity Campaign had inveigled into meeting with Butchenko, Workers Power had not a hint of criticism of Scargill, pleading: "Yuri Butchenko has betrayed your solidarity and goodwill. We apologise unreservedly for being the unwitting agency for this person to trade on your internationalism (and ours too)."

WP was confronted with an unforeseen conflict between competing opportunist interests—on the one hand their Stalinophobic appetites, on the other their tailing after the Labour/TUC left of which Scargill is part. So they split from CSWEB following Butchenko's bombshell appearance on behalf of the anti-Scargill rat pack. Workers Power condemned a Socialist Organiser/CSWEB statement for "suggesting that he [Bu-



Fascist-connected "Russian worker" Yuri Butchenko, sponsored by Workers Power.

his commitments to our tour" after CSWEB rejected "the conditions laid down for collaboration by Yuri." Even then, "Yuri" was invited "to reply to our criticisms in the next issue of this paper," while Scargill's "allegiance to the 'official' stooge unions" in the USSR was blamed for "opening the door to Lynk" and the scab UDM.

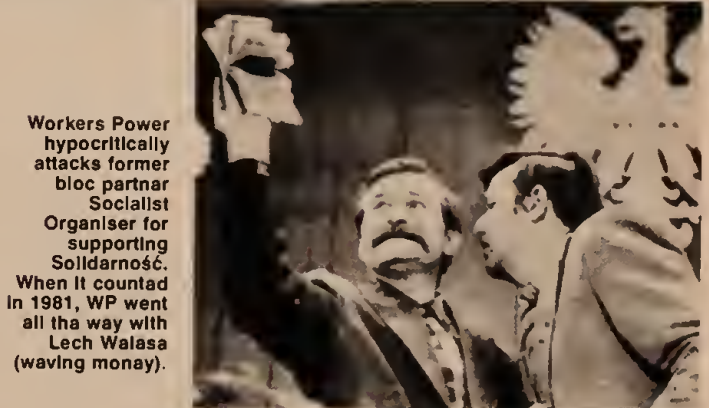
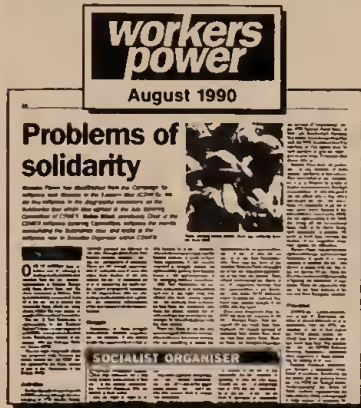
Not only does it have trouble keeping its constituencies apart, WP can't even keep its "facts" straight. A piece in the August issue of *Workers Power*, quaintly titled "Problems of solidarity," claims that "it was not until Butchenko arrived in Britain that we were told he had been formally invited here by Miller." But WP's 11 July "Statement on Yuri Butchenko and CSWEB" reports that it was through a telephone conversation with Butchenko in May, well before his arrival, that "we learnt that Miller had been

would introduce Butchenko to the British trade-union movement and then hand him back over to the NTS and Miller for a little jaunt to the TUC "international department"—they might as well have gone directly to the Foreign Office (which Butchenko reportedly later did), or for that matter the U.S. embassy in Grosvenor Square.

And what is the NTS? In its letter to the Kuzbass union, Workers Power oh-so-delicately describes it as "an organisation hostile to the real interests of the labour movement." But shortly before that, in a Solidarity Campaign statement dissociating themselves from two other NTS-connected Soviet workers who addressed the UDM conference in June, Workers Power wrote rather less circumspectly that the NTS "actively collaborated with and fought alongside the Nazis."

Let us tell you a little more about the NTS. This was the "main group used by MI6 for operations inside the Soviet Union until the end of the 1960s," say Bloch and Fitzgerald in *British Intelligence and Covert Action*, adding, "The NTS actively supported the Nazis before and during the 1941 invasion of Russia." John J. Stephan in *The Russian Fascists* (1978) notes that of the numerous fascist "solidarist" organizations which proliferated in counterrevolutionary Russian émigré circles in the interwar years, "the Young Russia movement and the National Toilers' Alliance (*Natsionalno Trudovoi Soyuz*—NTS) probably mobilized the widest support."

Stephan explains how "Some solidarists responded favorably to 'radical' Nazis such as Gregor and Otto Strasser—the leaders" of the SA stormtroops.



Bulletin [Australia]

tchenko] is somehow an unwitting dupe of Lynk and the media" (presumably WP had cornered the "unwitting dupe" market that week). WP loftily declared, "We cannot be party, in any way, to its decision to excuse Butchenko's treachery."

This canting hypocrisy came after Workers Power itself had devoted considerable efforts to coddling Butchenko. Only when he publicly joined the anti-Scargill witchhunt and hit the headlines with his press conference did WP decide "a class line has to be drawn between the labour movement and Yuri Butchenko." Two weeks earlier, when Butchenko had insisted that CSWEB condone his meeting with the UDM and take on the NTS as co-organizer of the tour, WP's editorial board issued a lame statement (dated June 27) deploring his decision "to end

the person to sign the official invitation papers for Butchenko to come."

It all reads like one of those "I was a Commie dupe" confessions from the McCarthy era, and with about as much sincerity. So how unwitting an agency was Workers Power? Butchenko told them enough, as WP makes clear with breath-taking cynicism in the same statement:

"Only after Butchenko's arrival did he explain to us that he would be meeting Miller. When he did we sent someone along to ensure that Miller did not try to disrupt the plans of the tour organised by CSWEB. At that point Miller expressed no wish to participate in the CSWEB tour and he and Butchenko agreed simply that once the tour was over they would, separately from CSWEB, meet the TUC's international department."

Cozy enough. The "socialists" of CSWEB

After Hitler purged the SA leaders in the Night of the Long Knives in 1934, life became somewhat harder for the NTS, which was too Russian chauvinist to suit the German Nazis. Nonetheless, "individual NTS members cooperated with Wehrmacht combat units, Rosenberg's Ostministerium, and Kaminsky's Russian Nazi Party during World War II." (The Ostministerium administered the starvation and enslavement of Russia.)

In short, the NTS was a precursor to the contemporary Russian blackshirts of Pamyat. These are the people Workers Power was quite happy to meet and work out "arrangements" with until Butchenko got on the airwaves. How did it feel sitting down for a friendly chat with people who "fought alongside

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Black American Trotskyist on Speaking Tour of Germany

In June, Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee member Don Alexander gave a series of public talks in East and West Germany under the title "Rotten Capitalism in 'Free World' U.S.A." On July 24, comrade Alexander reported back to supporters of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense who, together with LBL members from Atlanta and Chicago, donated funds for the tour. We print below excerpts from his report.

Comrade Alexander spoke in Berlin, Bernburg, Halle, Eggesin and Rostock, East Germany (DDR) and Hamburg, West Germany. Opening the forums, he told the participants about the LBL militants who supported the tour out of concern over the direction of events in East Europe:

"These revolutionary workers don't buy the lie that U.S. and world imperialism are bringing 'democracy' to Eastern Europe or anywhere else. Class-conscious U.S. workers know that U.S. imperialism wants to enslave the working people and dark-skinned toilers throughout the world. There are workers who are conscious of the enormous stakes in the struggle against the capitalist reunification of Germany."

In organizing this series of forums our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) were able to deepen their work of fighting to build a Leninist-egalitarian party which can lead the defensive struggles against the drive to a Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Foreign workers, students and women's groups, who had displayed the leaflet for the tour on their literature tables and in their clubs, came out to hear Alexander's compelling description of the hellish conditions of life in racist, capitalist America.

For Proletarian Internationalism!



Mozambican workers join Spartakist Workers Party May Day contingent in East Berlin. Banner calls for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers.

Many members of the PDS, remnants of the former Stalinist SED which ran the DDR for 40 years, and other left organizations in their orbit also attended. In the discussion periods there was much political debate between the Trotskyist program of revolutionary internationalism and the defeatist politics of these groups, who sell the lie that working-class struggle in the West is impossible, while they look to the SPD, the treacherous running dogs of capitalist counterrevolution, or

Mikhail Gorbachev's "market economy" reforms in the Soviet Union as the "answer" for workers in East Germany who are already beginning to experience the brutal realities of capitalist exploitation.

The following are excerpts from comrade Alexander's report to the LBL.

* * *

We have a point in the program of the Lahor Black League to support the revolutionary struggles of working people

internationally. This trip materialized that demand. The short period of time was packed with a lot of talks, from the 10th of June through the 21st. This occurred two weeks before the currency changed, in which the D-mark replaced the East German mark.

This was a very successful series of forums. Over 200 people attended and 80 percent were from other organizations. A lot of people came out, very curious about a communist organization that really had a program for world revolution.

The first meeting in Berlin was very interesting. Over 50 non-members came. It was very multinational. A Lebanese Communist Party member got up and had questions about "why do you attack pacifism?" There were some Iranian leftists in the audience, there were a couple of members of the British centrist group Workers Power. There were some members of the PDS, the Stalinist organization.

An older guy got up and said, "Look, this meeting is taking place in a very serious moment in history. Many of my best friends are quitting the Communist Party. The first people who quit were the careerists but now the serious people are quitting. My party has been telling me to read Bernstein and Kautsky, and that's not going to cut it. Most of us, we're worried, what are we going to be faced with tomorrow."

With capitalist unification looming—unemployment, layoffs, childcare facilities being eliminated, women being driven out of the workforce and back to the kitchen—there was discussion centered around how to fight against the

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"American Capitalism Is Sick Unto Death"

We print below edited excerpts from the talk given by Don Alexander in his six-city speaking tour in Germany. The talk touched on many aspects of U.S. history and society today, from cop terror on the streets and the racist death penalty to union-busting and anti-abortion vigilantism. It addressed as well the witchhunt in East Germany aimed at victimizing members and ex-members of the PDS, the former Stalinist ruling party.

I came to tell you the truth about life in racist capitalist America, and our struggles to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the struggle for workers power and a socialist America. Like all capitalist countries, but even more so, the USA is a democracy for the rich, a dictatorship of the capitalist class that is masked by a pseudo-democratic, very corrupt parliamentary machine. The USA is a society which has a ruling class that is white, that sits on top of a hideously oppressed black population with a thin petty-bourgeois layer; a growing Hispanic and Asian population under the guns of nativist bigotry and attacks; and a majority white working class who are the victims of ruthless capitalist exploitation.

American capitalism is sick unto death. It is moribund, and the racist rulers are increasingly parasitic and barbaric. Today U.S. imperialism is the biggest debtor country in the world.

Two and a half years ago, Wall Street crashed, and the bottom almost fell out. The capitalists have driven basic industry into the ground. Millions are unemployed, homeless roaming the streets looking for something to eat and a place to sleep. The highest growth "industries" are union-busting, junk bonds and fast food jobs. There have been tens of thousands of workers' lives tragically sacrificed on the altar of profits. The workers who have lost their jobs—tens of thousands of steel workers, iron workers, coal miners, etc.—have been thrown onto the streets to fend for themselves. Their kids go hungry, they lose their homes, marriages are destroyed, and in many cases lives. Their hopes and dreams for a better life for themselves and their children turn to ashes before their very eyes.

[In East Germany] those who would defend the DDR collectivized economy must break with the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic lackeys. It is the West German Social Democracy that is once again carrying out their role (since 1914) as bludgeons for the bourgeoisie. The Social Democrats are running point for the anti-Communist witchhunters, which is nothing new. In Portugal in 1976, they were leading the anti-Communist mobs that burned down CP headquarters. But the PDS thought they were going to be the loyal opposition in an SPD-led Volks-

kammer [parliament]. And after the united-front anti-fascist action we initiated at Treptow this past January, the PDS capitulated to the imperialist/SPD-orchestrated campaign of destabilization of the DDR.

But taking the line of least resistance is death in politics. Why are the reformists incapable of learning the lessons of history? The Stalinists, the social democrats and their hangers-on are convinced that moribund capitalism is an eternal necessity. But capitalism has been around for almost 500 years and has regularly been plagued with periodic crises of overproduction, mass unemployment, imperialist wars, poverty, misery and exploitation. What Marx ironically called the "rosy dawn of capitalist production" was accompanied by the trade in human flesh, the genocide against Indians, and the looting of India. The fraud and force necessary to the establishment of capitalism was organic to the beginnings of "primitive capitalist accumulation." Today the West German capitalists are pursuing with a vengeance "primitive capitalist accumulation" for Eastern Europe. They want labor to become a commodity like factories, buildings and raw materials.

Stalinism has betrayed you and lied to you that your struggles could be completed within one country divorced from the struggles of the international working class. The social-democratic Trojan horse of imperialism deceives



Spartakist

Don Alexander in East Berlin.

you with their "grand coalitions" with the bourgeoisie, which are recipes for bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The hour is growing late to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership that comrade Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik 1917 Revolution, spoke of on the eve of World War II. The imperialist warmakers have decreed that history stops at capitalist exploitation and imperialist wars. There is no easy way to stop the imperialist plunderers and barbarians. The road to peace, and the only road to the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, is the struggle for the program of international revolution.

Let us forge a real Leninist-egalitarian party, in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Trotsky, a world party of socialist revolution.

German "Fatherland" Against Women

Following the July 1 monetary union which made the West German D-mark the currency of East Germany (DDR), handing ultimate control of the economy to Frankfurt bankers and Bonn politicians, capitalist reunification has been proceeding at full speed. Now West German chancellor Kohl and East German prime minister De Mazière have moved up all-German elections from December 2 to mid-October, aiming to carry out

Anschluss (annexation) of the DDR before the social costs are fully felt.

Those costs are already being felt as the gains of the bureaucratically deformed workers state are dismantled. Along with foreign workers, women are the first targets. We print below an abridged article by Ursel Sieber, translated from the West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* (12 June), titled "Women and Children First." Since July 1, unemploy-

ment shot up from 90,000 to 224,000 in the first two weeks, and more than half a million workers have been put on short workweek.

There is an ongoing battle over abortion rights. DDR women have had free abortion on demand up to the 12th week of pregnancy, while Christian Democrats want to force on them the reactionary West German law (Paragraph 218), which has been used to jail doctors

and their women patients.

Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany have emphasized the fight for women's rights as they have uniquely fought against capitalist reunification (see "Defend the Gains of East German Women!" in *Women and Revolution* No. 37, Spring 1990). We also print on page 14 a report for *Workers Vanguard* written by two women factory workers in Berlin.

Women and Children First by Ursel Sieber

Ingeborg Görlitz still can't really fathom it. "They actually held the first layoff talks with pregnant women, with women who are still in their baby year [maternity leave] or who have been sick a lot." They—that is the factory management of the state-owned VEB Model Building and Construction Development Company in the East Berlin district of Marzahn. With the opening of markets it is confronted with massive problems: buyers are canceling orders because they can buy the products cheaper elsewhere.

Ingeborg Görlitz was one of the more than 500 employees of this company. "Efficiency was not the norm," she said, "we had to cut back, no question about it." But that the "socially weakest" workers should be the first to be thrown out onto the street—this was going too far for her. "One woman, for example, is mentally ill. They used a short-term medical leave to dismiss her," she said. The woman suffered a nervous breakdown. A pregnant woman got similar treatment.

Most employees registered this with resignation, only a few put up a fight. Fifty-two-year-old Ingeborg Görlitz was among them. Afterward her name was added to the list of layoffs. And the fact that the old labor laws remain in force in the DDR until July 1, permitting layoffs only in cases when another job has

been found for the affected workers—managers haven't been sticking to that for quite a while now.

Women are increasingly showing up at the employment offices, and it's harder and harder to find jobs for them. "Factory managers are saying loud and clear to women returning from maternity leave: there is no more work available for you," reports the head of counseling in the central Berlin employment office, Böhnke.

"Many of our businesses are already ruined even before they enter the market economy," complained Renate Giessler,

chairman of the Berlin district Union of Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers. Every day now she gets more bad news. Some enterprises can't pay the wages anymore. Of the rest, almost all must cut pay by half. "Where we could, we took care to see that no 52-year-old woman was dismissed, and no single mother with small children," says Renate Giessler. "However, in July that will no longer be tenable, because there will be too many who must be laid off."

The DDR is reacting rather helplessly to this development. Now it has been decided that the old protective regula-

tions will remain in effect until December 31 of this year: the prohibition against firing single mothers with children under three years old, the paid leave for women (at 65 to 95 percent of their net earnings) for up to 18 months after giving birth, the obligation of enterprises to then re-employ these women in an equivalent job, the paid leave for single parents for children's illnesses (up to eight weeks a year with three children), the monthly housework day. Starting 1 January 1991, only the West German regulations will apply.

The right for paid leave for children's illnesses is hardly being claimed anymore, out of fear for their jobs, said the trade-unionist Renate Giessler. To keep from being chucked out, many even want to return to work immediately after their pregnancy leave (in the DDR, 20 weeks after giving birth) and waive the rest of the year's maternity leave (the "baby year").

The family policies of the former SED [ex-ruling party of the DDR] are becoming a catastrophe for women. Although up to 91 percent of women worked professionally, responsibility for raising children and housework was exclusively their responsibility. This conservative image of women is especially clear in the "housework day," which only women may claim. Labor Minister Hildebrandt hasn't changed any of this. Under the conditions of a market economy, this one-sided division of roles will fall back

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East Berlin, March 6: DDR women protest cuts in childcare facilities. Sign says: "Nursery out? cooking pot in?—Doesn't make sense."

Iraq Attack...

(continued from page 1)

a naval blockade of Iraqi/Kuwaiti oil shipments, perhaps air bombardments of key Iraqi installations, and conspiring for a military coup or assassination of Hussein. It boils down to a contest of wills to see who buckles first—Hussein facing the pressure of oil sales cutoff, or the imperialists as they watch the price of oil skyrocket and stock markets nose-dive. More than likely Japan, which is far more dependent on imported oil than the U.S., will quickly hreak the flimsy "unity" of the imperialist rivals. In any case the world proletariat has no interest in Washington's crusade. *Hands off the Persian Gulf! U.S. bases, U.S. troops, U.S. fleets get out and stay out!*

It's being billed as "the first post-Cold War war." No longer is the Russian bear seen lurking behind every "regional conflict." Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze signed a joint statement with Secretary of State Baker condemning the Iraqi invasion. And Moscow is even mooted participation in a naval blockade "under the U.N. flag." But this imperialist rampage in the Near East poses a serious danger to the USSR—and the rest of the world. Instead of "cooperating" with the White House warmongers, the Soviet Union should rescind its arms embargo of Iraq and send their former allies in Baghdad what weapons they need to deter Washington's oil grab.

Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers of Israel gloat over Arabs killing Arabs, while presenting themselves as the strong military arm with which Western imperialism can "punish" Saddam Hussein. A few

months ago there was a worldwide outcry when the Iraqi strongman vowed to retaliate against an Israeli attack by "scorch[ing] half of Israel" with chemical weapons. But when an Israeli cabinet minister last week said they had enough C-arms to devastate Iraq, and they began handing out gas masks in Tel Aviv—not a peep from the press.

Now well-connected Israeli publicist Y. Melman suggests in the 6 August *New York Times* that his country might nuke Baghdad. Israeli prime minister Shamir says, "we're dealing with a madman." He should talk. For some time, the Zionist madmen have been looking forward to a Near East war as a pretext to drive Palestinians out of the occupied West Bank. Hussein's takeover of Kuwait could serve as the pretext for genocidal attacks on the Palestinians. *Israel out of the Occupied Territories!*

Rational Ripoff

"We are talking about oil. Göt it? Oil, vital American interests," the "senior American official" confided to the *New York Times* (4 August). Since the 1970s Western financial capitals have been worried about a world economic collapse triggered by war over the Persian Gulf oil fields. Wall Street financier-turned-novelist Paul Erdman wrote *The Crash of '79* in which the Shah of Iran tries to take over OPEC and the Gulf oil fields, with the result that "Persian oil crude would be twenty-five dollars a barrel," a price that would "break the backs of the Western economies." The day after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Persian crude went to \$24.75.

Memories of the 1970s oil shocks, when OPEC sent Western economies reeling by jacking up the price of oil

several-fold, are still fresh. In contrast, "the 1980's were kind to oil importers," noted the *New York Times* (2 August). This was in good part due to the war between Iran and Iraq, which forced both countries to pump oil like mad to pay for their ruinous eight-year slaughter, thereby undermining the OPEC cartel. Now Hussein, facing tens of billions of dollars in debt, saw a way to reflate the price of oil by enforcing OPEC discipline at gunpoint. From the Iraqi standpoint, seizure of Kuwait was not madness but rational greed.

It will be pretty hard to whip up sympathy among American and European working people for "poor little Kuwait." An artificial enclave of oil-fed prosperity, Kuwait has only 800,000 citizens, who were ruled by a monarchy which exploited the labor of a million-plus "foreigners," mainly poor Arabs and Asians, who toiled in the oil fields. With such a small population base, billions in oil profits gave Kuwait one of the highest per capita incomes in the world—even the democratic "opposition" came to their demonstrations in Mercedes and live in air-conditioned luxury.

As for Saudi Arabia, it is, as the *New York Times* Thomas Friedman put it, "more of a company than a country." A company, moreover, run by medieval Islamic fanatics. Some years ago, the American public was sickened by a TV dramatization, "Death of a Princess," showing the public decapitation of a young woman in the Saudi royal family for adultery.

Ba'athist Iraq is in its own way just as barbaric. While spouting "radical" Arab nationalist rhetoric, Saddam Hussein has killed thousands of leftists, worker militants and members of the

Kurdish minority. A special target of Ba'athist police-state terror has been the once-strong Iraqi Communist Party with its base among Kurdish oil workers. It is now reported that Iraqi Communists captured in Kuwait are being deported to Baghdad where they face execution.

With the acquisition of Kuwait, Hussein now controls 20 percent of the world's oil reserves, and prices are already shooting up. Even Iran has tacitly supported the effort to drive up prices, and shortly before the invasion OPEC voted for Hussein's plan to raise prices to \$20-25. Debt-ridden oil producers Mexico and Venezuela aren't exactly complaining about Iraq's move either, and Bush has quite a few wealthy pals in Texas who wouldn't complain about a price rise. One independent operator said of Hussein, "He may be a despot, but he's our despot."

But Washington is squealing like a stuck pig, and stock markets from Wall Street to Tokyo have been plunging. Even bourgeois commentators have noted that the U.S. economy is in such a weakened state that a major oil shock could tip the scales into a serious recession, if it hasn't already. In fact, the banking system is in an extremely precarious state, as the S&L crisis has revealed.

The workers of the world have no interest in a squalid war over the oil fields. We have great interest in the profits sweated out of the workers from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Mexico: our interest is that this wealth go to the working people of the world. Furthermore, the burning of hydrocarbons has serious environmental consequences. Only a worldwide socialist system can ensure the rational use of fossil fuels for the benefit of humanity. ■

Spartacist Speaker at United Front Defense Rally

Fight for Justice! For Workers Revolution!

The following speech was given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ed Clarkson at the PDC rally in Chicago, July 14.

Those before me have spoken eloquently in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal and against the savage injustice of the racist death penalty in this country. Jamal is a member of a very small and select group—he is a true fighter against oppression and persecution. We must free him. And we must stop America's effort to stifle all protest and nonconformity with death. As a member of the Spartacist League and the International Communist League, I want to address the sort of system that supports this barbarous seeming-anachronism and what we need to do to fight this most grotesque form of racist oppression which is truly lynching made legal.

But first, let me observe these rallies demonstrate a powerful political point, that it is possible to bring an effective, worldwide united action across a spectrum of political beliefs while assuring everyone's right to have their own say. I say this not mainly because we communists of the SL are most frequently the subject of political exclusionism, which is rampant on the left, but because this exclusionism saps and erodes the base for mass action.

The death penalty is an abomination. But it was not responsible for the massacre of the MOVE martyrs in Philadelphia. George Jackson and Fred Hampton were not murdered by the death penalty. Two hundred years of chattel slavery and 100 years of Jim Crow did not occur because of it. The thousands who died to form the trade unions in this country in the early decades of this century—and who continue to die—did not for the most part languish on death row. The tens of thousands of Japanese interned here during the Second World War and the millions of socialists, Gypsies,

homosexuals and Jews incarcerated in Hitler's death camps were not imprisoned on capital offenses.

These inhumanities were, rather, the products of the normal functioning of the capitalist legal systems in the defense of

because such laws have been and will continue to be used largely to victimize those who fight oppression. The right to bear arms is a necessary protection against the abuses of the powers that be. No to gun control!



Labor/black power key to fighting racist terror. Spartacist-Initiated united front swept KKK fascists off the streets of Washington, D.C. In November 1982.

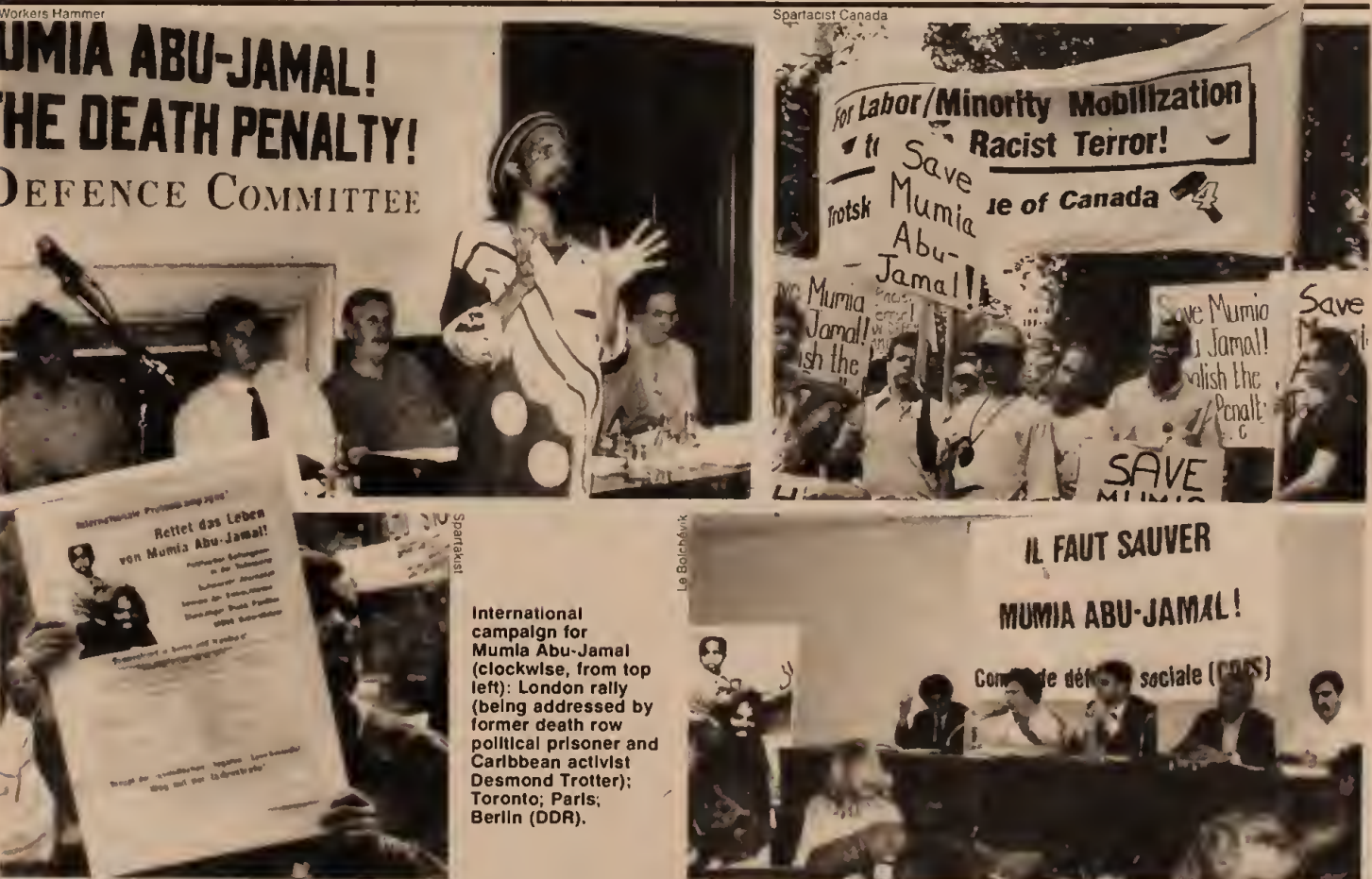
societies based on the right of the few to exploit the many. Massive unemployment, hunger, the lack of needed medical services, illiteracy are simply the slower erosion of the bodies and spirits of working and poor people. Imperialist war is the crucible for the pressures produced by what has been both the most productive and destructive economic system to date. This system cannot be just, and we can place no confidence in its cops and its courts. We don't prescribe life sentences or tougher laws, we do not beg for laws against fascism or racist speech

Justice will only come with a revolutionary transformation of this society and with the overthrow of capitalist rule. And there is only one social force capable of undertaking such a revolution, the working class. Currently, however, we know the working class is tied through its trade-union leadership to one of the main parties of property, the Democrats. In compliance with the courts, the powers that be of the trade unions have gutted or shelved labor's only weapon, the militant mass picket line which closes down production, while begging

the bosses for protection against the Japanese. As a result the unions are withering on the vine. The civil rights struggles of the '50s and '60s that shook this country were similarly contained within the confines of capitalism by the Democrats. Elections to high office are now cynically substituted for social struggle for the many, while we see demagogues attempting to mobilize the ghetto against the Jew, the Arab or the Korean shopkeeper.

This racism is poison for blacks, who in this country are the prime targets whenever racism is inflamed, just as its protectionist variety is poisonous for the working class which needs international unity and mobilization against the international power of capital. The working class must break the chains which bind it to the Democrats and forge its own party. Blacks, workers simultaneously exploited and oppressed, will play a central role in the formation of such a party, which will both end capitalist exploitation through socialist revolution and once and for all finish the Civil War and bring equality to this land. It seemed very obscure in the '50s when I was around that the death penalty would ever end or that social struggle would ever begin. The '60s, even with their limitations, blew that away in a day.

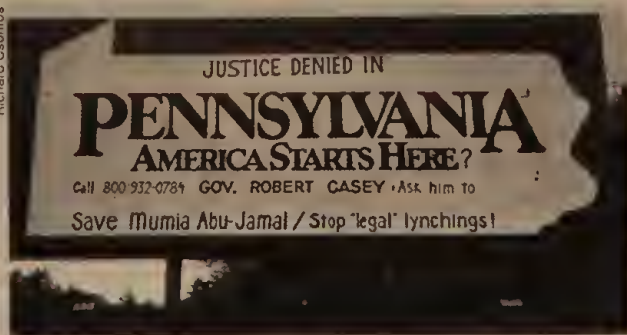
And when the threat of death no longer hangs over the head of Mumia Abu-Jamal, when he walks out of the doors of the prison that confines him, when we have wrested this most terrible weapon, the death penalty, from the hands of our oppressors, we will know that the fight for that party and for a truly just society will have begun. When the last child cries out in hunger in the last ghetto hellhole in the night, the beginning of the era of human justice and freedom will have been signaled. Let us make sure that Mumia Abu-Jamal is there to savor that sweet day. ■





"Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"—rallying cry for opponents of racist death penalty. Clockwise, from top right: billboard on Interstate 80 in Pennsylvania, PDC rallies in Chicago and New York, banner at Mandela rally in Oakland.

Richard Osonias



Worldwide Campaign...

(continued from page 16)

newspapers of the French and Italian Communist parties, carried pieces for Jamal.

"Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" is becoming the rallying cry of opponents of the barbaric death penalty around the world.

Symbolizing the fight against racist state repression, Jamal's case defines the legal politics of the death penalty in the 1990s. Framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of the Philly police for 21 years—from his days as a Black Panther Party spokesman in 1968 to his support of Philadelphia's MOVE as a journalist known for his defense of the poor and oppressed minorities. So they wanted him silenced—preferably dead—and haven't given up yet. Incensed over growing support for Jamal worldwide, the *Philadelphia Daily News* headlined an article "N.Y. Group Out to Save Cop Killer."

Then, as over 200 people crowded into Philadelphia's historic Church of the Advocate July 14 to support Jamal, the Fraternal Order of Police held a counter-demonstration outside its headquarters calling for Jamal's immediate execution. FOP president Richard Costello made clear why Philly's kill-crazy cops are so hated and feared when he labeled death penalty abolitionists who are fighting to save Jamal a "misfit terrorist group" and threatened, "If you don't like it you can join him. We'll take out the electric chair, we'll make it an electric couch."

Costello's provocation infuriated blacks and even worried the Mainline bourgeoisie who use the racist cops and black Democratic mayor Goode to keep the city's impoverished ghetto population in line. The *Inquirer* noted "charges of racism" from black and Hispanic cops against the FOP *Führer*, and "questions about his judgment." Mumia wrote from prison, referring to the grotesque 13 May 1985 police bombing of the MOVE house on Osage Avenue: "The FOP's reaction, not to be taken lightly (they are, after all, the exterminators of men, women & kids of May 13) seems to suggest I am still a thorn in their fat hides—even here, in hell."

The Scottsboro Case of Today

The rallies for Jamal began in New York on June 28. Gene Herson, labor

coordinator of the PDC, called for an international campaign like that for the Scottsboro youths, who spent five years on death row and were saved by the left-led mass protests of hundreds of thousands. Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 UAW in New York, proudly recalled his role in the Scottsboro defense:

"When I came to this country in 1944 the Scottsboro Boys were still in prison awaiting their execution. That was the first basic civil rights case I got involved in. And it so happened that at least two of them, when we succeeded in releasing them out of jails, found their way in my union, District 65."

The international defense of those nine black youths helped galvanize a generation in protest against racist terror in the Jim Crow South. But the fight for black rights was betrayed on behalf of a "popular front" for Roosevelt that extended from the racist Dixiecrats to the Communist Party.

Support for Jamal has come from black elected officials—California Congressman Ron Dellums, New York Assemblyman Roger Green, Pennsylvania

State Representative David Richardson and Chicago Alderman Danny Davis. Other speakers at the recent rallies included civil rights activists such as Oakland NAACP president William Freeman, Karima Wicks of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Rev. Paul Washington; opponents of the death penalty from the ACLU, National Coalition Against the Death Penalty and Pennsylvania Prison Society. Jamal's former Black Panther comrades and MOVE supporters spoke powerfully.

For many, Jamal's fight for freedom, justice and life intersected their own struggle against racism and reaction—aboriginals in Australia, North Africans in France, blacks in Toronto and the U.S. In Germany, where fascist attacks on immigrant workers, Jews and leftists are escalating with the capitalist annexation of East Germany (DDR), demonstrations to save Jamal were held on July 3 in Hamburg and East Berlin. Support came from Holocaust survivors, from Turkish workers in West Germany and Mozambicans in the DDR, and members and leaders of the PDS, the former Stalinist rul-

ing party of East Germany, now targets of a vicious witchhunt at the hands of Kohl's Fourth Reich.

As a class-struggle defense organization, the PDC looks not to the capitalist courts but to the power of the working class to save Jamal and smash the racist death penalty. And we have received increasing support from labor. The CGT, France's largest trade-union federation representing millions of workers, announced that it "joins the international defense campaign to demand that MUMIA ABU-JAMAL's life be spared." The Metro Toronto Labour Council endorsed and sent a speaker to the July 4 rally at the U.S. consulate there. From Australia came a message of support from the Firemen and Deckhands' Union. The Philadelphia chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668 sent a speaker to the rally.

The Partisan Defense Committee sees itself in the tradition of the International Red Aid, formed in the early 1920s to bring assistance to workers and Communists facing counterrevolutionary

continued on page 10

Mobilize Labor's Power to Stop Legal Lynching!

Spartacist Canada



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243, rue de Paris
93119 NOUVEAU CROIX
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Téléc: 514 107

La C.G.T. communique

DECLARATION DE LA CGT

La CGT exprime sa vive inquiétude sur le sort de MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, défenseur des droits de la Communauté noire et des minorités aux USA, qui risque d'être exécuté dans les prochains jours.

SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION SECCION 10



Rep. de Colombia No. 6
Cal. Centro

Tel: 528-41-63
528-37-04

ASUNTO: SALVAR LA VIDA DE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

International Longshoremen's Association

Affiliated with AFL-CIO and Canadian Labour Congress

LOCAL NO. 1414

221 N.E. Lansing Avenue - Post Office Box 10
Savannah, Georgia 31403
Telephone: 833-2844 - 833-4342 - Fax: 234-0000

February 20, 1990



James C. Reed, President
Benjamin Bryson, Secretary

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Post Office Box 3132
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SAVE THE LIFE OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Firemen and Deckhands' Union of New South Wales



CANADIAN UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER DISTRICT COUNCIL

(Chartered by Canadian Union of Public Employees - C.U.P.E.)
Affiliated with Canadian Union of Public Employees (British Columbia Division)

Rhonda Spence
Heather Fleisher



Box 80719
Burnaby, BC
V5M 3T7

G. Hall

Worldwide Campaign...

(continued from page 9)

terror in East Europe. Its American affiliate, the International Labor Defense, led mass demonstrations to save the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti. PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein emphasized in Philadelphia that to save Jamal today, what's needed is "a reinvigorated working-class movement, including a black and red leadership which can fight to win, all the way to a workers government. All you union brothers and sisters here and all those people who stand with them, it means you have the power to say to this government that this man must not die—this man won't die."

American Way of Death

Our campaign directly confronts the bourgeoisie's headlong drive for more and quicker executions. It's not only "Justice Death," the Reaganite Supreme Court chief Rehnquist. On July 20, Virginia's black governor Douglas Wilder, a former death penalty opponent whose election campaign called for adding to the list of crimes punished by executions, sent his first victim to the chair. Following the lead of Wilder and Democratic gubernatorial candidates in Texas and California, former civil rights activist Andrew Young running for governor of Georgia declared, "the state has to have the right to put mad dogs to death."

And on July 23, the *New York Times*, a paper nominally opposed to capital punishment, carried a front-page advertisement for state murder in an article entitled "Legal Delays Thwart Death Penalty." Falling into step with the campaign to speed up the state's death machine, the article decries the "deadly dance of appeals." According to the Rehnquist-led Supreme Court, practices of other countries are irrelevant in determining "evolving standards of decency" for the U.S. Executions of juveniles, mentally retarded, poor, black, Hispanic and political prisoners like Jamal—these

Partisan Defense Committee Video



"My name is Mumia Abu-Jamal... I'm fighting my conviction, fighting the sentence, fighting for my life and fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means change. It means total change."

There is now available a video by the Partisan Defense Committee, featuring excerpts of Jamal interviewed from death row in Huntingdon state prison. The 25-minute video tells the story of the cop vendetta against this fighter for justice, using rare photos of Jamal the high school rebel, young Black Panther Party spokesman, radical journalist and MOVE supporter.

The video is an invaluable tool in publicizing the worldwide fight to save Jamal's life. Contact the PDC to arrange for a representative to show the video at your union local, campus, church or community organization. Write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; or phone (212) 406-4252.

Spread the Word—Show the Video

are the "standards of decency" of the bloody U.S. ruling class.

Amnesty International's three-year campaign against capital punishment has called worldwide attention to the U.S. adherence to this tradition of torture.

Among industrialized capitalist countries only the United States and South Africa retain the death penalty, a legacy of centuries of racial subjugation. But while Pretoria recently placed its executions on hold, the U.S. assembly line of death

rolls on. At the London rally, Paul Trehwela, an editor of *Searchlight South Africa*, pointed out:

"If one were to join the coordinates last week linking Abu-Jamal in the death cells to Mandela in the White House, what is revealed is the social position of black people internationally on the threshold of the 21st century.... In the murder of Jamal, the executioner state seeks to dispose of the living criticism of itself. Yet the presence of Abu-Jamal on death row is the confirmation of that criticism: the victim is the criticism of the executioner. He is the point at which the system publicly declares that it needs to be superseded by another, that it has outlived itself, and that it, as a system, requires sentence of death to be pronounced upon itself so that society might live and develop. The electric chair and the chair in the President's Oval Office are constructed from the same social material."

As 2,300 await execution in America's jails, those who came out to rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal heard wrenching testimony from some who had endured the torture of sitting on death row and only years (and many appeals) later were found innocent. Patrick Croy, a Shasta-Karuk Indian who was finally acquitted of a vicious racist frame-up which stole 12 years of his life, six of them on death row, brought the Oakland crowd to its feet. And in Chicago, Darby Tillis told the rally:

"I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent. I spent nine years, one month and 17 days incarcerated for a crime I did not commit. More than four years were spent on death row. Death row is a horrible shock to man. It's a place where the atmosphere is filled with death. It's a place of horror. You take one day at a time. Each day you prepare a face to face the people that you meet. You are forced to live in a world of fantasy to compensate for the real world around you. You can only see your past. You're not a participant of life. You're just an observer. All day long you're being killed with pain and loneliness and hurt."

"A Sweet Song of Hope for Thousands on the Brink of Death"

Emory Douglas spoke of former Black Panther Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt), himself

Press Covers Jamal Campaign

6 March 1990

Caribbean TIMES
Victim of the US Murder Machine

SPORTS INSIDE

POMILOVANJE ZA MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Politički zatvorenik
Novinar
'Glas Nemih'
Bivši Crni Panther
MOVE supporter

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL ne sme umreti!
U trenutku hapšenja Abu-Jamal je bio predsednik delphi, U.S.A.

HORIZONT
June 1990

JE
by Avc.
Subway

Sponsored by Partisan Defense Committee, Toronto (416) 963-4128

UN NOIR AMERICAIN EN DANGER
Condamné à la peine capitale en 1982, Mumia Abu-Jamal, ancien président de l'Association des journalistes noirs de Philadelphie, est menacé de passer sur l'échafaud.

L'Humanité
22 June 1990

personnalités à travers le monde ont signé une pétition. Les lettres et télégrammes de protestation doivent être adressés à Governor Robert Casey — Main Capitol Building, Room 225 — Harrisburg, PA 17120 — USA.

l'Unità
17 July 1990

Un giornalista nero Usa condannato a morte...

Spett. redazione, vi scrivo per sollevare il caso di Mumia

die tageszeitung
13 June 1990

ABSCHAFFUNG DER TODESSTRAFE IN DEN USA
Rettet das Leben von Mumia Abu-Jamal! Freilass ihn! Mumia und alle politischen Gefangenen in den USA!

'DON'T LET INNOCENT MAN BE HANGED'
By Hassan Bhaili

Ex-Panther convicted of cop's murder is victim of a set-up

VOICE
Britain's Best Black Newspaper
3 July 1990

Campaign grows to save Abu-Jamal from death row

The international campaign to save Philadelphia journalist and former Black Panther Party spokesperson, Mumia Abu-Jamal from execution following a 1982 frame-up trial, continues to gain support following a Feb. 1, 1990 Pennsylvania Supreme Court denial of his petition for review. A petition for review has been filed before the U.S. Supreme Court. Jamal was elected presi-

CANADIAN TRIBUNE
2 July 1990

Buck-Bethune Educational Centre



Former death row prisoners speak out for Jamal: Patrick Croy (left) at Oakland meeting, Darby Tillis in Chicago.

imprisoned for 20 years and a victim of a COINTELPRO frame-up. Douglas, speaking as a representative of former Bay Area Black Panthers, broke down in tears as he remembered Jamal as a 16-year-old Panther: "It was a very rewarding experience to have worked with this young brother who worked very hard, wrote very excellently. When he went back to Philadelphia, it was like a boy that was missing." Through her own tears Jamal's wife Wadiya told how "I get bitter sometimes. And angry at him, even. Just like when somebody that you love dearly dies. But just like that person that dies, they had no choice. Mumia had no choice, he was snatched away from us."

As Cleveland Robinson said in response at the New York City rally, "So we have to understand that we now have tasks to do. I am very proud and humbled by the sister. Your husband must not and shall not die. We have got an obligation, a duty to help to bring him back to freedom!"

Despite prison's cold walls, Jamal's humanity and determination to fight racist oppression are as strong as when as a 16-year-old Panther spokesman he chanted, "Power to the People!" He continues to speak out about the homeless, racist terror, brutality of American pris-

ons and hypocrisy of America's rulers in columns carried in newspapers across the country. As he wrote from death row, "Your international voice of protest becomes a sweet song of hope for the thousands of us in the United States sitting on the brink of death. I am honored to join you, and this noble fight." Join the international campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Urgent: Jamal Campaign Needs Funds

Join the Partisan Defense Committee campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Take Jamal's case to your unions, civil rights, campus and community organizations and mobilize them to join the fight. Contact the PDC for speakers, tapes of Mumia speaking, the new video, and literature.

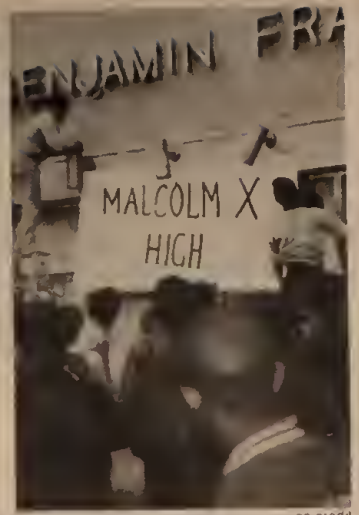
The campaign costs a lot; publicity and printing costs are massive. We are up against the legal and financial resources of the racist capitalist state. Our chances of success rest on the justice of our cause and the determined support of all who helieve Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die. Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Former Black Panther...

(continued from page 16)

featured as the Panther spokesman in a front-page article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Over the next decade, Jamal was active as a crusading broadcast journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for championing the cause of the oppressed. He won wide acclaim and was broadcast on national radio networks. In 1980 he was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Jamal became a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization in the aftermath of the massive 1978 cop siege on their Powelton Village home.

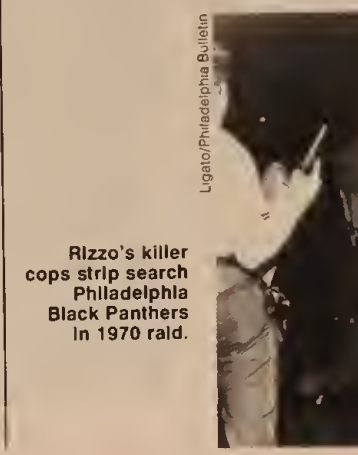
On 9 December 1981 the police tried to kill Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalized with a bleeding stomach wound and arrested on charges of killing a cop. The prosecutor won the death sentence by convincing the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's use of the Panther slogan "Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun" (in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* article 12 years earlier) meant he deserved to die! As Mumia told the court, "I believe America



Student protest in 1967 to name high school for Malcolm X.

has proven that quote to be true."

One need only look at the shotgun-wielding cop standing over the stripped Panther victims of Rizzo's 1970 raid, or hear the Philly police today ranting for his immediate execution, to know what Jamal meant. ■



Rizzo's killer cops strip search Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1970 raid.

13 July 1990

SCOOP USA

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

BLACK JOURNALIST ON DEATH ROW

RALLY!
Saturday July 14
2:00 pm
Church of the Advocate
Philadelphia

Amsterdam News
7 July 1990

New York rally demands:
Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

On Thursday, June 28, over 100 trade unionists, students, "Sun Reporter," and "Greene County Democrat" (Alabama) proudly abolitionists rallied MOVE supporter Abdul Jon to save the life of Black journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Legal rights put aside, Jamal awaits execution

By KATHY DEACON

Law is literature, and this includes death penalty litigation. So malice, so subject to the bias and imagination of those who interpret it, the law is being read in Pennsylvania to send Mumia Abu-Jamal to the electric chair. On February 2 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's petition to argue his appeal upon conviction of killing a police officer. In doing so it left two institutional forces standing between the black journalist and execution: the U.S. Supreme Court and the state's Governor. It also did something else. By disregarding its own precedent and standards of what constitutes a fair trial, the state's Supreme Court reinforced a message to every black and every political radical in Pennsylvania: Legal rights assumed as guarantees can vanish as soon as you try to assert them.

Jamal, who had no previous police record, was sentenced to death in 1982 for the shooting of a Philadelphia cop six months earlier. At the time of the incident Jamal, 27, was a prominent radio journalist in the city and president of the local chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. His

28 June 1990

THE CITY'S ONLY BLACK DAILY

DAILY CHALLENGE

RALLY TONIGHT TO FREE ABU-JAMAL

Abolitionists called to save journalist's life

Opponents of the death penalty have to save the life of Black journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Philadelphia, Pa., through a series of rallies in the United States and around the world beginning Thursday, June 28, in New York. The rallies will be capped on

THE TRIBUNE
13 July 1990

Justice for Abu-Jamal

He wears his hair in dreadlocks, spouts the words of Mao Tse-tung and denounces the American system of justice as a farce. America should prove him wrong. Mumia Abu-Jamal is fighting for his life on death row. The State of Pennsylvania put him there in 1982 after a jury found him guilty of killing a Philadelphia policeman.

A year later, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a jury could not be given inflammatory evidence relating merely to constitutionally protected speech, including "expressions of unpopular views" or the "political beliefs of the defendant."

Appealing for a death sentence, the

The Nation
23 April 1990

PENNSYLVANIA JUSTICE

The Killing of Mumia Abu-Jamal

KATHY DEACON

Law is literature, and this includes death penalty litigation. So malice, so subject to the bias and imagination of those who interpret it, the law is being read in Pennsylvania to send Mumia Abu-Jamal to the electric chair. On February 2 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's petition to argue his appeal upon conviction of killing a police officer. In doing so it left two institutional forces standing between the black journalist and execution: the U.S. Supreme Court and the state's Governor. It also did something else. By disregarding its own precedent and standards of what constitutes a fair trial, the state's Supreme Court reinforced a message to every black and every political radical in Pennsylvania: Legal rights assumed as guarantees can vanish as soon as you try to assert them.

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LETTER FROM DEATH ROW

B-Block Days And Nightmares

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

For whence did Dante take the materials of his hell but from our actual world? And yet he made a very proper hell of it. — Schopenhauer, "Horse-Whisperer"

Above, a slur, a flurry of punches, and so Jamal is cuffed and hustled to the R.I.U. (Restricted Housing Unit), where a beating commences. Wrapped in the sweet, false escape of dreams, I hear the unmistakable sounds of meat being beaten by blackjack, of bootfalls, yells, curses; and it merges into the mad's movie-making machine, evolving distant memories of some of the Philadelphia Police Department's greatest hits — on me.

"Get off that man, you fat, greasy, racist, redneck pig bitch motherfucker!"

My tired eyes snap open; the crack, the "oof!" come in all too clear. Damn, no dream.

Anger simmers at this abrupt intrusion into one of life's last pleasures on B-Block — "home" of the state's largest death row — the all-too-brief reprieve of dreams.

Chicago Defender
25 June 1990

Weekend

Among those making appeals for



Bipartisan S&L rogues' gallery. From left: Arizona con man Charles Keating, Nell Bush, California Democrat Alan Cranston.

S&L Ripoff...

(continued from page 1)

newly created Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC), making the U.S. government the largest operator of financial institutions. And the costs of the public bailout of "private" enterprise keep mounting as the economy sinks into a new recession. Curtis J. Lang aptly commented in the *Village Voice* (10 July) that the much-ballyhooed "free market" of Reagan/Bush really means that they "socialize all the losses and privatize the profits."

The beneficiaries of the S&L scandal are not simply a handful of crooked capitalists and their political accomplices. The bailout is part of the massive redistribution of income during the past decade and a half from working people to financial parasites. The industrial working class has been ground down by the decay of manufacturing while their unions have been broken outright or have accepted giveback contracts and two-tier wage systems. Millions of people, especially blacks and Hispanics, have been reduced to desperate poverty, homelessness and drug addiction. At the same time, a few hundred thousand college graduates have been given lucrative salaries to play money games in banks, securities firms and real estate outfits. A typical scene in America today is a homeless black man or woman asking for handouts in front of an office building in which 25-year-old MBAs make \$100,000 a year from the S&L bailout and other such scams.

"What Is Robbing a Bank Compared to Owning a Bank?"

So said one of the characters in *The Three-Penny Opera* by German Communist playwright Bertolt Brecht. In this case we have both! Stories abound of S&L presidents using depositors' money to "invest" in rare paintings for their own homes, personal yachts, a kitty litter mine and even a sperm bank for buffalo. Depositors were promised high returns on investments as their money was thrown away on harebrained construction projects, junk bonds, whatever—the con artists figured that government deposit insurance would cover the losses, and in the meantime they made millions by "loaning" money to themselves and their cronies. (Remember Groucho Marx, playing a real estate shyster in *Cocanuts* and promising, "You can even get stucco," adding the aside, "Boy, can

you get stucko!")

But to really answer the question, "Where did all the money go?", one has to describe the decline of American capitalism as it literally blew up its own industrial base in the late '70s and tried to recoup with paper scams in the '80s. To be sure, capitalist politics has always run on corruption—Tammany Hall, Teapot Dome and pork barrel are as much a part of Americana as cowboys and Indians. And J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and the other 19th century capitalists owned Congress and the White House no less than their present-day descendants. But a century ago American capitalism was on the upswing, and through brutal exploitation of labor it produced vast new wealth: they covered the country with railroads, built the steel mills, and so on.

The hallmark of the S&L scandal is not only its incredible magnitude, threatening to engulf the entire Treasury, but the fact that it encompasses every kind of squandering and looting of the accumulated wealth of the country: junk bonds, leveraged buyouts, oil market

concession to the S&L capitalists, who screamed for the removal of government restrictions on their financial activity. While Jimmy Carter was still president in 1980, Congress passed a law which expanded the S&L's authority to make consumer loans and started phasing out the limit on interest rates that could be offered to depositors. More importantly, the law raised the ceiling on deposit insurance to \$100,000 (from \$40,000) per account, thereby setting the stage for the future debacle by obligating the government to cover more losses.

The 1980 law failed to revive the S&Ls, so in 1982 Congress passed the now-infamous Garn-St. Germain deregulation bill, which allowed the S&Ls to invest in more or less anything, no matter how risky. This was a triumph for then vice president George Bush, who headed the Reagan administration's "task force" on banking deregulation. "All in all," Ronald Reagan gloated as he signed the bill, "I think we've hit the jackpot" (*Newsweek*, 21 May). It depends on who you mean by "we."

Deregulation unleashed a flood of

(18 February). "By the time Lincoln went broke six years later, Keating had leveraged the original \$50 million from Drexel into \$454 million worth of junk bonds." Meanwhile, Keating sold uninsured junk bonds to his innocent depositors, many of them retirees, who now stand to lose their life savings. An internal memo at Lincoln cynically told its bond salesmen, "Always remember the weak, meek and ignorant are always good targets."

Neil Bush, the president's son, was another example. As a member of the board of directors of Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association in Denver from 1985 to 1988—nicknamed "Desperado Banking" by many—he expedited millions of dollars in loans to his own business partners. At one point, for instance, he wrote a letter recommending \$900,000 in credit to his partner, who had given him a personal "loan" of \$100,000 which was later "forgiven." Neil Bush's business pals stuck Silverado with over \$130 million in bad debts, and curiously, federal regulators who knew of the bank's problems stalled on taking any action until the day after dad Bush's victory in the 1988 presidential election, when they ordered it closed. Neil Bush called the demise of his S&L "inconsequential," though it alone will cost \$1 billion to clean up.

The S&L scam came tumbling down when the bottom fell out of the oil market in 1986, leading to the collapse of the real estate market in the Sun Belt and virtual depression in oil states like Texas. The 1987 stock market crash further undermined the mountain of paper. S&Ls which had pyramided their paper "wealth" in circular sales suddenly collapsed of their own dead weight. But then the scams only escalated, as the fast buck artists raided the U.S. Treasury to recoup their losses with insurance money, aided by their cronies in the proverbial highest places. In December 1988, the last month of the lame-duck Reagan administration, billions were paid out to "rescue" failed S&Ls with the sweetest deals imaginable.

Symbolic of this 1988 Christmas giveaway was the case of a Phoenix "developer" appropriately named James Fail, who put up only \$1,000 of his personal money, borrowed another \$70 million and then was permitted by top federal regulators to "buy" 15 insolvent S&Ls and consolidate them into Bluebonnet Savings. This "new" S&L was then given over three billion dollars in federal subsidies over ten years, making it a "profitable" institution in 1989 even though it has many newly constructed properties still sitting boarded up and idle. Fail was supposedly ineligible for such a deal because he had previously been indicted for securities fraud in Alabama, but with the help of lobbyist Robert Thompson, who once had been Vice President Bush's Congressional liaison, Fail's application somehow "slipped through." And this case was only the tip of the iceberg.

Democrats + Republicans = Property Party

Today the Democrats like to scream about the Fail and Bush cases to tar the Republicans with the S&L scandal. But



Asay/Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph

speculation, real estate speculation, Michael Milken, Frank Lorenzo, stock market crash, you name it, this scandal's got it, even including a CIA plot. In short, the S&L affair is about the decay of American capitalism.

For decades, S&Ls were staid small-time institutions whose primary purpose, enforced by government regulation, was providing low-interest loans for millions of Americans to buy their own homes. Then came the inflationary '70s, fed partly by the oil-price boom engineered by the OPEC/Seven Sisters cartel. Millions tried to salvage the value of their savings by withdrawing them from S&Ls in favor of higher-interest investments. The S&Ls, whose income came from fixed low-interest 30-year mortgage loans, suddenly found themselves devastated by the twin blows of inflation and a drain of deposits: in the brief period of 1980-82 the net worth of S&Ls fell from \$31 billion to \$4 billion, leaving them virtually broke.

Fearing the social unrest that would ensue from the collapse of the S&Ls, the White House and Congress, Democrat and Republican, made every conceivable

billions of dollars in dubious "investments," all backed by the guarantees of government insurance, a virtual blank check. Not only mom and pop's savings, but billions of dollars in "hot" money were sent into the S&Ls by money specialists who sliced up the big boys' coffers into \$100,000 chunks which could then be deposited in insured accounts. Much of it went into real estate and luxury residential construction, whose paper value in the '80s escalated in a giant speculative bubble, particularly in the Sun Belt states from Florida to Arizona and the oil-boom states like Texas. In the escalating orgy of greed, S&L money circulated in endless tangled circles, bidding up paper value but not creating any real wealth.

A notorious example was Phoenix, Arizona "real estate developer" Charles Keating's \$50 million purchase of the Lincoln Savings and Loan in 1983, financed by Michael Milken's sale of junk bonds. "Soon after buying Lincoln, Keating virtually stopped making loans to families to buy homes and began using depositors' money to buy junk bonds from Drexel," notes the *Washington Post*

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even bourgeois commentators have noted that both parties are up to their necks in it. There were, for instance, the "Keating Five" Senators, four of them Democrats (Cranston, Riegle, Glenn and DeConcini, plus Republican McCain), who together received more than a million dollars in contributions from the notorious Keating and repeatedly protected him from federal regulators. Former Speaker of the House Jim Wright is among the many Democratic notables implicated by S&L largesse.

A recent Democratic attempt led by Pat Schroeder to force the Attorney General to appoint a special prosecutor in the Neil Bush case collapsed when Republicans threatened retaliatory prosecutions, scaring off backers. One Republican lobbyist told the *New York Times* (21 June): "It's sort of a mad dog, hard ball, intimidation style. You have to remind the Democrats of their past to keep them honest." In other words, dishonest. Thus the two parties have each other blackmailed on this issue, so while they may make a show of it for the November elections, you can be sure the "investigations" will come to exactly nothing.

So too will the revelations of CIA involvement be buried. Last February the *Houston Post* revealed that the spy agency and organized crime had links to 22 collapsed S&Ls which lost over \$13 billion. One of those S&Ls is...Neil Bush's Silverado. "The CIA," reported the *Post*'s Pete Brewton, "may have used part of the proceeds from S&L fraud to help pay for covert operations and other activities that Congress was unwilling to support publicly," such as the contra war in Nicaragua. But after all the Congressional "investigations" into the White House/CIA Iran/contra scandal, Reagan/Bush were never even charged, and Ollie North walked. It's a safe bet the white-wash will cover this one, too.

The capitalist politicians hope to use the S&L scandal as a political football for the November elections and then bury the issue, but it won't go away so easily. What makes this scandal different from the run-of-the-mill corruption story is its sheer magnitude, enough to send the economy into a crash.

End of the "American Dream"

During the 1950s there was much talk of the "American dream" and glorification of the "American way of life." Liberal ideologues like Daniel Bell concocted fantasies about the "end of ideology" and the triumph of class peace. Key to the notion of the "American dream" was making the mass of American workers into small property-holders through home ownership. In the immediate post-World War II era, when U.S. imperialism was flush with the riches flowing from dominance of the "free world," the dream had some fleeting substance: while home ownership rates in the population held near 45 percent from 1890 to 1940, over the next 20 years they increased to over 60 percent. In this period home ownership rates for married couples aged 25 to 34 more than doubled.

But the national home ownership rate peaked in 1980 and has been declining ever since. Young families (under-25 couples with children) looking for their first home are the hardest hit: ownership rates fell from almost 40 percent to 27 percent in the past decade. In this period young working people have been faced with declining real wage rates, high unemployment and astronomical housing costs. As a result the home construction industry today is in virtual depression from the lack of buyers and the credit squeeze from scared bankers—housing starts for single-family homes have dropped by half from a year ago. And foreclosures have begun to skyrocket even in the formerly booming Northeast.

This downturn flows from deepgoing structural changes of a weakened and declining American capitalism. Younger workers have been qualitatively impoverished by such devices as two-tier wages, now embedded in major industries in the wake of the past decade of union-busting

and defeated strikes. And facing ever-mounting deficits, Congress passed bipartisan tax "reform" which severely whittled down the once-considerable tax advantages of home ownership. Fewer and fewer young people can accumulate the down payment for a first home, or afford the monthly payments. A middle-aged white subway mormon in the Bronx, New York remarked bitterly: "When our parents had us, they had the American dream. They said my kids will have more than me. The American dream is gone."

If the "American dream" is gone for white working people, blacks are living the American nightmare. Black infant mortality is now at the level of some Third World countries, while homicide is the main cause of death of young black males. Almost 40 percent of black



Bettmann Archive

Bank failure during 1930s Great Depression. In the next crash, dwindling FDIC insurance funds will leave depositors high and dry.

men in their early 20s are unemployed. And less than 2 percent of black families now renting apartments can qualify for a standard home mortgage.

Millions of men, women and children in this country are homeless, living in the streets with nowhere to go and nothing to eat. Yet a few months from now, the government's Resolution Trust Corporation, which owns more than 36,000 properties taken over from bankrupt S&Ls, will auction off the entire lot in a single day. The properties will likely be sold at fire-sale prices to the very same con artists who owned them before! Since much of this property consists of newly built and unoccupied housing, we can think of a much more equitable way to dispose of it. Over a century ago Frederick Engels wrote:

"There is already a sufficient quantity of houses in the big cities to remedy immediately all real 'housing shortage,' provided they are used judiciously. This can naturally only occur through the expropriation of the present owners by quartering in their houses homeless workers or workers overcrowded in their present homes. As soon as the proletariat has won political power, such a measure prompted by concern for the common good will be just as easy to carry out as are other expropriations and billings by the present-day state."

—*The Housing Question* (1887)

If the labor movement in this country had a class-struggle leadership instead of a corrupt, sellout bureaucracy, it would send out a few thousand workers in every city to occupy those luxury condos and turn them over to the homeless.

American Capitalism in Decay

The S&L debacle is only one aspect of the decay and parasitism of American capitalism. Ever since the 1974-75 world depression, American industry has been in decline. Employment in manufacturing fell from 27 percent of the labor force in 1970 to 18 percent in the late '80s. A million manufacturing jobs have disap-

peared over the past decade. Sony chief Akio Morita blasted America's capitalist crybabies, who blame all their troubles on Japan: "Instead of manufacturing things, Americans make money without efforts, just by playing money games" (*Business Week*, 23 October 1989).

But these kinds of financial shell games can't go on much longer. It's not just the S&Ls that are in trouble. The nation's commercial banks—including such biggies as Citibank and Chase Manhattan—are also teetering on the edge of an abyss, laden with \$600 billion in dubious debt from risky real estate investment, Third World loans and over-leveraged corporate deals. There are over 1,000 "prohlem" banks, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation spent more than it took in last year for the second straight time since its creation in

redeposited in other, solvent banks. But where will the money finally end up? It will *not* be used to finance productive investment in new plant and equipment since there is little such productive investment in this country. Much of the money will go to finance the government deficit, including the S&L bailout. Much of it will go into leveraged buyouts, junk-bond takeovers, or just to refinance debt-laden corporate treasuries. In other words, the S&L bailout is funneling hundreds of billions from taxpayers to financial parasites from the Michael Milken to the yuppies at their computer terminals in investment bankers' takeover departments.

And some of the S&L bailout money will go to pay for the great "leveraged buyout" of East Europe now being organized by the bankers of Frankfurt. The main beneficiary of the fracturing of the Kremlin bureaucracy under Gorbachev and the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe promises to be the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. West Germany expects to run a deficit of \$12 billion this year, mainly due to its buying up the collectivized economy of East Germany. Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl just promised Gorbachev \$3 billion in credit. In return, the Kremlin leader dropped his objections to a reunified Germany being part of NATO.

The ambitions of German imperialism go far beyond taking back Prussia and Saxony. The masters of a would-be Fourth Reich intend to turn all of East Europe and even Russia into their neo-colony. A top aide to Kohl boasted: "Perhaps in time the United States will take care of places like Central America, and we will handle Eastern Europe" (*Newsweek*, 26 February).

And where is the German ruling class going to get the money to "handle Eastern Europe"? Much of it will come from German working people. But some will come from American working people via the S&L scam and other financial devices. Billions—perhaps tens of billions—are going to flow from Wall Street to Frankfurt to corrupt East European officials, to finance counterrevolutionary movements and buy up factories and mines from Bohemia to Siberia.

The debt-laden and decaying American economy is facing a massive outflow of money capital. This will drive interest rates through the ceiling, causing the government to raise taxes and further slash social programs. To meet an even heavier burden of debt service, corporations will have to cut back production, lay off workers and further slash wages and benefits.

The people who run this country have squandered and looted the wealth built by generations of workers. Abetted by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, they have ground down the industrial working class and condemned a generation of black youth to hideous poverty. A revolutionary workers party must be built to wrest the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the rapacious capitalists and place in the hands of the working people the power to build a planned, socialist economy to secure equality and abundance for all. ■

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"Fatherland"...

(continued from page 7)

completely on the women.

The current trend is already reflected in the advertising sections of DDR newspapers. Now you find jobs-wanted ads by women who emphasize "childless" as a particularly favorable description. "Secretary, 25 years old, knowledge of foreign languages, computer experience, no children, seeks a new area of work," reads one ad in the *Berliner Zeitung* for example. For the DDR this is a real cultural shift. Shocked by their experiences in looking for a new job, many women are turning to the Unemployed Association. For example, a former worker at Stern Radio, a factory with 3,000 employees which a few weeks ago had to declare bankruptcy. She is married, has two children, aged eleven and three, and she is trying to find a new job. "Your qualifications are right, your age is fine, but your little son is ten years too young," they told her at one interview.

Until now businesses were required to maintain social facilities. That included cultural facilities, but also kindergartens and infant care centers. From July 1 on, they are "relieved" of this costly obligation. At the same time, the government is working on new regulations intended to assure the maintenance of these day-care facilities. Accordingly, factory kindergartens will still be subsidized in the

Capitalist Reunification Targets Women's Rights

The following report was written by two women supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

From the media in West Germany we have very frequently heard it said that women in the DDR were forced to go to work in order to help feed their families as second income-providers. But it is often forgotten that many women felt a need to take an active part in social life. Many women are conscious of the fact that after the all-Germany elections, they will be particularly robbed of their rights in professional life.

How did things look until July of this year? Until then, women were able to decide for themselves whether they wanted to work night shift or not. The West German law forbids this (especially in industry). This is supposedly for the "protection of women." Previously, only pregnant women were customarily excused from night-shift work and overtime. For pregnant women there

were, among other things, additional rules: six weeks before the delivery date they received a pregnancy leave, and after giving birth an additional 20 weeks of convalescent leave. As needed, or when nurseries were not available, women could request a release from work of up to one year. During this period, they would receive their average take-home pay.

Summarizing, one can say that the conditions for women and children were favorable. This can also be seen in the fact that the divorce rate in the DDR was the highest in the world. Women were in a position to build up or maintain their own livelihoods even without a husband. Single women received housing and places for their children in nurseries on a preferential basis, and had the possibility to work shortened hours.

How do things look now for our women? The labor legislation has been in force since 1 July 1990. This has eliminated, among other things,

the protection against layoffs for pregnant women and single mothers. They are the first ones who are being hit with unemployment and reduced hours. That means being thrown back not only to home and hearth, but also into bourgeois marriage with all its consequences.

The fight against Paragraph 218 and for the preservation of meals in schools, and childcare, nursery or kindergarten facilities shows clearly that women are aware of what they stand to lose. This struggle, however, must not be waged in a disunited and isolated way. It must be linked to the struggle of all oppressed minorities, such as foreigners, homosexuals, Roma and Sinti (Gypsies). They must defend themselves jointly against all attacks: what has already been won must be defended and protected—only in this way can the struggle be successful.

Jana and Ramona
1 August 1990

future—the state takes over the cost of personnel and operating expenses, and the enterprises will be responsible for providing and maintaining rooms.

However, DDR companies, struggling with excess debt, have been instructed to

convert all real estate which is not absolutely necessary for their own production into capital. Thus it is to be expected that most such facilities will be sold off as quickly as possible. Despite state subsidies, this spring nearly 40 companies in

Berlin alone have applied for the local authorities to take over their childcare facilities. Given the low tax revenues, however, local authorities will have enough trouble keeping their own kindergartens financially afloat. ■

Scargill...

(continued from page 4)

movement, and a stab in the back of the NUM membership.

British miners learnt the hard way whose interests the courts serve, as thousands were dragged to jail during the strike. No doubt reflecting revulsion in the membership over the court action, on July 26 the executive backed off and its legal action was put on ice for three months.

Now the police are looking for the "right trigger" to snoop into the NUM's affairs themselves. The same day that the NUM executive's court action was suspended, it was reported that Scotland Yard's Serious Fraud Office had received "two formal complaints." One of these was made by a certain Sergei Massalovitch, one of a string of members of the Russian fascist NTS that the UDM (and who knows which other agencies) have been circulating through Britain. Massalovitch and Vorkuta miner Nikolai Trekhin (who called on AFL-CIO head and notorious Cold Warrior Lane Kirkland for aid) addressed the UDM conference in June.

The NTS and UDM also produced one Yuri Butchenko to aid the witchhunt against Scargill. The surfacing of these NTS-connected Russians was a central component of the witchhunt against Scargill over accepting "Russian gold," scandalously aided by the Stalinophobic centrists of Workers Power and their Socialist Organiser bloc partners in the "Campaign for Solidarity with Workers in the Eastern Bloc" (see accompanying article).

Given its keen "attention" to the NUM particularly during the strike (Scargill reportedly still sweeps his office daily for listening bugs) and its well-

documented relations with the NTS, one can well wonder how British intelligence fits into this anti-union operation. Maxwell's first round of charges was backed up by former NUM official Roger Windsor, who was paid a handsome fee by Maxwell for his services. Windsor, who was one of the key NUM officials to deal with Libya, resigned his appointed position under suspicion of defrauding the NUM and is the object of police inquiry in South Yorkshire.

"Ramsay MacKinnock" Witchhunt

This is hardly the first time in British history that "Russian gold" and anti-Sovietism have been used to go after the workers movement, nor is it the first time that the slavishly pro-capitalist Labour Party has been complicit. At the time of the 1926 miners strike and the nine-day General Strike, the bourgeoisie raised an outcry over financial support by Soviet workers to the British miners.

Two years earlier there was the infamous "Zinoviev letter" affair. Aiming to embarrass the first Labour government of Ramsay MacDonald and obstruct the signing of a treaty with the Soviet Union, the Tory *Daily Mail* published a letter forged by the Tories. Purporting to be from Zinoviev, then head of the Communist International, it "instructed" the British Communist Party to carry out work in the army. MacDonald not only gave the forged credibility but denounced it more vociferously than the Tories, firing off a protest to the Soviet government against "direct interference from outside in British domestic affairs."

Scargill is being targeted for vilification because in the eyes of the British bourgeoisie and their Labour lieutenants he embodies hard class struggle and is seen to be pro-Soviet. As his support to Neil Kinnock in the last general election showed, Scargill's enemies are wrong about his political programme. To be sure, his Stalinoid friendship toward the Soviet bureaucracy makes him stand out from the general crop of virulently anti-Communist Labourites. But Scargill has never broken from Labourism—knuckling under to the pro-capitalist Labour tops in the name of spurious "unity." It was this which kept the NUM leadership from defying the Labour/TUC—right and "left"—and turning widespread support for the miners into joint strike action.

British gutter press had field day with anti-Scargill witchhunt instigated by Healy's WRP in 1983.



Left to go it alone by the Labour/TUC tops, the NUM succumbed to defeat. The Thatcher government vindictively proceeded to shut down a swathe of coal mines in Scotland, England and Wales—reducing many mining villages to impoverished, devastated ghost towns. Today the NUM has plummeted from a pre-strike membership of over 200,000 to just 50,000. A new, revolutionary leadership of the working class must be forged to prepare for the battles that lie ahead. What is needed is an authentic Leninist vanguard party committed to the perspective of workers revolution and forged through splitting Labour's working-class base away from its pro-capitalist misleaders. Hands off Arthur Scargill! Hands off the NUM! ■

Butchenko Affair...

(continued from page 5)

the Nazis"? How did Miller introduce himself to you—with a stiff-arm salute, or did a simple handshake do?

Tripping Over the Class Line

Workers Power's fronting for Butchenko and his NTS (and UDM) friends recalls the dirty work of Gerry Healy's WRP as the finger-men for the most right-wing agents of British capitalism within the labor movement. The WRP instigated a vicious witchhunt against Scargill and the NUM aimed at isolating the militant union on the eve of its bitter yearlong strike. Then also the weapon of choice was anti-Communism—roasting Scargill for his remark that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. The WRP, having

spent years pimping for Libya's Qaddafi, the Iraqi Ba'athist regime and a host of other oil-rich Middle Eastern despots, knew exactly what it was getting into. Workers Power got more than they bargained for or know how to handle—a rip-roaring scandal in the British left and labor movement.

In its rapid rightward motion, WP is beginning to take on ever more overtly the political cynicism associated with Healy. In explaining their break with Sean Matgamna's Socialist Organiser over the Butchenko affair, Workers Power attempts to take the "high ground," criticizing the S.O.-inspired CSWEB statement for seeking "solidarity with the emerging labour movements of Eastern Europe—irrespective of their political ideas and affiliations." They even denounce Socialist Organiser for calling on Solidarność to take power in Poland last year, pointing out how "Solidarity is committed to a vicious austerity package and the introduction of capitalism."

WP's falling-out with Matgamna has not an iota of principle to it. To this day they continue to insist: "Workers Power was correct to try and build the tour, and to try to get Butchenko to speak to as many workers as possible." Indeed, they attack Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) for pulling out of the organizing committee and keeping Butchenko from "being able to meet a wider number of rank and file miners"—and thus broadcast his counterrevolutionary filth among even wider layers of the British workers movement!

WP's after-the-fact homilies about political principle ring somewhat hollow given that their chosen bloc partners in the Solidarity Campaign, Matgamna and Cliff, are explicitly opposed to defense of

CORRECTION

In the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 507, 27 July), a caption in the article "Morenoism: A Case Study in Stalinophobia" transposed a word in a headline from Moreno's *Correo Internacional* on the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war. Their headline was correctly translated in our article text as "In the Military Camp of the Argentine Dictatorship."

Black American Trotskyist...

(continued from page 6)

imperialist campaign of seizing the DDR by the throat.

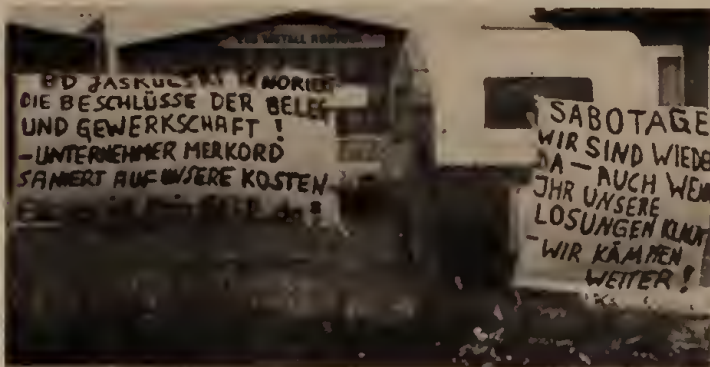
The next city we went to was Bernburg, southwest of Berlin. This meeting was organized at a youth club. It attracted a lot of members of the PDS and the leadership of the PDS from the Leipzig area, an hour and a half away. A lot of young people, a lot of women, actually a lot of women at all of these forums. Even though you have to take into account the translation time for the talk, I couldn't talk more than 35-40 minutes, the people hung on and wanted to hear descriptions of attacks on the working class, the vicious racist terror, the genocide against the black masses. The Stalinists have told them so many lies over the years, they didn't know what to believe or not believe.

We had our LBL pictures up of different demonstrations. People took a very real interest in learning a little about class struggle in the capitalist West. There were a number of Mozambican workers who wanted to talk to the we hours of the morning, "What is racism like in America?" "How do blacks and whites live? Do they live in the same neighborhoods?" "What's the school system like?" "How much do you get paid?"

I was like a drunken boxer at the end, because they had detailed questions. They have experienced racism in the DDR, places where they can't go, because of the resurgent German nationalism. It comes down on them hardest—and the Vietnamese, and the Poles. Our comrades had leafletted their work sites and talked to them. We have a reputation of being those that defend the oppressed and especially oppressed, like foreign workers in the DDR.

After that we went to Halle, which is very near Bernburg. It seems the people in the south are much more beaten down.

We had a very successful meeting, a lot of members of the PDS. They were older members and they had a little dinner for us afterwards. Most of the DDR left groups came out: Communist Platform, the KPD, which is supposed to be the new Communist Party, the United Left and Neues Forum. They were very anti-working-class! One PDS woman articulated these sentiments saying, "The



Rostock metal workers protest as capitalist Anschluss of East Germany brings misery for working people.

working class cannot stop this capitalist counterrevolution. The intellectuals can!"

So it afforded great opportunity for our comrades to engage in some good political combat. A lot of these groups cannot conceive of the working class rising up against the capitalist exploiters in Europe, the USA. Stalinist politics, the utopian theory of socialism in one country, is what they are taught to believe—which means socialism in no other country, it means denunciation of international revolution. We had that argument time and time again against their popular-frontist program.

After Halle, we went way up north, several hours' drive to Eggesin. We were dog-tired because Halle was very intense, because there was a lot of discussion afterwards. This was a 10 a.m. meeting on Sunday. When we got there, an hour

before, here were Vietnamese and Mozambican workers in front of the hall, waiting impatiently for us to get out of the car. They formed a line to shake our hands. They were genuinely moved that an internationalist revolutionary organization sent an American communist this great distance to address their struggle.

A couple of Mozambican workers spoke at the meeting. One of them said,

"We are young, we think this meeting is very important, we don't know a lot about politics but we think that these attacks on the DDR mean more hardships for us here and for our brothers and sisters back home." These are young guys, ten Mozambicans, and about eight Vietnamese workers who smiled when we talked about how we hailed the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

There was a lot of translation going on at this meeting at Eggesin, which is a military base. The hall that we met in was the meeting hall where Rommel, the German general, had organized the Afrika Korps out of. So it was nice for these Mozambicans and Vietnamese sitting in the room—the message and program for proletarian internationalism.

Next, Rostock. The Stalinists were aggressive, younger, cocksure: "the work-

ing class has to go through the experience of capitalism, we need to develop a left theory, Leninism-Bolshevism is elitist, we need unity of the left." We had a lengthy debate on the question of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism.

Every place we went, people wanted to read Trotsky because Trotsky is not published in [East] Germany. And that is a really big barrier to winning over a lot of people, because they can't see the genuine revolutionary alternative to Stalinism.

I'm only going to say one thing about Hamburg. This forum was considerably smaller. Mainly it was important because our program of forging links between East German workers and the West German workers is not an abstraction. The bourgeoisie is trying to take all of the business away from the port in Rostock and ship it over to Hamburg. There's been some strikes in the recent period all over East Germany, including in Rostock, against these layoffs. There has to be some common class struggle.

In this particular series of meetings I think one thing that really stands out is that our party, the Spartakist Workers Party in Germany, have been the only ones swimming against the stream, have opposed capitalist reunification from day one, have held demonstrations against the attacks and deportation of foreign-born workers.

I know I'm leaving out a lot. It was a very successful forum which resulted in some recruits to our party. People here in the LBL made it possible. And you better know that it made an impact upon a very key section of the East German working class and the left.

For more information about the Labor Black League for Social Defense, write to: P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604. In Chicago, contact the Labor Black Struggle League at: LBSL, Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680.

the Soviet Union. The whole purpose of this "Eastern Bloc" campaign—the name itself could have been coined by the CIA—was precisely to compete with the right wing on the terrain of anti-Communism. WP says more than it intends when it concedes that after arguing "day in, day out" about "the necessity of fighting the restoration of capitalism": "With Yuri Butchenko we lost those arguments—he was courted and won by the right wing who offered him more money, equipment and publicity than we could." So the big-time anti-Communists could outbid the "left-wingers" in court- ing a confirmed supporter of capitalism—what a surprise!

The Russian Question Pointblank

The Butchenko affair is no aberration for Workers Power. As American Trotskyist James P. Cannon wrote: "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Those who cannot draw the class line in defense of the most colossal conquest the working class has yet achieved, the collectivized economy established through the 1917 Russian Revolution, will surely not be capable of finding a class line in defense of trade unions. The Cliffite SWP, which crosses the class line in refusing to defend the Soviet Union, crossed the class line in scabbing on the miners strike. Workers Power, for its part, found itself in bed with Thatcher, Kinnock and the scabs who went on to form the UDM in its campaign for a strikebreaking "ballot" at the time. Now the logic of its Stalinophobia has blown up in Workers Power's face.

Workers Power split from the Cliff outfit in the mid-1970s. At the time of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, WP took a step to the left, breaking from the Cliffite line that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist." But it never drew the hard programmatic conclusions. WP con-

tinued to view the Stalinist bureaucracy as a purely counterrevolutionary force. Rejecting the program of Trotskyism, it set out to "re-elaborate" Trotsky's Transitional Program; renouncing the heritage of the Fourth International, it called for an undefined "Revolutionary Communist International." Above all, Workers Power wanted to have nothing to do with Spartacist "sectarianism." Their bottom line was: if it moves (and it's big enough), tail it—whether it be Khomeini's Iran, Polish Solidarność or (above all) the Labour Party at home.

Thus Workers Power dutifully echoed Cold War social democracy (as well as Reagan and Thatcher) in denouncing the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan (only to turn around and simultaneously denounce the Soviet withdrawal when Gorbachev pulled the troops out). And for years, Workers Power thought that Solidarność was the cat's meow. They had no qualms joining "Solidarity with Solidarity" demonstrations alongside fascistic scum like the Polish KPN, all the while admitting that Solidarność' program aimed for the restoration of capitalism. And they still call for a return to the "early days" of Solidarność, the days when it wasn't quite so difficult to sell this clerical-nationalist outfit because it was not yet implementing pro-capitalist austerity against the Polish workers.

Faced with the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and imperialist cheering over the supposed "death of Communism," these centrists veered sharply to the right, giving backhanded support to the capitalist reunification of Germany and appealing directly to British imperialism to back counterrevolution in Lithuania. While claiming to be against the restoration of capitalism in East Germany, Workers Power sided with counterrevolution at every crucial stage—demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops, echoing the Social Democrats'

lies that the massive Treptow anti-fascist mobilization in January was the result of a Stalinist trick, cheering the attacks of skinhead gangs on Stasi headquarters as the "very stuff of revolution."

Then Workers Power gave its "unconditional support" to the pro-capitalist Lithuanian Sajudis movement while conceding it contained "semi-fascist elements." Hell, it's crawling with fascists. WP joined Socialist Organiser in a picket of the Soviet consulate in London demanding, "Hands Off Baltic States." *Workers Power* (May 1990) even demanded that the Thatcher government "recognises Lithuania and supplies goods requested by Lithuania without conditions." And lo and behold, the weekly letter from Denis in *Private Eye* (8 June) has No. 10 considering "scrapping the entire Navy and selling it off to the Lithuanians."

And now: the Yuri Butchenko affair. To borrow from WP's hypocritical attack on Socialist Organiser, this "has revealed the practical results of their degeneration." Fifteen years ago, when Matgamna was nominally Soviet-defensist and Workers Power not, they entered a short-lived fusion with the cynical argument that defense of the Soviet Union was "a tenth-rate question" (Matgamna). Formally, the tables have turned, with Workers Power now nominally defensist. But WP still retains its deepgoing anti-Sovietism and orientation to NATO social democracy. So they end up "unwittingly" getting into bed with anti-Communist witchhunters and fascist counterrevolutionaries. Only a Third Campist could write, as WP did to the Kuzbass union, that "The UDM, as a bosses' organisation, can be compared with your own state run stooge unions." How is it, then, that one massively aided the miners strike while the other tried to break it? The Soviet trade-union leaders did a damn sight more to aid the strike

than the anti-Communist British TUC

Workers Power is not and never was Trotskyist. Trotskyism means the struggle for defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution of 1917. That's why we Spartacists stood with the Red Army in Afghanistan when it fought against CIA-financed feudalists. Why we opposed Solidarność from the moment it set out on a course of capitalist restoration in the autumn of 1981. And in East Germany, where Workers Power tailed behind counterrevolutionary Social Democracy, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany fought consistently and uniquely against capitalist reunification and for a Germany of workers councils through proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West.

We have insisted that anti-Sovietism abroad fuels strikebreaking at home. Now Workers Power's repetitive crossing of the class line on the Russian question has played itself out on their home terrain, in a scandal recalling the Healy-inspired witchhunt of the NUM on the eve of the miners strike. Even some of the Labourite centrists of Workers Power may be shaken by the realization that Stalinophobia has led them to front for the scummiest counterrevolutionary enemies of the workers movement. Those who don't want to end up like the cynical zombies left behind after Healy's WRP imploded had better think hard and long about how their politics got them into this disgrace. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August.

Our next issue will be dated September 7.

WORKERS VANGUARD



Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



Partisan Defense Committee rally in New York City, June 28. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

WV Photo

Worldwide Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

They came in union hats and jackets, from churches and campuses; there were families extending over three generations. Some drove hundreds of miles; others, homeless, came in off the street to give their support. They are the voiceless to whom black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal gave voice. For two and a half weeks this summer hundreds of trade unionists, socialists, students, death penalty aboli-

tionists and civil rights activists joined together in cities around the world to demand that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

The protests in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Oakland were initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to build the ongoing campaign to save Jamal's life. The PDC is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization

associated with the Spartacist League. In France, Britain, Germany, Canada and Australia the protests were sponsored and built by the fraternal defense organizations initiated by the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Over 26,000 people internationally have signed statements demanding Jamal not die. Unions representing millions

more have stood up against this racist "legal" lynching. Black newspapers across the country as well as in Canada and London covered the recent rallies; several devoted full pages to his case. The *Nation* ran a lengthy article, "The Killing of Mumia Abu-Jamal," summarized in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. In Europe, *L'Humanité* and *l'Unità*, the

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Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969, age 14, Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Former Black Panther Framed Up A Fighter Against Racist Oppression

Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is a chronicle of black protest—from demonstrating against a George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace rally in the white bastion of South Philadelphia at the age of 13, to his impassioned journalistic defense of the MOVE organization. In 1967, Jamal was in the forefront of citywide student demonstrations demanding black studies programs in the high schools, and was expelled for leading protests to change the name of Benjamin Franklin High School to Malcolm X High School and distributing pamphlets calling for "revolutionary black student power." The protests culminated with a demonstration outside School Board headquarters which was attacked by the cops.

As a victim of and witness to racist cop

terror, Jamal was determined to fight for black emancipation. At the age of 14, he was co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panthers. "I was beaten into the Black Panther Party," he says. In the summer of 1969, while still in his teens, Jamal was arrested during one of many cop raids on the Panthers' Philly headquarters, part of the FBI COINTELPRO conspiracy. The following summer he was working in the offices of the *Black Panther* newspaper when Philly top cop Rizzo led his notorious assault on the Panthers, dragging the young black militants out onto the street, where they were lined up against the wall and stripped.

In January 1970, the 16-year-old Jamal was

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