

After U.S. Bombing Lays Waste to Iraq

"Liberated" Kuwait Tortures Palestinians

George Bush is building his "new world order" on mountains of corpses. We warned insistently that a Pax Americana in the Near East would mean brutal neocolonial oppression. It began with the wanton murder of tens of thousands of Iraqis. Now U.S. forces in the Near East are overseeing a vicious reign of terror and torture, particularly against the dispossessed Palestinian workers of the region.

From the outset, Bush was intent on devastating Iraq as a bloody reassertion of U.S. imperialism's self-anointed role as top cop of the world. Last week a United Nations commission sent to investigate

conditions in Iraq reported that the country has "been relegated to a preindustrial age," as the bombing "wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the infrastructure of what had been until January 1991 a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society."

A visiting doctor adds: "Since the beginning of the war, thousands of babies and adults have died from starvation and shortage of medicine" (*Guardian* [London], 23 March). This is the result of the months-long blockade of Iraq, carried out under a UN fig leaf and cheered on by Democrats and

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Thousands of Palestinians and Iraqis have been rounded up, many tortured and murdered by Kuwaiti soldiers under U.S. supervision.

Videotape Shows...What Happens All the Time

Racist Cop Terror U.S.A.

The public fury generated by the sadistic racist beating of Rodney King by L.A. police has brought the issue of police brutality into sharp national focus. Nobody but the most rabid cop sympathizer believes it is an "aberration," as LAPD chief Daryl Gates called it. Blacks and Hispanics have always known the truth about it, and many have directly experienced it—the only new thing is people have camcorders to videotape it. Now TV viewers from coast to coast wince at each swing of the police batons, each kick to the head, each blow to the kidneys—deeply angered, with compassion and empathy for the black man as he lay helpless before the taunting, torturing cops. And from New York to Atlanta and Chicago, the media has suddenly unearthed a mountain of similar cases, which they had buried until now.

After 15 days, transcripts of the L.A. patrol car computer messages from the night of the beating were finally made public. LAPD thugs Laurence Powell and Timothy Wind, under indictment as two of King's principal attackers, bragged: "I haven't beaten anyone this bad in a long time." The voice on the other end responded, "Oh, not again...I thought you agreed to chill out for a while." Powell and Wind described their previous call, involving a black family, as being "right out of *Gorillas in the Mist*." Foot patrol officers responded, "Ha ha ha ha...let me guess who be the parties." Straight from the racist pigs' mouths—to say the least, this undercut Gates' absurd claims that the beating was not racially motivated.

Racist police terror an "aberration"? We're reminded of the study by eminent Canadian biologist Farley Mowat, who investigated trappers' claims that wolves were devastating the herds of caribou. Mowat found the wolves were getting a bum rap. After thousands of years, wasn't it curious that wolves' insatiable



Pizaci/AP

Bush hails LAPD chief Gates as "American hero," vows to take "handcuffs off police." Right: L.A. police sadistically club and stomp defenseless black man, Rodney King.



George Holliday Video

appetite for killing increased so dramatically in the presence of...trappers? In this case, is one to believe that the cops' thirst to beat up people is somehow stimulated by the presence of a video camera to record it? We rather think it's the opposite.

In fact, racist cop atrocities occur all the time. But now with video cameras everywhere, you get to see it for yourself. The cops see home videos as a threat to their control of the streets (like guns in the hands of the people). But it's fundamental to the criminal "justice" system to pretend that cops' testimony is implicitly to be believed. So...the victim fell down the steps, banged his head against the pavement, was shot trying to escape. Possibly the police will figure a way to ban videos, at least as evidence in court, the way the Pentagon kept reporters in the Persian Gulf from showing the carnage left by its murderous blitzkrieg.

Cop terror is enormously, but not

exclusively racially biased. It is of great assistance in becoming a victim if you are black or Hispanic, but don't rely on that too heavily. New York police abused a white woman editor who objected to them berating her taxi driver, ran down an elderly doctor on Park Avenue (one of only two cases in which an NYC cop was ever indicted for murder). The cops have this macho creed of cowardice: they're not like soldiers, they don't expect to be shot at. Which is why they have those elaborate funerals, bringing out thousands every time one of them is on the receiving end. They're supposed to do the killing.

"Desert Storm" Comes Home

In our last issue we pointed to the direct connection between Bush's war of annihilation against Iraq and the war against blacks and Hispanics at home. On the same day the videotape was first aired, Bush was at a nationwide cop

convention, sitting next to "Choke Hold" Gates and singling out the L.A. top cop as an "All American hero." Appealing for the kind of "moral force" and "national will" shown in "Desert Storm," Bush described his draconian crime bill as "taking the handcuffs off police." That's like when he said that the army would "not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back" on the day that the terror bombing of Baghdad began. The beating of Rodney King symbolizes what Bush's talk about unleashing the police is all about. Blacks and other minorities are to be used for cannon fodder in war, and target practice at home.

Now embarrassed over his endorsement of Gates, Bush scrambled to distance himself. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh ordered the FBI to "review" complaints of police brutality received by the feds in the past six years—some

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Lesson From "Lalaland"



As the psychic ripples from the Gulf "War" recede from the shores of memory, other visions arrest the nation's attention.

From the country's Southwest came the gripping imagery of a continuing urban war, the videotaped vicious street beating of an African-American motorist, as he lay prone, dazed, utterly unresisting, in a Los Angeles gutter.

Witnesses counted at least 50 bone-snapping blows by police billy clubs, plus assorted kickings and zap-pings by an electric stun gun.

The motorist's crime?

Running (allegedly) a stop light, and daring to flee a uniformed crew of malcontents.

The initial police reports, predictably, charged Rodney King with resisting arrest, but the existence of videotape of the arrest relegated such charges to irrelevance.

For there, in *living color*, stood the obvious—a Black man, suspected of an offense, is publicly beaten in a spasm of racist insensate rage, for no reason other than the lamentable fact that it has long been American custom to do so, when the doers are armed with the power of the state.

In that blinding, naked moment, the fears of generations of Black men leapt to the fore, for by such customs are marked our common reality.

For who knew, among his vicious pursuers, who this young man was? Who among them cared?

He could've been a white-collar professional, like insurance man Arthur McDuffie, whose murder by cops in Miami evoked paroxysms of rebellion; he could've been a cop, driving in plainclothes; he could've been the son of California's Congressman, Ron Dellums... In short, he could've been any Black man, of any social strata, and the beating would've been just as brutal, just as harrowing, and just as disbelieved, had not a camera captured this cacophony of cruelty.

To his armed, uniformed assailants, the driver was just a "nigger," hence, fair game.

He might've been a returned warrior from Desert Storm; or a blood relative of Martin Luther King, Jr., but would it've mattered?

Hardly.

Prepare for the official obfuscation, i.e., the old "bad apple" theory, to be unleashed upon the public.

"There's always a few bad apples in every bunch,"

the cops will say, adding, "Don't blame the bunch!"

One wonders—where, pray tell, are the "good apples," who treat people with human decency?

McDuffie, Eleanor Bumpurs, MOVE, on & on & on & on?

To now cry "bad apples" is to insult Black intelligence.

It is not "bad apples," but a *bad* system that relegates Black life to the psychic underworld of terror.

For what did Black youth cross the seas of Saudi sand?

For what did their fathers wage war in Viet Nam?

For what did their grandfathers fight a fascist Hitler?

To be beaten in the streets like dogs?

That is today's ugly reality.

What reality will our sons face?

10 March 1991

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.



TROTSKY

Genocide Is Not Debatable

Every time we seek to mount an anti-fascist united front, "civil libertarians" such as the ACLU and the Zionist ADL leap to defend the fascist terrorists' "right to free speech." But KKKers like David Duke stand for mass murder against minorities and other workers—genocide is not debatable. When the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party organized a mammoth demonstration to stop a fascist rally in New York's Madison Square Garden in 1939, they took on these suicidal arguments.



LENIN

It seems that the only point of importance that the Professional Liberals and Democrats could see in the big mobilization of the Nazis at Madison Square Garden last week, was their "right of free speech and assembly"....

The American Civil Liberties Union, apparently exhausted by its noble efforts in behalf of the Nazis, didn't utter a peep about the democratic rights of free speech, assembly and picketing being denied the 50,000 anti-Fascists who came to protest the Nazi rally. Ditto for the Jewish committee....

The workers who spend all their time and energy in the abstract discussion of the Nazis' "democratic rights"—to say nothing of working themselves into a lather in defense of these "rights"—will end their discussion under a Fascist club in a concentration camp.

The workers who delude themselves and waste their time begging the capitalist Democrats in office to "act" against the Fascists, will end up in the same place, just as the workers of Italy, Germany and Austria did.

The workers have more vital concerns. They are and should be interested in defending and expanding their democratic rights. But not in any abstract sense. These rights are the concrete rights of free speech, assembly, press, the right to organize, strike and picket, without which an independent working class simply cannot exist.

A decaying capitalism—of which Fascism is only a natural product—seeks constantly to restrict and destroy these rights, which are not truly genuine even in "normal" times. These rights can only be defended from the assaults of capitalism and its ugly offspring, Fascism, in the same way in which they were first acquired: by the tireless, aggressive, unending, independent struggle of the working class....

The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action.

—"Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?"
(*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939)

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No. 523

29 March 1991

Letters

Tie a Yellow Ribbon 'Round Socialist Action

Boston
3 March 1991

Dear Editor,

The recent article on Socialist Action ("Socialist Action: Untrue in Small Things and Big," *WV* No. 521, 1 March) was right on target. Indeed, theirs is the politics of duplicitous maneuver as opposed to principle, the politics of opportunist tailism as opposed to leadership.

But lest *Workers Vanguard* readers think that our characterization that "Socialist Action is after the yellow ribbon 'patriots for peace' crowd" is some kind of polemical exaggeration, we should point out that Socialist Action has shamelessly, publicly and explicitly endorsed the yellow ribbon movement. At a forum in Boston on 21 October 1990, longtime SA supporter Roger Sheppard

said how happy he was that his next-door neighbor had tied a yellow ribbon around the tree in his driveway and what an appropriate symbol this was for the anti-war movement. As if to say this was no individual aberration, the November issue of *Socialist Action* reprinted Shepard's revolting social-chauvinism verbatim. "We're building a movement to reach out to everyone: the vets, the Marines, everybody. Those yellow ribbons that are all around this country mean 'we want all *our* [my emphasis] troops home NOW!'"

Socialist Action can have its reactionary pro-imperialist yellow ribbon movement. The color scheme matches perfectly with the rest of their politics.

Communist greetings,
Kevin G.

ISO Calls Cops on Leftists

Chicago
19 March 1991

Dear Comrades,

As stated in the article, "ISO in the Antiwar Movement" (*WV* No. 520, 15 February), the International Socialist Organization has a record of suppressing open political debate and excluding its political opponents on the left. On March 2 here in Chicago the ISO *called the cops to oust Spartacist supporters and other leftists from a public antiwar conference*.

This disgusting attack took place at Loyola University, where the ISO-organized National Network of Campuses Against the War (NNCAW) held a conference over the March 1 weekend. With a few hundred people attending the morning session, a supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club kicked off the floor discussion by counterposing the need for labor political strikes against the war to the NNCAW's dead-end strategy of chaining student opposition to the war to the capitalist Democratic Party. Among

other speakers, who on instructions from the chair had lined up to speak at the microphone, were two supporters from the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who tried to put a left face on the NNCAW by asking it to adopt a list of radical-sounding demands.

The ISO quickly decided that political discussion was *verboten*. When a third RWL supporter took her turn at the mike, the chair shouted her down while a phalanx of ISO goons converged around her. SYC members and RWL supporters moved to defend this woman but the chair abruptly ended the discussion period. As the session broke up, SYCers heard that the ISO was expelling the RWL from the conference for "disruption" and at that very moment was attempting to take down the RWL's literature table by force. I went to the podium to inform those still in the room about this undemocratic attack and to announce that if this censorship stood the SYC would walk out in protest. The

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Northite Blood Money

"Lenin received German gold." "Leon Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado." "Spartacist—Finger Man for the FBI." The first slander was supplied by self-proclaimed "socialists" and other elements in 1917 Russia who wanted to continue the imperialist carnage of World War I, the second by J.V. Stalin and the last by David North's Workers League. In the 8 February issue of the Workers League's press the *Bulletin* we read: "As American bombs are dropping on Baghdad, Workers Vanguard uses rhetoric indistinguishable from that of the Bush administration.... It willingly places itself on the 'left' flank of the bourgeois media propaganda blitz which seeks to demonize Saddam Hussein and whip up hatred for the Iraqi people."

At least when the pro-war forces in imperial Russia lyingly accused Lenin of being a German agent they attempted to give a political façade to this slander by pointing to Lenin's opposition to Russian imperialism and to the war. But for the Workers League to accuse the Spartacist League of trying to undermine the defense of Iraq while U.S. imperialism was raining down death on Baghdad is such a shameless lie that it would make the tsarist writers of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" blush.

In our banners at antiwar demonstrations, in the headlines of *Workers Vanguard*, in our speeches to protesters—the Spartacist League forthrightly fought for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and military defense of Iraq (without failing to note the crimes of Hussein's regime against the Iraqi toiling masses). We sought to mobilize the social power of the working class in labor political strikes against the war. And what of the Workers League? As American bombs rained down on Baghdad, North's outfit campaigned... for a "democratic" referendum on the war!

At the red-white-and-blue "antiwar" demonstration in Washington, D.C. on January 26, the Northites marched under a banner reading: "Stop War Against Iraq—Let the People Vote on War." This is worse than the most abject social-pacifism, appealing to the imperialist butchers to give a more "democratic" cover to their genocidal war against the Iraqi people. At the time, the American "people," in their overwhelming majority, supported Bush's war!

Crime and Dividends

What really has the Workers League frothing at the mouth is the one subject truly close to their hearts—lucre, as filthy as it comes. Earlier this year we ran a short article entitled "Healyites Got Blood Money" (WV No. 517, 4 Jan-



Workers News

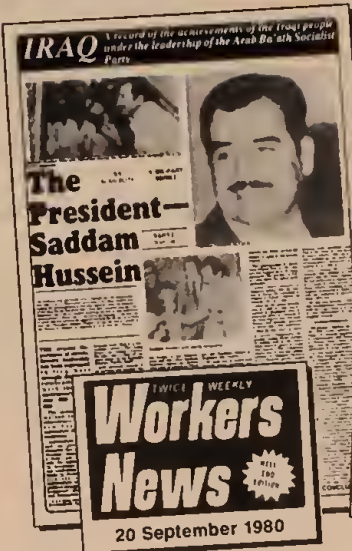
Nick Beams



Workers Press

David North

Partners in crime: Beams and North were PR agents for Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein when he was killing Communists as an ally of U.S. Imperialism.



uary), which detailed how the late Gerry Healy's "International Committee" was on the take from a number of Near East despotic regimes, including Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And we pointed to the Healyites' criminal cheering for the 1978 execution of Iraqi Communist Party members.

The Workers League headed by David North—the current representative of unadulterated Healyism here on earth—is squealing like stuck pigs. The *Bulletin* decries our exposure of their direct and immediate ancestors for being on the payroll of virtually every sheik and military bonapartist in the region as an

attempt "to provide the FBI with a pretext to frame up the Workers League."

The Northites certainly have an elastic view of their own history—similar to their relation to any question of Marxist principle or proletarian morality. We nailed the Workers League as "shameless apologists for white terror in Iraq" more than a decade ago. At the time Hussein was a client of U.S. imperialism, which was providing him with military aid and intelligence. (As we have reported, the first anti-Communist bloodbath carried out by the Ba'ath used hit lists supplied by the CIA.) In our most recent article we also noted that at the same time Healy et al. were raking in thousands from those other clients of American imperialism, the Kuwaiti emirs!

The Workers League probably has plenty to fear for the crimes they have committed, but getting in trouble with the FBI is at the bottom of the list (if they are on any FBI list at all). After all, the Healyites were working the same side of the street as U.S. intelligence! In 1979, North's *Bulletin* reprinted articles from Healy's *News Line* hailing the execution of 21 Iraqi Communist Party members by Hussein's government. The *Bulletin* (30 March 1979) even reprinted from *News Line* an Iraqi communiqué, under the grotesque headline, "Where the Iraqi Communist Party Went Wrong."

According to the 1985 International Committee Control Commission report—which the *Bulletin* tries to hide behind as proof of their "innocence"—the Healyites got close to £20,000 from Iraq in the late 1970s. And this figure can only be the tip of the iceberg, given that the IC "investigation" into their organization's financial dealings in the Near East was carried out by the guilty themselves.

The *Bulletin* doesn't deny that it cheered the murder of Communist worker-militants in Iraq. It simply whines that the Workers League didn't know Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party got paid for this and other crimes. This, it is claimed, was done "without the agreement or knowledge of the International Committee." For the Northites to claim that they didn't know is about as believable as Bush and Reagan's protests that they were "out of the loop" while another criminal by the name of North, first name Oliver, was running the Contragate arms-and-drugs scam out of the White House basement.

Healy's financial ties to Arab regimes were a notorious scandal on the left. From the time the WRP started up its daily *News Line* in May 1976, it was clear that Healy's organization was on the take from Muammar Qaddafi's Libyan regime. Less than three months earlier, the WRP had folded its previous paper *Workers Press* following months of publicity pleading for funds for a press "Crisis Fund." Then amidst great fanfare out comes a flashy new four-color daily full of articles extolling the Libyan dictator and "special reports" from Tripoli. Where did the money come from in this rags-to-riches story?

As early as May 1977, we ran an article entitled "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," which concluded that "even a cursory look at *News Line's* year-long pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark." Two years later we picketed Workers League meetings with signs reading "Workers League—Press Agents for Libyan Dictatorship!" and "Healyites: From Political Bandits on the Left to Pimps for Qaddafi."

Then in 1980, Sean Matgamna, editor of the British *Socialist Organiser*, observed that the WRP must have been subsidized by "one or more Arab governments." In a vengeful attempt to destroy Matgamna's organization, the WRP (under the aegis of jet-setting actress Vanessa Redgrave) filed a libel suit against Matgamna for his scathing and eminently truthful exposé of these unprincipled political bandits, gangsters and cultists. Interestingly, the one statement in Matgamna's article which the suit did not take up was the central charge that the Healyites were being funded by bourgeois Arab regimes.

Now, the *Bulletin* writes that following the Control Commission investigation "the International Committee, with the support of the Workers League... denounced the WRP's 'pursuit of unprincipled relations with sections of the colonial bourgeoisie in return for money.'" But what did the Workers League find "unprincipled"? Obviously not acting as press agents for Qaddafi (celebrating the "Tenth Anniversary of the Libyan Revolution," the WL sent a telegram to Qaddafi praising his "progressive socialist policies") or cheering the execution of Iraqi Communists. North's "defense" is that Healy did it for money, while the Workers League did it for free! But did they?

Who Got the Money?

After the IC Control Commission had delivered its report, in 1986 Cliff Slaughter, another of Healy's former lieutenants, wrote a letter to all WRP members asking:

"Is it only the WRP which received financial assistance from one or other Middle Eastern bourgeois national governments? Which other sections did so? 'Is it not a fact that the Australian section did receive a sum of (tens of thousands [sic] of dollars) in 1983?... 'Is it not true that Cde Beams failed to report the matter to the IC or to the WRP

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NUMBER 6

From Malice to Provocation

Introduction

The Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter

"Bundestag Election '80—What Of The Other Grand Part? The SPD—Provisional Results Against The Fourth International. Translated from Neue Arbeiterzeitung No. 632 27 November 1980

The Gruppe Sozialismus

Brief report on the Gruppe Sozialist at the Bundestag Election. No Votes In The SPD No Votes In The PDS. Critical Report to the SPD translated from a letter by the Gruppe Sozialismus. German section of the International Workers Order. 17 November 1980

A Letter on "Spartacism"

Reprint of a letter by Barry Weisleder, longtime postman for the United Secretariat in Canada. 15 November 1980

Spartacist Publishing Company
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New York, NY 10116

March 1981
Number 6

Northites...

(continued from page 3)

delegates, but that he *did* report it to at least some of the delegates who supported the WRP suspension and certainly to Comrade North? That is what happened. "Finally: is it not true that Comrade North and Beams agreed the matter should not be raised at the IC because they considered it did not constitute a 'class betrayal'? How did they differentiate between the class betrayal of the WRP in this matter—on which was based the argument for suspending the WRP from the IC without charges and without a hearing—and the actions taken on behalf of the SLL (Australia)?"

Slaughter's accusations against North's cover-up for his colleague Nick Beams, leader of the Australian Socialist Labour League, have the ring of (self-serving) truth. A month after Slaughter's letter was circulated, the Central Committee of the SLL seems to have felt constrained to censure Beams for failure to report receipt of money from Arab regimes to the IC. Further information came from former SLL leader Phil Sandford, who revealed how another leading Australian Healyite was slapped down by Healy for attempting to poach on his Iraqi preserve to get \$100,000 for a printing press (see "Some Political Bandits at the End," *Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Sandford reports that their relations with Libya were much more lucrative.

Only the Tip of the Iceberg...

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	£1,075,163

(Reprinted in *Workers News*, April 1988)

Account of monies from Near East paymasters received by Healy's WRP as reported by 1985 IC Control Commission—an "investigation" carried out by the guilty.

But was North's only role in this sordid affair to alibi for Beams? Not according to a letter from Healy lieutenant Tony Banda to the American Workers League Central Committee of 23 January 1986. Responding to accusations that leading members of the WRP, following the ouster of Healy, were refusing to make IC documents available to WRP members, Banda writes:

"This I find extremely interesting coming from you, who through your minions,

have suppressed virtually the entire discussion on Healyism.... This is like the thief in the crowded hazaar crying, 'Stop, thief' to distract attention from his own misdeeds. Up north Mr. Holier-Than-Thou makes his getaway with 90 grand, while his apprentice/accomplice makes off with another 25 grand down south. Is this your revolutionary morality? Is this your kind of internationalism?"

—printed in *Fourth International*, Autumn 1986

Tony Banda's "we were all crooks" indictment of "Mr. Holier-Than-Thou" North captures the cynical quality of this falling-out among thieves.

It seems evident that when it looked like Healy was collecting all of the big payoffs from the Near East, the rest of his mob were driven into a shark-like feeding frenzy to get their share of the blood money. As we have noted many times, none of Healy's epigones protested the vicious betrayals that were perpetrated by their organization in order to get money from Near East bourgeois governments. It was only when this revenue dried up that they moved in to depose Healy.

According to a financial report by Corin Redgrave, dated 8 October 1985, in 1984-85 "scarcely a single rent or rates demand was paid on time. Bailiffs took walking possession of the contents of the party's printshop in Runcorn, the party bookshops, and on one occasion at least, the party headquarters at Clapham." At first the WRP tried to blame the whole mess on their financial apparatus. But by the summer of 1985 it became clear that the whole stinking house that Healy had built was about to come crumbling down. Well-trained by their "founder-leader," Healy's longtime henchmen went, like sharks, for the kill.

North desperately wanted to declare himself as the new leader and wielded the IC Control Commission for his own cynical power play. Today, the *Bulletin* claims that the Workers League's participation in this commission clears them of all crimes. Yet, curiously, they have chosen never to print the results of even this heavily censored and self-serving "investigation" into the IC's sordid financial wheeling and dealing.

The Commission's report was completed in a big hurry, and this was not simply because Healy & Co. had allegedly spirited away the WRP's financial records. No attempt was made to investigate allegations that other IC sections had been on the take. The names of implicated senior WRP members who had not left with Healy were deleted from the report. North used the "findings" to get the leftovers from Healy's WRP out of his way. Slaughter's rump WRP was suspended from membership

In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents—alleged subversives—for who knows what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What file is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category II? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum.

Memorandum

DATE: MAY 13 1977

TO: NEW YORK

FROM: [redacted]

SUBJECT: [redacted]

1. SUMMARY REPORT DATED: [redacted]

2. [redacted]

3. [redacted]

4. [redacted]

5. [redacted]

6. [redacted]

7. [redacted]

8. [redacted]

9. [redacted]

10. [redacted]

☐ ARC

☐ COMMUNIST

☐ HL

☐ PLP

☐ PRN

☐ SNC

☐ SWP

☐ BNT

☐ JFO

☐ NOI

☐ PPA

☒ SDS

☐ SPL

☐ WWP

☐ BPP

☐ MN

☐ Miscellaneous (Specify)

Note the importance given to "Union Affiliation"

Some of the political groups are obvious: BPP—Black Panther Party, PPLP—Progressive Labor Party, SDS—Student for a Democratic Society, SNC—Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SWP—Socialist Workers Party, WWP—Workers World Party. For some, we can make educated guesses: MIN—Minutemen, NOI—Nation of Islam, PRN—Puerto Rican Nationalists. Some are less clear: NE may mean National Lawyers Guild, ARC may be American White Citizens Council, SPL could mean Spartacist League, no one at CounterSpy can guess what JFF stands for.

Note that fluctuations in Category are obviously contemplated

Note the date of "Rev." If the ADEX was only established in 1971, what was being revised?

CounterSpy 7

How come the WL never appeared on the FBI's "ADEX" list, which singled out 16 groups including the SWP and the Spartacist League (SPL)? Above, sample page of this target list was printed in *CounterSpy* magazine.

and North anointed himself king of the remaining Healyite dung heap.

The Workers League tries to palm themselves off as Trotskyists and from time to time, when it suits their purposes, they can sound quite orthodox. We recognized them for what they were twenty years ago when we publicly exposed the Healyites as "political bandits" whose positions were tailored to their own opportunistic and unsavory advantage. In their further degeneration they became outright bandits, and far worse.

Talk about fingering: for a listful of petrodollars, the Healyites took pictures of protesters at an anti-Hussein demo in London and turned them over to the Iraqi embassy! For cash they cheered the murder of Iraqi CP members. One of Healy's main bagmen in Baghdad was none other than Alex Mitchell, who together with North co-authored "Security and the Fourth International"—the sinister campaign to smear the leadership of the American Socialist Workers Party as agents of the FBI and the GPU!

While Mitchell today plies his pen for the capitalist press in Australia, North continues to use his for new installments of "Security." After spending a fortune trying to get the capitalist courts to rule that the SWP was being run by FBI agents in the notorious case of WL provocateur Alan Gelfand, the Northites waged an international campaign as finger-men for the American imperialist state's prosecution of a young SWPer, Mark Curtis—who is now behind bars, sentenced to 25 years in jail on trumped-up rape charges. But why would the cops jail one of their own agents?

And why does the Workers League profess to be worried about the FBI going after them? On the face of it, the U.S. government ought to be satisfied with their work. As for the Arab dictators, sheiks and colonels that the Healyites shook down for cash—doubtless on the claim that the IC was an organization with "mass" influence which could help them out—they might rightly feel duped, not to mention vindictive. ■

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Letters...

(continued from page 2)

words were barely out of my mouth when a conference organizer, Nick De-Genova, yanked the cord right out of the microphone!

Out in the hallway, the RWL's lit table was surrounded by a large goon squad of ISOers. SYC members moved in to defend the RWL and led chants of "ISO—Back Off!" and "ISO—Thought Police!" The face-off went on for about 15 minutes until Bill Stant, an ISOer and the conference convener, pulled back the goons—explaining that he had called the campus cops to expel the RWL and "anyone who defends them"! Immediately, six cops turned up to eject the RWL and the SYC.

Cops are hired guns for the profit system. From L.A.'s brutal "centurions" to campus security guards, the police "serve and protect" nothing but the capitalist, racist status quo and the institutions that prop it up. For Marxists, it's an elementary principle: *cops out of the workers movement!*

Seeing the vehemently anti-Soviet ISO unite with the armed fist of the bourgeois state against communists tells you more

than a thousand issues of *Socialist Worker*. Like the Menshevik Andrei Vyshinsky, who in July 1917 signed the arrest warrant for V.I. Lenin, the ISO gladly calls the cops on reds to prove their own loyalty to the bourgeoisie as brokers of popular-frontist coalitions. That Vyshinsky was to become Stalin's chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials 20 years later might give some ISO supporters pause.

Comradely,
Keith A.

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

NYC Transit Worker Killed on the Tracks

Francesco Giordano, a 62-year-old track worker and a member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, was struck and killed by a subway train shortly before 3 a.m. on March 15. He was crossing the tracks in a Queens station where he was part of a crew installing metal tie plates. Giordano worked for the Transit Authority (TA) for over 20 years. He was three short months away from a June retirement. Giordano would have been out of the NYC subway system deathtrap already, but the TA made him make up "lost time" from an earlier illness.

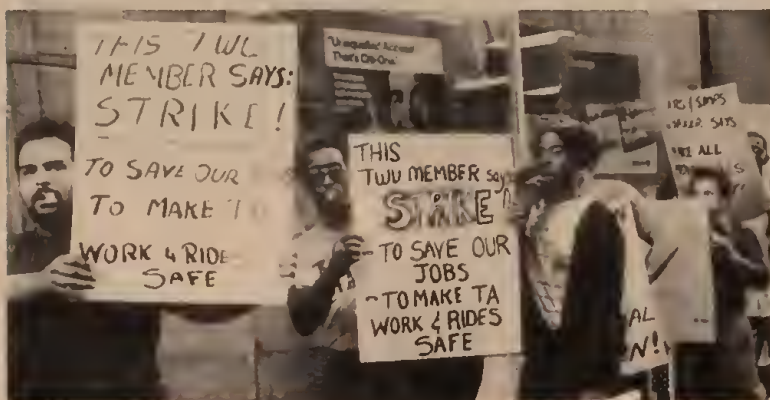
When the Brooklyn-bound G train killed Giordano, the daily press of NYC barely took notice. But a stray dog run over on the tracks two days before has become a *cause célèbre*, as the *New York Post* tried to crucify the motorman in the unfortunate incident. It was a front-page story with an inside column under the huge headline "Subway Workers Kill Dog to End Tie-Up." Buried in the article is the fact that the train was stopped for a half-hour during rush hour while transit cops searched

tions on the spot." The motion passed at a Track Division meeting, but Hall and his fellow bureaucrats buried it along with the workers who have since died. This time, the family bitterly told transit workers, Hall didn't even bother to go to the funeral.

Feds Mug Teamsters

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is facing a tough fight to defend the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA), the hard-won national agreement in the trucking industry. Riding high after ten years of deregulation, and salivating after the paltry UPS contract last summer, trucking bosses are hacking away at the union. And with the contract expiring on April 1, government agents are crawling all over the union in preparation for the upcoming June convention and December election of International officers.

In the last ten years alone, the number of workers covered by the NMFA has been slashed from half a million to only 170,000. Since the Reagan/Kennedy deregulation gift to the industry, the IBT has lost 800,000 members in all. The practices of "two-tier" wage scales and "double breasting" (the opening of non-union sub-



TA headquarters, Brooklyn: transit workers denounce dangerous working conditions at protest against layoffs of 300 track workers last September.

for the German shepherd. It was the cops who ordered the train to move again!

The dog got more ink than Francesco Giordano, or the six other transit workers killed on the job in the last two years. Giordano is another victim of the TA's policy that workers' and riders' lives are cheaper than capital investment and adequate, safe working conditions. We do not forget Robert Nicholson, Daniel Walsh, Stewart Melsinker, David Davis, James Byrne and Frank Davila—all run down on the tracks because the TA did not provide flagmen or didn't inform the other workers that men were working on the tracks. After each of these deaths, the TA sought to scapegoat transit workers with drug tests, and the carnage goes on.

The TA gets away with this murder on tracks because the sellout leaders of the TWU are willing accomplices. While the TA spitefully denied the Giordano family's request for his personal effects, the cruelest blow comes from TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall. This miserable traitor to the transit workers immediately blamed Giordano for his own death! Hall and his "safety department" routinely denounce TWU members for getting injured or killed on the job, for not following the "rules." Giordano's widow Ann bitterly noted that her husband spoke often about dangers on the job and the need for precautions. "My husband was a 21-year man, an oldtimer. He knows the rules and he knows better than to break them."

Of course the TA's "rules" have little to do with providing for decent, safe working conditions. Management imposes union-busting drug tests to terrorize the workforce, orders track crews to keep the power on while working inches away from the third rail, and then scapegoats union workers when the inevitable accidents occur. And the TWU bureaucrats are right behind them. Yet when newly nominated TA chairman Peter Stangl let a few friends play Casey-at-the-throttle of a Metro-North commuter train at 80 miles an hour, that was OK. Imagine how long a motorman would keep his job if he allowed a friend to take a joyride on the A train!

The Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition group in TWU Local 100, has been fighting for the basic workers' right that "no safety means no work." After David Davis and Stewart Melsinker were killed at Astor Place last May, the Committee put forward motions at union meetings demanding "elected union safety representatives, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working condi-

tionaries by union firms) have exploded across the country. Outfits like Yellow Freight have refused to bargain as part of the employers' council, Trucking Management Inc., instead demanding substandard contracts. The TMI bosses jealously eye UPS, where extensive use of part-timers has divided and weakened the union.

Meanwhile, with current president William McCarthy retiring, the Teamsters bureaucracy has disintegrated into turf warfare, as the various political barons in the union fire each other's supporters and drag each other into the capitalist courts. The "reformers" of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who openly collaborated with Reagan's Justice Department to put the union under the government's heel, are also running a candidate, New York City UPS Local 804 president Ron Carey.

Carey, playing to the Teamster members' hatred of the feds' intervention, has the nerve to complain that the union is "under the thumb of both management and the federal government." He should know—Carey and his TDU buddies are the ones who invited the feds in. The program of the TDU/Carey slate is empty nickel-and-dime promises, with a heavy dose of reliance on the capitalist courts and political parties.

The TDU jumped into the Carey campaign with both feet—here at last these court suit reformists saw "the opportunity of not only going along for the ride, but of being in the front seat" (TDU head Ken Palf, quoted in Dan La Botz, *Rank and File Rebellion* [1990]). After years of first begging the feds to RICO the union, then drafting detailed proposals for government "monitors," the TDU thinks it's in the driver's seat. And it is Teamster members who will pay for these "reformers" putting the union under the government's thumb.

The bosses' government has been waging a vendetta against the Teamsters ever since the liberal Kennedy brothers went after Dave Beck and particularly Jimmy Hoffa, whose organization of over-the-road drivers gave the union the power to shut down freight traffic coast to coast. Any fight to defend the union from the bosses' offensive must start with unconditional opposition to government intervention in the labor movement. The working class must clean its own house! A class-struggle leadership must be built in the Teamsters union—counterposed both to the gangsterism and corruption of the IBT tops and to the junior G-men of the TDU.

Bye Bye Bieber

Owen Bieber gets a pink slip from Chrysler? You won't find hardly a one of the hundreds of thousands of auto workers who were thrown out of their jobs with the help of this chief company cop in Solidarity House crying in their beer over this one.

It seems Bieber is being "retired" from his seat on the Chrysler board of directors. Bieber inherited his spot from his predecessor, former UAW chief Doug Fraser, who was rewarded with the seat in 1980 in exchange for billions in union givebacks and his role in the Chrysler "bailout" scam.

Bieber was unceremoniously informed at a recent board meeting that he would be dumped at the upcoming shareholders meeting as Chrysler "downsizes" its hoard in a "cost-cutting effort." But other board members have been saying privately that they are concerned "Brother" Bieber's loyalties "might be divided."

Now we admit that Doug Fraser was a tough act to follow—he coined the lie that "concessions save jobs," giving the Big 3 over a decade of unsurpassed exploitation. But how can anyone seriously question Owen Bieber's loyalty to the auto bosses and the capitalist system? He helped wipe out 500,000 auto jobs in the last decade. Dozens of plants have locked their gates under his "leadership." With the closing of Jefferson Assembly, not a single Chrysler plant is left in heavily black Detroit.

The UAW chief offers sweetheart deals as the wave of the future—like the Saturn plant in Tennessee—because "Director Bieber" and his "Sacrifice House" gang have been unable to organize Nissan, Honda or anything else. Non-union plants are sprouting up all over the country. The 1987 contract and the one signed last fall heralding "job security" are a cruel hoax, bartering away another 100,000 jobs for a few extra months of "retraining." All the while, Bieber & Co. cover their craven sellouts with flag-waving, racist, Japanese-bashing protectionism.

But now with a full-blown recession in auto, the bosses want even more. GM is reportedly demanding that the current contract be reopened, in order to strip away even its meager layoff benefits. And Chrysler isn't even bothering to keep Bieber on the board for the next round of takebacks—why pay chump change to the labor lieutenants of capital when they're quite willing to hand over the jobs of auto workers for free?

For Doug Fraser, Owen Bieber and the reformist, social-democratic left, the bailout of Chrysler and their prize—the seat on the board—was the crown jewel of class collaboration. "Socialist" welfare for the bosses and button-down labor "statesmen" in the boardrooms! Ten years and billions in givebacks later, Chrysler is still a basket case. Detroit and especially the black masses are ravaged by a capitalist crisis.

In 1979, as Chrysler prepared to close Dodge Main, the Spartacist League campaigned for plant occupations



1984: Union president Bieber (right) hand in hand with Chrysler chairman Iacocca. UAW tops got seat on board of directors, workers got the shaft.

and factory seizures to fight layoffs and plant closings. In opposition to all the schemes to bail out the capitalists, we called on workers to seize Chrysler's assets and distribute them to the workers, with no compensation to the bosses, banks or stockholders.

As for Owen Bieber and his precious board seat, it's too bad he was dumped...by his capitalist masters. We'd like to see it done by militant black, white, Hispanic and Arab auto workers when they take back the union from these company cops who have run the UAW into the ground. ■

Protests Sweep East Germany

German Workers Fight Ravages of Reunification

East Germany is seething. In recent days there has been a dramatic shift in the mood of the working class. A month ago 100,000 workers demonstrated in various cities of the former DDR (East Germany) against mass unemployment. Since then, every Monday there have been protests in Leipzig, which have grown from 10,000 at first to over 80,000 on March 25. But instead of the black-red-gold banners which dominated the increasingly virulent German-nationalist Monday demos 12 to 15 months ago, today national flags are virtually absent (except for the occasional DDR emblem), replaced by red banners of the metal workers and public employees unions. The intoxication with the promise of prosperity to be brought by a "quick D-mark," the driving force in the DDR elections a year ago which led to the victory of capitalist counter-revolution, has clearly worn off. East Germany is having its morning after.

Opinion first turned against Christian Democratic (CDU) federal chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose ratings have dropped precipitously in the East. People angrily recall his election promises that under reunification "no one will be worse off than before." Now there are numerous signs charging the CDU and Kohl with lying and election fraud. One banner in Leipzig demanded "Jobs Instead of Being Burned to a Cinder" (*Verkohlung*). The Treuhandanstalt (Trusteeship Agency), responsible for selling off or shutting down the former state-owned companies, has become a particular object of hatred as mass layoffs are announced. A year ago, unemployment in the DDR was less than 50,000; today it is already well over three million (when you include those on "short work" with no work, those forced into "early retirement" and public employees on a "waiting list" for lay-

offs) and climbing toward four million by summer, or nearly half the entire workforce.

Last week, Bundesbank president Pöhl called the currency union—which went into effect last July 1, marking the economic takeover of the former East German workers state by imperialist West Germany—a "disaster." For this judgment, he would find widespread support between the Elbe and Oder rivers, where even CDU prime ministers of the "new federal states" complain that Bonn's policies are laying waste to the economy. The Lutheran bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Forek, complains that many East Germans feel "betrayed as human beings and deeply injured," while "many West Germans act here like victors in a vanquished land." *Der Spiegel* (18 March) reported that half of all East Germans feel their own jobs are at risk and 85 percent consider themselves

to be "second-class citizens."

There are still nationalist appeals for "no second-class Germans" and signs calling for "unity in the pay envelope as well." But opinion is turning sharply against reunification itself. The same opinion survey reported that 57 percent of East Germans think that "quite a few" or "most" East Germans now think it would have been better not to unite with West Germany. And when at the latest Monday demo the Social Democratic (SPD) mayor of Leipzig tried to pin the economic mess on the former Stalinist SED (Socialist Unity Party) rulers, he was booed down.

For now, the demos have largely been called by the SPD-led unions. But DGB (German Labor Federation) officials sent into the East are often seen as colonialist interlopers who have no interest whatever in defending the working people of the ex-DDR. When a miners union leader

spoke in Mansfeld, where massive shutdowns are threatened, talking about how the Ruhr was now a blooming region, the workers have a right to a job, and "you have a rich brother in the West," the workers responded with laughter and finally a chorus of "stuff it!" (*Der Spiegel*, 11 March). The mood is one of rage and frustration. The workers are willing to fight—what's lacking is a clear goal and leadership.

The despairing mood expresses itself in indices of social pathology. The birth rate has fallen by half since reunification, while abortions are way up. Suicides are double the number a year ago. The Labor Offices are the site of dramatic scenes. In Jena, a woman begs for her unemployment payment, pulling out her last 95 pfennigs. The next day, a jobless worker comes in with a revolver, demanding "Alu her (hand over the aluminum—a reference to the old DDR coins) or I'll

Harbor workers in Rostock take to the streets to protest threatened shutdown of East German shipbuilding industry.



Border Guards Seize Women "Suspects"

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 84, March 1991

Not only must thousands of women from West Germany each year travel to the Netherlands in order to have abortions. If upon their return they awaken suspicions at the border (for example, by carrying towels and underwear, or if a woman is driving), they are subjected to a forced gynecological examination and possibly dragged into court. *Der Spiegel* (4 March) reported about Kathrin K., who was forcibly dragged from the border crossing point at Gronau to the nearby Catholic St. Antonius Hospital, where a "doctor" searched her vagina and uterus for "evidence"—these are the Dr. Menges of the Fourth Reich in action.

This grisly witchhunt took place in the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, governed by the Social Democrats. SPD justice minister Krumsiek denounced the charges as the "fart of the week." According to the Max Planck Institute, half of all prosecutions for abortion

Fourth Reich Anti-Abortion Outrage

originate at the border. With all the vehemence of the Inquisition, women are persecuted, publicly denounced and judged. In West Germany, the personal data of women who have had abortions is stored in the state's computers. The workers movement must fight against the shameful Paragraphs 218 and 219 [of the German criminal code], which outlaw abortion and make both doctor and patient into criminals.

In the former DDR [East Germany], the Christian Democrats are going on the warpath with their dirty campaign for "unborn life," while the SPD wants to force women into humiliating forced "consultations." All over East Europe, the counterrevolution is targeting the

basic right of women to abortion. It's part of the capitalists' campaign to smash working-class resistance and to force the working people into religious, sexual and social regimentation.

The right to abortion and free contraceptives, just like the right to a job, were gains we defend of the former workers state of the DDR. The reactionary campaign against these rights is supposed to strengthen the family, the root of the special oppression of women, as a basic pillar of capitalist society. Now hundreds of thousands of women in East Germany are being driven from their jobs under sinister laws for the "protection" of women. Childcare facilities are being shut

down, as women are supposed to go back to "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" [the Nazis' trinity of children, kitchen and the church].

Despite the fundamental gains which laid the basis for the material independence of women, the Stalinist bureaucracy with its worship of the "family as the basic unit of socialism" did not eliminate the oppression of women. Now Bundestag deputies of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR] are debating whether to come out for straight elimination of Paragraph 218 or only for the obscene trimester "solution" which leaves the last word to the state and makes criminals of women.

Communists fight for women to be able to voluntarily transfer the burden of housekeeping and raising children to qualified social institutions. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for a society of equality and abundance and win the liberation of women.

shoot." There has also been an increase in the number of attacks on immigrant workers and refugees seeking asylum, as "foreigners" become the scapegoats for economic frustrations. Right-wing bands have attacked Turks in Rostock, Vietnamese in Cottbus and dormitories for Africans in the state of Sachsen-Anhalt.

The unemployment level in Berlin, reports *Spiegel*, is approaching that in the German capital in 1932, i.e., one year before Hitler came to power. There have been fascist attacks against Soviet Army soldiers and installations, as at Neuruppin in the north, and the danger of a dramatic growth of the Nazi bands is very real. The Republikaner and various neo-Nazi paramilitary groups are aggressively recruiting in the East. But so far the potential for the fascists' growth is mainly unrealized. And that is largely due to widespread, low-level social struggle. Last week there were demonstrations of more than 10,000 steel workers in Eisenhüttenstadt, 20,000 chemical workers in Leuna, 60,000 in Erfurt, and then 50,000 supporters of the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the SED) at a demo in Berlin against the Treuhand. The first plant occupations have begun at some micro-chip factories around Erfurt.

Women have been among the hardest hit by the escalating economic collapse in the East. Along with immigrants, they have been particular targets of layoffs. Many managers treat women workers as "second wage earners," to be preferentially fired before a man is put on the street. And mothers are forced to quit as a result of closings of day-care centers (not "profitable" in the new capitalist market economy). This has had a catastrophic effect on the large number of single mothers, who have been forced into a welfare existence after having had considerable independence due to subsidized housing, childcare and secure jobs. Women in the former DDR had the highest rate of labor force participation in the world (91 percent of those of working age), and overwhelmingly they don't want to be sent back to household drudgery.

In short, the East German population has had a rude awakening to the realities of capitalism. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (20 March) reports of the new Leipzig demonstrators that "They now seem to be experiencing a West that they never thought possible: a rabid society in which they feel subjugated, and which seems to come straight out of the pattern for the class enemy." East German workers feel cheated, are full of anger over the lies and what they see as betrayal. It is more than "a little late." With the capitalist annexation of East Germany, announced by the heavy vote for the Christian Democrats and other pro-reunification parties in the DDR elections last March and formally sealed on October 3, the counterrevolution won. This was a heavy blow against the working class worldwide. Henceforth, class struggles take place in the framework of an expanded German empire. But now as realization of the consequences sinks in, there are important opportunities for revolutionary Trotskyists.

For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich!

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), was the one and only party which said "no!" to capitalist reunification. The SED/PDS and its satellites (such as the United Left and KPD) said "jein" (yes and no) to *Anschluss* (annexation), selling out the gains of the DDR which had been built up by the workers. Stalin's thug Ulbricht and his successor Honecker pretended they could build "socialism in half a country" if only you surrounded it with a high enough wall and controlled it with a big enough police force. When that broke down in the face of the superior economic power of the West's most prosperous imperialism,



Demonstration in Leipzig, February 27, against mass unemployment. The black-red-gold German flags have been replaced by trade-union banners. For workers resistance against the Fourth Reich!

the SED bureaucrats simply handed over the store to the Western bosses. And now the capitalists of the Fourth Reich are completing the job of destruction.

What is to be done now in the face of the economic catastrophe? In Leipzig, metal workers union leader Steinkühler called for the resignation of Kohl and economics minister Waigel. At Leuna, chemical union chief Rappe put forward

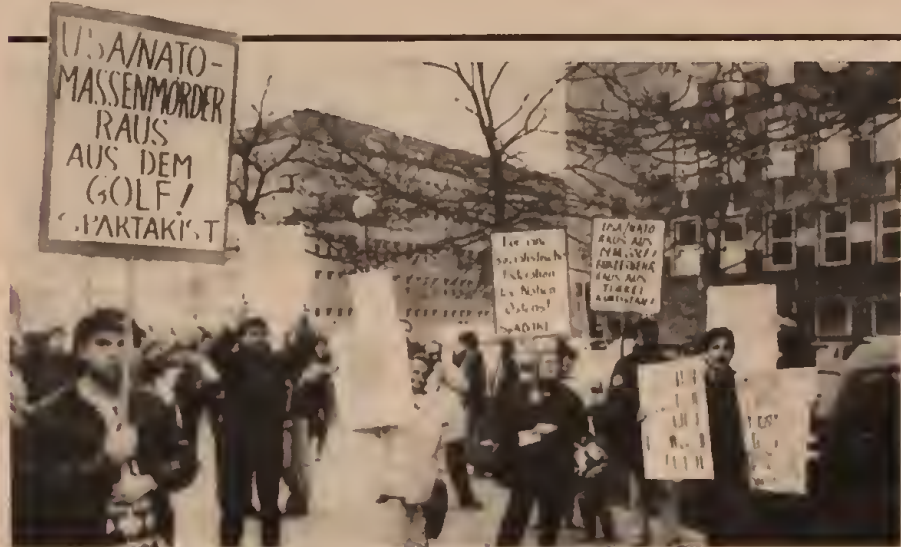
a 14-point program, whose key was to rewrite the unification treaty so that the Treuhand would give preference to compensating former owners rather than returning "their" plants. The supposed purpose was to speed up new investments in the East. The SPD wants to use the "new federal states" as a springboard to extend German capital further East. And "compensation" means demanding pay-

ment of billions to the former forced-labor bosses of the Nazi-era IG Farben trust which used to own the Buna and Leuna works. But even though the federal government is already pumping in 100 billion DM to the former DDR this year, the capitalists aren't investing. For the bosses, despite all the nationalist talk it's still profits *über alles*.

The PDS, meanwhile, is calling for "democratization" of the Treuhand. This is a call for a political bloc with the SPD and CDU state governments in the East, by giving them a say in administering the agency for capitalist dissolution of the former VEBs ("people's enterprises"). It's hard to imagine a more grotesque reformist proposal. But the same theme, with a transparent veil of "left" rhetoric, was raised by the Arbeitermacht group (Workers Power) and the Kommunistische Plattform in the PDS, who issued a joint call for the March 23 PDS demo in Berlin demanding "The Treuhand must be placed under the control of the working people." No matter who sits on its board, the Treuhand is the agency representing the interests of the Deutsche Bank, Daimler-Benz, Siemens and Volkswagen! But this doesn't bother these popular-front ideologists of the second mobilization.

In contrast to this class-collaborationist daydreaming, the Spartakist Workers Party has called repeatedly for united, militant workers resistance against the

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Berlin, March 7: Leftists, unionists and immigrant workers rally in defense of Arabs, Kurds.

Berlin United-Front Protest:

Down With Gag Order Against Arabs and Kurds!

The following article is abridged from Spartakist No. 84, March 1991.

"Down with the gag order, no deportations!" chanted more than 100 demonstrators on March 7, among them many Arabs, Kurds and Turks, at a protest action in front of the Berlin interior (police) department. Initiated by the Committee for Social Defense (KfSV), a broad united front called the demonstration, including the plant councils of Interflug (the former East German airline) and Pan Am, IG Metall union secretary Necati Gürbaca, as well as the Turkish Kurdish organization Kurtulus sempo Berlin, the International League for Human Rights, the Arab Solidarity Committee, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), the Immigrant and Refugee Branch of the Alternative Slate, Arbeitermacht and the KPD(ML). Soli-

darity messages were read from the Partisan Defense Committees (fraternal organizations of the KfSV) in the U.S. and Britain.

With Christian Democratic interior minister Schäuble's gag order, immigrants were subjected to a brutal campaign of police spying and threatened with deportation. While the U.S./NATO imperialists rained their terror bombs on Iraq, Bonn muzzled Arab and other immigrants from the Near East and forbade them to take part in protests and express their outrage over the mass murder of their peoples. On January 16 alone, during a citywide raid more than 50 apartments of Berliners of Arab origin were searched, among them members of a mosque association and an imam; at least nine Iraqi immigrants were arrested. Many of the more than 25,000 Arab immigrants living in Berlin have been hit

by the police terror which is accompanied by racist calls for denunciations and snooping.

Sa'id Dudin, spokesman for the Arab Solidarity Committee, stated at the demonstration: "We must prevent this gag law from turning into the beginning of a campaign of isolation, discrimination against foreign-born fellow citizens, and for the further elimination of democratic rights in this city. The real terrorists sit in the NATO general staffs, in the Pentagon."

At the same time as the imperialists lay waste to Iraq and carry out racist attacks here, the bourgeoisie is carrying out an economic war against the workers of the former DDR (East Germany), who have been thrown out of their jobs by the millions, and there are massive attacks on the living standards of all

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Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

15,000 cases. The "review" is to find out if there is a "pattern" of abuse. Asking Thornburgh and the FBI to "investigate" patterns of racism is like asking Himmler and the Gestapo to find out if there's a pattern of discrimination against Jews! Thornburgh was governor of Pennsylvania when the Philly cops dropped a bomb on the black MOVE commune in May 1985, killing eleven people. And every civil rights worker knows how the FBI worked hand in hand with the Klan.

Nowhere was the sudden "discovery" of racist police brutality more grotesque than in New York City. Feeling the heat over the L.A. videotape, NYC prosecutors announced the indictment on murder charges of five cops in the heating and choking death of Federico Pereira in Queens on November 5. But the police have counterattacked, attempting to intimidate and trash the teenagers who witnessed the murder, and now the killer cops have been reinstated. The likelihood of getting convictions is remote, if history is any precedent. *Newsday* (21 March) reported that before this week, only two on-duty cops had ever been indicted for murder, in 1985 and 1924! Both were acquitted. In 1990, of 41 deaths in police custody, there were only two indictments. This is on a par with El Salvador, where

only a couple of military officers have ever been indicted for death squad killings, and none ever convicted.

El Diario-La Prensa (24 March) complained bitterly:

"Blacks and Hispanics have known about police brutality for a long time. In most of the Inner City, the Police behave like an occupation army in enemy country. They don't look upon our people as citizens to be protected. To them, we are the enemy."

On March 20, families of murdered victims and survivors of police terror gathered in a demonstration outside NY police headquarters. The protest was called by the Congress of Puerto Rican Rights, and joined by supporters of ACT UP and the Spartacist League. In poignant testimony, some carried photographs mounted on posterboard of their dead loved ones, others had photos of themselves after experiencing police brutality in NYC. Federico Pereira's mother Laura came with her husband, Tito Nieves, a top Latin band leader and singer. Only because they had the tireless will and resources to challenge the cops' lying story about their son's death ("assaulting five cops") was the case reopened.

David Cotto's sister Lizette cried out, "My brother was killed like a dog!" David had been depressed and threatening to kill himself with a knife, so the family called the cops, who came into their Sheepshead Bay apartment and fired eleven shots into the distraught youth.

Arnaldo Deliz, 16, carried his own picture, his eye blackened, his face swollen. Arnaldo is deaf and mute. He and a friend, Juan Vergara, both students at the Lexington School for the Deaf, were waiting for a bus near the school when the cops questioned them about a stolen car. When they didn't answer, the cops beat them with flashlights on their faces, punched and kicked them in the chest, stomach and groin. They were kept in police custody for two days without their parents being allowed to see them.

The Gang in Blue Uniforms

Chief Daryl Gates remains in hot water in L.A., as angry demonstrators pack hearings of the police commission and city council. On March 12 some 400, mainly Samoan Americans, gathered in Compton to demand that killer cop Alfred Skiles be brought to justice for the murder of two brothers on February 12. Called to the house in a domestic dispute, the cops ordered Pouvi and Italia Taulaulelei to kneel, then hit them with 20 bullets, mostly in the back, calmly stopping to reload. Seven-year-old Niles, son of one of the murdered brothers, carried a sign that read: "My Daddy Kneel. Why 12 Bullets?"

The ACLU had a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* asking, "Who Do You Call When the Gang Wears Blue Uniforms?" They are demanding Gates' resignation—now that he's become an

embarrassment, the bourgeoisie, anxious to restore police "credibility," finds him expendable. Others call for civilian review boards or special commissions. More militant activists want to imitate the Black Panthers citizens' patrols, tracking the cops with use of videotape this time around.

None of these schemes will do much good. In August 1988, over 400 New York police staged a full-scale cop riot in Tompkins Square. There were 121 complaints of cop brutality, but although there was plenty of videotape evidence, the cops stonewalled and there was never a single indictment, let alone a conviction.

The "pattern" of racist cop terror is that any black or Latino can be singled out for "stepping out of line." Ghetto youth get the brunt, but a member of the Harlem Globetrotters shopping on glitzy Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills can get it, or a group of black Santa Monica high school students having a picnic at a park in Pacific Palisades, which the ruling class thinks is "for whites only." It happened to five-year-old Patrick Mason, blown away by an Orange County cop as he was sitting at home watching TV.

The "pattern" is seen in the number of black men in jail—four times the rate of imprisonment of black men in South Africa! Or the "workfare" scheme which has thrown thousands of black single

Amid the orgy of flag-waving rallies around the returning troops from the U.S.' bloody massacre of Iraq, hundreds of antiwar soldiers—National Guardsmen, reservists and regular army—are imprisoned in military brig and jails around the country. As Bush and pumped-up yahoos gloat over their "win," these courageous men and women are in big trouble. They face secret courts-martial by panels of vindictive officers who would like to vicariously get in on the carnage in the Gulf and get back for the U.S.' humiliating loss in Vietnam by throwing antiwar soldiers into military stockades for years.

Largely hidden from the public by the pliant bourgeois press which "did its duty" for the Pentagon war machine, there are perhaps thousands of soldiers—ranging from traditional pacifists to black Muslims—who refused to participate in the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the name of Bush's imperial "new world order." In addition to many individual refusals, AWOLs and applicants for conscientious objector status, the ferment in the troops extended to entire units angry at racism and unwilling to die in what they saw as a war to enrich the American oil companies and feudal sheikdoms (see "Gulf War Racist Hell for Harlem Regiment," *WV* No. 521, 1 March).

Recently there have been a handful of articles in the press revealing the extent of opposition within the military. The *Los Angeles Times* (24 February) estimated that since August there have been 1,700 CO applicants. When the Persian

Defend Antiwar GIs!

Gulf invasion began in earnest, incidents mushroomed:

- At Fort Riley, Kansas, over 130 soldiers went AWOL rather than ship out with their units to Saudi Arabia.
- At least eight regular army soldiers who filed for CO status were dragged in

can take up to a year). One of these soldiers, Sgt. Derrick Jones of the 3rd Airborne, who refused to kill on religious grounds, was told by an army chaplain, "Don't worry, none of them will be Christians" (*Nation*, 18 February)!

- A recruit at Camp Pendleton, Cali-



El Diario-La Prensa

Donald Alexander (left) refused to fight for Kuwait slavery. Right: Louisiana Guardsmen walk off Fort Hood army base to protest rotten conditions and racism.



AP

leg irons from Rhein-Main AFB in Germany to the Persian Gulf, under a new Pentagon regulation to send CO applicants to the combat zone while their cases were being "considered" (which

fornia put down his rifle during gunnery practice, explaining to his sergeant that he was opposed to the war. In an incident in November which must have given Marine Corps brass nightmares of Vietnam, the *Nation* article describes what followed:

"The angry sergeant paraded the recruit before his entire company, dressing him down and ridiculing him as a coward. When the sergeant was done, he turned to the company and sardonically asked if anyone else would refuse to fight. Much to his astonishment, nine other Marine recruits stepped out of the ranks."

Seven of the men, now called the "Magnificent Seven," face court-martial.

• One class of war resisters has particularly enraged the generals—black soldiers, Muslims, who refused to take up arms against other Muslims. There are reportedly 18 such Marines in the brig at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, in addition to another 14 Marine reservists who filed for CO status and are charged with desertion and missing movement (failing to move with their units). One of the Muslims, Lance Corporal Daniel Gillis, refused last December to board a bus

for deployment and was beaten by several white officers. So now, in addition to other charges, Gillis is charged with disrespect for and threatening an officer for saying that his attacker was prejudiced!

• Donald Alexander, a U.S. Marine communications specialist, announced that he refused to defend Kuwait, "a government which condones and practices slavery." He added, "On behalf of all black soldiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and as the descendant of African slaves, I refuse to be part of the army of a government which is risking the life of its citizens claiming to defend freedom" (*El Diario-La Prensa*, 19 February). Speaking before the press, Alexander said, "For me, fighting in this war in the Persian Gulf would be like fighting with the troops of General Lee against the troops of Abraham Lincoln." His petition for CO status was denied.

We strongly defend the hundreds of soldiers who courageously refused to take part in the imperialist bloodbath in the Persian Gulf. At the same time, as communists, we do not share the pacifist and religious stance of many conscientious objectors and "war resisters." During the Vietnam War, especially in its early stages, many antiwar radicals pushed "draft resistance" as a strategy. To these activists, the Spartacist League said, "You Will Go!"—their place, when drafted, was alongside the working-class and minority youth who *had* to go, so that they could organize powerful opposition against the war *inside* the army. And in fact, in the last period of the war, opposition and demoralization among draftees in Vietnam was massive. That's the main reason that the American government ended the draft in 1973.

While Bush praises the "volunteer" army, many black and Hispanic soldiers who responded to feel-good TV ads and joined the military to get out of ghetto poverty suddenly found that "all they could be" in the Pentagon's view was cannon fodder. And they come back to a country where the racist rulers from the White House down to the local police consider oppressed minorities the enemy within. What's needed is a fight for *power*, to sweep out the ruling class whose "new order" spells devastation from Baghdad to Harlem. Class-conscious workers who fight against imperialist slaughter and racism at home must take up the defense of all the victims of the imperialist war machine, including those in uniform. ■

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mothers off welfare, forcing them either to starve or work for slave wages while leaving their children alone on the streets. And the scourge of AIDS, which due to "malign neglect" ravages minority communities without medical care or social services.

Not only is racist cop brutality no "aberration," it's part of an overall "pattern" of *genocide* by this racist capitalist system against ghetto blacks it no longer has any use for. In the past, minorities were a large part of the "reserve army of labor," available for when they were needed by the bosses. "Last hired, first fired," as the saying went. Since the mid-1970s it's been "first fired, never rehired." Even during the so-called "Reagan boom," black unemployment remained at depression levels, and now it's getting worse. A *New York Times* (19 March) profile of Milwaukee reported that as the Midwest "rust belt" city pulled itself out of a deep slump in the early '80s, switching from manufacturing to service industry, white unemployment fell from 5.3 percent to 3.8 percent, while black unemployment rose from 17 to 20 percent.

Blacks in America are in terrible danger. At a House hearing called by liberal black Democrat John Conyers, Manhattan borough president Ruth Messinger called for an "Operation Urban Storm," to "undertake the liberation of the millions



Families of victims and survivors of racist cop assaults protested at Police Plaza in NYC, March 20.

of Americans in our cities trapped by the tyranny of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, unemployment, crime and hopelessness." We've got news for Messinger, a member of Democratic Socialists of America: George Bush has already launched his "Operation Urban Storm," a so-called "war on crime/war on drugs" which is really a war on the black and Hispanic poor. *Rodney King was one of its first victims.*

And while the cops stomp through the ghettos and barrios with their heavy weaponry, their helicopters, their Taser guns and tear gas, the *right to self-defense* is denied to the population. Gun control bills are rushed through Congress, just when people need protection most. This, too, is part of the "pattern." The ruling class insists on its monopoly of armed force. The working class and minorities must be intimidated, subjected to arbi-

trary brutalization by the "guardians of law and order." New York City has some of the tightest gun laws in the country: Malcolm X was assassinated after he was refused the right to bear arms. And who gets the rare police permits? Back in the 1930s, the *Daily News* publisher was licensed to carry...a Thompson machine gun. During the recent *Daily News* strike, the city sanctioned professional armed terrorists in ski masks and blue jumpsuits to guard newsstands and delivery trucks, while hundreds of cops were put at the disposal of the *News* scabherders.

As Marxists we understand the capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class, and the cops are one of those special armed bodies of men whose *job* is to protect capitalist property from the many whose blood and sweat make the profits for the few. It's a system built on a bedrock of racist oppression, from chattel slavery to wage slavery. And now that an entire generation of ghetto youth has been simply discarded by this country's callous rulers, it should be clearer than ever that the only way to eliminate the "pattern" of cop brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the "gang in blue uniforms" are the front line of defense. And the key element is forging a revolutionary workers party which acts as a tribune of the people and champion of all the oppressed. ■

Kuwait...

(continued from page 1)

sundry "antiwar" leftists. Washington continues its vindictive starvation of the Iraqi people. On March 22, customs officials at Kennedy Airport confiscated a shipment of 5,000 pounds of antibiotics and other medical supplies donated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation for Iraq.

U.S. military commanders in the Gulf War are now saying that at least 100,000 Iraqi troops were killed during the one-sided slaughter. The *Wall Street Journal* (22 March) describes how "Allied ground forces used bulldozers to bury thousands of enemy dead in trenches as the allies advanced." Many of these thousands died not in what little real combat took place, but as a result of terror bombing and methodical murder by U.S.-led forces of units withdrawing from the fighting—such as along the notorious "highway of death" from Kuwait to Basra.

Meanwhile, "liberated" Kuwait has become a killing field, as the oil-bloated Kuwaiti rulers exact vengeance for their humiliation at the hands of Saddam Hussein by carrying out a bloodbath against their defenseless slaves. While the Western press has been trumpeting bogus atrocity stories about Iraqi baby-killers and bemoaning the plight of slain hippos at the Kuwait City zoo, the torture and slaughter of Palestinians and other immigrant workers has been virtually ignored.

Within days of the U.S. capture of Kuwait City, the Palestinian districts of Hawali and Rega were sealed off by tanks. While death squads roamed from house to house, seizing thousands and summarily executing scores, U.S. officers kept out Western journalists, human rights groups and the Red Crescent relief organization. In one incident, a gang of 100 armed Kuwaitis opened fire on four Palestinians.

At the Gadssia police station, eyewitnesses watched as an ax-wielding Kuwaiti dragged in an Iraqi captive: "The man then chopped off his fingers. We watched as he gouged out his eyes.... It was disgusting. The eyes popped out like eggs. Then he shot him" (*New York Times*, 3 March). Even the hospitals provide no sanctuary from the terror. Patients are beaten in the emergency room, and at Mubarak Hospital in Hawali, 37 torture victims "vanished" after being admitted to the orthopedic ward.

Every day busloads of tortured and often still unconscious prisoners, mostly Palestinians, are dumped in the desert



Post-"liberation" Kuwait: as number of slain Palestinians mounts, more graves at Kuwait cemetery.

across the Kuwaiti border to die. Three who were fortunate enough to get out alive recounted how over 100 people, some over 60 years old, were crammed into a single cell. They were pistol-whipped, beaten with electric cables and subjected to electric shocks. A Sudanese farm worker reported that "the beatings increased" after he complained of his torture. A uniformed American military doctor known as "Abu Willie" who regularly visited the cell to treat the injured.

The supervisory role of the U.S. Special Forces is everywhere in evidence. American troops sport small Kuwaiti flags—but no name plates—on their uniforms. Investigating a Palestinian prisoner's claim that "men in uniforms burned him with a cattle brand, beat him and later dumped him by a roadside" after detaining him at the Salmiya Girls' Secondary School, relief officials "found a U.S. Special Forces captain and sergeant at the school" (*Washington Post*, 17 March). Colonel Jesse L. Johnson, the head of U.S. Special Forces working with the Kuwaiti military, "confirmed suspected collaborators were being rounded up."

In the eyes of the Kuwaiti slave masters, all Palestinians are deemed guilty of "collaboration." A banner placed outside the firebombed office of Yasir Arafat's Fatah organization in Kuwait City reads, "Anyone who is a Palestinian is a traitor." Some 600 Palestinians, Iraqis and others are to be hanged on

charges of "war crimes."

Over 400,000 Palestinians lived in Kuwait before the war, the largest concentration outside Israel and the Occupied Territories, Lebanon and Jordan. It was their labor, along with that of other Arab as well as Filipino and Bangladeshi workers, which created the fabulous wealth of the ruling al-Sabah family and its entourage.

The contempt with which the Kuwaiti elite treats those whom it exploits is captured in the "wanted" notices which have been appearing in Kuwaiti newspapers, aimed at hunting down "workers who have left their employer without permission. They are published as a warning to any other employer not to hire the runaway but instead to send him back to his original master" (*Nation*, 18 March).

Now the very existence of what remains of the Palestinian population in Kuwait is threatened by the U.S.-sponsored terror. Kuwait is intent on ridding the statelet of "politically unreliable Arabs," to be replaced by South Asian workers. The human rights group Middle East Watch estimates that some 6,000 Palestinians have been rounded up and "held without charges on the authority of a militia force acting in conjunction with U.S. Special Forces."

Virginia Sherry, associate director of Middle East Watch, noted with alarm that the slogan "Amman 1970, Beirut 1982, Kuwait 1991" had been painted on a wall in Kuwait City—a reference to the horrific Black September 1970 massacre of 10,000 Palestinians perpetrated by Jordan's King Hussein, and the 1982 slaughter of women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps directed by the Israelis and carried out by their

Lebanese Maronite henchmen.

Palestine Liberation Organization spokesman Suleiman Najjab told Sherry: "We are demanding that our people in Kuwait be protected by the UN or by international forces so as not to have a repeat of Sabra and Shatila." Has the PLO forgotten that it was after its withdrawal from Beirut under the supervision of UN "peacekeeping forces" that Sabra and Shatila were decimated?

Until last year, the Kuwaiti emirate was one of the PLO's heaviest financial boosters; today it is slaughtering Palestinians. Meanwhile yesterday's butcher of Black September, Jordan's King Hussein, is today hailed by these petty-bourgeois nationalists as a savior of the Palestinian people. Committed to reliance on one or another Arab bourgeois regime, the PLO is capable only of leading the long-suffering Palestinian masses from one slaughter to another.

No less than the Zionist butchers, the sheiks and colonels who head up the Arab capitalist states of the Near East have proved themselves to be the enemies and oppressors of the Palestinian people. Forced into diaspora by the bloody Zionist expulsions of 1948-49 and 1967, the highly educated and cosmopolitan Palestinian workers occupy a vital political and economic role throughout the region.

They can play an even more vital role in building the revolutionary internationalist leadership needed to unite the toilers of the region in a struggle for socialist revolution to overthrow all the murderous capitalist regimes of the Near East. It is that road alone which leads to salvation for the Palestinian people, and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East. ■

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BOSTON

NEW YORK CITY

Solidarność' Walesa Against Women's Rights

Spartacists joined the protest against Polish president Lech Walesa at New York's Town Hall on March 25, with signs reading, "Free Abortion on Demand!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" as well as demands in Polish to "Smash Attacks on Abortion Rights!"

In Washington March 20 to meet with Bush at the White House, Walesa was met with a protest called by NOW (National Organization for Women) and "Catholics for a Free Choice." Signs at the protest included: "Not the Church, Not the State, Women Must Decide Their Fate," "Free Choice—Legal Abortion" and "Walesa—Vatican's Puppet."

It's an indication of the ferociously reactionary, anti-woman policies of Walesa and his Solidarność government that such bourgeois feminist organizations felt compelled to publicly protest a man whose otherwise "noble struggle for democracy" they continue to shamefully uphold. In fact, Walesa has never been a "democrat" of any sort, and the anti-woman, anti-abortion politics of Solidarność, now being implemented with a vengeance in Poland, were clear a decade ago to anyone not blinded by anti-Communism.

In September 1981, we Spartacists

demonstrated in New York to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution," characterizing it as a "company union for the CIA and bankers." In *Women and Revolution* (Spring 1982), we published an article on "Solidarność: A Man's World," noting the clerical-led campaign against abortion. That issue of W&R had a cover honoring Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewish revolutionary who is reviled by Solidarność.

Today Bush rewards Walesa for his faithful service to capitalism with a multibillion-dollar "debt forgiveness" deal, while Polish workers are thrown onto the streets and women especially are the target of massive reaction. Solidarność is pushing for the total abolition of abortion rights (including even in cases of rape!) while a proposal pending in the Polish parliament defines life as beginning at conception, gives fetuses full legal rights and would entirely ban even contraceptives. The Polish government is now trying to make divorce unobtainable by anyone married in the Catholic church.

Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polskiej (Spartacist Group of Poland) printed in the first issue of their newspaper an article titled "Smash



Spartacists at NYC protest against Poland's Lech Walesa. Solidarność capitalist regime is anti-woman, anti-worker.

Attacks on Abortion Rights!" (translated in *Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91). In fighting to resurrect the revolutionary tradition of the Polish working class, our comrades understand that the question of women's liberation is vital: "The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski upholds the

position for complete separation of church and state, considers the family as the main institution for the oppression of women and advances the slogans of free, 24-hour childcare and free abortion on demand. The question of women's liberation is indissolubly connected with the socialist revolution."

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

drive by the capitalists to atomize the proletariat and destroy everything that recalls the DDR, even basic social gains like women's right to abortion. The last issue of *Spartakist* (No. 84, March 1991) stated:

"The SPD calls for some crumbs, like extending the short workweek, only in order to dampen the resistance of the working class. But the working class needs a leadership that organizes mass strikes and plant occupations in the East and West through elected strike and factory committees in order to fight against the mass unemployment and the spreading impoverishment of the working people. Thus the issue is posed: who has the power—the capitalists, who only produce mass poverty and destruction, or the workers, who can bring the wheels of industry to a halt in order to defend their livelihood?"

Facing an economic catastrophe that threatens the very existence of the proletariat in eastern Germany, the workers' struggles are necessarily defensive. Moreover, they go up against an imperialist ruling class which has just won a major victory. Yet it is desperately nec-

essary to fight. And the only way to fight against the rapidly escalating massive unemployment is through class-struggle actions, which in the explosive situation of the ex-DDR could pose a situation of dual power locally. The German bourgeoisie is not all-powerful: right now, the Bonn politicians, Frankfurt bankers and their social-democratic flunkies are feeling like they bit off more than they can chew. Nevertheless, the German rulers are undoubtedly prepared to use murderous force on a large scale against anything challenging their rule: the massive invasion of West German cops to oust squatters in East Berlin's Mainzerstrasse was intended to show that.

For them to carry this off is another matter entirely. A dramatic seizure of a key plant could electrify workers throughout the country. Such actions are fundamentally political, for there is no East German economy in reality. As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, it's a giant sinkhole for scarce D-marks. So the key is to spread any workers actions to the West where it will hurt the capitalists. Thus during last December's strike by East German railway workers, the call in an SpAD leaflet for extending the

strike to West German railways got a positive reception in the Hamburg depot. Two sections of the railyards there walked out, and a short time later the union tops called off the strike, citing imminent danger of it spreading throughout the country. For all the talk of smug, well-paid West German workers, united struggle is not pie-in-the-sky.

Combative workers struggles in Germany would have a powerful effect internationally. While the U.S. imperialists were carrying out a war of annihilation against Iraq in the Persian Gulf, a war whose ultimate targets were Washington's imperialist rivals Germany and Japan, Bonn was focusing on the Soviet Union. The rulers of the successor state to the Nazi regime, which launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union 50 years ago this June, want to bring the Baltics "home to the Reich." And they hope to achieve through economic penetration and D-mark imperialism what the Wehrmacht Panzers failed to do militarily: extend Germany's *Hinterland* to include the oil fields of Baku and Tyumen, the coal fields of the Donbass and Kuzbass, and a vast Soviet market. Today the Soviet Union is in severe crisis, wracked by nationalist turmoil and a clash between wings of the bureaucracy whose main difference is over the pace of restoring capitalism.

As Gorbachev prepares to drastically raise prices, supporters of his rival Yeltsin have turned a miners strike into a political challenge to the Kremlin. After the past two years which have seen the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe, many Soviet workers are convinced that introduction of a capitalist market economy is inevitable. Next door in Poland, where the capitalist government of Solidarność leader Lech Walesa has brought mass poverty, workers at the Gdansk shipyards are striking for more rapid privatization. But East German workers are now experiencing the devastation which restoration of capitalist rule brings. And militant mass strikes, plant occupations and other actions in defense of the working class will send shock waves to the Urals and beyond.

The key element is to forge an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the workers' struggles and defend all the oppressed. The SpAD recently put out a poster and leaflet asking "Who lied to us?" (with election posters of the CDU, SPD and PDS) and underlining that "The Spartacists told the truth. Now the

watchword is: workers resistance against the Fourth Reich!" The poster/leaflet called for:

- Equal pay for equal work, immediately!
- Block layoffs with plant occupations, mass strikes, East and West, now!
- Sweep away the Kohl government and the Treuhand! The plants, which we built, into the workers' hands!
- Form workers councils! For a workers government! The key: a Bolshevik party like Lenin and Trotsky's!

Berlin Demo...

(continued from page 7)

workers. Renate Dahlhaus, spokesman for the SpAD, spoke of the fascist attacks against Soviet barracks and declared: "The fascists are only the echo of the drive of the German bourgeoisie to make Germany 'judenrein' [purged of Jews], its drive to the East to begin a new Operation Barbarossa [Hitler's 1941 attack on the Soviet Union]."

Important to this protest action was the support of union representatives, since it is particularly the social power of the organized workers movement which can take the lead in defending immigrants against state oppression and Nazi terror. Employees of the Berlin airports, represented among the endorsers, have several times in the past blocked deportations. However, the PDS, this "Party of Democratic Socialism" that is wallowing in German nationalism, showed no interest, having previously refused to lift a finger against the mass deportations of Polish, Vietnamese and Mozambican workers from the former DDR.

The Committee for Social Defense, a class-struggle, non-sectarian defense organization whose purposes are in accord with the political aims of the SpAD, declared in its protest statement: "The German capitalist reunification has led to a revival of fascist terror and to an escalation of official state racism against immigrants and those seeking asylum, led by Imperial Chancellor Kohl and LaFontaine's SPD, which unleashed pogrom attacks against Roma and Sinti [gypsies]." The KfS demands: "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the racist witchhunt—No deportations! Immediate lifting of the political gag order!"

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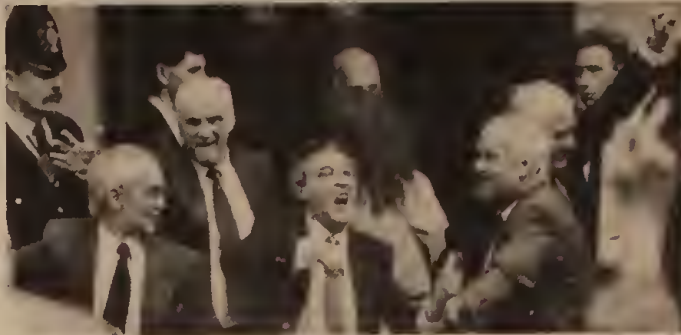
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Sixteen Years in British Prison, Framed in IRA Pub Bombings Birmingham Six Freed!

On March 14, more than 16 years after being torn from their families and thrown behind bars, the Birmingham Six finally walked out of London's Old Bailey court as free men. Framed in the heinous IRA bombing of two Birmingham pubs in November 1974, the six Irishmen remained unbowed, insisting on their innocence throughout their years of imprisonment.

Leaving the Old Bailey, Patrick Hill launched into a fiery denunciation of the criminal system which had persecuted him and his comrades: "The police told us from the start we did not do it. They told us they didn't care.... I don't think them people in there have got the intelligence or the honesty to spell the word justice, never mind dispense it. They're rotten."

The Birmingham Six were arrested hours after the 1974 IRA bombings, which killed 21 and injured 162. Five of the six men were arrested while on their way to the funeral of an IRA friend in Belfast. After being badly beaten and tortured, four signed "con-



Brian Harris

British Imperialism framed them and stole the prime of their lives.

fessions," which they subsequently retracted. But riding a wave of anti-Irish chauvinism, the Labour government rammed through their trials and convictions, and seized the moment to slam through the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The presiding judge at the trial dismissed the charges of torture and forced

confessions, claiming that this would have to be the result of a "conspiracy... unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history" (*Economist*, 2 March). In fact, this conspiracy went right to the top of the British ruling class. Lord Chief Justice Lane rejected their last appeal three years ago, despite overwhelming evidence that they had been

tortured into confessing. Last year Lord Denning railed, "We shouldn't have all these campaigns to get the Birmingham Six released if they'd been hanged." Now Labour Party leaders are demanding Lord Lane's resignation. But it was a Labour government that condemned these innocent men to languish in prison.

This is the third anti-Irish "terrorism" frame-up—the Tottenham Three—still languish in prison, as do countless other victims of racist British "justice." Two miners imprisoned during the heroic 1984-85 coal strike for defending their union's picket lines were released only last year. The government is talking about "compensation" for the Birmingham Six, who lost the better part of their adult lives behind bars and came out with white hair. But as our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote (*Workers Hammer* No. 121, March 1991):

"True vengeance for all victims of British 'justice' will be exacted only when victorious workers revolution sweeps this rotten, racist capitalist system away, along with its Labourite flotsam and jetsam."

Stop Duke!...

(continued from page 12)

home for minorities and all decent people.

Duke's Klansmen have long had their sights set on Boston for recruitment for racist terror. They were emboldened by the outpouring of race hatred in the streets which killed busing for school integration. But this town of multi-ethnic and heavily Catholic immigrants was not fertile ground for these cross-burners and white supremacists whose aim is a bleached white America of total conformity. Now that the "Massachusetts Miracle" has bottomed out into a nightmare of unemployment and desperation, now when Confederate flags fly at Harvard, now when unbridled cop terror is unleashed in black communities (as in the grotesque Stuart case) and now when skinhead fascists attack gays, Jews and Asians, Duke hopes to cash in in Boston and deflect anger away from united class struggle against this whole system of racist capitalist oppression and into race hatred to divide and conquer us.

Even in this deeply class- and race-divided city, sectors of the organized

labor movement represent a potentially powerful weapon in the struggle for social justice. Our unions represent the unity of all working people against the race-haters and we must use our social power; as those who produce the wealth of society, in struggle against the exploiters. When labor has flexed its muscle in defense of all working people the fascists have been stopped cold, as they were in the massive labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee which stopped the KKK and Nazi skinheads from parading for genocide through the streets of Philadelphia in 1988.

In October 1982, decent people of Boston took a solid anti-racist stand and stopped the KKK from marching in Boston's Government Center. 1,500 people—including Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians and Portuguese from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, blacks from Roxbury, unionists, and leftists scored a big victory over the race-haters who would divide and destroy us if left unopposed. That's the kind of action that's needed today. All out on March 28 to stop the deadly threat David Duke stands for! ■

Help Stop Fascist Duke \$\$\$ Needed

The Partisan Defense Committee is working hard to ensure a mass, disciplined and militant demonstration to stop KKKer David Duke in Boston on March 28. Organizing on the streets, in working-class and minority neighborhoods, on campuses, takes time and especially money—for printing thousands of leaflets and getting the word out. David Duke, currently running for

governor of Louisiana, wants a national platform to spread his race-terror filth. He must be stopped! This is vital to decent people throughout America. In Boston, call the PDC at (617) 492-3928 to see how you can help. If you can't be there, show your support for stopping the Klan by sending a generous contribution, earmarked "Stop KKKer Duke" to: Partisan Defense Committee, PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

BOSTON

The Struggle Against Fascism

Report and Discussion on the March 28th Protest to
Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth Club

Tuesday, April 2, 7:30 p.m.
Sever Hall, Room 215

Harvard University

Thursday, April 11, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced

Northeastern University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Report and Discussion on the March 28th Protest to
Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke

Sponsored by the Latino Student Center—UMass Boston

Thursday, April 4, 12:30 p.m.

Wheatley Lounge, 4th Floor, Wheatley Building

University of Massachusetts—Boston



Boston's City Hall Plaza, October 1982: As cops protect racist terrorists (below), mass protest drives Klan off the streets.



Boston Demo Against Fascist David Duke

We reprint here the call for the demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 12 March 1991.

Ku Klux Klansman David Duke is scheduled to put forth his "agenda for America" from the hallowed hall of Boston's Old South Meeting House on March 28. David Duke is a fascist. His "agenda" is genocide of black people, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Hispanics, Asians, gays, unionists, leftists—most of us. As an elementary act of self-defense, all intended victims of the race-hate terror David Duke threatens must mobilize in a massive, integrated, defiant demonstration to stop this fascist—genocide is not debatable! In 1773 Old South Meeting House was the organizing center against British tyranny and where the march to the Boston Tea Party began. In 1991 let's make it the site of organized opposition to the lynch mobs David Duke seeks to whip up! Demonstrate outside the Old South Meeting House, Thursday, March 28 at 5:30 p.m.! Be there!

Today David Duke hides the white hood and the swastika under a three-piece suit—don't be fooled by this fascist with a face-lift. Duke got his start as a swastika-clad Hitler-lover at Louisiana State University and was known as "The Nazi of L.S.U." He went on to become the "Imperial Wizard" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a media-sharp stormtrooper for racist reaction who expanded the Klan's influence from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, New England and California. Duke says the Nazi Holocaust of six million Jews was a "myth" and sold Nazi tracts out of his "legislative office." Under the "Rebel" label Duke has marketed songs like "Some Niggers Never Die" and "Kajun Ku Klux Klan." Duke organized a vigilante "Klan Border Watch" in southern California, targeting immigrant workers from Mexico and Latin America for extermination.

The founder of the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," Duke was formerly in the fold of the Dixiecrat Democratic Party. In 1988 he ran for President on the ticket of the Populist Party—a nest of fascists including the paramilitary anti-Semites of Posse Comitatus and die-hard racists of the bomb-throwing States Rights Party. In 1989 Duke joined the Republican Party and rode the coattails of Reagan/Bush reaction into office as a Louisiana state legislator. Today he comes to Boston on the wind of Bush's "Operation Desert Storm" to set a chilling example of what the "New World Order" means at

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Fascist David Duke organizing Klan terror in 1977.

David Duke as Nazi Stormtrooper in 1970.

BE THERE!
Thursday, March 28, 1991 at 5:30 p.m.
Old South Meeting House, corner of Washington and Milk Streets

"We endorse and will help build a mass demonstration: 'Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!'"

Partial List of Endorsers as of 17 March 1991

Ron E. Armataad, Research Associate, William Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequences*, Boston, MA	Leon Lai, Steering Committee member, Harvard-Radcliffe Bisexual Gay and Lesbian Students Association*, Cambridge, MA
M. Georgia Batan, Vice President, Haitian Club, University of Massachusetts Boston*, Dorchester, MA	Latino Student Center—University of Massachusetts Boston*, Boston, MA
James R. Barrett, Executive Board member, USWA Local 8751*, Hyde Park, MA	Jean-Claude Martineau, poet, Mattapan, MA
Boston Greater News	Partisan Defense Committee
Linda C. Bowman, Negotiating Committee member, University of Massachusetts chapter, SEIU Local 509*, Dorchester, MA	Jean Raymond, Minister, Christian Assembly of God Church*, Brockton, MA
James C. Castaris, member, Arlington Street Church Social Action Committee*, Newton, MA	Spartacist League
Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Friends at MIT, Cambridge, MA	UMOJA at Boston University, Boston, MA
Michael Holden, Vice President, ATU Local 1205*, Boston, MA	*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only
Terry LaFrazia, Treasurer, Northeastern University Bisexual, Lesbian and Gay Association*, Boston, MA	



"We Stopped the Klan!"

5,000-strong labor/black mobilization ran KKK out of Washington, D.C., November 1982.

"We endorse and will help build a mass demonstration: 'Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!'"

Partial List of Endorsers as of 26 March 1991

ACT UP/Boston (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power)
Ron E. Armataad, Research Associate, William Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequences*, Boston, MA
M. Georgia Batan, Vice President, Haitian Club, University of Massachusetts Boston*, Dorchester, MA
James R. Barrett, Executive Board member, USWA Local Union 8751*, Hyde Park, MA
Boston Greater News
Boston Unit, Irish Northern Aid Committee
Linda C. Bowman, Negotiating Committee member, University of Massachusetts chapter, SEIU Local 509*, Dorchester, MA
Jackie B. Breckanridge, International Vice President, ATU*, Chicago, IL
Dr. Donald Brown, Director, African-American, Hispanic, Asian and Native American Student Program, Boston College*, Chestnut Hill, MA
James C. Castaris, member, Arlington Street Church-Social Action Committee*, Newton, MA
Cesar Chavez, President, United Farm Workers of America*
Comics Connection/University of Massachusetts Boston
Daniel Delgado, Michael McNeil, Vernon Rosario, members, Harvard-Radcliffe Bisexual, Gay and Lesbian Students Association*, Cambridge, MA
Carole A. Fiarro, President, La Union Chicane por Aztlan at MIT*, Cambridge, MA
John J. Foley, President, New England Joint Board RWDSU*, Springfield, MA

Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Friends at MIT, Cambridge, MA
Frank Grinnon, Jr., Assistant Business Manager, IBEW Local 1011*, Oakland, CA
Harvard Progressive Students Association
John D. Harzog, Professor of Education, Northeastern University*, Boston, MA
Michael Holden, Vice President, ATU Local 1205*, Boston, MA
International Socialist Organization
Irish-American Society—University of Massachusetts Boston
Katie Jordan, Executive Vice President, Coalition of Labor Union Women*, Chicago, IL
Terry LaFrazia, Treasurer, Northeastern University Bisexual, Lesbian and Gay Association*, Boston, MA
Leon Lai, Steering Committee member, Harvard-Radcliffe Bisexual, Gay and Lesbian Students Association*, Cambridge, MA
Latino Student Center—University of Massachusetts Boston
Jean-Claude Martineau, poet, Mattapan, MA
Jean M. McGuire, Treasurer, Boston School Committee*
Mujeres Latinas—MIT, Cambridge, MA
New Alliance Party
Northeastern University Human Services Student Organization, Boston, MA
Northeastern University Society Organized Against Racism, Boston, MA
Partisan Defense Committee
Rebby Joseph Potak, Boston, MA

Walter Porter, President, Boston Society of Vulcans of Massachusetts, Inc.*, Roxbury, MA
Rainbow Lobby
Jean Raymond, Minister, Christian Assembly of God Church*, Brockton, MA
Ovid P. Richardson, Jr., Pennsylvania State Representative, immediate past President of National Black Caucus of State Legislators*, Harrisburg, PA
Normen Roth, former President, UAW Local 6*, Oak Park, IL
Francis A. Russo, Co-President, Boston Intercollegiate Lesbian and Gay Alliance*, Somerville, MA
James W. Ryder, President and International Executive Board member, ILWU Local 6*, San Francisco, CA
Hank Sanders, Senator, Alabama State Senate*, Selma, AL
Brunel Shackleton, Host, Caribbean Forum WZBC 90.5 FM, Boston College*, Chestnut Hill, MA
Spartacist League
Students Against War in the Middle East, Harvard University*, Cambridge, MA
Representative Alvin E. Thompson, State Legislator, member Massachusetts Black Caucus*, Cambridge, MA
UMOJA at Boston University
The Watch, magazine, Brander University*, Waltham, MA
*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed above