Operation Eagle Eye: racist dragnet

With typically racist arrogance, Paul Condon, Commissioner of the Metropol­itan Police, was heard to say last month that the police were responsible for 80 per cent of all muggings in London. This outrageous statement was made in a letter inviting leaders of the black community to meet with him to discuss the “problem” of crime and aiming to solicit their support for the launch of the Met’s Operation Eagle Eye (OEE). OEE’s “crackdown on crime” amounts to a racist dragnet that systematically targets blacks and other minorities. Condon’s suggested meeting date was 28 July, the second anniversary of the cop killing of black Jamaican-born mother Joy Gardner.

Condon’s racist crackdown received the “full support” of Tory Home Secretary Michael Howard, and within its first four weeks, community groups had reported “a tripling in the number of complaints” (Observer, 27 August). Even before Operation Eagle Eye, young black men were ten times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts. But now backed up by the Criminal Justice Act the cops feel they can go swanning into any place they please, swinging their truncheons with impunity. One report in the Observer (27 August) described a race equality worker pulled over in his car and arrested for failing to prove his identity. He was then dragged from the car and beaten.

Earlier this year Brian Douglas, a 33-year-old black man, was savagely beaten to death by cops in South London using newly acquired American-style police batons. His killers walk free today as do those of Joy Gardner. British capitalist society is a living nightmare for all the oppressed. A survey of black people carried out in the Weekly Journal (2 March) showed that of those surveyed, over 40 per cent had personally experienced racial abuse from the police and 67.3 per cent knew someone who had experienced physical abuse from cops! Blacks make up some five per cent of the population but over 16 per cent of the prison population. There has been a dramatic rise in police cell deaths, at least 25 in the past year alone. A massive proportion of those who die in police cells are black or from minority communities.

The latest cop crackdown is a green light for murderous attacks on blacks and Asians by fascist and racist terrorists. Over the last few years these attacks have increased alarmingly. In 1993, Stephen Lawrence, a young black student, was killed and Muktar Ahmed and Quaddus Ali were beaten near to death by fascist-inspired attacks. The trade union movement must stand in defence of all the minority communities. For trade union minority mobilisations against racist terror!

Capitalist Britain delivers increased misery and poverty for working people and it hits hardest at minority communities. In London, 62 per cent of young black men are unemployed (Guardian, 20 March). The ruling class’s only “solution” is to savagely increase attacks against the oppressed while supplying their thugs in blue with more weapons of terror. Tony Blair’s Labour Party vies with the Tories in promoting capitalist “law and order.” The Criminal Justice Act passed through parliament without so much as a peep of opposition from the Labour Party. Recently Blair’s shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw, signalled that Labour in power would introduce draconian new measures to protect “the law-abiding.

Continued on page 2

No to imperialist diktat in the Balkans!

Down with Britain/US/UN/NATO attack on Bosnian Serbs!

The article reprinted below is datelined 5 September. It is adapted from Workers Vanguard no 628, 8 September 1995:

- For workers revolution to overthrow all the bloody nationalist regimes!
- For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!
- The massive NATO air attacks directed by Washington against the Bosnian Serbs mark a major escalation in the four-year-long Balkan wars. With over 500 bombing sorties thus far, this is the biggest military action ever undertaken by the Western imperialist alliance. This is not an isolated raid having little effect on the war but a move to change the balance of forces in favour of the US and German clients in the region, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims. After a four-day pause during the latest round of negotiations, the bombing is now continuing. As one senior NATO commander declared at the outset: “Our total strategy is to take away their military capability.”

US intervention to destroy or cripple the Bosnian Serb forces is emboldening the American ruling class in the belief that it can terrorise the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations as in Somalia and Haiti to the bombing of Third World capitals from Libya to Iraq, to imposing economic blockades on countries which refuse to bow to Washington’s dictates. When the Bosnian Serbs shoot down NATO warplanes, they are not only justly defending themselves and their homeland but are acting in the interests of working people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

The International Communist League has opposed the nationalistic bloodletting on all sides in the ethnic civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we have always opposed all of the many imperialist interventions, including the UN “peacekeepers” and economic embargo of Serbia. It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the US and NATO, that this has become an imperialist war against the Serbs. We call for defence of the Bosnian Serbs against Britain/US/NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.

As the Pentagon war machine was unleashed in the Balkans, the ICL called emergency demonstrations in a number of cities, including New York, London, Berlin and Paris.

In the Spartacist leaflet calling the London protest of 5 September, we noted that:

“The United Nations is the frontman of imperialist intervention in the region. We oppose UN sanctions against Serbia (which are real, unlike the phoney arms embargo of Bosnia). Tony Benn’s Committee for Peace in the Balkans calls for an end to direct military intervention, but supports the UN presence in other words they want to provide an alternative route for imperialist domination.”

A wanton act of imperialist bloodlust

The capitalist counter-revolutions which swept across Eastern Europe in 1989-91 led to the bloody break-up of Titoist Yugoslavia along national lines. The Serbs—the largest and militarily strongest nationality in the region—quickly gained the upper hand, controlling a third of Croatia and 70 per cent of Bosnia. But American imperialist refusal to establish in defiance of its will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia.

Three years ago, the Western powers continued on page 9
worker’s in uniform” we stand by what Russian revolutionary leader VI Lenin taught: the police, army and courts are the capitalists’ state machinery for the suppression of the working class and the oppressed. This state cannot be reformed but must be smashed and replaced by a workers state.

We call on our readers to support the following cases.

Free Oliver Campbell!

Oliver Campbell is a 24-year-old black man serving a life sentence for a murder that he did not commit. There is no forensic or material evidence linking him to the crime. Oliver is a victim of a racist frame-up!

Contact: Justice for Oliver Campbell Campaign, PO Box 6580, London E6 3TL

Free the M25 Three!

Three young black men—Raphael Rowe, Michael Davis and Randolph Johnson—are serving a life sentence for the death of a man on the M25, without a shred of forensic, identificational, confessional or direct evidence.

Contact: M25 Three Campaign, 28 Grimsell Path, Camberwell, London SE5 0TB

Down with Satpal Ram!

Satpal Ram has languished in jail for nine years now, serving a life sentence, on a conviction of murder. But Satpal Ram actually tried to defend against an attack by six white racists. An appeal in his case is currently pending. We demand his freedom now!

Contact: Free Satpal Ram Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B19 1NH. Tel: 0121 551 4518

Free Winston Silcott!

Silcott was framed for the 1985 murder of PC Blakelock during the police riot at Broadwater Farm. He has since been acquitted of that murder but remains in prison on a life sentence for a separate crime where he acted in self-defence.

Contact: Winston Silcott Defence Campaign, PO Box 6796, London N15 4PB.

We reprint below a leaflet issued on 10 September 1995 by the Spartacist League, British section of the Fourth International, section of the ICL. Our comrades’ hard class stance against their own ruling class represents a powerful statement of proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary Marxists in this country stand opposed to the anti-French chauvinism peddled by the CND and “Left” Militants with their “Call to Boycott France”. The LCF has called for a united-front demonstration on 13 September on the slogan: Down with Chirac’s anti-immigrant pogroms and racist state of siege! French cops and troops out of immigrant neighbourhoods and out of Tahiti!

The Chirac government started the new political year by showing the true face of the French bourgeoisie: racist and imperialist state terrorism. Soon after having participated in the bloody UN/UNATO aggression against the Bolivian Serres, they brought down brutal colonial terrorist repression on the revolts in Tahiti; at the same time they put “metropolitan” France in a racist state of siege, swarming everyone with cops but also with the army.

It is the duty of the workers movement to undermine all the social power of the working class for massive, militant actions (like strikes and demonstrations) against the racist terror which is raining down on immigrant communities in France and the Polynesian people.

Tahiti: freedom now for the imprisoned trade unionists and demonstrators! Independence now for the French colonies

From De Gaulle to Mitterrand, the force de frappe [French nuclear arsenal] was targeted on the major cities of the USSR. While the social-chauvinists of the SP [Socialist Party] and the PCF [French Communist Party] supported this terrorist arsenal, we Trotskyists, who defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist (which always calls for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy— we opposed the force de frappe from the outset. Now that the counter-revolutionary destruction of the USSR has opened the Pandora’s box of inter-imperialist rivalries, China, by deciding to restart nuclear tests, is branding his arsenal of death as a threat against all the potential rivals of French imperialism who might threaten its vital interests”, but also against all the neo-colonial peoples who would not accept its imperialist yoke.

This arrogant decision has provoked an outcry across the whole world, and particularly across the French colonies in the Pacific. The mobilisations which have taken place in Polynesia since June have turned into a véritable uprising against the colonial “order” which crushes these islands. The demonstrations of 6 and 7 September confronted a throng of police. This is the way that Chirac commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the imperialist massacre at Sefit, in Algeria, by once again launching his thugs against a colonised people. The blows of colonial “justice” immediately rained down: around ten protesters were sentenced to several months in prison and today some twenty pro-independence trade union militants have just been arrested. The workers movement must demand their immediate release and the dropping of all the charges. French imperialism has launched out acts of piracy against Greenpeace ships. Chirac, hands off the Greenpeace activists! We Trotskyists say: Down with the French force de frappe! Down, penny, not a man for the bourgeoisie army! Down with the attack by France the UN and NATO on the Basotn Serres! Down with the racist, colonialist terror of French imperialism! French imperialism: out of the Pacific! Independence for Polynesia and all the French colonies of the DOM-TOM [overseas departments and territories]! Eloi Machado, Resist, Alfred Verret, Ouea— the working class must avenge the crimes of French imperialism!

Down with Operation Vigipirate! Down with the racist state of siege!

The Chirac government is using the criminal bombings which have bloodied the streets of Paris and Villeurbanne to unleash a huge racist operation, unprecedented since the dirty war in Algeria. Racism identity checks, round-ups, deportations, charter flights shipping out “illegal”... By giving the operation the name “Vigipirate” (like during the bloody imperialist Gulf war in 1990-91), the government clearly shows its main aim: to terrorise the immigrant communities.

In the name of the racist, chauvinist “bolshevik alliance” against terrorises, Chirac wants to prepare the population for arbitrary measure, and for repression against anyone who fights its measures of social reaction. The anti-immigrant racism of the French bourgeoisie is the spoorheid of its totally reactionary politics. Chirac whips up hysteria against immigrants and their children to avoid a social “third way” (after the two rounds of the Presidential elections in June), which the strikes in the spring threatened. The bourgeois wants to divide and rule. The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight.

Stop the charter flights and the deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto housing estates! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defence guard on the future of the workers state. No to class collaboration! For a workers government!

The current leaders of the workers’ movement have so far not lifted a finger in defence of the Polynesians or of immigrants and their children. Quite the opposite: as loyal servants of their own bourgeois, they defend the imperialist interests of an entire form of the racist consensus. The PCF leadership has even engaged in an obscene flirtation with the neo-Gaullist Chirac: a way for them to recall the “good old days” when PCF ministers sat in the government of De Gaulle which massacred the Algerians at Sefit. The struggle against racism and colonialist terror poses point blank the need to build a multi-racial, internationalist revolutionary workers party, which must be the triune of all the oppressed.

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

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For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

To end racist oppression requires the dispossession of the ruling class and the establishment of workers republics!

We reprint below the Spartacist leaflet issued on 21 July 1995.

The judicial killing of black American political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is planned for 17 August. An innocent man, a writer and activist, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organisation, and formerly a member of the Black Panther Party, Jamal has languished on the "Death Row" of Pennsylvania for thirteen years. He is behind bars in closest isolation, facing death, because this "voice of the voiceless" has always refused to fall silent. The Philadelphia police are crying for his blood, with the backing of high-up politicians all the way to Clinton's White House.

As revolutionary Marxists, whose fight for communism is the fight for mankind's emancipation from all oppression and injustice, we are struggling with all our forces to win FREEDOM FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, who cannot receive justice from the courts and cops of the US. In the leaflets and publications of the Partisan Defence Committee you can read the history of the persecution of Jamal, of the fight in the courts and on the streets to stop this legal lynching, and of the international support from major trade unions and other forces for the campaign. It is the duty of every supporter of black freedom, every death penalty abolitionist, every trade unionist and every socialist to join the crescendo of international protest demanding: save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The state's determination to silence Jamal springs from their recognition of his role as a radical black leader. In 1968, J Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This policy, as written in blood as 38 Black Panthers were killed in the extra-judicial COINTELPRO campaign of the FBI, a programme of disruption, provocation and death designed to extinguish the struggles of the best of a generation of fighters for black liberation. Today the long hand of COINTELPRO still rests on Mumia Abu-Jamal.

If Jamal can be freed from this ghastly march to death by world-wide protest, it will strike a blow against capital punishment in the US, and knock back all the bourgeois politicians, Democrat and Republican, who are playing the racist card of "law and order". The case of Jamal stands at the heart of the fight toabolish THE DEATH PENALTY, which is a barbaric institution, inherently racist in its intent and application.

The death penalty is a weapon of capitalist state repression bearing down on the working class, upon minorities and fighters against colonialism. The histories of American and British imperialism are filled with examples of political executions: the execution of the Easter 1916 combatants, including revolutionary socialist James Connolly; the judicial murder of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 in the US; the execution of the hundreds of independence fighters from Kenya to India to Malaya, the killing of the Rosenbergs in 1953, sacrificed at the altar of imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet deformed workers state. Black oppression is fundamental to US capitalism. Chattel slavery, begun in English colonial times, was abolished in the US by the Union victory in the Civil War, in which over 200,000 black soldiers and sailors (a fighting force to be respected and feared) turned the tide. But the legacy of slavery still lives on, despite the formal ending of Jim Crow segregation. Vicious, murderous racism is the programme of North American capitalism present in every facet of government policy, legislation and police activity. The racist vendetta against the MOVE commune culminated in 1985 with the police bombing of an entire neighbourhood, leaving eleven MOVE members, including five children, dead. The brutal beating of Rodney King at the hands of the LA Police Department, captured on amateur video, was just one glimpse of the sickening reality of capitalist America. The death penalty is the nightstick and the police pistol sanctified, the KKK lynch rope in official guise.

American capitalism was built upon the maintenance of a reserve army of labour, which as a result of deindustrialisation is now needed expendable. Today in the US we witness deadly attacks on welfare programmes, the endless strengthening of the police and the building of more prisons (in a country where over 1.5 million people are behind bars). Crime Bill upon Crime Bill (to the point where a man can be and sometimes is imprisoned for 25 years for taking a slice of pizza). This escalating program of repression and abuse enforces the status of black people who are to be isolated and segregated in the ghettos. It will take a third, socialist American revolution to finish the Civil War, to fill the nominal equal rights claimed by bourgeoisie "democracy" with the real content of social equality, and to end permanent racist oppression through working-class rule. We stand for revolutionary integrationism — the integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. And so long as the US bourgeoisie successfully exploits racism and colonialism to divide the working class, so long will the general oppression of the whole working class go on.

Britain and the US: a counter-revolutionary compact

The British ruling class held the world in its grip with plundered gold and gunboats for a century before subduing into the role of junior partner to its American cousins — the handing over of the "white man's burden". The British Empire was a giant prison-house of colonial slaves, pumping billions into the City of London. It rested on brutal force, combined with a policy of divide and rule, whose bloody consequences have been visited on millions in the neo-colonial era of formal independence, as in the partition of India after World War II. Between them, and through the slaughter of millions in two imperialist world wars, America and Britain have drawn vast profits from the exploitation of the world's working people. Each of them, in their time, made the enslavement of African people the very foundation of their might. Each of these capitalist ruling classes is saturated with arrogant racism. Their "special relationship" is a counterrevolutionary compact of thieves and murderers, of oil barons and financiers equipped with nuclear bombs.

From day one of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, these two powers, along with France and Germany, were the vicious and determined enemies of the Soviet workers state. They sent armies of intervention to assist the White Guards who provoked civil war after the revolution.
tion. Despite this the Red Army won the war, although much of the working class that had formed the base and staff of the Soviet regime in 1917, was dispirited or killed during the retreats or commissar collapse caused by the monumental struggle against the counterrevolutionaries. This in turn helped to form the conditions for a separate and privileged bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, which came to political power in 1924 on a defunct and isolationist programme of "socialism in [only one] country".

As Trotskyists our tendency unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against attack or threats from imperialism, from Hoover, Churchill through to Atlee, Kennedy and then Thatcher and Reagan. Unlike the capitalist states of America or China and against the Anglo-American attack which left two million dead by the end of the Korean War in 1953. And from the beginning of Stalin's rule the Trotskyists fought to return the USSR to the Leninist road: first through inner-party struggle, and then through the call for workers political revolution to out the Stalinist bureaucracy and restore workers democracy, equality and the goal of world revolution.

Today we defend the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea while fighting for political revolution. The next period could well see terminal crises of these states, albeit played out in very different ways. The Chinese Stalinists are paving the way for a cold restoration of capitalism, supported by Japanese and American imperialism, who in turn are rivalling each other for the spoils.

We opposed attempts at internal capitalist restoration, like that of Polish Solidarność, heavily endowed with imperialist dollars and Deutschnah. We called on the Soviet workers to come out and stop Yeltsin's counterrevolution in 1991, which succeeded in toppling the demoralised and eroded Stalinist regime, bringing the disaster of capitalist restoration on the heads of the working people. American president Bush and British premier Major gave their blessing by phone to Yeltsin on the day of the coup for power, more than seventy years after Lloyd George, Wilson and Poincaré had set out to strangle the revolution at birth.

The bloody histories of American and British imperialism are intertwined throughout the twentieth century. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, inevitably leads to war, in which working-class youth are used as cannon fodder. Today the vastly reduced British bourgeoisie is tearing itself apart in a bitter debate over whether to stick with America or work more closely with Germany. Increasing inter-imperialist rivalry is being asserted in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union—a rivalry that ultimately threatens a new world war, this time with nuclear weapons. One way or the other, the ruling class, presiding over its investments from London, will remain the architect of war, and repression.

In ex-Yugoslavia, the horrors of inter-ethnic conflict are the authentic face of counterrevolution, instigated and presided over by the rival imperialist powers. The "Workers Aid to Bosnia" crew, slaveishly friendly to bellicose social democrats, are in cahoots with open imperialist warmongers in the Alliance for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Echoing the line of Margaret Thatcher and the US Republican right, they call for imperialist arms to flow to the Bosnian government, as the US, France and Britain prepare air strikes against the former Yugoslavia.

Some of these so-called socialists can find a decent word to say about Tito and the struggle of the Communist Partisans in World War II, which successfully battled the occupying Nazi Wehrmacht, as well as the Croatian fascist Ustaša and the Serbian royalist Chetniks. The Titoist regime undermined the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution by the later policy of "market socialism", widening national and regional divisions and opening the door to capitalism.

Today Marxists oppose all sides in the squalid nationalist blood-bath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia. A military advance for any side necessarily means murderous attacks on other ethnic groups. Britain, US, France, UN, NATO: out of the Balkans! We defend Serbia against imperialist attack; we are for socialist revolution throughout the region, and for the building of internationalist communist parties that will struggle without compromise against all forms of nationalism.

The capitalist state: armed bodies of men defending bourgeois property

In Britain the death penalty for murder has been abolished, although capital punishment still remains available for "traitor", a reminder of the importance of the monarchy in the unwritten, anti-democratic constitution. The queen's Privy Council is an uneducated body which includes the "great and good" of the treacherous Labour Party. This emergency powers government-in-waiting has a Judicial Committee, which acts as the final court of appeal for the legal system of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, which retain and use the death penalty. The death penalty has been abolished but... the British state has not stopped killing black and Asian people. Harry Cohen MP recently documented the fact that almost 70 people have died in police custody in the last eight years, the overwhelming bulk of them from the minority communities in the inner cities. No one has been charged in any of these cases. On the streets of South London in May, the police killed Brian Douglas, a black man. Two years ago Joy Gardner, a black mother, was throttled to death by the police and immigration officials, who were let off without punishment of any kind. A Nigerian man, Joseph Nnalue, fell to his death when being pursued by the same forces earlier this year. Countless black and Asian youth have suffered murderous attacks by the "social democrats", whom the state protects. As these cases and the anti-Irish frame-ups of the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six show, there can be no justice from the British state, any more than for Mumia Abu-Jamal in the US. Support for the campaign to free Jamal echoes the angry demonstrations that have taken place against the racism of the British state.

The capitalist state is, at its core, armed bodies of men devoted to the defence of bourgeois property. To believe that this state will or can defend workers interests, or protect minorities from racist attacks or the assaults of fascist gangs is a terrible illusion. This idea is pumped out non-stop by the Labour Party, and by various groups and committees which tag along in its wake. For example, the appeal of the Anti-Nazi League to John Major and Bexley Council to close down the fascist BNP headquarters go hand-in-hand with the lie that voting Labour in council elections is the only way to deliver a blow to the fascist race-terrorists. Since when did a vote stop a racist murderer? The call on the RAF "deal with the fascists" or to "prosecute the racist killers" backs up the moves by the Tories and Blair's Labour Party for stronger police powers, helping to create a climate in which the right can ban left-wing marches and meetings under the guise of "preserving public order". The state protects the fascists as a reserve force to crush the workers movement. These "public order" powers aimed primarily at picket lines and minorities have been strengthened by the Criminal Justice Act. Successive calls on the state run counter to the need for independent, working class and minority mobilisations to stop the fascists by running them off the streets, and for workers defence guards to defend minority communities and the labour movement from fascist attack.

Even as Greenpeace and Green Anarchists are targeted by the state, the Green Party, a bourgeois party, pushes the lie that...
The massive terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs, including the use of cruise missiles, is the largest imperialist onslaught since the Gulf war in 1991. One might think that socialists would be outraged by imperialist attacks on civilians, especially when they are conducted by states that themselves claim to support the anti-imperialist struggle and the defence of a people under attack from imperialists. Indeed, within days of the start of the bombing, the US, French, German and Italian socialists in the Socialist International and the Communist League had organised emergency demonstrations. On 2 September the Socialist League/Britain put out a protest statement calling for Britain, US, UN, NATO out of the Balkans, and for defence of the Bosnian Serbs against imperialist attack, advertising the London protest for 20th.

No other left group has initiated protest of any kind against the UN/NATO bombardment. The Bosnia Solidarity Campaign (BSC)—formed in July, just before the Croatian blitzkrieg expelled 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina—is a pro-war popular front. It united the rest of the “defend Bosnia” crowd with a bourgeois clot of warmongers called the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina (ADBH). The fake-left groups in the BSC have a pro-imperialist “Defend Bosnia” stance: they line up with Margaret Thatcher and US Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole, demanding that the Western powers openly supply arms, material and training to the Bosnian government’s army. This is called “lifting the arms embargo” (which is in fact more like a sieve than a blockade). They demand “end UN collusion with genocide!”: in plain English meaning that the UN should back the Bosnian government with military force. These positions are simply echoes of the dominant pro-Bosnia, pro-West of the Labour Party, led by Tony Blair. The NATO bombardment raids are the logical endpoint of the labours of WP, the WRP etc in their campaign for imperialist support to the Bosnian government. Now the Serbs are getting what the fake lefts howled for: high-tech murder.

The larger, left social-democratic groups like the American Workers Party and Militant Labour have refrained from such blatant enthusiasm for the US/German client states of the Croat-Muslim alliance. Before the bombings started they correctly stated that there was nothing to choose between the competing, murderous nationalist regimes in former Yugoslavia, from a working-class standpoint—because they never came out against the UN blockade of Serbia, and remained silent on the need to take a side in military defence of the Serbs in the event of imperialist attack.

While advocating the overthrow of all the contending governments through workers revolution, we defend the Bosnian Serbs both against the NATO/US and today that means against the Bosnian Muslim/Croat forces which are now subordinated to the imperialists. This is a revolutionary determination of the WP and the Militant. As in the Gulf war against Iraq, these groups refuse to take a side with the vicious imperialist aggression. Their “neutrality” between imperialist terror bombers and the Bosnian Serbs who are being bombed, lays the basis for unity with the Labour left on the pacifist slogan “Stop the bombings”, while conveniently ignoring the support of Benn for the UN, which is responsible for imposing a starvation blockade upon Serbia.

Since the bombing started, the British left has leapt with great relief on the issue of French nuclear tests in the Pacific. We oppose these tests because they reinforce the military capacity of an imperialist power, which can only be used for reactionary ends. We support the demand of the emerged “Tahitian protesters for independence” of French Polynesia from colonial rule. We vehemently oppose the chauvinist, “collective guilt” garbage of “Boycott France”, raised here by the CPS.

The British left, however, is doubly comfortable with the anti-test protests. They are against the French, which is certainly easier than standing out against your “own” bourgeoisie—and the protests are nothing to do with the actual war being prosecuted by the British ruling class under NATO auspices and US hatred, right now, every day in the Balkans.

Even the AWL, flatly lying that “false lefts howled for: high-tech murder” of the “Tahitian protesters for independence” of French Polynesian from colonial rule. We vigilant against the chauvinist, “collective guilt” garbage of “Boycott France”, raised here by the CPS.

The virtual boycott of the Muslim Solidarity Committee, whose contribution was a leaflet defending the Sudanese Islamic government against the attacks of Amnesty International on its policies of stoning to death, hand cuttings and crucifixion.

The Bosnian Solidarity Campaign succours imperialism

The real interests of those in and around the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign were freshly exhibited in the last two months. On 22 July (the day after a full NATO conference was held in London where the imperialists confirmed that air attacks would be launched on the Bosnian Serbs in the event of a suitable pretext) Workers Aid to Bosnia and the ADBH took to the streets to egg on imperialist intervention under the slogan “Stop the rape of Bosnia”.

The demonstrators climaxed “UN abets genocide.” According to a shamelessly frank report in Socialist Organiser (27 July), “calls from the platform for the UN to get out, because it was more of a hindrance than a help for the UN to blast the Serbs, both got enthusiastic applause at the meeting—from the same people”. Hardly a contradiction, if you understand that the favoured strategies of the assembly for “blasting the Serbs” amounted to: pull the UN troops out of harm’s way, start the NATO bomber, and then on the high-tech way, aka the demo’s third slogan: “Lift the arms embargo”.

Socialist Organiser reports that “the
This 5 August marked the hundredth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels, who together with his close comrade Karl Marx laid the foundations of scientific socialism. Their 1848 pamphlet, The Communist Manifesto, pointed to the working class as the force for climax of a capitalist exploitation and oppression and ushering in a classless society. They fought to organise an international party of the working class, first in the Communist League (1847) and then the First International (1864). Engels made a definitive contribution to the struggle for women’s emancipation, in the Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, uncovering the roots of women’s oppression in the family and class society. While many reformists pay lip service to Engels, they scorn the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and materialist dialectics which he defended and developed. In honouring the memory of this founder of the communist movement, we reprint below extracts from the Special Introduction to the 1892 English edition of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.

I hope even British respectability will not be overhucked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term “historical materialism”, to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events—the economic development of society, in the change in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war cry raised against the Church by Luther was rebellion against a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants’ War, 1525. Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties against one another.

The long fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three great struggles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war cry raised against the Church by Luther was rebellion against a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants’ War, 1525. Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties against one another. From that time, the bourgeoisie was a class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a class. The centre of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The great period of English history, known to respectability under the name of “the Great Britain”, and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively pure event entitled by Liberal historians “the Glorious Revolution”.

The new starting-point was a compromise between the rising middle-class and the feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy, had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period, “the first bourgeois of the kingdom”. Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses. Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII, while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale; thenumerous confiscations of estates, regressed to abolute or relative upstarts, and continued during the whole of the 17th century, had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII, the English “aristocracy”, far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great landowners willing, for economical or political reasons, to co-operate with the leading men of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of “pelf and place” were left to the great landowning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing and commercial middle-class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to influence the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy showed itself to be sufficiently bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle-class.

From that time on, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognised component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping the mass of the people in ignorance, in supporting the despotic power of the Crown, and the religious cloak, and was fought out on unchanging political lines; it was the first, too, that really fought out up to the destruction of one of the components, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the struggle between the old feudal aristocracy and the new capitalist institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of...
judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the "bourgeois feudalism," and created in the triumph of the new economic power. First, the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris workmen's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and the victory of Louis Philippe over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what cost? If the British bourgeoisie had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must they not forget that it is the working class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is attempted, it is as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartists, for reasons explained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandchild of the latter is sure to be worthy of their forefathers.

Footnotes

These footnotes are taken from the 1954 Progress Publishers edition.

1. Glorious Revolution, in English bourgeois historiography, is the name for the coup d'état of 1688. William and Mary deposed the Stuart monarchs, William of Orange at its head. The monarchy was based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

2. The Wars of the Roses (1455-85) were waged between two feudal Houses struggling for the throne: in the north they were the Yorks, whose badge was a white rose, and in the south the Lancasters, whose badge was a red rose. The Yorks rallied around them some of the biggest lords from the south, more economically developed, part of the coughs of the Londoners, and they retained the support of the townspeople. The Lancastrians were supported by the feudal aristocracy of the northern counties. The wars resulted in the almost complete extermination of the old feudal families and culminated in the establishment of the new dynasty of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England.

3. Cartesians—the doctrine of Descartes and a trend in 17th-18th century philosophy and natural science which developed his ideas. It was called after the Latinized name of Descartes—Cartesianism.

4. Engels in his mind the Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted in 1789 by the Constituent Assembly. It set forth fundamental principles of a new bourgeois system and was included in the French Constitution of 1791.

5. Code Civil—one of the five codes compiled in France in 1804-10 under Napoleon Bonaparte (known as the Code Napoleon). It represented a general systematization of bourgeois law. English civil law forms of the Civil Code adopted in 1804-10 as a classical example of code civil and a badge of modernism.

6. The reference is to the reform of the franchise, the Bill for which was passed by the House of Commons in 1831 and finally endorsed by the House of Lords in June 1832. The reform was directed against the political monopoly enjoyed by the landed and financial aristocracy and opened the doors to Parliament for the representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, who were the main force in the struggle for the reform, were deceived by the liberal bourgeoisie and did not receive electoral rights.

7. The Corn Laws—bumpy duties imposed on the importation of corn by Parliament in 1815 in the interest of the landowners. They adversely affected the condition of the poor sections of the population and were also disadvantageous to the industrial bourgeoisie as they made labour dearer, reduced the capacity of the home market and handicapped the development of foreign trade. In the late thirties the English bourgeoisie organised the Anti-Corn Law League headed by Cobden and Bright. The agitation against the anti-Corn Law League was unfruitful, tentative attempts to introduce the Corn Laws were not quite up to the mark, the movement was rejected by Parliament in 1832 and 1849.

8. In 1824, under pressure of the mass movement, Parliament was forced to pass an Act which removed the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, Parliament passed a law on "workers' combinations" which, while reaffirming the right to form unions, simultaneously imposed severe restrictions on their activities. In particular, more agitation for the workers joining a trade union and for their participation in strikes was regarded as "violence" and "molotovism" and was punished as such.

9. The People's Charter containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838, in the form of a petition to be presented to Parliament. It consisted of six clauses universal male suffrage, annual elections to Parliament, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for Parliamentary candidates and payment of members. Three petitions by the Chartists demanding the adoption of the People's Charter were rejected by Parliament in 1842 and 1849.

10. The Anti-Corn Law League—an organisation of the English industrial bourgeoisie founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. The League demanded the abolition of the trade and redistribution of the Corn Laws, improvement workers' wages and weakening the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy. The League tried to use the working masses in its struggle against the landowners. But by that time the advanced British workers had taken the path of an independent labour movement.

11. The reference is to two political parties in England founded in the 70s-80s of the 17th century. The Whig Party expressed the interests of the financial and commercial bourgeoisie and the bourgeois aristocracy. Later the Whigs formed a new party, the Liberal Party. The Tory Party was a party of big, landowners and the high clergy of the Church of England. Later it became the Conservative Party.
Illusions in the Northern Ireland "peace process" have been prevalent during a harsh summer of reality. Orange parades in the Loyalist marching season, British imperialist demands that the IRA agree to "decommission" its weapons before Sinn Fein can enter the next round of "peace" talks, the election of hard-liner David Trimble as Ulster Unionist party leader: all speak to the real message of the imperialist "peace" fraud. The British troops will stay, the IRA must be disarmed and the Union (ie Protestant ascendancy) retained without amendment. The Catholic minority is supposed to accept its oppressed status, with Gerry Adams cast in the role of Michael Collins.

In July a massive Orange Order mobilisation was used by ultra reactionaries Ian Paisley and David Trimble in his role as new leader of the Ulster Unionists to stated he will not support in a majority parliament vote of confidence) laid siege to Portadown, demanding their "right" to bang their drums through a Catholic area. When it was announced that they, too, would march out to be silent going through the Catholic streets, Loyalist mobs rioted against the RUC for being complicit in the "peace process", which they view as a weapon to snare the Protestant loyal Irish state. From Derry to Belfast, the viciously sectarian RUC launched attacks on Catholic protesters at every flashpoint and protected the Loyalists. In Belfast's Lower Ormeau Road, Catholics tried to prevent an Orange march from going through their neighbourhood, and were met with a hail of plastic bullets and burning orange bangers. As Sinn Fein tried to control the crowd, one demonstrator captured an increasingly common sentiment: "The ceasefire is rubbish. You have seen the Arlene Foster Road, allowing the RUC to knock the hell out of you, and there's no IRA there to get them later" (Irish Times, 14 August).

Sinn Fein's nationalist strategy, with or without the "armed struggle", is to press the imperialist butchers (who are currently engaged in massive bombing raids against the Bosnian Serbs, in the name of "peace") to broker a "solution". Before the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, petty bourgeoisie workers like the PLA and Sinn Fein were able to jockey for position between imperialism and the Soviet Union and its allies. Sinn Fein hopes to exploit central divisions between the US and US imperialism, which do exist, but such differences can never be relied upon to benefit the oppressed.

The imperialist-sponsored "peace process" in fact necessarily reinforces communal divisions between impoverished Protestant and Catholic workers through a political manoeuvre called the "divide and rule" that is beloved of the British ruling class. The British demand for the IRA to surrender their weapons is not new—it is a continual refrain of the imperialists for a long atempt to defeat the IRA militarily, which reached a stalemate. Disarming the IRA has been repeatedly raised by the press and British politicians in the run up to the ceasefire. The present dispute over whether disarming the IRA should begin before, during or after "negotiations", only reflects uncertainty over how quickly and effectively Gerry Adams can deliver the weapons without provoking a split in the IRA ranks. Tony Blair is in lockstep with major; the IRA must agree to disarm before any "talks".

Within the population of Northern Ireland there is widespread fear of the militarisation of sectarian violence on a greater scale than before, if the ceasefires do not hold. There has been a dramatic increase in attacks on Catholic churches and Orange halls. The British press feigned shock when Gerry Adams recently quipped that the IRA "has not gone away", but neither have the Loyalist death squads, and there is a massive number of illegally held weapons in the province, mainly in Protestant hands. We call for integrated, programatically based workers militias to combat both Army/RUC rampages and sectarian terror from both sides.

The huge political pressures building up on all sides have been put into motion by the British military presence. The British army is still firmly in place and intends to remain there; the RUC routinely terrorises Catholics in their homes and in the streets; they cannot be other than a sectarian force. The capitalist state in essence consists of "special bodies of armed men", formed to serve the interests of imperialism, with the RUC and Loyalists, primarily of Irish "politics" (Independent, 14 August, 14 August) and the Red Army, which are the political step-children of the state, are able to jockey for position along with the nutty demand that it "divide and rule", the last remnant of the indefensible "peace process". The present dispute over whether disarming the IRA is the work for the capitalist state to seize power, and to create its own, new revolutionary armed force. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now! Not Orange against Green but class against class!

The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are systematically discriminated against by the sectarian Orange statelet. Across the border Catholics are an overwhelming majority, and the working class in both places are impoverished and heavily exploited. The Dublin government presides over a capitalist-corporate state. The struggle for a free and independent Ireland is of interest to the workers because it is not a struggle against anti-imperialist forces and expels any sectional or nationalist atrocities and forced expels.

The Irish bourgeoisie fight for a free and independent Ireland. We have been active in the recent forcible unification of Ireland, which would reverse the tense of the oppression against the Protestant community, who are separate and distinct from the Irish Catholic nation. We fight for an Irish workers republic, and for a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

**Warpath...**

(Continued from page 5)

...effectively reduces imperialism to a question of policy. With this method, they would support the NATO imperialists if only they handled it and demanded the forcible incorporation of the Bosnian Serb people into a unitary "multi-ethnic Bosnia", run by the Muslim-dominated government whose side WP does take. WP retains the Bosnian government's lie that it is "defending multi-ethnic Bosnia", put forward to bolster its territorial claims. In fact it is a political manoeuvre—seeking to be the oppressor of all the other peoples in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. WP urges Izetbegovic to pursue this goal via further acts of "ethnic cleansing", proclaiming: "The military defeat of the Pale regime, up to and including their expulsion from all the territory they have unjustly occupied, is a justified war aim of the Muslim and multi-ethnic population, the only oppressed community in Bosnia" (Workers Power, July 1995).

In a passage which could have been lifted from Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four, WP declare: "End the Arms Embargo! Send heavy artillery, tanks and planes to the Bosnian army with no conditions!"
Balkans... (Continued from page 1)

imposed a punishing economic embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, and Germany as a step towards an imperialist-in­
posed Bosnian regime and Bosnian Muslims. In early August, the Croatian dictatorship of Franjo Tudjman—which openly solidarities with the pro-Nazi Ustashi regime of World War II—carried out a blitzkrieg against the Serbian-populated region of Krajina, an act hailed by the United States of America and the United Kingdom as a step towards "peace." As some 200,000 Croatian Serbs were driven from the land where their ancestors had lived for centuries, the Clinton gang launched a diplomatic offensive for an imperialist-imposed settlement among the contending Balkan nationalists. The Bos­

nian Serbs—now on the strategic defensive, with their former protector Milosovic doing the imperialists' bidding—were willing to talk. Two days before the NATO onslaught, "hard-line" Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadic declared that "the American initiative takes account of the minimum interests of the Serbian side." The one party dragging its feet on the way to the negotiating table was the Sarajevo Muslim regime, which now believes it has the military means to drive back the Serbs. While the Serbs are the direct targets and victims of the NATO attack, Washington is also sending a mes­

sage to the Muslim leaders to fall into line. The immediate pretext for the NATO onslaught was the explosion of two artillery shells amid a crowd of civilians watching a soccer game. According to UN investigators, the shells were fired from an area where there are both Bosnian government and Serb troops. It would not be the first time that the Bosnian Muslim regime has shelved its own people in order to provoke the Western powers into attack­

ing the Serbs. In any case, the NATO terror bombing is an act of sheer gratuitous bloodlust. It is simply to show the murder­

ous big stick of American imperialism. The NATO air offensive was politically prepared by years of anti-Serb warmonger­

ing by American and European politicians and in the Western media and was echoed by much of the so-called left. The Serbs have been portrayed as bloodthirsty mon­

sters bent on terrorising peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Certainly, the Bosnian Serbs have committed terrible crimes, including gang-rape and murder. Yet, as is all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among people engulfed in fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

If the scale of atrocities has been greater on the side of the Bosnian Serbs, it is only because up until now they have been militarily dominant. But that military dominance can be quickly reversed, depending mainly on the ever-shifting policies and even whims of the Western imperialists, centrally the US. This was clearly and dra­

matically demonstrated last month when the Croatian army, advised by Pentagon generals, carried out the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan blood-bath.

The Bosnian Muslim army is now substantially larger than the Serb forces and increasingly well armed. The UN arms "embargo" is hollow ex­
cept as war propaganda. Recently retired American general Charles Boyard, a former deputy commander of the US European Command, judges that "the Muslims have gained significant military parity with the Serbs while maintaining the image of hapless victims in the eyes of much of the world." (New York Times, 9 August) If Washington and Bonn decide to unleash the Muslim army against the Croats on the ground, and backed by the massive use of NATO air power, the Bosnian Serbs would suffer heavy losses. This would depend, as it did in Croatia, on agree­ment with Milosovic that the Serbian army not intervene.

For the moment, the Western powers and Yeltsin's Russia, deterred Washington from direct military inter­
vention in the Balkans. However, the seemingly interminable Balkan conflict, and particularly the defiant attitude of the Bosnian Serbs, made a mockery of the American rulers' claim to be masters of a "New World Order." Recent Balkan Congressional leaders have lambasted Clinton as a wimp for not stopping Ser­
bian "aggression" against the Bosnian Muslims. "Arm and support the Mus­

lims against the Serbs" has been a major campaign theme of leading Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole. A few weeks ago a top White House official announced, "I don't think the President relishes going into the 1996 election hos­

tage to fortune in the Balkans, with the Bosnian Serbs able to bring us deeper into a war." So NATO warplanes are now killing Bosnian Serbs in order to help Clinton get re-elected as US imperi­

alist commander in chief by giving him a suitably macho military image!

For the past few years the US has pos­

tured as the great power champion of the Bosnian Muslims, in good part to streng­
hen Washington's neocolonial ties to "mod­
erate" Islamic states in the Near East such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey. While the Pen­
tage's terror bombing of Iraq in 1990 was directed and obviously about US control over the Persian Gulf oil fields, NATO's terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs was indi­
edirectly also linked to the geopolitics of oil. However, a key problem for US imperi­

alism in ex-Yugoslavia is that the Bos­

nian Muslims were not only the smallest of the contending nationalist forces but also the least capable of forming a viable national-state. There has never been a Bosnian Muslim state to begin with. Bosnia is a region of three closely related and formerly territorially interspersed people—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims.

With the break-up of Yugoslavia along national lines, the regional balance of power points to the partition of Bos­

nia between Serbia and Croatia. This has always been the policy of the German Fourth Reich and Yeltsin's Russia. And perhaps seeking to maintain a decisive role in European power politics via NATO, Washington is now moving in the same direction. This would reduce the Bosnian Muslims to a statelet around Sarajevo dominated by Croatia. As the Independent (22 August) explained: "The new US peace map for the former Yugoslavia envisages a series of land swaps which attempt to carve the former Yugoslavia into new ethnically pure terri­

tories. It is ridiculous in the extreme. This exposes the hypocrisy of those lib­

erals and so-called leftists who vocally support imperialist anti-Serb warmonger­

ing and military intervention in the Balkans in the name of defending a "multiethnic, secular Bosnia".

Left face of imperialist warmongering

The most extreme anti-Serb warmonger­

ing in the Western imperialist countries has come not only from the right wing of the political spectrum, as one would normally expect, but also from liberals, social demo­

crats and even the "far left." In the US, such rad-lib notables as Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens have long called for bomb­
ing the Serbian forces in Bosnia. In Britain, many so-called "Marxists" (like the Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Power and Socialist Organiser) have joined demonstrations calling for the end to "UN collusion with Muslim barbarism in the Balkans", adding the myth of ethnic harmony under the Bos­

nian Muslim government. They support the call of Thatcher and the US Republic­

ans for arms to be sent to that government. continued on page 10
that the state can be reformed away from destruction of the planet and perhaps from racism, capitalist exploitation and misery.

The case of Parchure Regiment private Lee Clegg, a proven murderer who was fined not even four years after he killed a young Irish woman with a fusillade of rifle fire against an innocent and non-violent nature of British state injustice. The message was clear: that British imperialism offers more of the same to the oppressed and repressed Colonial populations of Northern Ireland. The current “peace deal” is the imperialist fraud, designed to disarm and crush Republican opposition to the British presence, and maintain Unionist dominance and racial superiority of the Sinn Fein leadership and the gombeen Dublin government. It will no more bring peace or satisfy the rights or guarantee the livelihoods of workers in Ireland than the alliance of the ANC with the Nationalist Party in capitalist South Africa will end black oppression. Likewise the Middle East “peace deals” have created Palestinian and Cuban hostages headed by PLO leader Arafat.

We are for the unconditional withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland, as part of the liberation of the native and the extension of self-determination against Catholics and the economic devastation of the province’s industry, which has meant dire poverty for the Protestant working class as well as the workers of all Ireland and the rest of the world. The alliance of the ANC with the Nationalist Party in capitalist South Africa will end black oppression. Likewise the Middle East “peace deals” have created Palestinian and Cuban hostages headed by PLO leader Arafat.

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Warpath...

(Continued from page 8)

Trotskyst International (journal of WP’s international grouping, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International—at LRCI) they declared: “Support for Communists in the former Soviet Union means a united front, a just struggle against genocide” (Workers Power, May 1994).

Now that capitalist counterrevolution has destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state and the Eastern European degenerated workers states, and working people (including workers) who are being transformed into a capitalist incorporation, WP insists on referring to these countries as “bourgeois workers state”. This is an attempt to deny the real meaning of their support to Yeltsin: that they supported capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR at a critical juncture. The LRCI continues to devote many pages of Trotskyst International to tortured explanations to themselves of this “analysis”. They probably would have more success trying to square the circle: when transposed to the Balkans their position means calling for an imperialism-backed “union” to smash a “Serbian moribund workers state”!

The basic criticism for WP’s position on the former Soviet bloc is the social-democratic rationale that nationalised industry (or in the moribund WP variant, the alleged lack of effective private ownership) is some kind of “socialism”. They deny the Leninist position on the state as an instrument of class rule. Who in the world believes that any of the nationalist regimes in ex-Yugoslavia stands for the defence of a planned, collectivist economy? This reformist line of argument, the bastardised inheritance of the 1945 Labour government, is at the root of WP’s vaunted “transitional method”. It leads to the kind of clap-trap to be found in a recent article headlined: “We need a national minimum wage!”

“Low pay reduces millions to desperation. It leaves them open to crime, and ill-clad, workers exhausted and without the chance of a decent holiday or entertainment. For it is a simple law which abolishes it overnight.” (our emphasis)

—Workers Power, November 1995

Even self-proclaimed reformists would not pretend that a “simple law” could abolish the poverty endemic to capitalism.

During the anti-Soviet Cold War drive in the 1950s WP took the plunge into the Stalinist imperialist crusade for “captive nations”. Now it is captive, reduced to pathetic coverups for bloody imperialist intervention and worldwide excesses for nationalist crimes. The only constant in all this is WP’s unyielding loyalty to social democracy, from the Cold War to the New World imperialist rivalry.

—SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1995

Mumia...

(Continued from page 12)

years before the frame-up which led to his conviction and death sentence.

Many who have joined the protests for Jamal centre their demands on the call for “free Jamal”, which would surely result in reversal of the death sentence. There are more than adequate grounds for invalidation of the guilty verdict and granting of a new trial “shamefully” stolen by the prosecution to disclose evidence favourable to the defence, for one example, let alone coercion of witnesses. But the capitalist legal system is wholly weighted against such an outspoken opponent of racism and exploitation.

A description of the Philly cops packing the courtroom during the hearings was given in a speech at the 22 July London demonstration for Jamal by Matthew Ryder, a British barrister who witnessed it: [The cops] all have T-shirts printed up saying, “Kill Mumia...” It’s very aggressive.” When Wellkinson protested at the FOP thugs waltzing into the courtroom each day armed, (while Mumia’s family was repeatedly harassed) Sabs responded that they were “protecting” him.

As Jamal’s case captured front pages across America, a huge scandal in the Philadelphia police department came to light. The cops were accused across the last ten years could be investigated amid widespread charges of police racism and corruption. These revelations, like those surrounding the tapes of the racist retired Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman, the latest bombshell in the O Simpson trial, hardly surprise millions of black Americans accustomed to frame-ups, cop terror and judicial railroadings, which are inherent in the capitalist system of racist injustice. It will take massive social struggle, tapping the power of the organised working class, to win Jamal’s freedom. Nothing short of workers revolution will destroy this repressive machinery—and with it the racist death penalty—and open up the vista of freedom from oppression and human degradation.

For united-front defence of Jamal

Amid growing worldwide protest, top bourgeois politicians including French president Jacques Chirac, German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel, the Belgian government and the Italian parliament have called for stopping the execution. In South Africa militant trade-union protests have repeatedly taken up Jamal’s case and President Nelson Mandela wrote to the POC at the address below. Contributions of £5 or more to the PDC (Britain) campaign to cover £5000.

The question of what strategy militants should adopt in the fight to free Jamal has been debated in the US and elsewhere. Anarchist groupings in the US have advocated acts of disruption. However, many in Britain have staged stunts to get arrested in hopes of publicising Jamal’s plight. What these “radical” proponents of “direct action” (the term is distinctly ironical) have in mind is that they supported capitalist leaders (in Britain, the miserable Labour Party–loyalists) while the bosses have decimated the unions, cut the working class and minorities. But as a PDC speaker at the 3 August New York City rally for Mumia, remarked, “The struggle for workers’ rights and black rights must go forward together or we will all fall back separately.”

The PDC and the Spartacist League have fought continuously for the perspective that the trade union movement must make Mumia’s fight its own. The fight to free Winston Silcott, the fight to smash the fascist thugs who kill and maim minority youth, the fight against vicious racist violence black and white—the fight to abolish the racist US death penalty—these are not “single issues” on which to campaign. These issues are all part of the struggle for the working class to be mobilised in its own interests, which is inseparable from the question of revolutionary leadership. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

London, 22 July: 300 PDC-initiated united-front demonstration marches through London.

The video can be purchased for £15 from Class-Struggle Defense Notes, 35218, USA. For more information: Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 1XZ. Tel: 0171-485 1396

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Join the campaign!

The international campaign of protest has temporarily the executor’s hand, but Mumia Abu-Jamal is still under the shadow of death. The struggle for his freedom continues. As Mumia said himself in ‘The Stay’, Judge Sabo’s 7 August ruling was an attempt to ‘blunt the edge of a growing and militant social struggle, tapping the power of the organised working class, to win Jamal’s freedom. Nothing short of workers revolution will destroy this repressive machinery—and with it the racist death penalty—and open up the vista of freedom from oppression and human degradation.

1 Organise protest! Pass motions demanding all such funds go entirely to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which is in the case of writing the PCC at the address below. Contributions of £5 or more to the PDC’s Class-Struggle Defense Notes is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, exposes in detail the prosecution’s case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI’s COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of Class-Struggle Defense Notes and The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, with 200 copies of either publication for £6. For only £1, buy the PDC’s new badge: ‘Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Abolish the racist death penalty’. Racists sanctioned by the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC’s video, From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal”. Those who wish to send £15 from the POC at the address below. Contributions of £5 or more to the PDC include a year’s subscription to Class-Struggle Defense Notes.

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC’s Class-Struggle Defense Notes is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, exposes in detail the prosecution’s case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI’s COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of Class-Struggle Defense Notes and The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, with 200 copies of either publication for £6. For only £1, buy the PDC’s new badge: ‘Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Abolish the racist death penalty’. Racists sanctioned by the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC’s video, From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal”. Those who wish to send £15 from the POC at the address below. Contributions of £5 or more to the PDC include a year’s subscription to Class-Struggle Defense Notes.

3 Send protests to Tom Trotter Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing momentum for Jamal. As we go to press, his number is: phone 1 717 789-2500; fax 1 717 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial fund to overtake the death sentence cost could go over $1 million. Make a donation (local) or make payable to Partisan Defence Committee and write “Jamal legal defence” on the back of the cheque. All such funds go entirely to save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York, without deduction for administrative costs.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, 15370-8090, SCI State II, 30235, SCI State III, 15370-8080.

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1995

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International outcry wins stay of execution

Battle for Mumia’s freedom

The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard no 627, 25 August. The international campaign for black American journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal won precious time when Judge Albert Sabo on 7 August announced an indefinite stay of execution. Jamal, fighting to reverse the frame-up conviction and death sentence for the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner, had been scheduled for legal murder by the state of Pennsylvania on 17 August. Mumia is up against the racist Philly cops, would not have been possible for the stay to be granted."

While the big business press has sacrificed the movement for Jamal as only a rehash of 1960s “radical chic”, the American ruling class has clearly been taken aback by the scope of the international protests, which include broad sections of the labour movement and even include leading capitalist politicians. On 12 August, 12,000 marched through Philly for Mumia. But the backlash from the bourgeoisie is underway. Mumia warned “counterterrorism” bill, which Clinton promoted using the hideous Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing as a pretext, garners which the prosecution has against wrongful imprisonment, the primary means by which death sentence reversals have been achieved. The huge campaign of protests for Jamal has been an absolute embarrassment for the US bourgeoisie, sections of which would now prefer to throw Jamal in jail for life rather than put to death and rendered a martyr. Leading mouthpieces for the American rulers, such as the Washington Post and New York Times, along with the Philadelphia dailies, have voiced these views. These are seen as those in the British press kowtowing to the “special relationship” between the US administration and their British counterparts (in either the Tory party or the Labour leadership). The 1992 “trial” was a blatant frame-up based on a tissue of lies, presented over by Judge Sabo. It was held in a climate of vicious cop persecution of the black MOVE group, who in 1985 were to suffer eleven dead when the Philly cops, in league with the FBI, bombed their West Philly home. Getting Mumia was part of the cops’ campaign to destroy MOVE, and was the culmination of years of FBI/cop targeting of Jamal going back to the government’s war on the Black Panther Party.

Sabo: “Justice is just an emotional feeling”

In the face of outrageous hostility from the court, Jamal’s legal team, headed by Leonard Weinglass, has been battling to overturn the 1982 conviction and sentencing. During the PCRA hearing, recessed on 15 August and scheduled to resume on 11 September, Sabo routinely ruled against defence demands for discovery of information which he has kept covered up. Sabo, a “retired” member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, ruled for the prosecution and against the defence on virtually every objection raised in the hearing, at one point telling Weinglass, “Objection is overruled, whatever it was.” When Rachel Wolfenstein objected, on 2 August, to the quashing of subpoenas and disallowing of any evidence challenging Pennsylvania’s death penalty on the grounds, along with the bias, Sabo ordered her handcuffed and jailed. On 11 August he fined Weinglass $1000 for taking “too long” to hand over autopsy slides. “Explaining these blatant attempts at intimidation, Sabo told the defence, “Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling”.

Several witnesses came forward to give evidence that Jamal did not shoot Faulkner. William Singletary testified that he saw another man shoot the cop and flee, and that Jamal approached Faulkner asking if he could help him. Singletary described being pressured into giving false testimony by the cops who threatened to beat him if he didn’t write what they commanded. Another witness, William Harmon, testified that two men shot the cop. Prosecutors attacked his testimony, pointing to his criminal record. But three out of four key prosecution witnesses in the 1992 “trial” had criminal records, and they all stood to benefit by giving lying testimony.

In contrast, Harmon, a black man currently in state prison, risks being denied parole for another six years as a result of speaking out.

The final 1982 eyewitness to be called was Robert Chobert, a white cab driver whose licence had been revoked who had a prior conviction for arson, a fact which Sabo kept from the jury in 1982. Chobert first reported to the police that he saw the shooter run away. This could not have been Jamal, who was found sitting on the kerb bleeding from his wound. Chobert changed his testimony for the trial, claiming that Jamal was the shooter. At the PCRA hearing, he admitted that then-prosecutor Joseph McGill had promised to “look into” getting his driver’s licence back. (Chobert never did get it back but drove without it for the next ten years without being charged.)

Sabo ruled “irrelevant” the 800-pages of FBI files on Jamal, detailing years of FBI/cop surveillance and “dirty tricks” against him, including a 1973 failed attempt to frame him for a murder in Bermuda. These files prove that Jamal was targeted by the Philly cops and FBI for continued on page 11