

## Oppose Japan-Bashing Protectionism



AP

Clinton with Japanese prime minister Murayama last year. Now U.S. declares trade war against Japan, cheered by Detroit auto companies and protectionist labor tops.



Peter Meyer

# Clinton Heats Up Trade War

On June 28, the U.S. government is threatening to impose "punitive" sanctions on \$6 billion worth of Japanese imports supposedly in order to open the Japanese domestic market to American autos and auto parts. Tariffs on Japanese luxury cars—Lexus, Infiniti and Acura—will be raised by 100 percent. This sharp escalation of trade war is accompanied by Washington officials denouncing Japan for exploiting the American people. Clinton's top gun on the trade front, Mickey Kantor, a self-styled "bureaucratic thug," declared that Japa-

nese manufacturers have benefited "at the expense of American workers and American companies. This must end." In turn, Tokyo's transport minister Shizuka Kamei says he imagines Americans saying to themselves: "There are very diligent Japanese whom you can use as slaves and produce very good results."

The stage is set for an interimperialist economic tug of war. For many years, the U.S. and Japan have engaged in constant rows over trade, routinely accusing each other of economic wrongdoing. Washington would threaten higher tariffs

or quotas; Tokyo would threaten to retaliate, for example, by pulling Japanese financial investments out of the U.S. Yet despite tough talk and diplomatic brinkmanship, in the end some kind of compromise was always worked out. But not this time around. Today, American officials are ostentatiously dismissing the "suggestion" of "using our military presence there as a tool of trade" (*New York Times*, 14 May). The implication is that the U.S. could use its "security relationship" with Japan that way in the future.

During the Cold War, U.S. imperialism was willing to subordinate its economic conflicts with Japan to their mutual goal of destroying the Soviet Union. But now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution, the rulers of Washington and Wall Street see Japan Inc. as the new Enemy No. 1. Kantor pretty much says this straight out: "The Cold War is over. In the past, trade was a tool of our foreign policy, advancing political and strategic interests.... Now that policy has run its course" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 May). Japan too, no longer has any incentive to make economic concessions to its former Cold War ally.

Remember that before the Cold War there was a hot war between the U.S. and Japan. The Pacific War, as it's called in Japan, arose out of an escalating trade war. Faced with increasing protectionism in North America, West Europe and the European colonies in the Far East, Japan moved to carve out its own exclusive colonial empire, the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." But U.S. imperialism, too, was determined to exploit this region and decreed an embargo of pig iron and then oil ship-

ments to Japan. This provoked a war which ended with one of the greatest atrocities in history—the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So one shouldn't dismiss anti-Japanese protectionism and Japan-bashing rhetoric as a tempest in a teapot.

The *Wall Street Journal* (1 May), which for its own reasons disapproves of Clinton's anti-Japanese measures, ran a column titled "Trade Isn't War; Repeat, Trade Isn't War." But the entire history of world capitalism, from its origins in the mercantilist era—beginning with the 16th-century war between Elizabethan England and Habsburg Spain—demonstrates that at some point conflicts over trade are resolved by military means. The Prussian military theorist Karl von Clausewitz defined war as "a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means." One can also define war as a continuation of economic relations by other means.

### Falling Dollar Sinking Japanese Economy

Clinton's "punitive" sanctions are, in fact, the second and lesser blow struck by U.S. imperialism against the Japanese economy this year. The first and bigger blow has been the free fall of the dollar—down 22 percent against the Japanese yen and 13 percent against the German D-mark since New Year's. This means that American goods are that much cheaper in world markets and Japanese and German goods that much more expensive in the U.S. market.

The fundamental underlying cause of the dollar crash is the huge trade and government budget deficits which

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## Down with U.S./NATO War Moves in Bosnia!

Frustrated by its inability to impose a U.S.-dominated "New World Order" in the Balkans, Washington—along with its NATO imperialist allies—has embarked on a policy of murderous military escalation. Following up on the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim offensive against Serb minorities, Clinton launched air strikes under "UN" cover against Serb forces near Sarajevo. This backfired as the Serbs then seized over 400 UN "peacekeepers" and are holding many hostage against further air attacks. In recent days NATO has been moving in a substantial assault force, including airborne commandos and U.S., French and British aircraft carriers in the Adriatic. As we go to press, the stage is set for bloody imperialist "reprisals."

The Western media routinely assigns the blame for the nationalist

"ethnic cleansing" to the Serbs, although the *all-sided* fratricidal slaughter resulting from the nationalist breakup of the former Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia was greatly accelerated by German and later U.S. backing for the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim separatist regimes. With American messianic imperialist hubris, Washington is prepared to see a generalized bloodbath, provided it's somebody else's blood. But Britain and France, whose troops are on the ground, may not be prepared to take heavy losses for German, D-mark domination of the Balkans.

While taking no sides in the ethnic civil war, we have opposed all forms of imperialist intervention, from economic sanctions to UN "peacekeeping" and NATO air strikes. Now, even while talking of possible "withdrawal" of UN troops, they are beefing up ground and sea forces in the area, which is changing the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies to an imperialist war against the Serbs. We say: *U.S./UN/NATO. Hands off the Balkans!*



### Young Spartacus Film Review

## Hollywood's Tame Panther

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# Anti-Japanese Racism Kills Rubber Strike

On May 23, the International leadership of the United Rubber Workers (URW) called off the union's strike against the Bridgestone-Firestone tire manufacturer. Ten long months of sacrifice and struggle by some 4,000 URW members were washed down the drain in this unconditional surrender, which left most of the strikers with no guarantee they would ever get their jobs back from the scabs who replaced them. Rubber workers fought hard to defend their union and their jobs. But at every step of the way they were bound and gagged by a leadership committed to capitalist legality and anti-Japanese chauvinism.

URW officials prevented angry strikers from stopping the scabs who flocked through the plant gates, so as not to disturb the union tops' groveling "alliance" with the capitalist Democratic Party from Clinton on down.

The strike started to unravel after key URW Local 713 in Decatur, Illinois voted—with International sanction—to go back to work without a contract on May 7. Even though the Decatur strikers had received not one cent of strike pay since February, at least a third of the local opposed the capitulation. So far only 60 strikers out of 700 who held tight in Decatur have gotten their jobs

**Bridgestone rubber strike was sabotaged by union tops' program of anti-Japanese protectionism and support to capitalist Democrats.**



WV Photo

back—working alongside hundreds of Bridgestone's scabs—and Local 713 faces a near-certain decertification election. "It's a sad day for the URW," said one of the angry unionists who gathered outside the Local 713 union hall after the meeting. Now the International has ordered union members in Des Moines, Oklahoma City and Noblesville, Ohio back as well. Having run the union into the ground, the URW tops are now hoping to merge their 98,000 members into the United Steelworkers.

The URW International paved the way for this defeat from the get-go, calling out only five of the nine unionized Bridgestone facilities in North America while leaving the large non-union plant in Wilson City, North Carolina completely untouched. But in Decatur, the heart of the Illinois "war zone," the strike thrust rubber workers into battle alongside locked-out Staley corn processing employees and striking Caterpillar workers. As we wrote last summer: "With 7 percent of Decatur's entire workforce either on strike or locked out in bitter conflicts, the road to victory lies in pulling together these forces in a common strike front...the urgent task is to stop the scabs—mobilize the entire labor movement in mass picketing" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

URW misleaders managed to squelch any such militant action through flag-waving appeals to the U.S. government to intervene against Bridgestone's Japanese ownership. Virtually every URW sign or banner blamed "Japan" as the enemy. This patriotic begging of American bosses and their government to take action against Japanese bosses is a recipe for disaster for the union movement. It fosters racist divisions among workers internationally, and at home, when we should be seeking common action against the "multinational" corporations which exploit workers around the globe. We warned against this pro-Democratic Party protectionist poison in our article, "Japan-Bashing Aids Union-Busting" (*WV* No. 617, 24 February), saying: "A

workers party would put short shrift to the racist anti-Japanese propaganda that is killing the Bridgestone-Firestone strike, instead appealing for solidarity action to Bridgestone workers in Japan, who will be next on the chopping block if the URW goes down in defeat."

Even as they moved to kill the strike, Local 713 officials were handing out flyers, showing the American flag being eclipsed by the Rising Sun and calling on workers to complain to Labor Secretary Robert Reich about "how the Japs are treating the American workers." Eager to seize on the strike as ammunition in the Clinton administration's deepening trade conflicts with Japan, Reich hypocritically attacked Bridgestone for employing the *American-made* practice of scabberding: "We don't want the industrial equivalent of rookies and minor leaguers making tires for our next Desert Storm" (*Chicago Tribune*, 28 April). This protectionist sucker bait only underscores the fact that trade wars lead to imperialist wars.

The labor misleaders' support for the foreign interests of American capitalism means justifying exploitation and racism at home. Several weeks before the URW debacle, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland came to Decatur to present a paltry \$40,000 to the struggling unions—an insult that only underlined the AFL-CIO tops' indifference to the interests of their own membership. Now, as the URW moves toward fusion with the Steelworkers, the leaders of these and other unions are campaigning to oust Kirkland at the federation's next convention. Both gangs are sellouts and the whole lot of them must be given the boot—along with their flunkies—if the unions are to be revived and turned into organizations of labor struggle! The bitter lesson of this catastrophe is that protectionism and support for the Democrats kills unions. Driving this home must be a focal point for forging a class-struggle workers party and a union leadership committed to an *internationalist* program to win the class war through common struggle by working people everywhere. ■

## Capitalist Repression and Socialist Revolution



TROTSKY

The U.S. government's COINTELPRO war against the Black Panther Party and other radicals shows the true face of the capitalist state as an instrument of repression against the workers movement and minorities. Today, seizing on the horrendous bombing in Oklahoma City, both capitalist parties are pushing for a new COINTELPRO, massively reinforcing the government's arsenal of police surveillance and



LENIN

terror. But as cosmopolitan revolutionary Victor Serge noted in his book, *What Everyone Should Know About State Repression*, even the seemingly all-powerful secret police of the tsarist autocracy ultimately proved incapable of stopping the revolutionary movement of the working class. Serge's book was based on an examination of the files of the tsarist Okhrana which were opened by the victorious Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. It will take a socialist revolution expanded from one like October 1917 to put the capitalist state's spies and hangmen out of business for good.

The police had to see everything, know, understand and have power over everything. The strength and perfection of their machinery appears all the more terrible because of the unsuspected resources they dragged up from the depth of the human soul.

But nonetheless they were powerless to prevent what happened. For half a century they vainly defended the autocracy against the revolution, which grew stronger every year....

In 1917, the autocracy fell without the legions of informers, provocateurs, hangmen, policemen, civil guards, Cossacks, judges, generals and priests being able to deflect the unswerving course of history. The reports from the Okhrana, written by General Globachev, affirm that the revolution is close at hand and offer the Tsar vain warnings. Just as the most knowledgeable doctors called to a deathbed can only observe, minute by minute, the progress of the disease, the omniscient police of the Empire watched impotently as the world of Tsarism plunged into the abyss.

For the revolution was the outcome of economic, psychological and moral causes outside their reach. They were doomed to resist helplessly and then succumb. Because it is the eternal illusion of the ruling classes to think that they can remove the effects without getting to the causes, legislate against anarchy or against syndicalism (as in France and the United States), against socialism (as Bismarck did in Germany), or against communism, as they strive to do more or less everywhere today....

Repression can only really live off fear. But is fear enough to remove necessity, thirst for justice, intelligence, reason, idealism, all the revolutionary forces which express the formidable, profound impulse of the economic factors of a revolution? Relying on intimidation, the reactionaries forget that they will cause more indignation, more hatred, more thirst for martyrdom, than real fear. They only intimidate the weak: they exasperate the best forces and temper the resolution of the strongest.

—Victor Serge, *What Everyone Should Know About State Repression* (1926)

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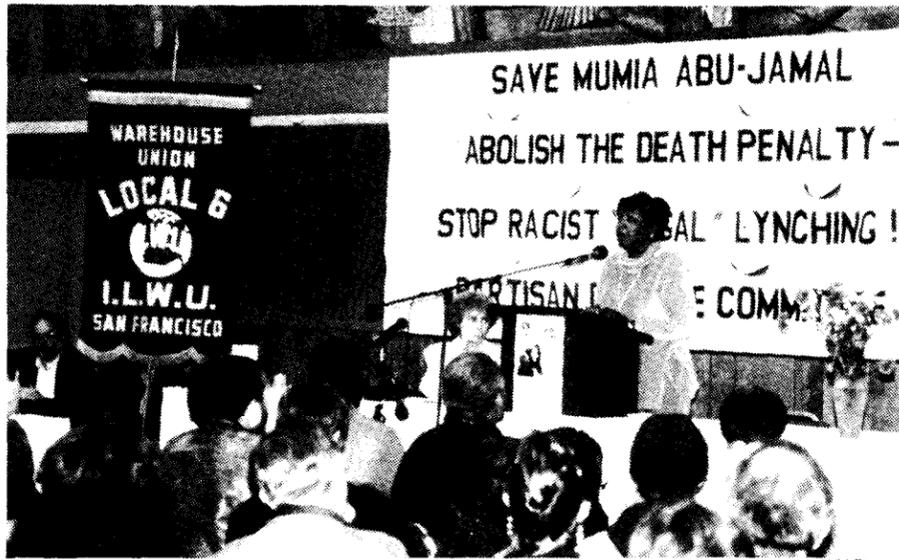
# Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

## International Labor Support for Jamal Growing

The campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is mounting, not only in the United States but also internationally. Jamal, a leader of the Black Panthers in Philadelphia in his teens, later a supporter of the Philly MOVE group and an award-winning journalist, was framed in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop. Jamal is the only political prisoner on death row in the U.S. And now the drumbeats for death are getting louder. Around the country, the rate of executions has sharply increased: 24 since the beginning of the year. In Pennsylvania, Governor Tom Ridge has been carrying out his election campaign theme of speeding up the state's assembly line of death. Meanwhile, the police have been mounting a national campaign seeking to silence Jamal—whose book, *Live from Death Row*, has just been published—in order to kill him.

What infuriates the racist forces who want to see Jamal dead is the broad support he is receiving around the world. Particularly significant is the involvement of labor behind Jamal's case. Seeking to mobilize the power of the trade-union movement is central to the strategy of the Partisan Defense Committee in defending victims of racist, capitalist repression. The PDC initiated united-front rallies in Philadelphia in defense of Jamal in 1989 and 1990, which included speakers from **RWDSU Local 1034** (retail clerks) and the **Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668**. Internationally, the campaign to save Jamal launched by the PDC and its fraternal organizations in other countries has won support from trade unions representing several million workers. In 1990, the French **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)**, the country's largest union federation, joined the campaign, while the **International Organisation of Journalists** based in Czechoslovakia and journalists unions in France, Germany and Britain added their voices on behalf of Jamal.

Jamal is up against the whole legal system of capitalist injustice. The death penalty is rooted in the history of American slavery, when blacks were considered subhuman chattel. In the 1987 *McCleskey* case, it was clearly demon-



Mumia Abu-Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace (above) addresses rally in Oakland, February 25. Campaign to save Jamal has won significant labor support, including from journalists unions in France, Germany, Ireland and elsewhere.

to reinvigorate the labor movement, it is necessary to translate the evident sentiment for Jamal's cause into mass protest and struggle.

### United-Front Rallies Draw Labor Support

A recent series of rallies around the U.S. were noteworthy for the participation of trade unionists. In *New York City*, over 400 death penalty abolitionists gathered on February 11 in a united-front rally hosted by renowned actor Ossie Davis. Among those speaking were Jan Pierce, vice president of the Communications Workers of America, representing District 1, as well as speakers from AFSCME Local 215, the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Local 1199 hospital workers.

In the *San Francisco Bay Area*, the **International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union** has for years given significant support to the campaign to save Mumia. As early as 1989, **ILWU Local 6** wrote to Pennsylvania's then-governor Casey protesting Jamal's death sentence. In 1991, the **ILWU International**, along with **ILWU Local 10** issued protest letters. This February, **ILWU International** president Brian McWilliams sent a letter to Governor Ridge, stating, "The questionable circumstances surrounding Jamal's arrest, trial and conviction have persuaded us that justice demands commutation of his death sentence." The *ILWU Dispatcher* (10 February) ran an article on Jamal along with his column, "The War on the Poor."

On February 25, a rally in defense of Mumia was held at the **ILWU Local 6** hall in Oakland. **AFSCME Local 444** (Oakland) participated in the rally and sent a letter to Ridge. Ben Visnick, president of the Oakland Educational Association, spoke at the Oakland rally. The **Northern California Newspaper Guild** placed an article in its newsletter and delivered a statement to the gathering noting the union's "special duty to prevent an activist journalist from becoming the first U.S. political execution...since the Rosenbergs." **Bay Area**

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30 March 1995  
Governor Tom Ridge  
Main Capitol Building  
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USA

RE: The life of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Dear Governor Ridge

I write to you on behalf of the 3,000 journalists in the island of Ireland who are members of this trade union - a massive 98% of all journalists practicing here. We, as a people, are no strangers to miscarriages of justice, although we are fortunate, as are the victims of such miscarriages (the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four etc.), that judicial murder is not an option open in the courts.

strated that the death penalty is biased against blacks and Hispanics, yet the U.S. Supreme Court, admitting the fact, ruled this irrelevant. While making use of every judicial process available, we place no faith whatever in the "justice" of the bosses' courts, which along with the police and prisons exist to maintain

capitalist rule over working people and minorities. To defeat this racist legal lynching, it is necessary to bring to bear the social power of labor. Reeling under two decades of union-busting and give-backs, presided over by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, this power has been sorely damaged. As part of the struggle

## South African Unions Join Campaign to Save Jamal

**SACCAWU: "Your system of justice is on trial. MUMIA ABU-JAMAL must not die."**

Taking their place among a growing number of labor organizations around the world, four South African unions have added their names to the struggle to save the life of American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. In recent weeks, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Turning Wheel Workers' Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) have joined the international campaign.

The struggle to save Mumia has touched a chord in South Africa, where the hand of the executioner has been stayed as a result of years of anti-apartheid struggle. Thousands of former Robben Island and other political prisoners

faced the threat of the gallows as they fell into the grip of the huge repressive apparatus. Like the U.S., South Africa is one of the few industrialized countries which retain the barbarous death penalty. In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental rights, reducing man to a beast of burden.

The struggle against apartheid has been intricately linked to the fight to stop "legal lynching." For years, Pretoria held the title of "hanging capital of the world." According to the *Johannesburg New Nation* (17 February), during the ten years between 1979 and 1989, at least 1,212 people were hanged in South Africa. In the early '80s, railway strikers of the

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25 MAY '95 15:17 NUMSA HEAD OFFICE

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TO: GOVERNOR TOM RIDGE  
MAIN CAPITOL BUILDING  
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HARRISBURG PA 17120  
USA

DATE 26th MAY 1995

Dear Governor Tom Ridge

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

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa have struggled against racism, oppression and the use of death sentence to silence political activists. We are therefore opposed to the death penalty on both ideological and humanitarian grounds. We consider it to be barbaric and abhorrent, and in reality a form of judicial murder. In the past we have supported campaigns to halt the use of the death penalty and even now we still hold to that view.

We therefore appeal to you to reverse and or review the matter of MUMIA ABU-JAMAL.

Yours sincerely

# Fourth Reich in the "New World Order"

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 118, May-June 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD). Part One was printed in our last issue (WV No. 623, 19 May).

For the capitalist countries involved, World War II was without exception an inter-imperialist conflict over the redivision of the world, in which the working class had no side. The "Allied" imperialists sought to sell their war on the "Axis" powers as a war for democracy against fascism. In reality, their aim was to check the ambitions of German imperialism while seeking to redivide the colonial spoils and subjugate the

## PART TWO OF TWO

oppressed nations, as was shown by the reinvasion of Indochina by the Western imperialists. For the proletariat of the imperialist countries the "main enemy was at home," in the words of Karl Liebknecht about the First World War. This was true in France, Britain and the U.S. no less than in Germany and Italy. The workers internationally had only one country to defend: the Soviet Union, which bore the main burden of the war—with 27 million dead after nearly four years of fascist invasion. Hitler's war of extermination was the most barbaric expression of the goal the capitalists pursued since 1917: overturning the proletarian property forms in the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists' policies contributed to the devastating losses the Soviet Union suffered. Stalin trusted his pact with Hitler and even turned German Communists over to the Gestapo. He rejected the warnings of the impending attack by the Red Orchestra spy ring under Leopold Trepper in West Europe and the Soviet spy Richard Sorge in Japan. The Red Army was beheaded and robbed of its most capable and experienced officers in a bloody purge which decimated the general staff. Thousands were murdered, among them Marshal Tukhachevsky, in order to extinguish a whole layer which remembered the October Revolution and to smother all remaining and potential opposition to bureaucratic rule. Even the most important strategist of World War II, Zhukov, had been purged, only to be reinstated due to the lack of capable officers.

During World War II, the policy of the Stalinist-run resistance movements in the



Berlin, 9 May 1945: Soviet soldiers celebrating victory over German Third Reich. Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazism.

West was one of nationalist class collaboration. The Stalinist line—an anti-Hitler "coalition" with the "democratic" Western imperialists—led their comrades in the U.S. and Britain to break strikes and sign "no strike" pledges with the bosses and their governments. The French resistance operated under the chauvinistic slogan "à chacun son boche" (everybody get a Kraut), making fraternization and the tasks of organizing inchoate opposition within the German armed forces more difficult than necessary. The French Trotskyists sought to appeal to the class consciousness of the German soldiers, carrying out at a great cost a policy of fraternization. There were not a few spon-

aneous acts of solidarity with the resistance on the part of German workers in uniform. One should not forget that the Nazi authorities shot or hanged some 80,000 German soldiers for insubordination or desertion during the war.

Despite Stalin's policies, and his temporary collapse following the June 1941 German invasion, the Soviet workers repelled "Operation Barbarossa." The superiority of the planned economy on the basis of socialized means of production was evident in the war against Nazi Germany, as whole production plants were transferred far beyond the Urals and retooled for arms production in order to hold the front. Above all, it was the

determined will of the Soviet people in defending the homeland of the October Revolution which made such courageous struggle possible, as in Leningrad, for example. In the bloody house-to-house and factory-to-factory battle of Stalingrad, the Soviets finally took the offensive and forced the surrender of Wehrmacht general von Paulus. After the victory at Kursk six months later, the Red Army stormed farther westward, liberating almost all of East Europe by October 1944.

The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) and a good part of the German left hail the "anti-Hitler coalition" as the forces that ostensibly decided the outcome of the war; they solidarize with the imperialist Allies. Thus they share the rulers' lies that World War II was a war for "democracy," reflecting the anti-Soviet hostility of their own rulers. Yet in West Germany, Italy and Japan, after the war the imperialist Allies installed "democratic" governments whose state machinery was composed of officials from the former fascist and militarist regimes. The course of the war shows clearly it was the advance of the Soviet Union that the imperialist Allies were most hostile to. As Winston Churchill, then British prime minister, said, they feared that "we have butchered the wrong pig." Concerned that a German power vacuum could be filled by the Soviets, Churchill already in 1942 called on the Western powers to "after the war put up a barrier against Communist barbarism."

The policy of the Western Allies was to bleed the Soviet Union white, looking on as the Wehrmacht massively slaughtered Soviet citizens, three million in the



Der Spiegel

Spartakist

Capitalist reunification has fueled murderous attacks on immigrants and asylum-seekers in Kohl's Fourth Reich (left). Spartakist banner reads: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers!"

first months of the German invasion alone. Despite continuous Soviet pressure, the U.S. and Britain delayed the Second Front, promised to Stalin in 1942, until mid-1944. Britain was considering an invasion of the Balkans—that is, the areas which were already being occupied by the Red Army—instead of Normandy. American military aid to the Soviet Union began only slowly and never filled more than 10 percent of the Soviet needs. The Western Allies' advance on Schleswig-Holstein in April 1945 was justified explicitly with the intention of stopping the Red Army. It was in order to drive back the influence of the Soviet Union that they finally established the Western Front, and the race to Berlin began. On 6 June 1944, U.S. troops landed in Normandy. Up to that time the Germans had been able to concentrate 95 percent of their divisions in the East, and the Red Army never faced less than 65 percent of the Wehrmacht strength.

The British and American command staunchly *refused* to bomb the rail lines, crematoria and SS settlements around the death camps. Instead, they engaged in carpetbombing of the civilian population. In the reunified Germany of today, the spokesmen of the Fourth Reich used the February anniversary of the bombing of Dresden by the Allies as an occasion to orchestrate a disgusting German nationalist media spectacle. The bombing has long been a topic exploited by the fascists. In the official exhibition in the Dresden Church of the Virgin, there is even a videotape with propaganda by Nazi-lover David Irving! To be sure, this was an imperialist war crime against the civilian population, but it was not so much directed against the fascists as against the advancing Soviet Army. As our comrades in the U.S. noted, in an article on "The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing" (WV No. 521, 1 March 1991), the firebombing of Dresden, along with the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were aimed at intimidating the Soviet Union. Eisenhower's deputy chief of air staff was quoted as saying that the bombing of Dresden would "add immeasurably" to the strength of U.S. air forces, "or rather to the Russian knowledge of their strength."

Many youth are today drawn to the "anti-nationalist" current which has staged demonstrations under slogans like "Germany shut your trap" and "Never again Germany" because they are deeply repelled by German nationalism, which is also widespread in the left and workers movement. Jürgen Elsässer, until recently editor of the newspaper *Junge Welt*, acts as spokesman of the "anti-nationalists." He justifies the imperialist bombing of Dresden with the slogan "no tears for Dresden": "Whoever uses the bombing of Dresden as proof of the senselessness of war instead of underlining the justification of the Allied war

**February 1945 firebombing of Dresden was war crime of British and American imperialism. Allied terror bombing was directed not so much at defeating collapsing Nazi regime as intimidating the Soviet Union and demoralizing German proletariat.**

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden



strategy aimed at 'the unconditional capitulation of Germany' is supporting the falsifiers of history" (*Junge Welt*, 11 February). Elsässer shares with the "democratic" imperialists the "collective guilt" thesis, which proceeds from the assumption that there is only a "German people."

The "collective guilt" thesis is *counterposed* to revolution in Germany. The Nazi regime, which grew out of a mass movement of enraged petty bourgeois, was installed by powerful capitalist interests who called upon the fascists to head off the threat of proletarian revolution by the most powerful working class in Europe. It was this same spectre that haunted the "democratic" imperialists and was behind their policy of mass terror bombing with the aim of demoralizing the German population. During the war, only the Trotskyists criticized these arbitrary terror attacks, because they understood that the "war for democracy" was a lie. But those who complain about the bombing of Dresden while standing on the political terrain of German imperialism are alibiing the Hitler regime.

#### Anti-Hitler Coalition: Pact Against Workers Revolution

The character of the "anti-Hitler coalition," which today is again held up by the PDS as a model, was shown most clearly after the end of the war: it was an alliance between the "democratic" imperialists and the Soviet workers state—class collaboration on an international level. While Stalin was only granted in Yalta what the Red Army had already liberated, he in turn guaranteed to the imperialists the maintenance of the bourgeois order in the rest of Europe. This popular front served as a guarantee against insurrectionary workers, who saw the Red Army's advance as an enormous encouragement and as the harbinger to fight for their own interests.

As the Trotskyists of the Comité van

Revolutionaire Marxisten (CRM) of the Netherlands warned in their August 1943 political declaration on World War II, while emphasizing the necessity to defend the Soviet Union:

"If one seeks the victory of the Allied camp, one accepts the victory of Allied—British and American—imperialism, its oppression and exploitation.... In reality these 'left Social Democrats' hide their pro-English stand behind 'leftist' phrases, just as the Social Democrats in the previous war justified their 'defense of the fatherland' by mendacious 'leftist' phrases."

For their principled opposition to imperialist war, Trotskyists in the "democratic" imperialist countries were imprisoned. In the U.S., 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters union were thrown into federal prison for this reason.

At the end of the war, pro-socialist sentiment was widespread, and a pre-revolutionary wave swept Europe. In Greece, the Communist-led partisan and workers resistance against the Wehrmacht and its Greek collaborators culminated after liberation in an insurrection against the British imperialists. In Italy, there was an uprising in 1944 against the German occupying forces in Naples, and there were uprisings in a number of cities in the north after the landing of the Allies. In Genova, the Germans surrendered to the partisans. In Paris, the workers armed themselves to settle the score with the totally discredited bourgeoisie who had collaborated with the Nazis. But these uprisings were betrayed by the Stalinist leaderships who forced the workers to turn in their arms. The popular-front line meant a "democratic," i.e. *capitalist*, "new beginning" and the *strangling of proletarian revolution*, which was on the agenda in France, Italy, Greece and even Germany.

The fact that all of Europe did not go red was directly responsible for millions of victims in the wars of liberation in

the colonies, particularly in Algeria and Vietnam, and in the last analysis laid the basis for counterrevolution in East Europe four and a half decades later. The lying policy of the "anti-Hitler coalition" was the expression of the Stalinist conception of "socialism in one country." To spell it out, this means no revolution in any other country. Thus reliance on the anti-Hitler coalition guaranteed that racism, fascism and militarism would rise again with the rotten capitalist social system that breeds them. But the masses of working people in Germany and all over Europe wanted anything *but* the restoration of capitalism. Stalin knew that, and—with good reason—worried about the "danger" of proletarian uprisings, particularly in Germany, after the war.

Stalin's opinion was that "socialism fits Germany like a saddle fits a cow" (Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*), and to this day, the ex-Stalinists-become-Social-Democrats claim that a proletarian revolution was not possible in the West. But the facts speak a different language. All of Germany was in chaos after liberation; the bourgeoisie went underground or was in flight. In the East and West, workers' anti-fascist committees sprang up which began caring for the forced-laborers and survivors of the concentration camps and de-Nazifying the plants and offices. Many Nazis were arrested and turned over to the Allies.

In the West, Gelsenkirchen was only one of the cities where the militant miners' committee drove the fascist managers from the mine. In the Ruhr basin delegations of miners presented to Allied officers plans to nationalize basic industry under workers control. In early 1947 there were massive demonstrations, involving hundreds of thousands of workers in the Ruhr, the industrial heartland of Germany. The workers demanded the expropriation without compensation of the mining, steel and chemical industries and popular control over food distribution, which was in the hands of the Allied occupation forces. When the strikes spread beyond the Ruhr, the French, British and American commands outlawed all strikes and protest actions, under threat of the death penalty.

The Kremlin originally intended to build an "anti-fascist democratic," i.e. *capitalist*, state apparatus east of the Elbe. The line, as Ulbricht taught the Communist Party (KPD) cadre, was that "the German people, above all the working class" had "no class consciousness," was "infected with fascism and reaction," "incapable of independent thought," much less action. Thus Stalin/Ulbricht aided the imperialists in maintaining the lie of "collective guilt."

But it was difficult to control the workers' actions, directly aimed against capitalist property forms. Blue-collar and white-collar workers on their own initiative took over plants and started production. They formed plant committees or councils which in many cases took

*continued on page 6*



Churchill and Truman with Stalin at Potsdam, 1945, where Kremlin reaffirmed commitment to maintaining capitalist rule in postwar West Europe. In Italy, Stalinist Communist Party disarmed anti-fascist resistance fighters (right), quelling workers' revolt.



La Repubblica

# Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 5)

over management of the plants. The anti-fascist committees which spontaneously arose conceived of themselves partly as popular fronts, partly as trade-union committees, but partly as revolutionary soviets on the local level. Their actions rapidly went in an anti-capitalist direction. Because of their partially independent political action, the KPD leadership urged the liquidation of the anti-fascist committees. It was only later, as a defensive response to the pressure of the imperialist Allies and its new "cold" war, that the Stalinists were forced to establish a deformed workers state in the East.

Only the Trotskyist cadre maintained a revolutionary-proletarian perspective. In the face of overwhelming repressive forces and despite episodic disorientation, they were animated by the spirit and program of revolutionary internationalism. The 1945 Saigon uprising led by the Vietnamese Trotskyists; the publication of *Arbeiter und Soldat* by French Trotskyists; the cell built in the German armed forces at Brest in France; the participation of the Indian Trotskyists in the "Quit India" movement; the participation of the British and American Trotskyist parties in strikes and other trade-union struggles which objectively cut across the imperialist war effort; all these are ample testimony to the courage and even audacity of the small Fourth Internationalist forces in the face of almost incalculable odds.

The Trotskyist International Communists of Buchenwald in their declaration of 20 April 1945, i.e. about a week after their liberation, spelled out a program for proletarian revolution in all of Germany, including "Immediate free elections of workers and peasants councils throughout all of Germany and a convocation of a general congress of these councils!... Expropriation of the banks, heavy industry and the large estates! Control of production by the unions and the workers councils!"

## The Fourth Reich of German Imperialism

The West German state was the Cold War creation of the U.S., the strongest of the "democratic" imperialists, and it was built specifically as a bulwark against communism. Bonn declared itself the "legal successor" of Nazi Germany as part of its anti-Communist crusade against the DDR (East Germany),



## French Trotskyists put out clandestine press appealing to German soldiers on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

to which it denied any legitimacy. We call the now greater imperialist Germany the "Fourth Reich" because the federal republic represents the continuity of Kaiser Wilhelm's Second and Hitler's Third Reichs—not only legally (the present German abortion law, for example, goes back to Bismarck's time), but also in terms of personnel and German imperialism's aims, even though the latter remain partially unfulfilled. Today the rulers of the Fourth Reich, with the energetic aid of the Social Democrats, want to solidify German national identity in order to whip up new patriotism. Even after the collapse of Stalinism, "prosperity" and anti-Communism are the pillars of the federal republic, as they have been from the beginning.

The continuity of German imperialism can be seen in its leading personnel. Just as the Weimar Republic took over wholesale the laws and state machinery of the Hohenzollern monarchy, in the federal republic under Adenauer there was considerable continuity of personnel from the Third Reich. Under American auspices, "former" Nazis slid into key positions after "de-Nazification." Hitler's war industry chief, Friedrich Flick, who had gouged huge profits from forced-laborers and concentration camp victims, was released from jail in 1950 and soon became known as Bonn's "uncrowned finance minister." Hans Maria Globke, the secret service coordinator known as the "gray eminence" of the Adenauer era, substantially contributed to writing the Nuremberg race laws, and in the Reich ministry of the interior until

January 1945 he handled all administrative measures concerning the disenfranchisement of Jews, "half-breeds" and "Rheinland bastards" (Globke's term for the children of German mothers and black World War I soldiers).

Hitler's anti-Soviet military espionage apparatus, "Fremde Heere Ost" (Foreign Armies East) led by Wehrmacht general Reinhard Gehlen, was absorbed by the CIA to continue espionage and sabotage against the Soviet Union. The Gehlen organization was taken over in 1955 as West Germany's spy apparatus. German jurisprudence was left intact, so that the overwhelming majority of the judges who sat on the bench after 1948 were blood-drenched Nazi judges (*Blutrichter*) who had served under Hitler. There was old-time Nazi party member Kurt Kiesinger, elected as West German chancellor in 1966 and head of the "grand coalition" with the Social Democrats (SPD). Josef Abs, after an interruption of only eight weeks in prison, remained until his death last year one of the heads of the Deutsche Bank.

And make no mistake. Helmut Kohl is no "man of the center," spared all guilt by "the grace of a late birth." He is the creature of the most vicious revanchist elements of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz. He was raised to the post of chancellor by powerful circles of big industrialists who made their fortunes from IG Farben "extermination through labor" slave labor industries.

Capitalist reunification of a greater Germany made possible the Fourth Reich's contending for world-power status. The fact that we say this openly enrages the social-democratic "left," who are intent on whitewashing German imperialism to hide their own capitulation to it. How else could the PDS tops today excuse the fact that they sold out the DDR: they are forced to paint German imperialism as a "democratic state of laws."

Neither the imposters of the BSA (Socialist Workers League, followers of David North) nor the tiny "Gruppe Spartakus" (GS) grouplet (part of the "Bolshevik Tendency") can bring themselves to write the word "liberation" in their May 8 propaganda. Instead the GS headline reads, "No Tears on May 8!" To whom is this headline directed? Who is supposed to be consoled about the victory of the Red Army? It is no accident that in the same issue the GS froths about the SpAD's ostensible "4th Reich Psychosis." The GS want to present German imperialism stripped of its past in order to prettify its racist face. Thereby these

anti-Soviet pseudo-Trotskyists want to hide their support for the Social Democracy which was in 1989-90 the Trojan horse of counterrevolution in the DDR. Then the GS cried, "The main enemy is Modrow." The Stalinophobic Northites of the BSA, who constantly try to outdo the SPD witchhunters in going after ex-Stalinists, explicitly refused to participate in commemorations of the liberation of the concentration camps.

## Crisis of Leadership—Then and Now

Our heroes are the soldiers and workers who stemmed the counterrevolutionary tide at Stalingrad, along with the defenders of Leningrad, the Jewish and Communist partisans and the fighters of the Red Army and Soviet people who sacrificed 27 million dead. We also honor the martyred French Trotskyists who practiced revolutionary fraternization and organized revolutionary cells in the German armed forces.

Whereas the slogan of Emil Carlebach's Buchenwald KPD Manifesto was "Long live the German Peoples Republic!" the declaration of the Trotskyists and Trotskyist sympathizers of the International Communists of Buchenwald (4th International) of 20 April 1945 stated:

"All theories and illusions about a 'peoples state' or a 'peoples democracy' have led the working class to the bloodiest defeats in the course of the class struggle in capitalist society. Only irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist state—up to and including its destruction and the construction of the state of workers and peasants councils—can prevent new defeats. The bourgeoisie and the uprooted petty bourgeoisie brought fascism to power. Fascism is the creation of capitalism. Only the successful, independent action of the working class against capitalism is capable of eradicating the evil of fascism, along with its root causes.... For pan-German socialist revolution! Against a dismemberment of Germany! Revolutionary fraternization with the proletarians of the occupying armies! For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils! For world proletarian revolution!"

Today a revolutionary, authentically Leninist party is urgently needed to unite the working people and oppressed under the banner of proletarian internationalism and embark on the road to power in the struggle for a soviet workers Germany in the Socialist United States of Europe. It is that party the Spartakist Workers Party seeks to build in the struggle of the International Communist League to reform Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

# South Africa...

(continued from page 3)

SARWHU union were executed. The high point was during the township revolts of 1983-87. The *New York Times* (1 December 1988) reported, "Hangings Now Routine at Pretoria Prison." But when the white-supremacist regime decided to open negotiations for a "power sharing" deal with the African National Congress, "unbanning" it along with other anti-apartheid groups in February 1990, a moratorium on the death penalty was simultaneously declared.

Now the question of capital punishment is being debated at the top levels of the "power sharing" regime. In February, the new Constitutional Court, which includes President Nelson Mandela, heard its first case, on whether South Africa's death penalty violates a broadly worded "right to life" clause in the 1993 interim constitution. The fate of 337 prisoners on death row is immediately at stake. Of the condemned prisoners, 268 are blacks, 36 are "coloureds" (mixed-race), 28 are whites and five are Asians.

Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, South African leftists and workers

organizations are taking up the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In April, SACCWU became the first South African union to enlist in the cause. This militant union, which waged a hard-fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery store chain, wrote in a letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge:

"In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political protest. In this regard we drew strength from millions of activists and other citizens of countries throughout the world who protested against the Apartheid state's attacks on the lives of black people and democrats of all communities. We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one such example."

Now, in a statement dated May 25, the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union of S.A. have added their voice:

"Comrade Mumia is a victim of imperialist and capitalist racism. He is not only on the wrong side of the colour-line, but he has also dared to challenge the *status quo*.... He incisively dissected and revealed the brutality of [the] ruling classes of the U.S.A. particularly in Philadelphia. In short, he had become the voice of the voiceless in his community and the society at large. He, therefore,

became a threat to the racist rulers and had to be silenced.

"FFBAWU and its entire membership calls upon the Governor of Pennsylvania to stay comrade MUMIA ABU-JAMAL's execution forthwith.

"The death penalty is not only racist and barbaric, but it is also chronologically totally outdated. It belongs to pre-historic times as [a] form of human revenge and must go.

"Our Union expresses its total disgust at this barbaric and outmoded practice—the death penalty. SET COMRADE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL FREE NOW!"

And on May 26, one of South Africa's most powerful industrial unions, NUMSA, sent a protest letter to Governor Ridge, declaring:

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

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

solidarity in their behalf.

In the huge class battles to forge the South African black unions, the black proletariat came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was their social weight which rocked the racist regime and the system of capitalist oppression. But while tens of thousands of black workers and township youth fought under the banners of socialism and revolution to sweep away apartheid rule, their aspirations were betrayed by the "power sharing" deal aimed at preserving South African capitalism for the Randlords and the Jo'burg stock exchange.

From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of repression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international proletarian revolution. ■

## NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard will skip alternate issues in June, July and August.**

**Our next issue will be dated June 30.**

# Trade War...

(continued from page 1)

the U.S. has been running for many years. As a result, over \$2 trillion in U.S. government debt has piled up in foreign central and commercial banks—and they don't want it. The immediate cause of the dollar's collapse was the Mexican peso crisis and the resulting \$50 billion bailout engineered by the Clinton gang. While Washington may not have deliberately manipulated the dollar's fall, Clinton & Co. welcomed it as a de facto competitive devaluation.

Not all sections of the U.S. capitalist class were happy about this development. While manufacturers may benefit in the short term, the medium- and long-term consequences for Wall Street banks are not so good. One, they're being paid back in money that's worth less than when it was borrowed. Two, foreign financiers are far more likely to pull their financial investments out of the U.S. before the real value of these assets depreciate even more. And three, American investors have less real purchasing power to buy property abroad—for example, factories in East Asia—in competition with the Japanese.

But if Wall Street is worried about the long-term effects of the dollar's fall, its immediate effects are damaging to Germany and devastating for Japan. The German economy has been on the upswing, fueled by export growth, after a couple of years of severe recession. But now the appreciation of the D-mark threatens this recovery. According to one calculation, every 10 percent rise in the D-mark against the dollar means a 30 percent drop in the profits of automaker Daimler-Benz. Small wonder German chancellor Kohl growled at Clinton a few months ago "not to let the dollar drown."

Unlike the United States and to a far greater degree than Germany, Japan's economy depends on exporting manufactured goods in order to import raw materials, including almost all of its vital oil. For a number of years, the Japanese economy was at a standstill. Now a fragile recovery has been stopped dead in its tracks by the sudden massive appreciation of the yen. Washington has been encouraging this as part of a strategy of economic blackmail to force Japan to lower interest rates and increase auto imports from the U.S. Not only has the de facto dollar devaluation cut into Japanese exports, but cheaper imports are making it harder for Japanese firms to operate profitably in their own home market despite all kinds of cartel arrangements.

For the first time in decades, a major capitalist economy is experiencing a deflationary spiral. The Japanese call it *kakaku hakai*—price destruction. This means that many firms can sell their products only at prices below the cost of production. Throughout corporate Japan profits are plummeting, loans cannot be repaid and firms are going bankrupt or sharply retrenching. For the first time since World War II, a few months ago a Japanese automobile factory, a Nissan plant near Tokyo, was permanently shut down. Now Toyota, the country's biggest auto company, is planning to do the same. And this was before Clinton threatened "punitive" sanctions against Japanese auto imports—which account for 60 percent of Japan's balance-of-trade surplus with the U.S.—unless Toyota, Nissan and others give up part of their domestic market to Detroit's Big Three. So it's hardly surprising that the Japanese ruling class is not budging on this one while screaming bloody murder at the Americans.

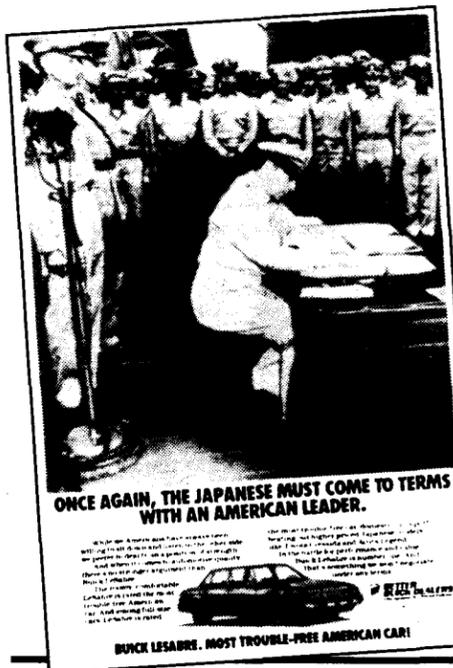
## Toward Another Pacific War?

One angry Lexus dealer in Florida declared, "This isn't about fighting Japan. It's about getting Bill Clinton re-elected." Actually, it's about both. For years, Democratic Party politicians and labor bureaucrats have blamed the massive decline in the living standards of

# Trade War Leads to Imperialist War



Economic protectionism during 1930s culminated in interimperialist war between U.S. and Japan: (above) U.S. firebombing of Tokyo in 1945. Today, U.S. and Japanese capitalists again push trade war propaganda.



ONCE AGAIN, THE JAPANESE MUST COME TO TERMS WITH AN AMERICAN LEADER.



American working people on "unfair" Japanese competition. Determined at all costs to avoid class struggle by the workers against the Big Three auto bosses, the UAW tops have pushed protectionist poison for decades. In the 1970s and '80s, auto-union officials organized violently anti-Japanese "Toyota-bashing" rallies, inflaming racist attacks on Asian Americans. More recently, the labor bureaucrats have been ranting about another "Pearl Harbor." Following the announcement of the latest trade sanctions, UAW chief Owen Bieber was practically beside himself, crowing, "Three cheers for the Clinton Administration." And "Lame" Kirkland's AFL-CIO "hailed" the trade sanctions (*AFL-CIO News*, 22 May).

Meanwhile, the Clinton White House has joined with Gingrich's Republicans in Congress to dismantle the whole complex of social programs dating back to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s. Medicare, for example, is being gutted. So as they go after minorities, poor and working people, the Clinton Democrats are using Japan-bashing protectionism to posture as economic populists. One White House adviser chortled, "So we lose the Lexus vote in Greenwich," the Connecticut suburban home of the filthy rich.

However, it's not just the dealers of Japanese autos who are up in arms over Clinton's "punitive" sanctions. While Chrysler's president is predictably 110 percent for it, the *Wall Street Journal* (18 May) denounces the Clintonites for "macho politics." In an editorial titled "Auto-da-fe," this house organ of American financiers lectures the president like a schoolmaster scolding a wayward student: "The Clinton Administration should be bending its efforts to upholding international trading rules, and insisting that others do so as well, rather than violating them itself through unilateral actions."

Divisions within the U.S. ruling class

over Clinton's actions reflect the different—and to a certain degree conflicting—interests of industrial and financial capital. U.S. banks make hundreds of billions extending trade credit to both importers and exporters. They also have hundreds of billions in loans to South Korean, Taiwanese and other East Asian manufacturers, loans that cannot be repaid if these firms are cut off from the American market. Much of Wall Street's financial assets, especially short-term certificates of deposit and commercial paper, are in the hands of foreign (including Japanese) money men. Basically, the big U.S. banks and other financial institutions export dollars which, despite the huge depreciation over the past decade, remain the principal medium of world trade. Wall Street is rightly worried that Clinton's Japan-bashing protectionism will lead to the creation of closed regional trading blocs, foreign-exchange control and the national fragmentation of the world market such as occurred in the 1930s.

In fact, despite Washington's talk of a "New World Order" following the end of the Cold War, increasing interimperialist rivalries have been heading toward a division into regional economic blocs for some time. This is the meaning of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the (halting) moves toward European monetary integration.

Clinton's "punitive" sanctions against the Japanese have also come under fire from spokesmen for European capital such as Sir Leon Brittan, trade commissioner of the European Union, and Renato Ruggiero, the Italian head of the newly formed World Trade Organization. The Europeans don't give a damn about the Japanese economy. But they are worried that if Washington can do this to Toyota and Nissan today, it can do it to Daimler-Benz, Fiat and Rolls Royce tomorrow. The Clintonites have lashed out at their European critics with

Under Secretary of Commerce Jeffrey Garten accusing them of hypocrisy: "They allege that we are managing trade, while they have concluded their own quota arrangements with the Japanese" (*New York Times*, 19 May). Thus the escalating trade war between the U.S. and Japan is spilling over into Europe.

But right now the main battle is between Washington and Tokyo, which is threatening to retaliate in kind. "The fact that American farm exports depend heavily on our market can be a powerful weapon for obtaining concessions, if we want," declared Yoshifumi Sakamoto, a top official of the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (*Financial Times* [London], 18 May). However, the Japanese economy is fundamentally more dependent on manufacturing exports to the U.S. than the U.S. economy is dependent on agricultural exports to Japan. Japan uses the trade surplus gained by selling autos, office equipment, TVs, VCRs, etc. in the U.S. to pay for its oil imports from the Near East, oil owned and marketed by the Anglo-American Seven Sisters cartel. Thus increasing trade protectionism in the U.S. threatens the fundamental structure of Japan's industrial economy.

That's exactly what happened in the 1930s. Japan then moved to carve its own self-sufficient colonial empire centered on China and including the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). Influential sections of the Japanese ruling class are once again talking about adopting this kind of economic and ultimately military strategy. Bank of Tokyo chairman Toyoo Gyoten warns that "Some hawkish politicians recommend the creation of a yen bloc and suggest selling off some dollars to scare American authorities. But those people...are not aware of the risks" (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 May).

Today, just as in the 1930s, U.S. imperialism will not concede East Asia as Japan's exclusive sphere of influence. There's a lot of American money invested in South Korea, as well as over 30,000 U.S. troops. But the main battle between Washington and Tokyo for control of East Asia will be fought, as it was in the Pacific War of 1941-45, over China. The decrepit and totally corrupt Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has brought the People's Republic of China to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. While Japanese investment in China is growing rapidly, Washington and Wall Street are also determined to regain China which they "lost" to Mao's Red Army in 1949.

The main victims of the escalating interimperialist conflict will be the working people of North America, Japan, China, Korea and the rest of East Asia. The American working class, having suffered a 20 percent fall in living standards over the past generation, is now facing the dismantling of those social programs designed to prevent them from falling into abject poverty. Japanese workers are facing mass layoffs and wage cuts for the first time since the 1950s. The combative South Korean working class has for decades confronted a brutal military dictatorship—open or disguised—backed by both Washington and Tokyo. Chinese working people, already exploited to a considerable extent by Japanese and other multinationals as well as a growing layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs, now face looming capitalist counterrevolution and neocolonial enslavement.

Twice before in this century, conflicts between major capitalist powers over markets and spheres of exploitation have led to world war. The last time, U.S. imperialism developed and used nuclear weapons of unprecedented mass destruction, as well as flattening Tokyo with firebombs. Today nuclear weapons are capable of destroying civilization and even annihilating humanity itself. As the rulers seek to inflame American and Japanese workers against each other, we have to overthrow the rapacious capitalist system they represent before they destroy us. ■

# Young Spartacus

## Hollywood's Tame Panther

By J.D. Williams

In racist America, it is a rare event to see a Hollywood movie reopen a chapter of black struggle that has long been distorted, hated and feared by the capitalist rulers. The movie is *Panther*, which opened across the country on May 3. Screenwriter Melvin, and director Mario, Van Peebles rescue the Black Panther Party (BPP) from their demonization by the media as nothing but "thugs" and "gangsters." But to make them a saleable legend that can now safely be embraced by those who wouldn't have touched the BPP with a ten-foot pole 30 years ago, the Van Peebles have to tame the Pan-

### Young Spartacus Film Review

thers. The young black radicals who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops are depicted in this film as, at bottom, little more than concerned community activists who later become the inner-city "vanguard" of the war against drugs.

Where the movie does touch some of the real history of the Panthers, the effect is palpable. When we saw the movie at a theater in Oakland, where the Panthers were born, the scenes of armed patrols of Black Panthers confronting the notoriously racist Oakland cops electrified the audience. This isn't surprising in today's America, where the only thing unusual about a gang of L.A. cops beating Rodney King to within an inch of his life was that it was captured on videotape.

Today, Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill "debate" the most cost-effective ways to starve black welfare mothers and their children, to pour more cops onto the streets of the inner cities, to build more prisons to warehouse black and minority youth, to more quickly kill death row inmates who in their overwhelming majority are black and Hispanic. With this brutal reality as the backdrop, the movie's depiction of Ronald Reagan and other legislators in Sacramento, California running for cover in the face of the armed march of Panthers into the state capitol building in 1967 is met with cheers.

*Panther* has provoked a predictable howl from the capitalist media, incensed that anyone would dare salute the courage and idealism of the early Black Panther Party. "Newton was no choir boy," they cry. To offer "the Panthers as idealists and objects of veneration to today's youth" is branded as "criminal naiveté" by *Time* magazine. David Horowitz, ex-New Leftist editor of *Ramparts* magazine turned right-wing ideologue, slammed *Panther* as a "two-hour lie"—because it is negative toward the cops! Calling for pickets of the movie, Horowitz said it must be opposed as it would "incite" black youth and "breathe new life into the Panther corpse."

This is all designed simply to fan the

flames of racist reaction against any black struggle. Mario Van Peebles responded that his movie "is not a call to arms, but a call to consciousness." But what consciousness? *Panther* has reduced the history of the BPP into a marketable morality play. The Panthers occupy center stage not for their fight against the racist status quo, but instead

and Newt Gingriches on the main floor of the theater.

This is a far cry from what animated the early Panthers. In his book, *This Side of Glory*, David Hilliard recalls a speech by Bobby Seale: "We're revolutionary nationalists.... We don't fight exploitative capitalism with black capitalism. All of us are laboring people—employed or

stood as a barrier to finding the only road that could lead to black freedom. The black population locked in the ghettos must be mobilized behind the power of the factories, as a united working class fighting in defense of its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.

### The Rise of the Black Panthers

In his 1964 speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X lucidly remarked: "I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy.... They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs.... That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing...put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last."

Malcolm X's uncompromising opposition to the racist American rulers—Republicans and Democrats—made him the voice of the angry black ghetto. He understood that the right to armed self-defense was necessary in the fight for black equality. The Southern-based civil rights struggle for formal equality, whose leadership looked to the Democrats and the federal government as the agencies for redressing racist segregation, could not achieve freedom for black people in capitalist America.

Jim Crow—the legal system of racial segregation in the South—joined its predecessors, the Black Codes and Slave Codes, in history's dustbin. But the economic and social relegation of blacks, as a race-color caste, to the bottom of the American capitalist order remained intact. The civil rights movement hit a wall of racist reaction as it moved North, the "land of opportunity" and formal equality. Young civil rights activists pondered, "What good is it to integrate a lunch counter if you can't afford to buy lunch?"

The authority of the pacifist leadership under Martin Luther King Jr. was shaken as civil rights demonstrators fought back against Birmingham police chief Bull Connor's cops in 1963. Young black



Reynaldo Jackson

**Panther shows Black Panther Party founders Bobby Seale (played by Courtney B. Vance) and Huey Newton (Marcus Chong) guarding Oakland offices.**

as combatants in the "war against drugs." This *war against blacks* today legitimizes the occupying army of the capitalist state, the police in the ghettos.

For young militants who want and need to learn from the radical movements that preceded them, we recommend the Partisan Defense Committee video, *Live from Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. From this former Black Panther who is now on death row in Pennsylvania, framed up on charges of killing a cop, you get a real idea of some of the history of the Panthers and the vicious state vendetta that destroyed them. The film *The Murder of Fred Hampton*, which is about the leader of the Chicago Panthers who was murdered in his bed by the police, also stands in sharp contrast to the message of *Panther*.

*Panther* is the story of the BPP as distorted through the prism of Nancy Reagan's "just say 'no'" to drugs campaign in the 1980s and written for the Booker T. Washingtons of the '90s, the Louis Farrakhans et al., who see "empowerment" in controlling and exploiting their "own" communities through promoting black capitalism and black cops.... These "wannabe" black power-brokers want to sit comfortably in the balcony and not disturb the Bill Clintons

unemployed, and our unity has got to be based on the practical necessities of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet despite their radicalism and the personal courage of many militants, the Panthers' conception that armed groups of ghetto youth could change society



**Black Panther Party defended right to armed self-defense, in demonstration against Mulford gun control bill in Sacramento, May 1967.**

radicals in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who organized voter registration drives in the Deep South, split from King and advocated "black power." They had run smack into the inability of the liberal civil rights movement to address the systematic racial oppression inherent in this capitalist system. The 1966 march for fair housing in the Chicago suburb of Cicero was viciously attacked by a raging racist mob, exposing the deficiencies of pacifist leadership. After Cicero, there were no more liberal integration marches; the official civil rights movement collapsed. Packed into ghetto housing, the first fired and the last hired, relegated to the lowest-paying, dirtiest jobs and humiliated daily by capitalist society's contempt, the black masses were simmering with rage against this racist system.

The long hot summers of ghetto explosions began—Harlem 1964, Watts 1965, Newark, Cleveland and Detroit, 1967. In many cases, these ghetto revolts were touched off by protest against specific instances of police brutality. As one Watts resident remarked in 1965, "A man may be willing to swallow his pride and eat humble pie if he thinks it's going to get him somewhere. But what's the use of going hat in hand if it doesn't get you nowhere no way?" (R. Conot, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness*, [1967]). In 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was born out of the frustration and fury of youth in the northern ghettos as a movement that had generated high expectations failed to deliver.

In 1966, Malcolm X's autobiography had just recently been published. David Hilliard relates a conversation with Huey Newton who announces that he's forming a new organization, "Malcolm X talked about the right to defend ourselves.... We're gonna be the personification of Malcolm X's dreams." That the Panthers were first founded in Oakland was also a reflection of the burgeoning student struggle in nearby Berkeley in solidarity with the civil rights movement. This mushroomed in the 1964 Free Speech Movement and was linked to a more general radicalization that took place among youth starting in the mid-1960s over the fight against racial oppression and especially against U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam.

Thousands of young radicals solidarized with the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, whose struggle would eventually defeat the U.S. military behemoth. Looking for a way to bring revolutionary struggle to the heartland of imperialism, they rejected what they saw as the "old left"—particularly the stodgy, reformist Communist Party. But many of the "New Left" radicals also rejected the U.S. working class, looking instead to peasant guerrilla movements and Third World Stalinist regimes like Mao's China, then on the outs with U.S. imperialism, or Castro's Cuba. Groups like the Black Panthers saw themselves as the domestic analogue of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front (Viet Cong). Little of this political radicalization is captured in the film.



1960s demonstration for integrated schools. Inability of liberal civil rights movement to challenge capitalist bedrock of black oppression in the North led to rise of radical nationalist Black Panthers. Ebony

In *Panther*, the jumping-off point is a peaceful neighborhood protest demanding a traffic light. After the third black youth in a short time span is run down at a busy intersection, a group of blacks march from their church for a prayer vigil at the intersection. A young Huey Newton (Marcus Chong) and Bobby Seale (Courtney B. Vance) round up a few friends to become legal observers at the demonstration. The cops respond with racial slurs and finally a baton-swinging attack to disperse the demonstration. The Panther legal observers are stymied when the cops cover their badges; the Panthers then rush in to defend the demonstrators with their bare hands.

Scores of protesters are beaten and thrown in jail. Panther members start to fight back against this brutality. More young black men decide to join them after learning that "turn the other cheek" only gets you a face bloodied on both sides. Armed with law books and shotguns, the Panthers are seen gaining respect from the ghetto masses for boldly asserting their democratic right to bear arms and challenging racist cop terror. In one scene in the film, a Panther patrol stops several cops who are working over a "suspect" outside a black nightclub. Panthers leap from their car, weapons at the ready. A crowd gathers and watches in awe as the cops stand down.

This is followed by a scene depicting the Panthers' well-defended rally protesting the police murder of a young black man, Denzil Dowell, in racist Richmond, California, which the cops ran like a small Southern town. Again they heroically face the cops down. Next comes the spectacular armed Panther march into the state capitol building in Sacramento to protest the Mulford bill. This bill (named after a white politician from a wealthy Oakland enclave) was drafted specifically to disarm the Panthers, who were exercising their legal right under California's then-liberal gun laws to carry loaded weapons in public as long as they were not concealed.

These few sharp scenes recreate the spirit that inspired the Black Panthers'

early growth. They are also a powerful indictment of liberal "gun control" laws. These laws disarm blacks and working people, seeking to ensure that the cops monopolize the means of violence together with their fascist and criminal counterparts. At the same time, the scene outside the nightclub where an armed gang of Oakland cops backs away in fear of armed Panthers reciting from law books is hard to believe. Particularly today, the notion that holding a gun on a cop while reading from the Constitution will save you from getting immediately vaporized in a hail of police gunfire is more far-fetched than any Hollywood special effects.

Although initially Newton's armed patrols in Oakland went unmolested, as did the Panthers' armed rally in Richmond, this period proved to be very short-lived. At the start, the cops were taken aback by the Panthers' flamboyance and also unsure of how much support they had in the ghetto. But beginning with the arrest of Huey Newton in 1967, followed by the murder of Bobby Hutton and arrest of Eldridge Cleaver in 1968, local police in conjunction with the FBI launched a bloody campaign to wipe out the BPP, with no respect for constitutional niceties.

## The Panthers—Reality and Myth

*Panther* does powerfully portray the government's systematic, murderous campaign to exterminate the Panthers, codified in FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). But the chilling effect of this serves to enhance the main message of the film—that is, if you struggle against the all-powerful police state you will only lose. To be sure, driving the cops out of the ghetto could not, and cannot, be accomplished solely through the actions of black militants, however heroic. The police are the armed fist of the capitalist state and they cannot be defeated this side of a socialist revolution that destroys the whole system of racist American capitalism. As we wrote in our article, "End of the Black Power Era" (WV No. 4, January 1972), analyzing the 1970-71 split in the BPP:

"The cops are an essential part of the armed force of the state; if defeated locally, they came back with the National Guard or Army. To drive the cops out of the ghetto and keep them out was equivalent to overthrowing the American state.... Adventurous black youth joining the Panthers did not see themselves as building a successful social revolution, but anticipated 'leaving the Party in a pine box' with a dead cop to their credit, having done their share to avenge the centuries-old oppression of their people."

The Van Peebles' *Panther* softens the harsh reality of black social struggle against the racist oppressors by collapsing into one convenient package the contradictory phases of the Black Pan-

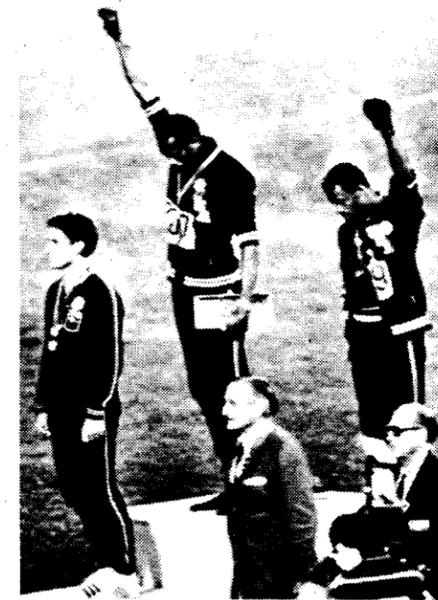
thers' evolution. Their rhetorically adventurous challenge to the white establishment and later emphasis on social work in the face of bloody repression are melded together. This is hardly surprising since for the black petty bourgeoisie the preferred image is that of the Panthers feeding hungry children.

With the rulers of this country now snatching school lunches even out of the mouths of white kids, the idea of providing breakfast for hungry children must look pretty good to black youth. Yet, while the Panthers organized a lot of their own food and health programs, in the 1960s the government threw a lot of money at poverty programs for the inner cities. This was certainly not out of the "goodness of their hearts," but because they wanted to pacify the black ghettos after a string of upheavals. They needed black youth as cannon fodder for their dirty war against Vietnam, and didn't want to fight a full-scale war on two fronts.

Today, American imperialism's moribund economy has reduced blacks in the inner cities to a "surplus population." By every misery index the conditions of black life are worse than in the 1960s. A policy of genocide, which the Panthers talked about in the '60s, is the reality of the '90s. The social programs and democratic pretensions have been replaced by more jails and more cop terror. "Life" for the black poor in America is increasingly a nightmare of death by starvation, "hypothermia" (freezing to death), AIDS as well as curable diseases of poverty like tuberculosis, not to mention racist murder on death row.

## COINTELPRO Through the Lens of the "War Against Drugs"

The movie twists the role of the state's campaign of death and repression against the Panthers with its anti-drug theme. *Panther* asserts that the feds hooked up with the Mafia to plot the "ultimate contingency"—to neutralize the base of the BPP by dumping heroin in the ghetto. This is supposed to be at the heart of the demise of the Black Panthers. And



"Black Power" salute by U.S. athletes at 1968 Mexico City Olympics. AP

it is the springboard for the ultimate message of the movie, that what is needed is a new Black Panther Party to fight the "war on drugs." But what that would mean is serving as an auxiliary to the cops.

The idea that the feds would collaborate with the Mafia in drug deals has been met with a sneering chorus from the capitalist press, who describe such a notion as completely "preposterous." Yet the collaboration of the FBI and CIA with the Mafia, and the involvement of the agencies of U.S. imperialism in the drug trade, is hardly news. How about Ollie North's guns-for-drugs trade with the contras in Nicaragua, for one? The

*continued on page 10*

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## Panther...

(continued from page 9)

CIA's drug-running was a central component of the "war against Communism" abroad, with a long and stinking trail extending from Cambodia to Afghanistan to Central America.

But the concoction of a drug conspiracy theory to explain the destruction of the Panthers only serves to mystify and alibi the whole system of racist capitalist oppression. The Panthers were destroyed by police terror and murderous internal factionalism inflamed by the FBI. Coincident with the launching of the COINTELPRO campaign against the BPP, L.A. Panther leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were murdered by members of Ron Karenga's US (United Slaves) organization.

The movie *Panther* hints at the intense political rivalry between the BPP and right-wing "cultural nationalists" such as Karenga's organization, who opposed social struggle against racist police terror and glorified "African heritage." At the beginning are scenes of another Black Panther Party in San Francisco, whose members are dressed in long white robes and come across as loathsome armchair "revolutionaries" and downright pigs. After arranging a joint defense squad to defend Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, in the movie Huey Newton hits the roof when he later finds out that SF "Panthers" had come with guns that weren't loaded. In the next scene, Newton goes over to SF and physically attacks the leader of this outfit.

This all comes off as simply some kind of macho turf fight. But to make it more than that would cut too close to the bone of today's black nationalist hustlers who preach "empowerment" through

Bobby Seale's mouth!

At the same time, the movie contrasts the cultural nationalists lording it over their women recruits with the supposed equal treatment given to women recruits to the Black Panther Party. In reality, the Panthers were hostile to the fight for women's liberation. As late as 1970, their nationalist ideology led to opposition to birth control, calling the pill "another type of genocide that the power structure has poured into the Black Community." Using the language of anti-abortion bigots, they argued that "a true revolutionary...would never think of killing his [YSp: what about her?] unborn child."

A number of young, radicalized black women were active in the organization. While many were discussion leaders at Panther political education classes and several were party leaders, phrases like "pussy power" were thrown around, reflecting the sexual degradation of women in the BPP. This was not simply vulgar talk but came out of the Panthers' lumpenproletarian base and macho quasi-militarism which made for a brutal internal life, particularly for women. This attitude toward women was more pronounced in the Panthers, with its lumpen base, but it was pervasive in the petty-bourgeois New Left which refused to recognize the oppression of women. It was in reaction to this that the first women's liberation groups arose. Liberation for triply oppressed black women must include a forthright fight for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour day care, and jobs and quality education for all.

### The Fall of the Black Panthers

*Panther* features a scene where former SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael (today known as Kwame Toure) is shown at a "Free Huey" rally in Oakland. It is

Panthers' alliances with various white radical and liberal groups, like the Peace and Freedom Party, were not motivated by any realization that American society could be revolutionized by an integrated working-class movement. Rather, they were driven by the need to gain the broadest material and other support for their legal defense. Hundreds of Panther militants were jailed on trumped-up charges as COINTELPRO repression sought to break the BPP financially with bails mounting to \$5 million at one point.

The reformists of the Communist Party led the Panthers into the popular front—the shackling of the workers and oppressed to the Democratic Party with pie-in-the-sky promises. In 1969, the Black Panthers, in alliance with the CP, launched the United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) on a program of community control of the police and other mild appeals for liberal reform of the capitalist state. Under CP tutelage, the Panthers picked up on bourgeois public relations (i.e. groveling). They laid down the gun, dropped the militant talk and armed street patrols.

Beaten down by the rulers' iron fist, and looking toward liberals for support, the BPP went through a murderous split centered around the personalities of Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton. The Cleaver group (many of its leading figures then in exile) talked of "urban guerrillism," but particularly given the massive state repression against the Panthers, this was basically a rhetorical posture. The Newton wing moved to Democratic Party liberalism and social work programs, and by 1973 Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown were running with the Democrats in Oakland city elections. In the film, this division is quietly treated as an outgrowth of the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King. The split actually came much later, in 1970-71, and was marked by violent internecine battles.

Despite the idealism and heroism of the early Panthers, this split reflected the problems of trying to build an organization based on the glorification of lumpens, seeing the "most oppressed" as the "most revolutionary." Discipline was physical, not political. Leadership came to reflect "hero worship," rather than hard work and patient political discussion or even harsh debate. Those who have no interest in building a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for genuine black freedom can find solace in the drug conspiracy theory peddled by *Panther*. But militants looking for a road to struggle must seek out the truth that is concrete.

Facing a dead end politically, their early victories against cop brutality long behind them, the popular-front alliance with reformists and liberals going nowhere, the Panthers were broken by bloody state repression and COINTELPRO "dirty tricks," which fed into the internal factionalism. The murder of 17-year-old Bobby Hutton, shot in the back by Oakland cops, was the first in a campaign of state-sponsored murders that would take the lives of 38 Black Panther militants. Of those who weren't murdered by the cops, some escaped through accommodation with the powers that be. Others are locked in jail cells to this day, framed up for daring to challenge the rule of racist American capitalism.

Toward the end of *Panther*, a still photo is shown of a Panther militant with a body of water as the backdrop. Left unsaid is who he is. It's Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) at San Quentin prison. Having failed to kill Geronimo in a cop raid on Panther headquarters in Los Angeles, the state framed him for the 1968 murder of a white woman in Santa Monica. At the time of the murder Pratt was 400 miles away at an Oakland Panther meeting, which the FBI well knew because they had wiretapped the meeting (those records have conveniently been "lost"). Pratt has spent the last 25 years behind



WV Photo

Los Angeles Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), framed by the FBI's COINTELPRO, has spent 25 years in prison.

bars, repeatedly denied parole because he will not "confess" to a crime the government knows he did not commit.

Pratt was also caught up in the bloody split between the Cleaver and Newton wings of the BPP. Newton chose to believe the COINTELPRO lie that Pratt, who was in the Cleaver wing, was out to kill him and criminally refused to testify at Pratt's trial with evidence that would prove his innocence. Only recently have some prominent ex-Panthers come out to testify on Pratt's behalf. But they have done little in his defense. Writing of David Hilliard's book, *This Side of Glory*, from his cell on death row in Pennsylvania, another former Panther, Mumia Abu-Jamal, remarks, "While Hilliard glorifies ex-prisoners who became Panthers, he largely ignores ex-Panthers who became prisoners, as well as political prisoners and POWs who have been down for decades."

Jamal currently faces the threat of execution as the recently elected governor of Pennsylvania signs one death warrant after another. Framed for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop, Jamal is on death row because he was a Black Panther, because he is an award-winning journalist renowned for his searing indictments of American racism and because he is a supporter of the MOVE organization. Jamal continues to expose America's racist injustice system. A selection of Jamal's columns has recently been published in the book *Live from Death Row*. Speaking of the Panthers, Mumia writes: "The very conditions that gave rise to the party in the 1960s—brutal cops, racist courts, ineffective education, joblessness, and the like—still plague our people to this day. A few black, largely powerless politicians pose no solutions. We still have far to go."

### For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

As the Spartacist League wrote in "Rise and Fall of the Panthers: End of the Black Power Era" (reprinted in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [revised]): "It is important to note the significance of how the Panthers were defeated. That the Panthers were defeated *physically* by the state rather than *politically* through the intervention of the vanguard party means, in effect, that many of the lessons of their demise will surely be lost." That is more than evident in the sanitized script of *Panther* which turns the Panthers into the soulmates of everyone from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan—the man who wanted Malcolm X dead. Their insidious message of "hope not dope," "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" and "black capitalism for the



Thousands of demonstrators fill L.A. Hall of Justice in December 1969, demanding freedom for Geronimo and other jailed Panthers.

schemes like black-owned businesses. The Panthers were scathing in their derision of such programs. In an interview from prison, Huey described what he called "pork chop nationalism":

"Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. 'Papa Doc' in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

As Hilliard notes in his book, Newton also declared, "We're especially intransigent about black cops.... The cultural nationalists defend them. We don't." Yet in *Panther* Van Peebles outrageously puts the call for more black cops into

apparent that Carmichael's race-baiting of whites causes discomfort. The Panthers' attempt to regroup with remnants of SNCC was stillborn, as Carmichael's hard anti-communist nationalism was running at odds with the Panther Party's connections to the Berkeley left. This cleavage became evident at a Black Congress conference in Los Angeles, a talk-fest of militant and moderate black activists. As David Hilliard writes in his book:

"Right off, things go badly. Karenga, who hosts the conference and styles himself a revolutionary, has invited the Los Angeles police—white and black cops—to help with security. Their presence is of course unacceptable....

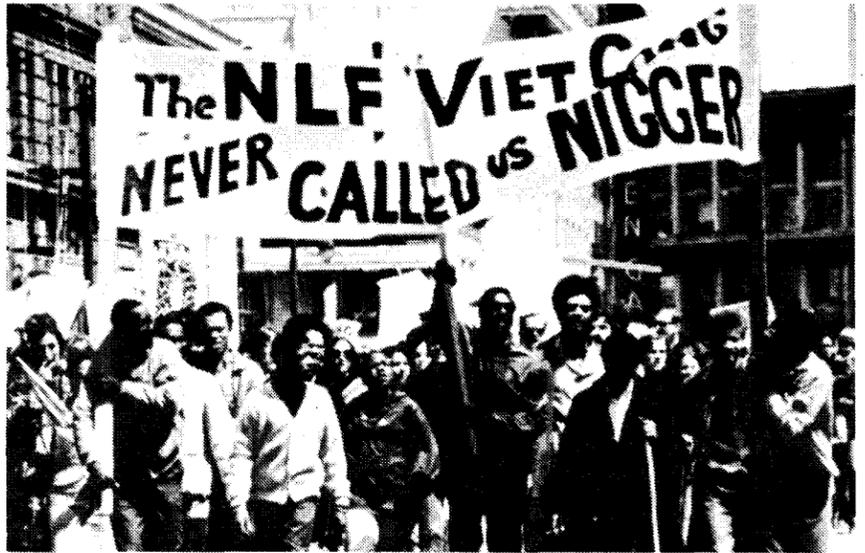
"Even more troubling are our dealings with SNCC. We expect a power struggle with US: important differences divide our two groups. But SNCC, presumably, is our ally."

Yet while they spoke out against the racism of the cultural nationalists, the



Spartacist

Opposition to Martin Luther King's liberal "turn the other cheek" pacifism and to U.S. imperialist war against the heroic Vietnamese people were key to black radicalization in the 1960s.



Flax Hermes

black community" are splashed all over the silver screen. This agenda has utterly failed to change the lives of the black masses.

Meanwhile on the left, echoing their role in the '60s, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) soapbox outside showings of *Panther* enthusing over the "armed struggle" supposedly initiated by the Panthers. But this rehash of the New Left notion that the ghetto was a base for "urban guerrilla warfare" was a myth then and is now. The Panthers were outstanding in their willingness to face jail and even death in defense of this theory. But radical-posturing cheerleaders like the RCP's "Chairman Bob" Avakian never did anything but play-acting. Avakian's clanking-bullet necklace that he wore during a TV interview from "exile" in France sums up his politics.

With a materialist understanding of black oppression in capitalist America, the Spartacist League has uniquely fought for a program of revolutionary integrationism: for black liberation through socialist revolution. Blacks are a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of the American social and economic order. They are oppressed by a system rooted in slavery and now enforced with racist police-state terror. A successful struggle for black freedom requires an integrated working-class fight for an egalitarian socialist society—in opposition to all forms of nationalism and liberal reformism.

With the betrayal of Reconstruction following the Civil War, which left unfulfilled the promise of black equality, blacks were the rural labor that held intact the antiquated Southern economy. Fueled by war, the U.S. capitalist economy began incorporating blacks into the industrial working class and "reserve army of

unemployed" in the North, beginning with the mass slaughter of World War I through World War II to U.S. imperialism's war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Although driven out and back in the deindustrialization of the 1980s, blacks still constitute important battalions of organized labor in this country. Here lies the key to linking the social power of the working class to the defense of the inner cities.

At its height, the Black Panther Party had 4,000 members in 35 chapters. A number of these young black militants could have been won to revolutionary Marxism. Fighting in the unions as well as among radicalizing youth, they could have been instrumental in breaking the brittle stranglehold of the racist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO tops over organized labor, in defeating the black Uncle Toms in the ghettos and their capitalist patrons in the racist Democratic Party. This would have laid the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party—acting as a tribune of the oppressed and fighting for a workers government—that could forever bury the capitalist exploiters and their system.

The Black Panther Party rejected the working class as the key revolutionary force. Instead, they theorized that all employed workers, black and white, had been bought off by the racist rulers. Seeing chronically unemployed, lumpen-proletarian black youth as the "revolutionary vanguard" they particularly subscribed to the idea that organized labor was a reflection of "white skin privilege."

It is true that the U.S. ruling class has effectively used anti-black racism among white workers to politically retard the American working class, blinding it to its own oppression and to its common interests with the oppressed black masses. But the same class con-

tempt the bourgeoisie displays toward a black welfare mother is today directed at striking workers fighting against assaults on their unions. Even during the heyday of the Panthers, striking white oil workers in Richmond, California took up the BPP's cry of "pig" against cops attacking their picket lines.

Historical experience shows that heroic fighters for the revolutionary cause can be won from the lumpenproletariat, but this will require a sharp *break* from their background. This can happen on a significant scale only when this layer is concretely led by the social power and discipline of the proletariat. Revolutionary *communist* consciousness will come through direct participation in social struggle alongside white and Hispanic workers in a common fight to transform the hellish conditions of American capitalist society. But the Black Panther Party had a blinkered nationalist perspective that prevented them from seeing beyond the ghettos. Despite having members working in the factories near Oakland, and even putting out a few issues of a plant newspaper at Fremont GM, the BPP politically turned its back on the multiracial working class, ceding the terrain to the reformist black misleaders and the labor lieutenants of capital.

The Panthers sought in the lumpenproletariat a substitute for revolutionary working-class struggle. Inspired by Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, they defined this class as "the brother on the block." Fanon, a West Indian intellectual who championed the Algerian independence struggle, saw revolutionary violence as playing a cathartic role in throwing off the shackles of a colonial mentality. The Panthers made an analogy to the old plantation system of the brutally exploited field slave and the privileged house slave. But the subjects of colonial rule and of racist oppression in the U.S. could not achieve freedom simply by changing their mentality. What was and is necessary is a struggle for *power*, to overthrow the world system of imperialist domination by a revolution of the wage slaves without whom capitalism cannot function.

If the labor movement in this country is flat on its back today, and there is an absence of black struggle as well, it is centrally due to a question of *leadership*. *Panther's* message is that what is needed is black cops, some "black faces in high places" and a new Panther party to act as their youth auxiliary. But this has already been tried and failed. Following the demise of the Panthers, in the 1980s every major city in America was ruled by a black mayor and a number had black police chiefs, too. The Spartacist League forthrightly described this layer as "the black overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation." More recently the bourgeoisie doesn't even consider it necessary to have black front men to enforce their rule. Most of this layer have been swept aside, some the victims of dirty FBI sting operations.

In the promo piece for *Panther*, Mario Van Peebles writes that "Hoover and the FBI knew that the most dangerous

weapon the Panthers had was not a few guns. Obviously, they would never be able to take on the National Guard or the United States Army. The BPP's ideology was what the establishment feared most, the psychological effect of people feeding their own, empowering themselves." What the "establishment" feared most was not the phony "empowerment" rhetoric of the Jesse Jacksons, but black militants becoming "reds." In 1968, J. Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Hoover was a truly deranged anti-Communist, who could find a red under just about any bed. Nonetheless his fear and loathing of "Bolshevism" reflected that of the entire American ruling class (including the liberal icon, John F. Kennedy). The racist rulers shook in their boots at the possibility of angry black masses linking up with communist leadership.

A lot of scams have been tried—cultural nationalism, liberal integrationism, Booker T. Washingtonism, Democratic Party constituency politics, urban "guerrillism," New Left sectoralism. But when the working class overthrew capitalist rule in the Russian October Revolution of 1917, this was a beacon for black people and the oppressed around the world. Despite the subsequent degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin and its ultimate destruction by capitalist counterrevolution, the road of Red October remains the road to black liberation today. The answer lies in building a party like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, a party based on uniting the ethnically diverse working class around the revolutionary program as a tribune of the people.

As the SL wrote more than two decades ago, following the demise of the Black Panther Party, "there will always be plenty of hustlers and romantic rebels to attempt endless repetition of the old mistakes and betrayals. But the intervention of Leninists among radical blacks can stimulate the understanding that the liberation of black people will be both a great driving force of the American proletarian revolution, and a great achievement of the revolution in power" ("End of the Black Power Era"). A successful revolution against America's racist rulers would echo around the world, inspiring the masses from U.S. imperialism's neo-colonial Latin American "backyard" to South Africa and the industrial powerhouses of Japan and Europe. ■

## Other Materials on the Black Panther Party

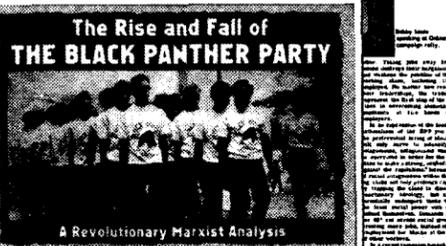
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## Young Spartacus Correction

In "Cops Riot Against UCLA Students" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 621, 5 May 1995), Michael Zinzun, who organized the Coalition Against Police Abuse, was erroneously referred to as a lawyer.

# Labor Support...

(continued from page 3)

Typographical Union Local 21, which sent a protest letter in 1991, recently sent a statement to Ridge.

In addition, SEIU 1877 in San Jose, which organizes the Justice for Janitors campaign in the area, has endorsed the call for an emergency demo in Oakland the day after a death warrant against Jamal is signed, which the PDC, Refuse & Resist, Committees of Correspondence and other organizations are coordinating. SEIU Local 535 (California health care workers), which first called for saving Mumia in 1989, has issued a new protest letter to Governor Ridge. Other area unions protesting the rail-roading of Jamal include SEIU Local 250 (hospital workers), SEIU's United Public Employees Local 790 and the Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific.

In Los Angeles, SEIU Local 399 donated its hall for a rally on March 4. This is the union that held a militant demonstration last September outside L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti's office demanding freedom for framed-up Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Already in 1990, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena passed a resolution and issued a statement protesting Jamal's death sentence.

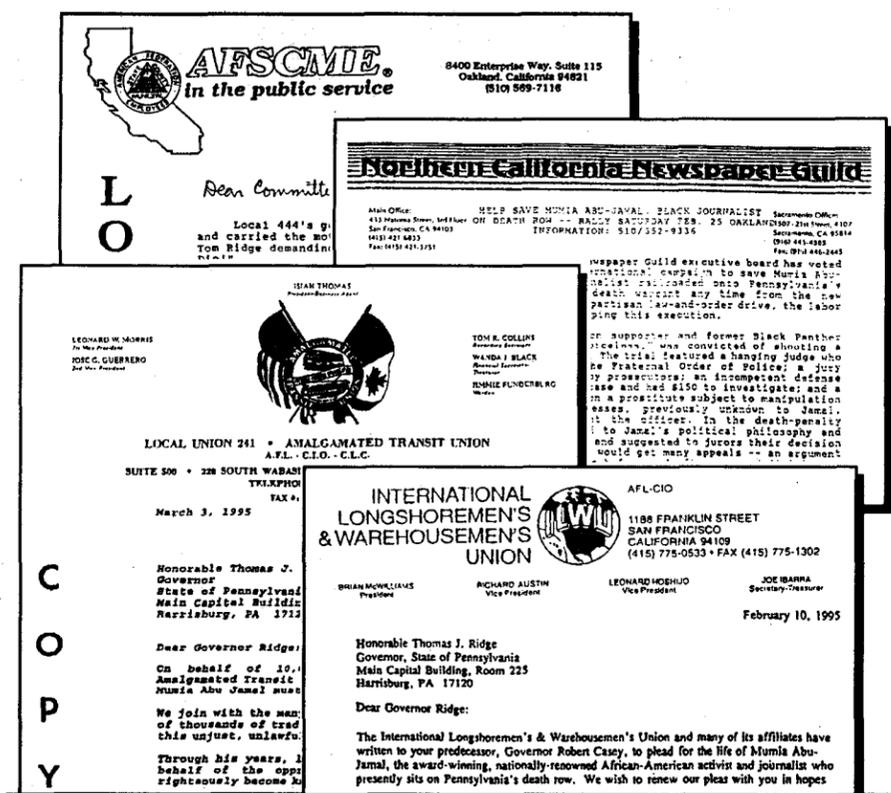
In Chicago, a rally to save Jamal was held March 4 at the United Electrical Workers' hall, featuring a wide range of speakers from labor and civil rights groups. Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 endorsed and sent a strong protest letter to Ridge declaring, "Jamal has given voice to those who did not always use it. We intend to use our voice, to add it to the chorus until it becomes a deafening crescendo that shakes the very foundation of this society." An article entitled "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" appeared in the March issue of the Chicago AFSCME Local 3506 newsletter, *Take Charge*.

Support for Mumia among trade unionists in other areas of the U.S. is also growing. ATU Local 732 in Atlanta has recently sent a letter to Governor Ridge, as have the South Central Federation of Labor in Madison, Wisconsin and UAW Local 2322 in Northampton, Massachusetts. Other unions which have come out in defense of Mumia beginning as early as 1990 include ILA Local 1414 in Savannah, Georgia and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Region VI (Milwaukee). A number of unions have sent contributions to Jamal's legal defense, notably ATU Local 308 (Chicago), SEIU Local 1877 and ILWU Local 10.

## "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All"

Throughout the history of the labor movement in the U.S., the state has resorted to execution against many of the finest union militants. But there is also a long record of international workers' struggle against the death penalty. The 1887 execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs gave rise to the international day of workers struggle, May Day, which is celebrated just about everywhere around the world except the U.S. After the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, the Communist International formed the International Red Aid to assist workers and Communists facing right-wing terror in East Europe. Pioneer American Communist and Trotskyist James P. Cannon and "Big Bill" Haywood, a militant Wobbly (IWW) leader who was saved from execution in the early 1900s through mass working-class protest, launched the International Labor Defense (ILD) to carry out this work in the U.S. The ILD's principles of united-front, non-sectarian defense of class-war prisoners were pioneered by the IWW with its slogan that "an injury to one is an injury to all." Today the Partisan Defense Committee continues this tradition.

The ILD brought the campaign to save



Some among the many statements of support for Jamal from unions and union officials around the U.S. Labor's power must be mobilized in the fight against the racist death penalty.

anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (who were framed up and sentenced to die by the state of Massachusetts) to the international working class. Millions of workers joined strikes and protests from coast to coast in the U.S. and around the world. Mass demonstrations took place in Europe from Britain to Bulgaria, from Havana, Cuba to Buenos Aires, Argentina and Cape Town, South Africa. Cigar workers in Tampa and miners in southern Colorado carried out protest strikes in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Citywide strikes took place in major cities like Berlin, Paris and New York, where in July 1927 some 250,000 joined a one-day strike. Although Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, the ILD's proletarian defense strategy laid the basis for the successful fight to save the Scottsboro Boys—nine black youths framed for the rape of two white women in Alabama—from legal lynching in the 1930s. International workers' protests were key in saving their lives and eventually winning their freedom.

## Mobilize International Labor Support

Today, more and more workers around the world have learned of the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal and come to see his cause as their own. In Britain in the last few months alone, trade unions representing millions of workers have joined the campaign to save Jamal. This support is reflected in a resolution against the execution of Jamal signed by 51 Members of Parliament. Labour Party MPs Tony Benn and Bernie Grant, a prominent black spokesman, have sent protest letters to Ridge. Mumia's case has intersected widespread outrage in Britain over the April 8 execution in Georgia of Nicholas Ingram, a dual citizen of Britain and the U.S.

In March, the Southern and Eastern Regional Council of the Trades Union Congress in London called on Ridge to commute Mumia's death sentence. Bill Morris, the general secretary of the powerful Transport & General Workers Union, wrote on behalf of the union that the death penalty is "barbaric and abhorrent, and in reality a form of judicial murder." Tony Dubbins, general secretary of the Graphical, Paper & Media Union wrote to Ridge: "On behalf of over 200,000 printing and paper workers in Great Britain, and the Republic of Ireland, I urgently appeal to you to show clemency to Mumia Abu-Jamal." The Scottish Branch of the union has sent its own protest letter and placed an article on the international campaign in the May issue of the *GPMU Journal*.

Other unions in Britain which have sent protests to Ridge include the Bakers, Food & Allied Workers; the London

North District Committee, Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, Engineering Section; UNISON (public workers), West Midlands Region; the Scottish Regional Committee of the Fire Brigades Union; and a teachers union at Ealing Tertiary College. Representatives of the National Union of Journalists, which first joined this battle in 1990, and the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers were among those addressing the March 29 London rally to save Jamal organized by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Jamal's searing commentaries on the brutal race and class oppression of U.S. society, written from the bowels of death row, have won him international recognition as an eloquent, militant journalist. In Ireland, the National Union of Journalists has sent protests to Ridge, U.S. ambassador Jean Kennedy-Smith and Ireland's foreign affairs minister Dick Spring. It notes in the letter to Ridge that "the people of this country are no strangers to miscarriages of justice." Pointing to the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four, jailed for years by the British imperialists on trumped-up charges of "IRA terrorism," the letter continues: "We are fortunate...that judicial murder is not an option open to the courts" in Ireland.

In France, in addition to the CGT labor federation, its affiliated Syndicat National des Journalistes and Syndicat Général du Livre (printing workers) also issued protest letters to then-governor Casey in 1990. This year, the CGT dockers union in Marseille has sent a protest statement to Governor Ridge. In Canada in 1990, a Toronto demonstration calling to save Jamal's life was endorsed by, among others, United Transportation Union Local 483, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver local, the execu-

tive council of Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1, and individual union officials. The Metro Vancouver District Council of the Canadian Union of Public Employees sent a letter to Casey. This year, the Prince Rupert Labour Council (British Columbia) sent a letter to Ridge and sent a contribution for Jamal's defense.

In Australia, the Firemen & Deckhands' Union of New South Wales and TAFETA (teachers union), New South Wales, issued protests in 1990. Recently, the Public Transport Union in Melbourne has circulated petitions calling for saving Mumia's life. In Mexico, Section 10 of the SNTE teachers union (Mexico City) has come out for Jamal's defense. Abolition of the death penalty was one of the achievements of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, and there has been widespread outrage in Mexico over the execution of several Mexicans in the U.S. Jamal's case has resonated in particular in South Africa (see page 3), where racist executions were a key component of apartheid state terror.

In Germany, the IG Medien media workers union has extended its earlier support for Jamal. In a noteworthy act of solidarity, the Berlin-Brandenburg branch of the union voted in February to make Mumia an honorary member of its executive committee. Recently, IG Medien's youth organization printed 10,000 postcards addressed to Governor Ridge opposing the execution of Jamal and distributed them to its membership around the country.

The campaign to save Jamal has found broad support among anti-fascist militants in Germany, where the death penalty is widely identified with the Nazi Third Reich. On April 9, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party and the KfsV (Committee for Social Defense), fraternal organization of the PDC, attended the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Soviet Red Army's liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Hundreds of signatures were gathered on petitions for Mumia, including from numerous Buchenwald survivors. Several of these victims of Nazi terror poignantly signed the petitions with the camp identification numbers tattooed on their arms.

Today in the U.S. the fight to save Jamal has become a focal point of struggle against the all-sided intensification of racist repression and capitalist attacks on the working people. As the urgency mounts with every death warrant signed, the task is to widen and deepen the support for Jamal, particularly in the organized labor movement, with the aim of pulling thousands upon thousands into the streets in mass protest.

The aim of the racist police/government pro-death campaign is clear: to silence forever this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. It has never been more urgent for everyone who opposes the barbaric death penalty, for everyone who opposes racist injustice, for everyone who sides with working people against the exploiters, to join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■



International working-class mobilizations saved the Scottsboro Boys from legal lynching in Alabama in the 1930s. Above: Demonstration in front of the White House.

UPI/Bettmann

# COINTELPRO...

(continued from page 16)

the Philadelphia Police Department—particularly its Civil Disobedience Unit (CDU) and Intelligence Division “red squads”—extending to at least four other security agencies, including the Naval Investigative Service Office, Military Intelligence, Office of Special Investigation and the Secret Service.

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

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

The files prove that, years before he was framed in the death of a Philadelphia cop, the feds repeatedly tried to set Jamal up on serious felony charges—including murder—without any basis. This was S.O.P. (standard operating procedure) in the government’s COINTELPRO war on black militants, as the FBI instructed its agents that since the “purpose... is to disrupt... it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge” (Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]). The lies range from the absurd—the photo appended to the files is not of Jamal—to the outlandishly sinister. When the governor of Bermuda was assassinated in 1973, the feds tried to link the killing to Jamal, who



Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

**Philadelphia Panthers were dragged out on the street, forced to strip and searched at gunpoint by Rizzo’s racist cops in 1970 raid.**

had never been anywhere near Bermuda. They also falsely sought to paint him as an “urban guerrilla” associated with the Black Liberation Army, marking him to be assassinated by the cops the way BLA leader Zayd Shakur was.

Jamal came of age politically as 38 of his Panther comrades were gunned down and hundreds of others jailed on frame-up charges in the FBI’s deadly vendetta. He himself was clearly a major target in this murderous crusade. The files repeatedly noted that Mumia was an effective and articulate spokesman and writer for the *Black Panther* newspaper, who “made the BPP look good because his approach was very positive.” Indeed, not one among the steady stream of reports to FBI headquarters on Jamal’s Panther activities, which were compiled at the rate of virtually one a week, indicated that he was ever engaged in anything other than public speaking and writing. Yet despite the FBI’s acknowledgement that Jamal “has not displayed a propensity for violence” and was not once found with a gun throughout this period of intense surveillance, the files regularly labeled him “Armed and Dangerous”—a license for the cops and G-men to shoot first and ask questions later.

And they finally did shoot him, on the night of 9 December 1981. The subsequent trial, conviction and death sentence was a political frame-up pure and

simple—like the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—the culmination of years of efforts to “neutralize” Jamal. To send Jamal to death row, prosecutor Joseph McGill told the nearly all-white jury that Jamal’s Panther past showed that he had been planning to kill a cop “all the way back then.” Even in their skeleton form, these documents reveal that since “all the way back then” the state has been out to get Jamal. In them you can see the threads leading to the 1982 frame-up which sent Jamal to death row.

## FBI’s Racist Vendetta

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

The feds decided to open a dossier on the young Jamal when he participated in a 1 May 1969 demonstration at the Pennsylvania State Office Building demand-

ing freedom for imprisoned BPP leader Huey Newton. From that day on a steady stream of “airtels,” “nitels,” memoranda and letters between FBI headquarters and its field agents tracked Mumia’s every political move. For example, in one typical four-week period in the summer of 1969, the FBI files include: a memorandum dated August 11 reporting that Jamal spoke at a Hiroshima Day rally in Philadelphia; a CDU report on the same rally, also-dated August 11; two “Airtels” to the FBI director, dated August 14; an August 14 “FBI Notice”; an August 19 “Government Memorandum,” again on the Hiroshima Day rally; and a September 4 FBI report on a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally where Mumia “spoke against the ‘pigs’” followed by a cover note dated September 5 specifically identifying “Wesley Cook, aka Wes Mumia.”

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

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

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

Seven months later, Jamal was set up for another attempted “hit,” as he boarded a flight for San Francisco in March 1970 to work at the Bay Area BPP headquarters. According to a 2 April 1970 report, Assistant U.S. Attorney Tony Lombardio “advised he would authorize the arrest of Cook for violation of the Crime Aboard Aircraft statute.” More than one Panther activist was shot dead by the cops with the subsequent claim that they had been armed and “resisted arrest.” But in this instance, the FBI was frustrated in its attempt to get Jamal, as the report concluded: “Cook was searched by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation prior to boarding Trans World Airlines, Flight 15; however, no weapon was located.”

By 1970 the BPP was being torn apart through a combination of government terror and internal factionalism between the Huey Newton wing and Eldridge Cleaver, who espoused a militant-sounding guerrillaist strategy from his exile in Algeria. Jamal left the Panthers shortly after the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention held at Philadelphia’s Temple University in September 1970, but he remained in the government’s cross hairs. That fall, Mumia was arrested along with seven other high-school students for demonstrating and distributing literature calling for “black revolutionary student power.” Hearing that Jamal had started a publication called *National Black Liberation News*, FBI headquarters instructed its

continued on page 14

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**  
 TO : SAC, Philadelphia (157-3937)  
 FROM : Director, FBI (157-15510)  
 SUBJECT: WESLEY COOK  
 RM - BPP

DATE: 12/9/71

ReurFD-122 11/30/71 recommending subject for Category III of the Administrative Index (ADEX).  
 Your recommendation for inclusion in the ADEX is approved; however, the subject is being placed in Category II rather than Category III. Your ADEX cards on the subject will be furnished separately.  
 Subject is being placed in Category II since he has now actively aligned himself with the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party.  
 The recently formed communications group of the Cleaver Faction, the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network (RPCN) lists Mumia, known to be the alias of Wesley Cook, as its Philadelphia Correspondent. The 11/1-14/71 edition of the RPCN biweekly newspaper “Babylon” contained an article written by Cook under his alias concerning the arrest of H. Rap Brown.  
 Since subject is an active participant in furthering the aims and purposes of the black extremist Black Panther Party (BPP), he qualifies for Category II.  
 For criteria for inclusion in the various categories of the ADEX, refer to Bureau airtel to all offices dated 11/15/71 captioned “Security Investigations of Individuals.”

157-3937-183  
 DEC 11 1971  
 b7c  
 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan  
 157-3937-183



Yoichi Okamoto

**FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover masterminded war on black militants which killed 38 Panthers, imprisoned hundreds and placed thousands of radicals, including Jamal, on government ADEX roundup list.**

# COINTELPRO...

(continued from page 13)

field agents to determine "if the paper is to be published in Philadelphia" and to submit "complete details concerning its staff, printing, distribution, financing and other pertinent details" ("Airtel," 19 November 1970).

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

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

"Because of Cook's black extremist background, his possible involvement in the urban guerrilla activities of the Black Liberation Army, and his attendance at Goddard College which attracts black extremists from Bermuda, the investigation to locate him should be intensified and efforts should be made to determine



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

if he had been out of the country over the weekend of March 9-11, 1973."

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

### Paper Trail of a Frame-Up

Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their ven-

detta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression. The FBI files indicate time and again that they could entertain no hopes that Jamal would turn informant and desert the cause for which he fought. As one such report remarked: "Although he is only 16 years old and has no informant potential, he possesses much intelligence and evidentiary information if he will talk."

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

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

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

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

Four years later, on 9 December 1981, Jamal was shot in the chest by the cops on a Philly street and left nearly bleeding

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

Another notorious travesty in Jamal's trial was the cross-examination of character witness Sonia Sanchez, a renowned poet. Pointing to an introduction Sanchez had written for a book about BLA activist Assata Shakur, who narrowly escaped an execution attempt by New Jersey state troopers only to be framed for the killing of one of her would-be assassins, the prosecution labeled Sanchez a "friend of cop killers"—suggesting that Jamal must be a "cop killer" as well. What led the prosecution to make a connection between Jamal and Shakur? A 26 September 1973 FBI report said that Jamal's name and phone number had been "located among names and telephone numbers found in notebook number 1 which was obtained from BLA member (deleted) at the time of her (deleted) arrest by NJ State Police."

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

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

## Jamal to File Appeal for New Trial

In the coming week, legal papers seeking a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and the reversal of his death sentence are to be filed in the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. After the filing, Jamal's attorneys and supporters will hold a press conference outside the courthouse. These papers, based on extensive new investigation, research and review, demonstrate unequivocally that Mumia, who has proclaimed his innocence from the very beginning, was the victim of a politically motivated, racially biased prosecution in which evidence of his innocence was suppressed.

**Funds are urgently needed!** To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. The forces that seek to silence Jamal forever have the vast resources of the state at their disposal. Mumia's life depends on the political action and material support of working people of little means, but it is precisely upon such support that a worldwide campaign has been built. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) have dramatically escalated their campaign to silence Jamal. On May 21, a fund-raiser for Jamal in New York City was picketed by 50 racist cops screaming for his execution. The FOP is particularly rabid over the publication of Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*. His searing indictment of racist capitalist

injustice has made this powerful collection of writings a hot seller—and a valuable tool in the fight for his freedom and against "legal" lynching. Get your local bookstore to order *Live from Death Row* from publisher Addison-Wesley now!

Significant support for Mumia continues to pour in. PEN American Center issued a statement in April protesting the attempts to challenge Mumia's First Amendment rights as a writer and questioning the irregularities of his original trial. The Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal received a check for \$5,000 from the Human Rights Watch Free Expression Project for victims of political persecution made possible by the legacies of Dashiell Hammett and Lillian Hellman.

**Prepare for emergency protests:** If a death warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in cities around the country. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize a militant outcry against the racist death penalty! To get petitions and arrange video showings of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, contact the Partisan Defense Committee: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

**Send protests to:** Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120; fax (717) 883-1396; phone (800) 932-0784.

**Write to Jamal** to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. ■

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# From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

## A Jaundiced "Eye on America"



The urbane Dan Rather, sitting as the sole anchor of the evening's newscast, premised the segment coming up as one which would deal with a case of a criminal "who profited from his crime," a theme seconded by correspondent Anthony Mason, and sounded by the subjects of the segment.

Viewers were left with the unmistakable opinion that the man depicted in the segment, was getting "rich" off of the killing of a cop in Philadelphia.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

That edition of "Eye on America" is Exhibit A of "How to produce a biased, prejudicial and non-objective report." It was an attack on the writer, by appearing to be an attack on a book; a book that deals with many things, but *not* the crime for which the writer has been convicted—a fact obvious to anyone who can, and does, read.

It is undisputed that the writer was convicted of a crime, and yes, the book—*Live from Death Row*—does deal with crime—but it deals with the crimes committed by this system, this government, members of the Philadelphia Police, and the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections—crimes that no court has condemned! It illustrates that some crimes are punished, and others are not. That is the real reason why this system, and its media mouthpieces (themselves huge multinational corporations) are attacking this book.

Isn't it ironic that the very entity that claims its lifeblood is the First Amendment to the Constitution

attacks someone for daring to practice the identical claimed constitutional guarantee?

What is more important, however, is the case that wasn't mentioned in that segment that claimed to deal with "those who profited from crime," and why.

Who recognizes the name "Stacey Koon"?

If you say, "one of the cops who almost beat Rodney King to death," you would be half-right. He is also the author of the book, *Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair* (Regnery Gateway, 1993). Mr. Koon is also a beneficiary of the Koon Defense Fund which has collected, as of 4-5 months ago, an estimated \$4.6 million dollars—**million!**

In his letter soliciting funds for the support of his legal efforts on appeal, and his wife and five kids, the call for financial support is under the title: Sgt. Stacey C. Koon, L.A.P.D.

Sgt.? L.A.P.D.? Isn't Koon a convicted criminal?

Further, isn't he, by writing a book about the crime for which he was convicted—"profiting from his crime"?

Apparently, to the editors at CBS, not so, for who among the readers who are reading this column, has not seen the brutal **videotaped** beating of Rodney King—for the crime of being a "big nigga"? In his letter soliciting funds, Koon writes, "Rodney King, a musclebound, 6 foot 4 inch, 240 pounder, had attacked LAPD police officers before the famous video tape was made."

"At one point," Koon adds, King "exhibited super-human strength."

When is a criminal not a criminal? When they are cops convicted of crimes? How many of the cops across the country contributed to this convicted criminal?

You would not learn this from "Eye on," for this was not, apparently, "news." In truth, it isn't news when white cops beat, kill, or torture black men, women and children: that is the status quo.

At the night before the event at the law enforcement memorial in Washington, D.C., over 100 cops (mostly from the New York Police Dept.) wrought havoc upon the Washington Regency Hotel, by acting like a squadron of drunken louts—they ran through the hotel buck naked, sexually harassed innocent women who lodged therein, they sprayed fire extinguishers into the air conditioning system, and beat on doors, shouting "Open up! Federal Police!"

What constitutes crimes for average people, becomes "boys getting a little steam off."

Who profits from crime?

Don't the cops?

Doesn't the media?

21 May 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

**Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal 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 Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.**

## Vendetta...

(continued from page 16)

where he grotesquely equated leftist protesters of the '60s with fascist terrorists reveling in the slaughter of innocent people in Oklahoma City. Emboldened by the "law and order" drive, the racist cops act as if they stand above the law, as demonstrated by last week's rampage by drunken cops in Washington, D.C. The Philly cops showed their idea of the law ten years ago this month when they bombed the MOVE commune, with explosives provided by the FBI, setting off a firestorm that killed eleven black people, including five children, and consumed an entire city block.

Just as Clinton seeks to smear all political opposition to the government as "terrorism," so those who oppose Jamal's execution are now being painted as "cop

killers" or their apologists. A few years ago, the head of the Philadelphia FOP called for the electric chair for Jamal and an "electric couch" for his supporters. What drives the cops and their allies into a frenzy is the wide and growing support for Mumia Abu-Jamal around the world. Tens of thousands of petitions and telegrams for Jamal have poured into the Pennsylvania governor's office. Trade unions representing millions of workers have called to save Jamal, including the French CGT labor federation, the British TGWU transport workers, South African commercial workers, ILWU longshoremen and a host of local unions and labor officials in the U.S. In particular, newspaper unions in Britain, France and Germany have rallied to Jamal's cause.

Without exception, the media campaign to assassinate Mumia Abu-Jamal has cynically trotted out the dead police officer's widow, Maureen Faulkner, claiming that this innocent man must die so that she will again be able to get a peaceful night's sleep. Do any of them inquire how the wife and children of Mumia Abu-Jamal sleep, knowing that their husband and father is targeted for death? As Mumia's wife, Wadiya Jamal, said in response to this vindictive propaganda offensive: "Sleepless nights? For 13 years, my children and I have been separated from father and husband. I lie awake each night wondering if tomorrow is the day an order for Mumia's execution will be signed—for a crime he did not commit."

With all the "truth" that can be expected from Rupert Murdoch's gutter journalism, the *New York Post* screams that "Jamal was found guilty on the basis of overwhelming evidence," rehashing the baldfaced lie that Jamal smiled at Maureen Faulkner when the ballistics expert held up her husband's bloody shirt in evidence. Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this happened, because the judge excluded him from much of his own trial! Jamal's "trial" was a travesty from beginning to end: presided over by the notorious hanging judge, Albert Sabo, who has sentenced more people to death than any sitting judge

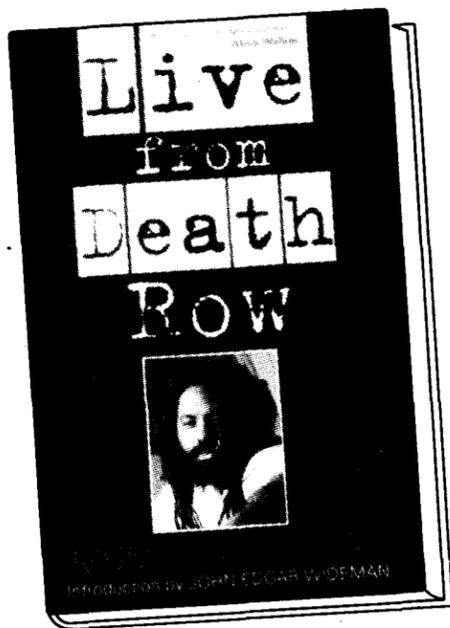
in the U.S.; with a jury from which black people were peremptorily excluded; with no defense counsel to speak of; convicted on the basis of the government's bought "witnesses," while evidence of Jamal's innocence was suppressed. Finally, *Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death on the basis of his political beliefs.*

The only "crime" Jamal is "guilty" of is his outspoken defense of the rights of black people and others in this deeply racist country, for which he became known as the "voice of the voiceless." Mumia Abu-Jamal was in the cross hairs of the FBI and its notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" from the moment he appeared on the Philadelphia political scene as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in 1969. COINTELPRO architect J. Edgar Hoover vowed that black youth who "succumb to revolutionary teachings...will be dead revolutionaries." Some 38 Panthers were killed in the deadly FBI campaign. As 700 pages of recently released FBI/COINTELPRO files on Jamal make clear, the feds and cops had tried to set him up on more than one occasion before they finally shot him on the streets of

Philadelphia in December 1981—and when that failed to kill him, they sent him to death row on bogus charges.

The racist vendetta continues to this day in the attempt to silence Mumia Abu-Jamal—and the many thousands of trade unionists, leftists, writers, artists, political figures and other opponents of the racist and barbaric death penalty around the world who fight to save the life of this lifelong opponent of racist oppression. It is precisely because Jamal's voice resonates so powerfully on behalf of the downtrodden, precisely because he has attracted such widespread support internationally, that the powers that be seek to silence his voice in order that they can more easily silence him forever.

The Partisan Defense Committee, which has long fought to mobilize support to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, will not be intimidated. Nor will the countless others who have heard in Jamal a powerful and moving expression of their own opposition to this racist, capitalist system. Oppose the campaign of censorship and intimidation—Join us in the fight—Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



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

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Cops/Media Escalate Vendetta to Kill Mumia Abu-Jamal



COC Productions  
Mumia Abu-Jamal, death row political prisoner.

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on May 20.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been imprisoned on Pennsylvania's death row, an innocent victim of a grotesquely racist frame-up, on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in December 1981. Now, as newly-elected Republican governor Tom Ridge signs one death warrant after another, the forces who want to see Mumia Abu-Jamal dead have escalated their sinister campaign. They want to make Jamal—the award-winning black radio and newspaper journalist, former Black Panther Party activist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group—the first political execution in the U.S. since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They have seized on the publication of Jamal's new book, *Live from Death Row*—a collection of his intensely compassionate writings about the horrors of racism, injustice and prison life—to rev up this frenzied drive for the legal lynching of this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. Now they're trying to whip up a clamor for Jamal's immediate

execution—and to intimidate the countless thousands who have raised their voices to save him—even as his legal team is working to file papers as soon as possible for a new trial.

During the last week, there has been an orchestrated and ever-louder drum-beat for death coming from the media. In a lead editorial worthy of witchhunter Joe McCarthy, today's *New York Post* railed that "The Left Fetes a Cop-Killer," denouncing Jamal's defenders and in particular those who will be participating in public readings from *Live from Death Row* on Sunday. On Friday night, the "Eye on America" segment of Dan Rather's CBS-TV national evening news featured an equally vile smear job, preceded the day before by a lengthy article in the *Washington Post* and earlier pieces in the *Boston Globe* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*. The crusade to kill Jamal moved into high gear last year in a successful attempt by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and others to cow National Public Radio into canceling a series of commentaries by Jamal.

There is clearly a concerted effort to

manufacture "public opinion" aimed at railroading Jamal to the death chamber. Mumia Abu-Jamal has become the focal point of the fight against the racist death penalty, and that is why the forces of death seek to vilify him. They want to portray the nearly 3,000 prisoners on the country's death rows as nameless, faceless "brutes"—and Mumia's eloquent, compassionate writings expose this lie. The speedup on death row comes in the context of a bipartisan assault on every social program from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto population. The American ruling class wants a compliant and "disciplined" populace. Mumia stands as a symbol of defiance against this racist oppression.

Spearheading the crusade against Jamal are the Philadelphia cops, tied to the highest levels of government. The capitalist state is standing by its hired thugs, the police. At the beginning of last week, President Clinton attended the national FOP's annual gathering in Washington, and later met with FOP leaders

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## MUMIA ABU-JAMAL:

# THE COINTELPRO FILES

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

The sentence of death was passed on Mumia Abu-Jamal long before he ever appeared in a courtroom. At the age of 14, he was brutally beaten by racist thugs, including cops—and then arrested—for daring to protest at a Philadelphia election campaign appearance by Dixiecrat segregationist George Wallace in 1968.

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

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

The racist state vendetta against Jamal has now been confirmed by 700 pages of FBI files he recently obtained after almost three years of fighting for them. Even with much of the text blacked out and many documents withheld outright, these files make it clear that the FBI and cops were on a mission to use any "dirty trick" in their arsenal of extralegal terror to silence the man who would become known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his journalistic exposure

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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

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

Field Office File #: 157-3937 Bureau File #:  
Title: WESLEY COOK  
Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

DECLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED] b7C  
ON 11/21/94  
61363,302-001

DETAILS: I BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH  
On October 30, 1968, WESLEY COOK, also known as WES, WEST, and MUMIA X, claimed that he was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on April 24, 1954.  
[REDACTED] b2  
May 6, 1969 b7D

FBI's murderous COINTELPRO targeted Mumia Abu-Jamal already at age 15, as young Black Panther Party activist.

of racist cop terror and oppression. From the moment Jamal appeared on the Philadelphia political scene as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, the cops, FBI and who knows which

other government agencies had him in their gun sights. These files prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, wide-ranging collusion between the FBI and

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