

## Mobilize Labor in the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

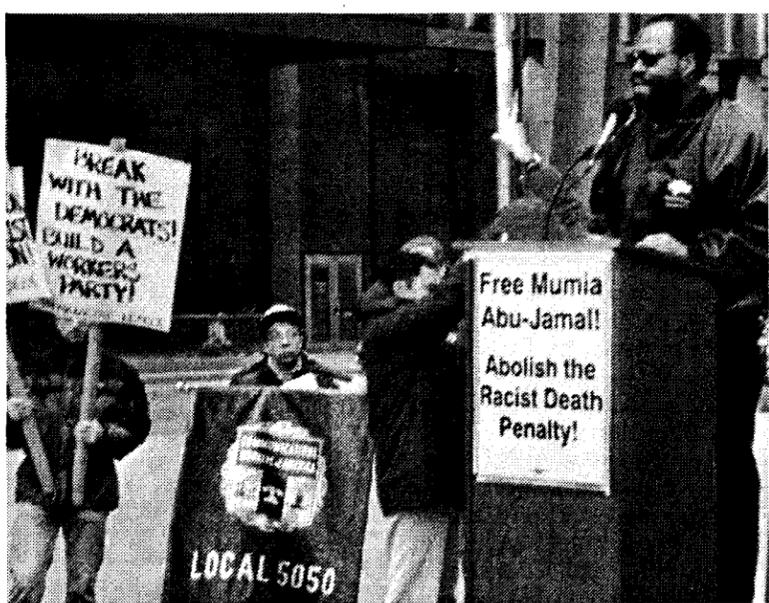


**For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!**

The following is a statement by the Spartacist League to the November 21 labor/black demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal at Chicago's Federal Plaza.

Mumia Abu-Jamal—an innocent man—has spent more than a third of his life on death row. The October 29 decision by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upholding his conviction on false charges of killing a policeman has moved Jamal closer to the executioner's chamber. Let it be clear that this former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter and eloquent spokesman for all the oppressed was framed up because he is a fighter against oppression and injustice. His conviction was based on lying, extorted testimony without a shred of physical evidence. His death sentence was secured by the prosecution interrogating Jamal about his revolutionary beliefs and Panther membership.

In that sense, the drive to execute Jamal is the "official" consummation of the COINTELPRO terror unleashed by the secret police of the FBI against the Panthers, resulting in the assassination of dozens of its members. In 1969, Chicago cops murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, riddling their



Chicago, November 21: Demonstration to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty drew committed core of trade unionists. Chicago ATU transit union spokesman Marcellus Barnes addresses rally from podium.

bodies with bullets as they lay in bed. Today, it is the same fear of black revolt against this racist system that inspires the rulers' determination to execute Jamal.

Since the defeat of Reconstruction in the aftermath of the Civil War, America's rulers have, with deliberation, fostered and maintained the race-caste segregation of black people as a wedge to divide the laboring masses and thus attempt to assure the perpetuation of the rapacious and racist rule of capitalism. The state apparatus of the ruling class—its cops and courts—wages a campaign of police terror and outright murder in the ghettos. A full third of the young black male population is either re-enslaved in America's prison hellholes or ensnared in the capitalist "justice" system. Simultaneously, the picket line—and thus effective strikes—is under attack by these same

forces who are out to destroy the weapons available to the working class to fight the increasingly grinding exploitation demanded by the profit-bloated bosses.

Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia, to abolish the racist death penalty, would be a first, giant step in that direction. To that end, labor must break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class.

**For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Appealing to the capitalist government to intervene to bring "democracy" to unions, bringing the deadly forces of state terror and repression—from cops to prison guards—into the labor movement, embracing the predatory interests of American imperialism as their own, the union tops serve to subordinate the working class to the rule of capital. The working class cannot effectively fight the racist frame-up of Jamal with unions riddled with cops or under the control of the very state which seeks to execute him. **Government, cops and courts out of the unions!** For the social power of labor to be mobilized in its own class interests and in the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society, there must be a new leadership of the unions, one which will fight things out on the basis of **class struggle** against the entire capitalist class and its government.

It is the purpose of the Spartacist League to forge a revolutionary working-class party in the U.S. which links the struggle for black liberation to the fight against capitalist immiseration. Acting as a tribune of the people, such a party is central to the fight to overturn the savage U.S. imperialist order through socialist revolution. The 1917 October Revolution

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**Chicago Rally Demands**

**"Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" ... 4**



# David North's "Left" McCarthyism

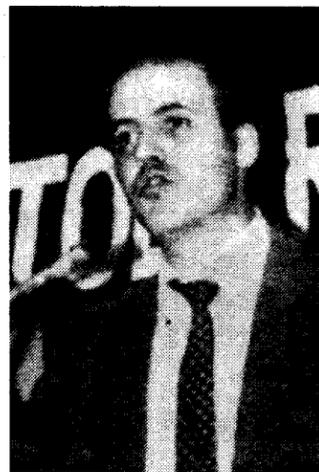
It's not often that the *New York Times*, liberal mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism, deems letters from ostensible socialists "fit to print." But the *Times* (22 October) clearly saw some value in publishing a missive by David North of the Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League). Having ceased publication of his fake-Marxist *International Workers Bulletin* last year in favor of a pseudo-academic Web site, the national secretary of the now organless SEP descended from cyberspace to engage in polite "debate" with professional anti-Communist Ronald Radosh. Radosh has made a career out of retrying, reconvicting and re-executing Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed as "Soviet spies" in 1953 in an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic witchhunt.

In commenting on a *Times* (18 October) "Week in Review" piece titled "Rethinking McCarthyism, if Not

McCarthy" which cited Radosh, North whines: "Mr. Radosh's assertion that the debacle of the American Communist Party has discredited the entire Socialist movement is indefensible." North begs to set the record straight: "In fact, before the cold war, anti-Stalinism was associated principally with the Socialist left—above all with Trotskyists. Long before anti-Stalinism became fashionable among liberals, who had previously embraced 'popular front' alliances with the Communist Party, left-wing anti-Stalinists had insisted that the Kremlin's policies had nothing in common with Marxism or with the Socialist program."

And North's SEP has nothing in common with Trotskyism—the Marxism of our time. "With the approval of North," the SEP Web site assures us, his letter was abridged by the *Times* to omit even passing references to anti-Communism or the October Revolution of 1917. But even the

David North,  
Joseph McCarthy



Bulletin

Wide World

unabridged version does not so much as hint at the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union when it existed—nor, to be sure, of the remaining deformed workers states (China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam) today—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Nor does North raise a finger in defense of the heroic Rosenbergs in the face of Radosh's calumnies. Recognizing a kindred spirit, Radosh replied to North in ever so polite terms that McCarthy "gave a bad name to the very legitimate cause of anti-Communism" (*New York Times*, 24 October). In fact, this aptly captures North's own view.

North falsely amalgamates revolutionary Trotskyism with that wing of the "socialist movement" which opposed the Bolshevik Revolution and supported its "own" imperialist rulers in World Wars I and II, as well as with the liberals who were the left wing of the post-WW II anti-Communist crusade. He reduces Trotskyism to an anti-Soviet loyalty oath. Polemicizing against North's forebears in a 1947 article titled "Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism," James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), wrote at the onset of the Cold War witchhunt:

"We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceasingly and consistently for a very long time. But we have no place in the present 'all-inclusive' united front against American Stalinism. The reason for this is that we are anticapitalist. Consequently, we can find no point of agreement with the campaign conducted by the political representatives of American capitalism in Washington, with the support of its agents in the labor movement and its lackeys in the literary and academic world. We fight Stalinism from a different standpoint.

"We fight Stalinism, not because it is another name for communism, but precisely because of its betrayal of communism and of the interests of the workers in the class struggle."

—Cannon, *The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century* (1977)

As Cannon pointed out, the Stalinists paved the way for their own isolation during the red purge by their class betrayals—in league with the social democrats—in the service of U.S. imperialism, from support to Democrat Roosevelt's "New Deal" coalition in the 1930s to the wartime no-strike pledge. But while fighting for proletarian political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy and politically combating

the Stalinist syphilis in the labor movement, the Trotskyists rallied to the defense of Stalinist and other militants driven out of the trade unions (of which not a word in North's letter) by "left-wing anti-Stalinists" like Walter Reuther. The SWP denounced the murder of the Rosenbergs as "a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home."

The heritage North defends is not that of Trotskyism, which was embodied through the 1950s in the now-reformist SWP, but of anti-Communist renegades like Irving Howe and George Orwell, who spied for His Majesty's secret service against "Soviet totalitarianism." During the 1980s Cold War against the Soviet Union, North's outfit was on the same side as social-democratic witchhunters like Radosh—cheering CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan, marching lockstep toward capitalist counterrevolution with clerical-nationalist *Solidarność* in Poland, enthusiastically promoting the fascist-infested Sajudis in Lithuania and the rest of the reactionary Baltic "captive nations" trash.

North was schooled in the political banditry of Gerry Healy's International Committee (IC). In 1979, North joined Healy in hailing the execution of 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party by the bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath regime, while Healy's outfit spied on Iraqi oppositionists in Britain. When the flow of petrodollars from various Arab regimes for services rendered dried up, Healy's outfit imploded and North modestly proclaimed himself leader of the international proletariat.

Shortly before that, in 1983, the IC whipped up an anti-Communist furor against British miners leader Arthur Scargill over his correct denunciation of Polish *Solidarność* as "anti-socialist." This crusade, picked up by the capitalist media and right-wing labor misleaders, was aimed at isolating the miners union on the eve of a bitter strike against the Coal Board and the government of Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, North & Co. wrote off the trade-union movement as a whole as a tool of bourgeois rule, while extolling scabs as those who have the insight to recognize

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TROTSKY

## Latin America and Permanent Revolution

*As the workers and poor of Latin America come under the lash of the burgeoning financial crisis, the need is starkly posed for a perspective of socialist revolution to sweep away capitalist rule. Yet the nationalist labor misleaders and reformist and centrist "socialists" preach confidence in the national bourgeoisie as the natural ally of the workers against imperialism. What is needed is an internationalist vanguard party*

*committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky underlined, only on the basis of intransigent class independence can the proletariat, leading behind it all the oppressed, wage a successful struggle for state power.*

Latin American society, like every society—developed or backward—is composed of three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Insofar as the tasks are democratic in a large historical sense, they are bourgeois-democratic tasks, but the bourgeoisie here is incapable of resolving these democratic tasks, as the bourgeoisie was incapable in Russia or in China.

In that sense, during the struggle for the democratic tasks, we oppose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The independence of the proletariat even in the beginning of this movement is absolutely necessary, and we especially oppose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in the agrarian question, for that class will rule in Mexico as in every Latin American country which has the peasants. If the peasants remain in support of the bourgeois class, as is now the fact, then it will be such a semidemocratic, semi-Bonapartistic state as now exists in every country of Latin America...

As the first step of the new stage of American imperialism, Roosevelt or his successor will show the fist to Latin America in order to assure their economic-military tutelage over Latin America, and that will provoke a more decisive revolutionary movement, as in China—we believe with more success. Under these conditions the workers of Mexico can come to power before the workers of the United States. We must encourage them in this direction.

But that does not signify that they will build their own socialism. They will resolve to fight against American imperialism and they will, of course, reorganize the agrarian conditions of the country and abolish the perfidious and parasitic society which plays a tremendous role in these countries, giving the power to the workers' and peasants' soviets and fighting against the imperialists. The future will depend upon events in the United States and the whole world.

—Leon Trotsky, "Latin American Problems: A Transcript" (November 1938)



LENIN

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# Spartacist Group Japan

## Protest Racist Murder of Korean Leftist in Japan!

We publish below the translation of a statement issued by the Spartacist Group Japan on November 23.

On October 15, Ra Hun, vice-chairman of the Chiba branch of Chosen Soren [pro-North Korea organization in Japan], was brutally murdered. The context for this hideous crime is the climate of hysteria and fear whipped up by the Japanese bourgeoisie following North Korea's launching of a satellite on August 31. A 20-year cadre of Chosen Soren, Ra was on night duty when he was strangled and stabbed; his ribs were broken, he was hit on the head, wrapped in a blanket that was soaked with oil and then set on fire. The office of the Chiba branch was destroyed by fire, and money and documents were stolen. More than 50 attacks—spanning the entire island of Honshu—against people of Korean ancestry have been reported in the last month, with schoolchildren being targeted the most. On November 5, a Korean schoolgirl wearing her *chima chogori* [Korean school uniform] was knifed in Shinjuku Station [in Tokyo] during the evening rush hour. On November 4 at 4:30 a.m., after being besieged by right-wing armored sound trucks for more than a month, the Tokyo headquarters of Chosen Soren was firebombed. The next day, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the Kanagawa branch office in broad daylight.

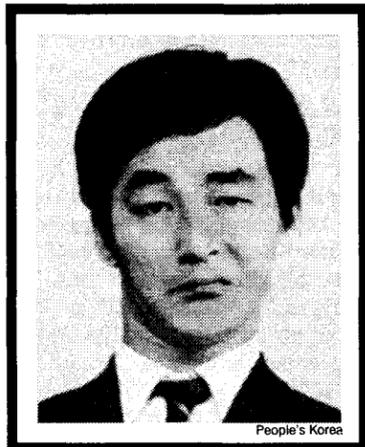
The brutal murder of Ra, the first member of Chosen Soren to be murdered since its inception more than 40 years ago, represents an escalation of state-sanctioned terror against the Korean population in this country and harks back to the xenophobic hysteria which led to the massacre of more than 6,000 Koreans following the Kanto earthquake of 1923 [in Tokyo]. It is the elementary duty of all those in the workers movement—trade unions and leftist organizations—to defend Chosen Soren and all minorities who are in the cross hairs of right-wing/fascistic terror.

For more than a month, the ruling class has sent a green light to the fascistic right wing by pounding out various bizarre scenarios of the supposed threat that the grotesquely deformed North Korean workers state poses to the second

most powerful imperialist nation on earth, which has at its disposal some of the most advanced military technology.

Our political differences with the Stalinist Chosen Soren, which hails North Korea as the "great socialist fatherland" and promotes dangerous illusions in a "peaceful reunification" with South Korea, are many. As Trotskyists, we stand

but is the enemy of the working class and oppressed. At a November 11 demonstration in Tokyo held by Chosen Soren, the organizers called on the Japanese government "to prosecute those responsible for the firebombing attacks, to end the harassment of Korean school students and to lift sanctions imposed on North Korea." But the capitalist state



Chosen Soren leader Ra Hun, victim of racist killers emboldened by chauvinist Japanese bourgeoisie. Osaka, 1994: cops attack Chosen Soren headquarters.



Chosen Soren

for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through a proletarian socialist revolution in the South and a proletarian political revolution in the North to oust the Confucian Stalinist bureaucracy, which has brought the country to the brink of starvation and capitalist counterrevolution.

The heinous murder of Ra Hun underlines the urgent necessity of united workers defense actions to crush the right-wing vermin. This is our perspective. We place no reliance on this capitalist government, which does not represent the general interests of society as a whole,

is not a neutral power standing above classes. It is an armed body of men—the police, courts, prisons, military—whose job it is to defend and protect the property and privileges of the bourgeoisie, which arrests striking workers, deports immigrants, carries out the death penalty and attacks the minimal gains which women have won. The Japanese imperialist state has a long and bloody history of crimes against the working class here and the workers and toilers of Asia. The ruling class today is the political heir of the butchers of Nanjing during the bloody occupation of China in the 1930s, the rapists of hundreds of thousands of *ianfu* ["comfort women"] and the organizers of the infamous Unit 731 [which carried out inhuman, Nazi-like "experiments" on Chinese prisoners] during the [1941-45] Pacific War.

To defend the besieged Korean population and its organizations, one must look to an aroused and class-conscious proletariat and its potential allies among all the oppressed, not to the government. Our tactic is the united front, where all can present themselves under their own ban-

ners and slogans as they strike together against the common enemy. We fight for a class-struggle leadership of labor. A union movement worthy of the name would actively mobilize against racist and anti-communist terror. Worker/minority defense guards should be formed to defend the offices and public events of Chosen Soren. This requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous racism which divides the working class.

It is the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy and their left-wing tails that the virulent racism of the bourgeois order in Japan continues to permeate the working class, dividing and disarming it before the class enemy. The leaders of all three trade-union federations have criminally refused to organize non-Japanese workers into common unions with their Japanese brothers and sisters. The labor movement must demand an end to the exclusion of Zainichi Chosen-jin [longtime ethnic Korean residents of Japan] from employ-

ment at major corporations and must organize integrated industrial unions. The labor movement must also champion full citizenship rights for everyone who lives in this country, regardless of race or national origin, and fight for social integration, full access to education including in the "imperial" universities, housing, hospitalization, social services and welfare, and the right to vote and run for office. We demand that the *gaijin* [foreigner] cards and the *koseki* [government registry of families] system be ripped up. All forced assimilation policies must be opposed, and the right of minorities to retain any and all vestiges of their culture, language and customs—including the right to use their given family names—must be defended.

The complete prostration of the Japanese left and trade-union bureaucracy before their own bourgeoisie has helped create the social climate where acts of fascistic terror can occur unanswering. Criminally, virtually the entire left has lined up behind its own bourgeoisie's crusade to brand North Korea as a

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### Benefit for Class-War Prisoners



### Organize for Mumia Abu-Jamal's Freedom

Join us for the 13th annual Holiday Appeal to raise funds for those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and the oppressed. In sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds to them and their families during the holidays, the PDC continues a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s.

This year's benefits are particularly

focused on the urgent struggle to free black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. With the rejection of Jamal's appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, there is an immediate danger that Governor Tom Ridge will sign a death warrant, aiming to silence forever this courageous fighter against racist injustice. Build the Holiday Appeal—Build the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty!

New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 4 5 to 9 p.m.	Sunday, December 6 3 to 7 p.m.	Sunday, December 6 1 to 4 p.m.
AFSCME District Council 1707 75 Varick St. (at Canal)	UE Hall 37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)	ILWU Local 34 Hall 4 Berry St., San Francisco
For more information: (212) 406-4252	For more information: (312) 454-4931	For more information: (510) 839-0852

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE



6,000 Koreans were massacred in state-sponsored pogrom following 1923 Tokyo earthquake.

Chosen Soren

# Chicago Rally Demands: "Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"



WV Photo

On Saturday, November 21, some 250 trade unionists, youth, socialists and other anti-racist activists rallied in Chicago's Federal Plaza in response to the Partisan Defense Committee call: "All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Endorsed by a wide range of trade unions from the Chicago area as well as nationally and internationally, the demonstration consisted at its core of black trade unionists who showed their commitment by arriving early and signing on as marshals to ensure a militant, disciplined protest.

With the October 29 Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling rejecting Jamal's legal appeal and rubber-stamping the racist frame-up that put him behind bars 17 years ago on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge could sign an execution warrant at any moment. In a statement from death row read to the demonstration, Mumia wrote: "On behalf of all of us facing death in America's gulags my thanks to all of you who have come out in Chicago to abolish the racist death penalty."

These workers came out because they saw in this united-front, labor-centered protest a chance not only to fight to free an eloquent spokesman for the oppressed from the clutches of the racist "justice" system and its machinery of death, but also to raise their voices against the whole array of attacks which the ruling class has leveled against labor and minorities. They cheered when Marcelus Barnes, spokesman for Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 and president of the ATU's Black Caucus, declared from the podium: "This is what labor is all about. We represent the working people. We are the ones to stand in the forefront and carry on the message."

Joining Local 241 in endorsing the PDC-initiated protest early on was ATU Local 308. Groups of transit workers stood side by side in Federal Plaza on Saturday with members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 551 and 890 and Teamsters Local 705. Communications Workers (CWA) Local 4250 members held their union banner near the speakers platform. Union statements of solidarity came from as far as Australia, from the SNJ-CGT journalists union in France and the Berlin branch of the German IG Medien union, of which Jamal is an honorary member. Noting that "Abu-Jamal has been on the forefront of the struggle against injustice and man's inhumanity to

man," a letter from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, which also made Mumia an honorary member when he was under imminent threat of execution in 1995, declared: "We call upon the entire working class movement to unite against the Pennsylvania state ruling." A statement from the Mexican Union of Electricians concluded: "Long live Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

The call to mobilize for Jamal's freedom and against the racist death penalty struck a chord particularly among Chicago's black proletariat, who are fed up with decades of brutal attacks on the living standards and rights of workers, blacks, immigrants and the poor. That anger was evident in the solidity and huge popularity of the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS and last summer's shutdown of the GM empire by Flint UAW workers. In a letter to the Chicago rally, a Flint UAW District Committee rep wrote with passion about the need to free Jamal from his would-be executioners: "This lynch mob needs to be stopped at all cost."

In the absence of a death warrant hanging over Mumia's head and with much of the reformist left boycotting the PDC-initiated united front, the turnout on November 21 was slightly smaller than that at a liberal Jamal demonstration in Chicago the week before. But where the previous rally consisted overwhelmingly of petty-bourgeois leftists and student youth, this one mainly drew black working-class militants who represent the promise of a class-struggle fight to free Jamal and bring down the whole system of racist capitalist rule. Demonstration co-chairman Brian Mendis of the PDC told protesters: "You guys are the hard core, and it is up to you to go back into your communities and your unions to organize and mobilize the thousands for the next demonstration to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty!"

That means fighting to unleash the *social power* which the multiracial proletariat has as a result of its numbers, its organization and its role as the producers of all the wealth of this society. The proletariat is kept from wielding that power by the trade-union misleaders who tie workers to the capitalist class enemy, its state and political parties. The PDC's call for the demonstration stressed:

"The unions are the only racially integrated mass organizations in this country. The bosses and their state hate and fear the integrated union movement because there lies the power to challenge

the racial divisions they promote to weaken the working class. And it is precisely the power of the integrated trade unions that must be mobilized to free Mumia. In mobilizing to defeat the frame-up of Jamal, the unions will take a huge step forward in becoming instruments of struggle to defend not only their immediate interests but those of all the oppressed."

## Fighting Racist Terror in "Segregation City"

In the weeks preceding the PDC-initiated protest, the issues of racist cop terror and the death penalty were very much at the fore in "Segregation City." Only three days before the rally, the Illinois Supreme Court granted a last-minute, 90-day reprieve to Willie Enoch, who was about to be executed on the basis of a murder conviction in which the prosecution had refused to turn over evidence to the defense. The weekend before, Chicago had hosted a much-publicized conference which featured dozens of people who had been released from years on death row after proving their innocence. Also much in the news was the city's attempt to end court-imposed constraints on "red squad" spying against political activists. And, as throughout the country, the ghettos and barrios are subjected to a cop state of siege called the "war on drugs." Announcements for the November 21 rally were broadcast not only by black radio stations but by a Spanish-language station as well.

Demonstration organizers met with an enthusiastic response. At one auto factory, 500 rally leaflets were quickly distributed and several people took large stacks to hand out inside the plant. A bus driver took a bundle of leaflets to pass out on her bus. The protest was heavily built by the Spartacist League, while the Spartacus Youth Club brought out students from the University of Chicago, DePaul and other local campuses. SYC speaker Michael Davisson told the rally:

"This racist frame-up should resonate among youth because Mumia first joined the Black Panther Party when he was 15. Youth in racist capitalist America face not schools but prison, no welfare, no drinking, anti-sex and anti-smoking campaigns, no jobs. To end the misery and the racism of capitalism, to end the threat of imperialist world war, youth can and must mobilize behind the social power of labor."

An SYC banner at the protest read: "Capitalism Means Racism and War—For Socialist Revolution!"

The revival of labor militancy seen at UPS, GM and other recent strikes has

left its mark on working people and the oppressed around the country. At the same time, the unions continue to be constrained by the AFL-CIO misleaders. And among the black masses, there is a widespread perception that there is no leadership representing any challenge to the racist status quo. The ephemeral enthusiasm over the middle-class "Million Man March" for black "atonement" organized by anti-Semitic and anti-Asian demagogue Louis Farrakhan three years ago has disappeared. One black trade-union speaker at the protest pointedly remarked, "I'm not talking about a voice of atonement, I'm not talking about a voice of reconciliation."

The resonance among Chicago's black working people of the PDC call for a labor-centered Jamal rally came out in the fact that Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition felt compelled to call the PDC and endorse the action. Jackson himself is in the hip pocket of Democratic president Bill Clinton, who has presided over a vast augmentation in the forces of racist "law and order," including a massive expansion of the death penalty. And the black daily *Chicago Defender* not only published a favorable article on Jamal's case but publicized the PDC rally. Democratic Congressman Danny Davis addressed the rally to affirm: "We are in disagreement with the death penalty, we are in disagreement with use of the death penalty and we are asking that we free Mumia Abu-Jamal." Also speaking was Norm Roth, a former president of International Harvester UAW Local 6 and long associated with the views of the Communist Party. Pointing to the Federal Building behind him, Roth urged: "Send delegations to see every Congressman there, regardless of how he voted."

The Communist Party has for decades pushed pressure politics and "fight the right" rhetoric in order to garner support for the Democrats. In this it echoes the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, whose allegiance to the Democratic Party is the chief expression of class collaboration in this country—as well as the chief obstacle to mobilizing labor's potential power in its own interests and those of all the oppressed. The PDC call underlined, "There must be no illusions that Mumia can get a fair trial in the capitalist courts.... Neither must there be any illusions in the Democratic Party, which is no friend of labor and blacks but a party of big business no less than the Republicans." Bernard Branche, spokesman



WV Photos

Left: ATU militants led successful defense of Chicago bus driver Cassandra Seay (center) against 1987 cop frame-up. Right: transit workers protest layoffs, cuts in services, 1981.



for the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League, said at the rally: "It is the *duty* of the integrated labor movement to defend black rights. The fight to defend Mumia is today central to developing that consciousness throughout the working class." He continued:

"We are for the complete independence of labor from the bosses' parties, Republicans and Democrats. Working people need their own party, a party forged in the battle against the racist rulers."

Branche noted that among those supporting the protest was Cassandra Seay, a black transit worker who was brutalized and framed up by the Chicago cops in 1987. The LBSL was initiated by the Spartacist League out of the successful struggle by Seay's ATU brothers and sisters and others to beat back that racist frame-up. Many of the black workers who turned out for the Jamal protest stayed all afternoon at a post-demonstration party to engage in argument and discussion with LBSL and SL comrades over such questions as whether Democratic Party politicians could be allies of workers and minorities, how the unions could be mobilized in struggle, how decent schools and jobs could be ensured for their children instead of a future of cop terror and despair.

It is out of such militants that the LBSL will be built as a fighting arm of the multiracial revolutionary vanguard party needed to lead the workers to power. Branche read the statement by Karl Marx at the time of the Civil War—the second American Revolution—which is printed on the front of LBSL membership cards: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The LBSL speaker concluded: "It's going to take a third American Revolution, one that wipes away the rule of the racist capitalist class, to finally liberate the black population. There is no other road for black liberation or for working-class freedom. Join us in the Labor Black Struggle League in this fight!"

### Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Chicago protest was organized under the watchword of the united front—"march separately, strike together"—which is based on unity in action while allowing for the free debate of contending strategies and programs that is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class, anti-racist youth and others. Among the other speakers at the rally were death penalty abolitionist Seth Donnelly, Mike Elliott

of the UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Stan Willis of the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, and representatives of the Labor Party, Solidarity and the League for the Revolutionary Party.

Similar labor-centered protests initiated by the PDC in the face of Mumia's threatened execution in the summer of



Black workers drawn to Chicago rally represent potential for class-struggle fight to free Jamal, smash racist capitalist frame-up system.

1995 were part of the international outcry, including by unions representing millions of workers, which stayed the executioner's hand. As Mumia wrote at the time, "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

In the eleven years that the PDC has actively championed Jamal's cause, it has based itself on the class-struggle understanding of its forerunner, the International Labor Defense (ILD). As pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, an early leader of the ILD, wrote in his 1927 article "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" amid the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of the anarchist workers, the ILD followed the "policy of the class struggle":

"It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts....

"The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of

ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy."

The *other* policy is precisely that pursued by the reformist left, notably including the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which some time ago launched a liberal "Campaign to End the Death Penalty." In the labor movement, the ISO promotes economism and worse,

hailing "strikes" by cops and prison guards and jumping on the bandwagon of virtually every bureaucratic "reform" movement which has invited the capitalist courts or Justice Department to meddle in the unions. The ISO abhors any hint of a perspective centered on mobilizing labor in the fight to free Mumia or combat racist oppression.

At an emergency united-front protest initiated by the PDC in New York City in October, ISO spokesman Sherry Wolf inveighed against "sectarian splits and divisions." Yet like its social-democratic big brothers, the Democratic (Party) Socialists of America, the viscerally anti-communist ISO not only refused to endorse the labor-centered protest in Chicago but boycotted it. In fact, the ISO seemingly did all in its limited power to sabotage the broadest possible mobilization. Participants at a November 9 meeting of the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal later told SL comrades that a majority of the committee voted to endorse the protest only in the face of the

ISO's vehement *opposition*. To justify its petty sectarian sabotage, the ISO trotted out a timeworn slander—first raised during the campaign to stop Jamal's execution in 1995—that SL supporters had physically attacked one of its members (see "ISO Goons Beaten Back," WV No. 625, 30 June 1995). Such violence-baiting smears serve only the Fraternal Order of Police and the other forces that want to see Jamal dead and his cause disrupted and destroyed.

The capitalist state has demonstrated its determination to suppress the struggle for Mumia's freedom in countless ways, from the lies and coercion which sent him to death row to incessant attacks on his supporters. Mumia's son Jamal Hart has been thrown in prison for 15 years on trumped-up charges for fighting for his father's freedom. Veronica Jones, who courageously came forward to testify on Mumia's behalf at his appeal hearings in 1996, was literally dragged off to jail from the witness stand. Seeking to suppress labor mobilization for Jamal, suburban Chicago cops last month illegally detained ATU Local 308 member Keith Anwar, who addressed the November 21 rally, and Service Employees union member Dan Smith on misdemeanor charges as they were building support for the protest outside a UPS facility.

Our fight to mobilize labor on Jamal's behalf is part of the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement forged in political combat against the pro-capitalist union tops. We strive to build a revolutionary vanguard party which will act, in the words of Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, as a tribune of the people. Such a party must fight every manifestation of oppression and tyranny—from the death penalty and the racist "war on drugs" to anti-gay and anti-woman bigotry—in order, as Lenin explained in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), to "produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation...in order to set forth *before all* [our] socialist convictions and [our] democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." As the SL statement to the November 21 protest concluded:

"The way forward is to mobilize the working class to free Jamal, to smash the racist death penalty. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. Only a victorious socialist revolution can end for all time blood-soaked imperialist rule." ■

**"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Chicago on November 21 to deliver the urgent message: All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"**

#### Partial List of Endorsers, 21 November 1998

Craig Aaron, Editor, *In These Times*,\* Chicago, IL  
 Walter Alexander, Chairman, UAW Local 333,\* Chicago, IL  
 Florine Allen, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL  
 Mark Allen, Field Director for Rev. Jesse Jackson, Sr., Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Chicago, IL  
 Robert L. Allen, Senior Editor, *The Black Scholar* journal,\* Oakland, CA  
 Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL  
 Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL  
 Amnesty International—Midwest Region  
 Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union, Sydney, Australia  
 Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (Metals Division) Shop Stewards Committee at Holden Engine Operations, Melbourne, Australia  
 Marcellus Barnes, President, Black Caucus, Amalgamated Transit Union,\* Chicago, IL  
 Nancy J. Bothne, Regional Director, Amnesty International—Midwest Region, Chicago, IL  
 Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local, Vancouver, British Columbia  
 Chicago Branch of Solidarity  
 Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers  
 Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal  
 Chicago Refuse & Resist!  
 Robert C. Clay, Executive Board member, ATU Local 241, Chicago, IL  
 Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,\* Pasadena, CA  
 Ted Conner, Chair, UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL  
 Michael E. Deutsch, Past Legal Director, Center for Constitutional Rights,\* Chicago, IL  
 Seth Donnelly, Case Manager, Hull House Association,\* Chicago, IL  
 Dr. Michael E. Dyson, Professor, Columbia University,\* New York, NY

Earlham Socialist Alliance, Richmond, IN  
 Mike Elliott, Co-Chair, UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL  
 Henry L. English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois,\* Chicago, IL  
 John Eriksen, Membership and Solidarity Committee, Labor Party, Chicago Chapter,\* Forest Park, IL  
 Prof. Peter Erlinder, Immediate past President, National Lawyers Guild,\* St. Paul, MN  
 Jearlean Fleming, OPEIU 391,\* Chicago, IL  
 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Director, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute,\* Chair, Department of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,\* Cambridge, MA  
 Tom Hannan, National Secretary, Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union, Sydney, Australia  
 Robert Earl Hayes, Former death row inmate, Camden, MS  
 International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA  
 Mary L. Johnson, Coalition Against Police Torture,\* Chicago, IL  
 Walter L. Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council,\* San Francisco, CA  
 Troy L. Jones, Former death row inmate, Fresno, CA  
 José Solís Jordán, Professor of Education, University of Puerto Rico,\* Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico  
 Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,\* Chicago, IL  
 Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL  
 League for the Revolutionary Party  
 Leon London, Executive Board member, ATU Local 241, Chicago, IL  
 Brian McWilliams, President, International Longshore and Warehouse Union,\* San Francisco, CA  
 Salim Muwakkil, Senior Editor, *In These Times* magazine,\* Chicago, IL  
 National Union of Journalists (SNJ-CGT), Paris, France

October 22 Student/Youth Network, Chicago, IL  
 Dale Odberg, President, Union of Veterans Affairs Canada Local 20029,\* Delta, British Columbia  
 David D. Owen, Executive Board member, Rail-North, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL  
 Partnership Against Racism, Chicago, IL  
 Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, Chicago, IL  
 JoAnn Patterson, Mother of Aaron Patterson on death row, Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, Chicago, IL  
 R. Eugene Pincham, Retired Justice, Appellate Court,\* Chicago, IL  
 Que Ondee Sola/Union for Puerto Rican Students, Chicago, IL  
 Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Chicago, IL  
 Brenda Rayford, Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL  
 Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (Chicago Chapter)  
 Norman C. Roth, Past President, UAW Local 6,\* Stone Park, IL  
 Earl Silbar, Steward, Executive Board at-large, AFSCME Local 3506,\* Chicago, IL  
 Chris Slobogin, Law Professor, UF Law School,\* Gainesville, FL  
 Spartacist League  
 Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL  
 D. Stang, President, Telecommunication Workers Union Local 1, Vancouver, British Columbia  
 Jed Stone, Attorney, Chicago, IL  
 Syndicat CNT-PTT, Paris, France  
 Jean-François Tealdi, National Secretary, National Union of Journalists (SNJ-CGT), Paris, France  
 Telecommunication Workers Union Local 1, Vancouver, British Columbia  
 Lowell Thompson, Partnership Against Racism, Chicago, IL  
 Darby Tillis, Pastor-President, Friends To Strangers Ministry,\* Chicago, IL

UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL  
 UAW Local 719, Countryside, IL  
 University of Chicago MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan), Chicago, IL  
 Bettina Wegner, singer and lyricist, Berlin, Germany  
 Cornel West, Professor of Afro-American Studies, Department of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,\* Cambridge, MA  
 Jerry W. Williams, Sr., President, Business Agent, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL  
 John Williams, Shop Steward, Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (Metals Division) Shop Stewards Committee at Holden Engine Operations, Melbourne, Australia  
 Standish E. Willis, Chair, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL  
 Worker-communist Party of Iran (Abroad-Canada)  
 Jolonda Young, Reporter, *Illinois Times*,\* Springfield, IL  
 Gerald Zero, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 705,\* Chicago, IL  
 Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477,\* Chicago, IL  
 Christine A. Zook, President/Business Agent, ATU Local 192,\* Oakland, CA

\*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by the Partisan Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others.

# Mobilize...

(continued from page 1)

in Russia, the only successful working-class revolution to date, occurred precisely because it was led by a proletarian-internationalist revolutionary Bolshevik party. There is no other way for the working class to achieve its destiny as the gravediggers of capitalism than for its most advanced and militant layers to come to the full realization that the working class shares no interests with the capitalist exploiters. The working class must grasp that the struggle against international capital, i.e., imperialism, must itself be international. Based on the hard-won lessons of the class struggle, the power of labor must be organized to lead a social revolution, overturning the ruling class and forming the basis for a socialist society. This is the legacy of the October Revolution and the essence of a Marxist revolutionary party.

Decades of betrayals by the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state at the hands of Yeltsin's imperialist-inspired counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was a historic defeat for the world working class. The imperialists declared the "death of communism" along with peddling pipe dreams of eternal prosperity. Last year's UPS strike and the Flint UAW strike this summer which shut down the GM empire gave the lie to this snow job. These strikes exposed the seething anger at increasing exploitation and joblessness



Chicago cops brutalize black youth. Right: striking auto workers in Flint, Michigan shut down GM this summer. Labor must champion fight for black rights.



ghettos by Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus and their local black counterparts. When the social struggles of the 1960s wound up safely contained within the confines of the Democratic Party, and especially with the presidency of Jimmy Carter, a renewed whirlwind of reaction began that has continued up to now under Clinton.

The smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, scabherding, strike-breaking, the disappearance of good industrial jobs led to the decimation of the trade-union movement (with the acquiescence of the union misleaders). This was accompanied by all-out attacks on the scant gains of the civil rights movement, on immigrants and on the right to abortion. The '70s and '80s saw a number of black mayors elected in major

Jesse Jackson and the anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan, although from different points of the bourgeois political spectrum, share in blaming black people for their own oppression. Arguing that the ghetto masses must pull themselves up by their bootstraps, they push the cynical myth that black capitalism will lead to "empowerment." AFL-CIO head John Sweeney peddles the program of racist America-first protectionism against the workers of other countries. This deadly chauvinism is played out at home in the war against immigrants. The respective messages of Jackson, Farrakhan and Sweeney are simply packaged differently for different audiences.

The International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section, stands alone in its resolute opposition to all forms of collaboration between the working class and the exploiting capitalist class. **Break with the Democrats! Build a revolutionary workers party! Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution!**

In contrast, the rest of the "socialist" left has repeatedly demonstrated their fealty to the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. This was most dramatically underscored in their embrace of the imperialist-backed forces of counterrevolution that destroyed the deformed workers states of East Europe and the degenerated Soviet workers state. Given the magnitude of this betrayal, it is not surprising that the class-collaborationist proclivities of these sham "socialists" have accelerated in response to the "death of communism" pressures they did their small part to create.

That said, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) deserves an Oscar for its supporting role to the chauvinist trade-union tops. The ISO supported state intervention in the Teamsters, in the service of former union president Ron Carey (who was removed by the bourgeois state he so ardently courted). It promotes the quest for some "class-struggle" cops to add to the thousands of armed hirelings of the bourgeoisie who already infect labor's ranks. Its anti-communism is so visceral that the ISO has refused to endorse any of the thousands-strong labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, **including this demonstration** for Mumia's freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) arrives at the same station by a different train. They anoint themselves the sole

fighters for communism. PL deems all others to be fascists or the bosses' tools—including the trade unions—while refusing to fight against the special oppression of women and homosexuals. Adding a new page to their characterization of such struggles as "diversions," in the aftermath of the brutal murder of Matthew Shepard PL despicably equated the fight for gay rights with the sadistic gay bashers as "two sides of rulers' fascist coin." Similarly, they reject defense of Mumia because he is a "black nationalist."

The newly formed Black Radical Congress, which was organized by reformists in the Committees for Correspondence, the Communist Party and others, has similarly avoided endorsing today's mobilization. Meanwhile, its constituent parts carried the torch for Harold Washington and today continue to tout the myth of his progressive regime. To its credit, Refuse & Resist (R&R) has gone all out in Mumia's defense. But its posture of electrifying the masses and "jamming" the state notwithstanding, R&R exhibits a fatuous liberalism and faith in the powers that be. This was exemplified in 1995 by their call for a "debate" with the racist thugs of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police who stand at the fore of the campaign for Jamal's death. More recently, such illusions in the benevolence of the capitalist state were demonstrated by the call of R&R's Los Angeles branch for "no death penalty for political dissent."

Class collaborationism, sectarianism and mindless rumble-in-the-streets adventurism share two features: an underestimation of the savagery of the bourgeois state and a pessimism in the ability of the working class to rally around the banner of socialist revolution and overturn the seemingly invincible imperialist rulers. The way forward is to mobilize the working class to free Jamal, to smash the racist death penalty. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. Only a victorious socialist revolution can end for all time blood-soaked imperialist rule. Among the first acts of victorious socialist revolution will be the erection of a monument to the heroes who died fighting for the working class and oppressed. Let Mumia's name not appear there—let his voice remain among the living! The commitment of the Spartacist League to these ends stands in the sharpest contrast to the policies of the liberal reformers and the sham socialist left. Join us! ■



Jesse Jackson ropes in black votes for Clinton as Democrats join in axing welfare, leading to massive increase in misery.



D. Michael Cheers

that workers face and asserted the reality of the class struggle, the greenhouse of red revolution.

It is no accident that with the destruction of the Soviet Union, the death machine of American "justice" is running full out. The machinery of state repression, augmented by the ideology of racism and sexism, finds its extralegal reflection in the terror carried out by anti-gay and anti-abortion bigots like those who murdered Matthew Shepard, a young gay student, and who assassinated courageous doctor Barnett Slepian. The liberals who appeal to the government, the cops and courts to protect gays and women and who cry for a "fair trial" for Jamal serve only to sow the most treacherous illusions in the very forces of oppression.

Mumia's freedom and the abolition of the racist death penalty would be a victory for all workers, for all the oppressed. One thing is certain. Without the beginning steps to forge a revolutionary proletarian party, not only are the prospects for Mumia bleak but the very future of humanity is at stake as American imperialism vies with its competitors for world domination—a "competition" that leads directly to world war and ultimately to nuclear annihilation.

The primary obstacle to forging such a party is illusions in the main war party of U.S. imperialism, the Democratic Party. In the trade unions these illusions are fostered by the union tops, and in the

cities to assure peace amid this urban carnage. In Chicago, Harold Washington, an ordinary Democratic politico who promised nothing and whose major "accomplishment" was looting the pension funds of the heavily black Chicago transit union, was elected, re-elected and died in office. His name is still held in reverence to this day, a reverence which is in direct proportion to the hopelessness in the ghetto and the rampant racism in "Segregation City." And it is a reverence kept alive by Chicago union tops who turn a blind eye to the desperation of the black masses while seeking to keep labor tied to the city's Democratic Party machine.

The slow starvation and bloody bombings of the Iraqi people by the U.S. imperialist rulers is echoed in the end of welfare, medical care and food stamps—for the masses in America's ghettos and barrios. The attack on wages, living standards and full-time employment reflects, albeit on the much wealthier terrain of the U.S., the draconian policies of the International Monetary Fund in the underdeveloped countries on the planet. The engine of capitalism, of American imperialism, is profits extracted from the living labor power of workers. The Democrats and Republicans alike pursue this end. The armed force of the capitalist state exists to ensure that the bosses will get their due no matter what the price in human misery.

San Francisco, November 17: Trotskyists protest Clinton's threatened terror bombing of Iraq.



# Speeches from Chicago Rally

## Fight for Labor and Black Rights!

We print below extracts from a selection of speeches at the November 21 labor/black demonstration to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.

### Jon Piper

Partisan Defense Committee; member, Jamal legal team

Mumia Abu-Jamal is in grave danger. He is only one signature away from a new death warrant setting a new execution date. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. He has been framed up solely for raising his pen and his voice against racism and capitalist oppression. They want to silence Jamal to send a message to all who would stand up against this repression.

Our legal team will pull every legal lever on Mumia's behalf. But we can have no illusions in getting "justice" from this unjust system, which defends the profits of the few while enforcing the immiseration of the many. The death penalty, the ultimate instrument of repression against

named Wesley Cook, now Mumia Abu-Jamal. He was 15, he had just formed the Black Panther chapter there in Philly. They could not find anything to pin on him because all he did was his constitutionally protected protest and journalism. But they continued trying to get him, and finally when he was shot in the street by a police officer they framed him, denied him all his rights, like Dred Scott.

This is why we place no faith in this state, and place all our faith in the mobilization of the working people and the oppressed against this vicious, racist frame-up system.

### Marcellus Barnes

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241

The Amalgamated Transit Union is the union that moves people across this great city. As it was said, we have been involved in this movement for a long time.

A couple of years ago, when I spoke at another rally for Jamal, I met a young man for the first time. And when I finished speaking, that young man walked



WV Photos

From left: Epluribus Mays, Katie Jordan.

blacks and labor, is itself rooted in the Slave Codes and lynch law.

Look at the case of Dred Scott on the eve of the Civil War, when the United States Supreme Court declared that blacks could not have the rights of citizens. In that decision, the Court said that if blacks could be free they could go in the South, they could organize, they could write and speak, they could arm themselves, and this would threaten the rule of the slavocracy and spell the risk of social revolution against slavery.

One hundred and ten years later, in 1968, J. Edgar Hoover launched his COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party, saying: "The negro youth must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." And kill them he did. Murdering Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in Chicago. Trying to kill Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in L.A. and then framing him up so that he was buried in prison for 27 years. They pinpointed another troublemaker in Philadelphia

up to me and he looked into my eyes and I looked into his eyes and he simply said, "Thank you for what you said about my father." And it's very sad today to hear that that young man has also been put in prison on trumped-up charges.

Often I'm amazed that some of our labor leaders find a reason *not* to get involved. Other things will detour them for rallies such as these. This is a labor movement! This is a cause. This is what labor is all about. We represent the working people, the people that cannot speak for themselves. We are the ones to stand up in the forefront and carry on the message. And so I'm saying to my other labor brothers and sisters, "Get involved. Help to save Jamal!"

### Brian Mendis

PDC rally co-chair

Thank you for mentioning Jamal Hart, Mumia Abu-Jamal's son who is in federal pen right now on a frame-up charge. They framed him up—just like they framed up his father—15 years on a

**Black trade unionists saw in Chicago rally a chance to raise their voices against decades of brutal attacks on labor and minorities.**



WV Photo

weapons charge, 15 years with no chance of parole, 15 years for a crime he did not commit. They framed him up because he was a spokesman for his father. We say: Free Jamal!

### Epluribus Mays

Member, ATU Local 241; chairman, People's Organization

What we have to do is to continue to mobilize and to organize, organize and mobilize and be able to take our forces and take our voices anywhere they need to be heard. And I'm not talking about a voice of atonement, I'm not talking about a voice of reconciliation, I'm not talking about a voice to tell "the man," as I might say (if I can say that), or the government that we're "sorry" for this demonstration, we're "sorry" that we're doing this.

If Mumia is killed, any one of you all who stand up and struggle against this system can be killed—just as well, just as easy as anyone. You must understand that the reason that Mumia is in jail in the first place is because he was a direct threat to this system, a *direct threat*. Any time that you're a direct threat against this system, they've got to take it down—just like the Black Panther was, they just took them down. *That's* why he's in jail. He's not in jail because he's changed his coat. He's not in jail because he's changed his viewpoint. He's not in jail because he now says, "I'm sorry." He's in jail because he's still talking about *revolution*. And he's not changing.

We've got some politicians today that have changed their coat; they're even Congressmen now. I know one Congressman that was so much as a revolu-

tionary with the Black Panther Party—I think they called him Bobby Rush. I don't know, he might have made a change because he thought he might be able to help black people by going through the system. But see, you can't change the system by just changing a screw. The system is a *machine*.

### Katie Jordan

President, Chicago chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women

I'm going out to talk about the right of Mumia Abu-Jamal to be able to live so that he can continue to contribute as he has always contributed to the working people of this country. His life should not be determined by the racist regime who decides that if you are black you need to be on death row but if you are white, working against the racist system, speaking out for the working class, then you, too, need to be on death row. Unless you're one of the rich of this country, and the politicians who favor the rich, you're subject to being in Mumia's shoes. And we don't want to forget that.

The only way we're going to free Mumia and those who will come after him is to get rid of the death penalty. The Coalition of Labor Union Women is in support of freeing all political prisoners and we will be working within our unions, to talk to our unions about their responsibility of speaking out.

### Ed Clarkson

Spartacist League

What we have here on this cold day is the core of the committed. Mumia's life remains at stake. We must go out and

*continued on page 8*

### Join the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for

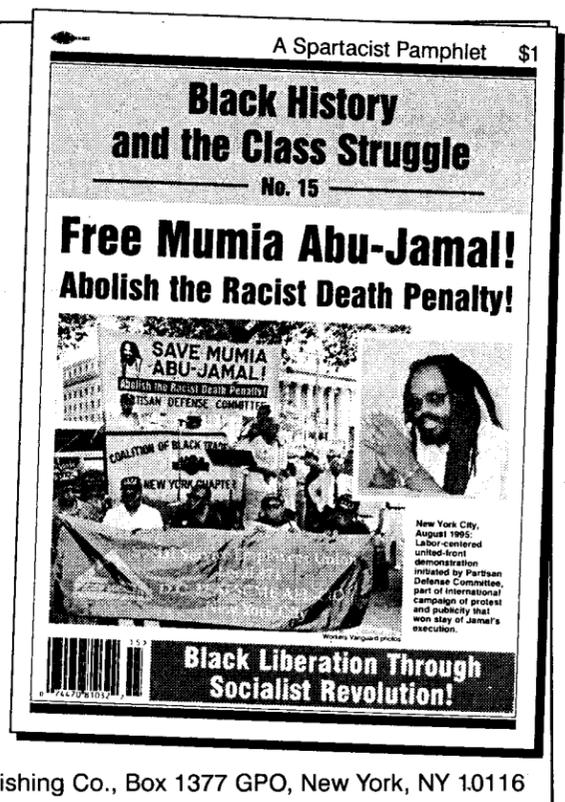
Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

#### Contents include:

- Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life of Struggle
- Court Hearings: New Evidence of Frame-Up
- From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal "La Amistad and American Law"
- The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal
- For Non-Sectarian, Class-Struggle Defense!
- Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities
- Philly Cops' Reign of Terror
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# Smash Disney/ABC Union-Busting Against NABET!

Over 2,000 members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) have been locked out by ABC-TV ever since a one-day strike on November 2 protesting the company's refusal to provide details of a proposed new health plan. Members of NABET, an affiliate of the Communications Workers of America, had already been working for over a year and a half without a contract when the Walt Disney Company, which owns ABC, tried to force them to accept a plan pushing higher health costs onto the workers. Now, with its vindictive lockout, Disney/ABC is out to break NABET.

With technicians, cameramen, engineers, videotape editors and other highly skilled workers among its ranks, the union has considerable leverage, which has already hurt ABC's programming. A range of entertainers have honored NABET picket lines. In New York City, UPS Teamsters workers have refused to deliver or pick up packages from ABC. Even a number of Democratic Party politicians have refused to cross NABET picket lines. Meanwhile, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists and other skilled trades unions have stabbed NABET in the back by crossing picket lines. This treachery

must stop—*picket lines mean don't cross!*

On November 19, the New York City regional director of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that the ABC lockout was "legal." This emboldened the company to cut off health coverage and insurance benefits to NABET members in an attempt to break them. The NLRB's action also underscores the futility of the NABET bureaucracy's appeals to the Clinton administration for support against Disney. Illusions in the Democratic Party or federal "mediators" and "neutral arbitration" are suicidal. The capitalist Democrats are no "friends of labor." And government bodies like the NLRB, far from being "neutral," are agencies of the capitalist state no less than the strikebreaking cops and anti-union courts. This state exists to protect the property, profits and rule of the exploiters. To unchain labor's power requires a break with the union tops' strategy of looking to the parties and government of the capitalist class enemy and the forging of a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions.

Behind the "sweet-'n'-magical" myth, the Disney Company has a tradition of savage union-busting going back to its rabidly right-wing founder. Walt Disney was for 25 years a fink for J. Edgar

Hoover's FBI. When the Cartoonists Guild struck Disney in 1941 against the firing of union organizers, "Uncle Walt" retaliated by turning over photos of strikers to government witchhunters. He fired virtually every worker who participated in that strike, and went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) six years later to denounce the strike leaders as "Commies." Disney was also instrumental in getting HUAC to investigate the movie industry and helped build up the Hollywood blacklist of union militants and suspected leftists (see Marc Eliot, *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince* [1993]).

Today, Disney CEO Michael Eisner ostentatiously scatters billions of bucks like pixie dust for his garish building projects and grandiose palaces. Noting that Eisner could pay the insurance costs being extorted from NABET members "out of his own pocket and not even notice it," columnist Juan Gonzalez pointed out in the *New York Daily News* (12 November): "Michael Eisner, remember, earned \$10 million in salary and bonus last year and cashed in more than \$575 million in stock options."

NABET's resistance to Disney's union-busting is an important fight for all labor. Shut down ABC! Victory to NABET! ■

## Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal in Solidarity with NABET

*The following statement was issued by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on November 19. In solidarity with NABET members locked out by ABC-TV, Mumia has told the network, which is preparing a program on him, that he will not grant an interview while the lockout continues.*

We support the efforts of labor to make righteous demands upon capital, and therefore are loath to break (even

by indirection) the picket line erected by NABET against ABC, and their corporate masters, Disney.

We continue to believe any effort to circumvent this proper picket line violates the rights of labor to fight for a fair and just return; this we will not do.

We urge all of our friends and supporters to support NABET's efforts, to the extent NABET wants that support, on the line; and in the studio.

## Speeches...

(continued from page 7)

multiply our forces and go forward to free him, to smash the racist death penalty.

Now many here today have spoken well about Mumia Abu-Jamal. One thing must be recognized. He was sentenced to death because he was seen as a black revolutionary. Why such concern? Blacks, after all, only constitute somewhere between 10 and 15 percent of the American population. It is because the cause of black freedom and the fight against the grinding exploitation of labor and this racist capitalist society are potential social dynamite if combined.

Racism, the race-caste segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society, is a primary obstacle to the mobilization of this potential. The trade-union movement, significantly black at its core, has the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation, if mobilized in a revolutionary party operating to oppose *all* injustice, as the tribune of *all* the people, to overturn this decaying imperialist order. Black liberation through socialist revolution!

Now the seriousness of Mumia's plight must be recognized. Thousands of fighters against racist oppression,



**November 21 Jamal protest. Labor Black Struggle League fights for class-struggle program against racist oppression. Join us!**

many who fought to build the unions in this country—from John Brown to the Black Panthers, from Albert Parsons and the Haymarket martyrs to Sacco and Vanzetti—went to their graves by one route or another, slaughtered by the state minions of America's racist system of exploitation. It must be said plainly that this struggle is a dangerous business. There will be more victimizations, future heroes enchained and executed until America's capitalist masters are overthrown by a working-class socialist revolution.

It is equally plain that if this course is not taken, the working masses will face

the slow death of increasing exploitation and poverty, the hopelessness of the ghetto; today's youth will have no future. These processes have accelerated with the overturn of the October Revolution in the USSR, a historic defeat for the world's working class, with the resultant increasing competition between the imperialist powers which once again will lead to world war, this time ending in nuclear annihilation.

The starvation and episodic bloody bombing of Iraq by American imperialism in its drive to dominate the world, to assure the profits of our capitalist masters, is echoed in the end of welfare, cop

mayhem in the ghettos and the attack on the living standards of all in the service of the very same drive for profits. The primary obstacle to mobilizing the revolutionary proletarian party to bring an end to the devastation caused by American imperialism is illusions in the main war party of American imperialism, the Democratic Party.

AFL-CIO head John Sweeney peddles America-first protectionism against foreign workers, played out at home in the war against immigrants. He and his ilk bring the capitalist government into the trade unions, betray the power of picket lines in strikes to the bosses' courts and cops. Indeed, they bring the armed enemies of the working class and the oppressed—cops and prison guards—into the trade unions. Such unions cannot effectively fight to save Jamal.

This is racist America. We will fight together against the state and its capitalist masters or go down separately. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. ■

**Contact the Chicago LBSL**  
**Labor Black Struggle League**  
**Box 6938**  
**Chicago, IL 60680**

## David North...

(continued from page 2)

the "futility" of union struggles.

North's own witchhunting credentials are impeccable. Beginning in the mid-1970s, he devoted over a decade to the crazed "Security and the Fourth International" campaign launched by the corrupt, thuggish and megalomaniacal Healy with the aim of smearing the SWP leadership (primarily Joseph Hansen) with supposed complicity in Trotsky's assassination by Stalinist agents in 1940. In the 1980s, North's outfit virtually prepared the prosecution brief which resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of SWP trade unionist Mark Curtis on frame-up rape charges. Meanwhile, the "Socialist Equality" Party spits on the fight against the oppression of women, blacks, homosexuals and national minorities.

The McCarthyite witchhunt was aimed at preparing the country for war against the Soviet Union and driving the reds out

of the unions. The "anti-Stalinist" social democrats embraced by North shared that aim but opposed McCarthy for going "too far" by targeting Cold War liberals as well. It is notable that Radosh's hatchet job, *The Rosenberg File* (co-authored by Joyce Milton), was published in the early 1980s to facilitate a new Red Hunt as U.S. imperialism again geared up for war against the Soviet Union (see "Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up: They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again," *WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983). It is also notable that North's Workers League never appeared on the FBI's ADEX list of organizations—including the SL and a range of other groups—to be rounded up in the event of a "national emergency."

The current grotesque "rehabilitation" of McCarthyism, seizing on CIA "revelations" that those who were witchhunted and murdered got what they deserved because they were indeed "Soviet spies," is part of an all-sided attempt to again demonize communism. Even as the bour-

geoisie and its mouthpieces proclaim that "Marxism is dead," they seek to warn off militant workers and radicalized youth from revolutionary politics, aware that the growing gap between the rich and poor and the other enormous contradictions in this society have created seething discontents and are leading to a revival of labor militancy.

The kind of respectability North now craves can only come to those who did their bit in aiding the cause of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, a historic defeat for the world's working class. As Leninists, one of our primary responsibilities is to expose especially the "left" (should North remain so positioned) opponents of proletarian revolution, who today join in seeking to bury the legacy of the October Revolution under a mountain of lies while rehabilitating the bloodsoaked imperialist world order. Indeed, a rapprochement between North and Radosh might well be possible—perhaps even a new joint Web site, "godthatfailed.anticom." ■

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# Brazil...

(continued from page 12)

extreme deflationary measures. Interest rates were raised to 50 percent, leading to thousands of layoffs in the public and private sectors. In August, the government introduced a package of measures which includes a reduction in the average workweek to 25 hours—with a corresponding cut in wages—and allows employers to suspend workers' contracts for two to five months.

At the same time, since the beginning of September the central bank has been depleting its foreign-exchange reserves at the rate of **\$1 billion a day** to keep the *real* from falling through the floor. Wall Street and other international financiers are worried—and rightly so—that the Brazilian government and major companies will be forced to default on their foreign loans. Economist Jeffrey Sachs warned: "In March, American banks had a reported \$27 billion in loans to Brazil, four times their exposure in Russia. A disaster in Brazil would surely rattle the world economy and further tarnish the credibility of the United States and the IMF" (*New York Times*, 14 October). What Sachs, who is the architect of starvation austerity plans ravaging millions from Bolivia to Poland, means by "disaster" is disaster for the imperialist bankers—not the further impoverishment of the Brazilian masses—in the form of a Russia-type default or a partial default achieved, for example, by reimposing limits on the outflow of "hot money" (short-term capital).

So on November 13, IMF spokesmen in Rio announced a typical "bailout" package—designed chiefly to bail out U.S. banks in Brazil—to be made available "as the Brazilian Congress enacts the conditions required." Dancing to the tune of the imperialist bloodsuckers, Brazil's government responds to each new American declaration by announcing more austerity measures to make the country safe for international financiers, including deeper spending cuts in social services and massive attacks on workers' social security benefits.

## Nationalism and Reformism Prop Up Bourgeois Order

Running in opposition to FHC in the presidential elections was Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva as candidate of the "People's Unity" (União do Povo—UP) coalition. In addition to Lula's social-democratic Workers Party (PT), the UP included the formerly pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB), the formerly pro-Albania Stalinists of the PC do B and the bourgeois Workers Democratic Party of longtime capitalist politician Leonel Brizola, a big landowner in southern Brazil who idolizes former dictator Vargas. Like the Frente Brasil Popular headed by Lula in the 1989 elections and a similar popular front in 1994, the UP is a class-collaborationist coalition tying the workers movement and left to the politicians and institutions of the bourgeoisie and its state.

According to its public platform, the UP is a big social movement that includes

workers, unions, people's movements of the countryside and cities, youth, women and businessmen committed to a new national development project. The appeal of Lula's program is nationalism. But while it may be solacing to imagine depriving the Yankee imperialists of the profits wrung from the masses, a semi-colonial country like Brazil, above all in the imperialist epoch, cannot liberate itself from these predations short of a thoroughgoing socialist revolution.

Utilizing the masses' illusions born of desperation, Lula offers himself as an alternate way for capitalism to bleed the masses, appealing to sections of the bourgeoisie who have seen their profits decline as protective tariffs were lowered



Financial Times  
Military police patrol impoverished neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro. Cop death squads are notorious for murdering black street children in the huge favelas (slum areas) around major cities.

under the Real Plan. Lula invited the vice president of Brazil's largest industrial conglomerate (Votorantim) to collaborate with the PT and the CUT trade-union federation in a plan to "defend" national industry.

The nationalist/reformist Latin American left aims all its fire at IMF-sponsored "neoliberalism." But this is by no means the only form of capitalist economic policy. Indeed, in Latin America the dominant form historically has been nationalist corporatism associated with anti-Yankee and populist demagoguery—especially on the left but by no means limited to it (e.g., Peronism in Argentina). This program entails industrial protectionism and government controls over foreign-exchange transactions and capital movements. Nationalist corporatism did not insulate Latin American countries from the economic shocks and sharp ups and downs endemic to the world capitalist system, and the so-called "debt crisis" of the 1980s ushered in a decade of stagnation and savage austerity against the workers and urban and rural poor (see "Lurching Toward Economic Crisis?" WV No. 619, 24 March 1995).

As Marxists, we fight for *working-class independence* from the bourgeoisie. The interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two fundamental social classes in capitalist society, are irreconcilably counterposed. This basic princi-

ple is systematically obscured by *reformist* currents. Such currents (as Lenin stressed in his pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) historically arose based on the more privileged strata of the working class in the imperialist countries, as the workers' leaders reconciled themselves with the capitalist system in exchange for crumbs from the bourgeoisie's table. Since the onset of World War I in 1914, when such misleaders cheered on their "own" rulers as the imperialists plunged the earth into wholesale slaughter, socialist-talking reformists have actively worked against the prospect of proletarian revolution, including through naked support for bloody counterrevolution at those crucial

leftists, workers and peasants; we remember the deadly fruits of class collaboration under Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition in Chile, which led to Pinochet's bloody military coup in 1973. Such so-called "left" governments promise to alleviate the plight of the masses but are in reality committed to serving the enemies of the workers and oppressed. They can only enrage the local capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons without breaking their power, preparing the way for new rightist regimes which will swiftly exact bloody revenge against the working class and its allies.

A hallmark of class collaboration in the semicolonial countries is the dominance of nationalist ideology—a bourgeois ideology which is inimical to the proletariat's class interest and is thus a decisive obstacle to the thoroughgoing social revolution which is necessary to break the stranglehold of imperialism over the countries of the "Third World." The basic Marxist understanding that "the workers have no country" is no less true in these countries than it is in the imperialist centers. Revolutionaries must struggle intransigently to break the working class from the illusion that its "own" ruling class can be any kind of ally in the fight for national and social liberation. Such a struggle is anathema to those who falsely posture as "leftists" in Brazil, who prefer to subordinate themselves to bourgeois forces in the name of "anti-imperialism."

## Brazilian "Left" vs. the Fight for a Revolutionary Party

The PT was forged in February 1980 under Lula, a metal workers union leader, coming off a broad and militant strike wave in the late 1970s. Yet from its inception, the PT leadership had close ties with the Catholic church and its program did not challenge the capitalist status quo. In 1981, Lula's PT actively cheered for Polish Solidarność. This "workers movement" was in fact a huge company union, an instrument for capitalist counterrevolution based on anti-Soviet nationalism and backed by the CIA, Western bankers and the Vatican. The PT's program says nothing in defense of abortion rights for women. The PT hails the racist popular-front government in France for supposedly taking important steps to ensure economic growth, fight unemployment, preserve sovereignty and widen democracy. And in Brazil, it was a PT governor in Brasília who ordered a murderous attack on a demonstration against the FHC government's austerity measures at the "Palácio do Planalto" last May.

We fight for a Leninist internationalist vanguard party as the necessary instrument to bring communist consciousness to the proletariat and to lead it to power at the head of all the oppressed. Rejecting this perspective, the Brazilian "left" prefers to maneuver inside the PT and the CUT union bureaucracy. These "leftists" cultivate the deadly illusion that the bourgeois state can be pressured to serve the interests of the workers and oppressed and that socialism can be achieved through a series of gradual reforms. Although filling their newspapers with

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Landless peasants march on Brasília, April 1997. Expropriation of landed estates requires socialist revolution placing proletariat in power.

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# Brazil...

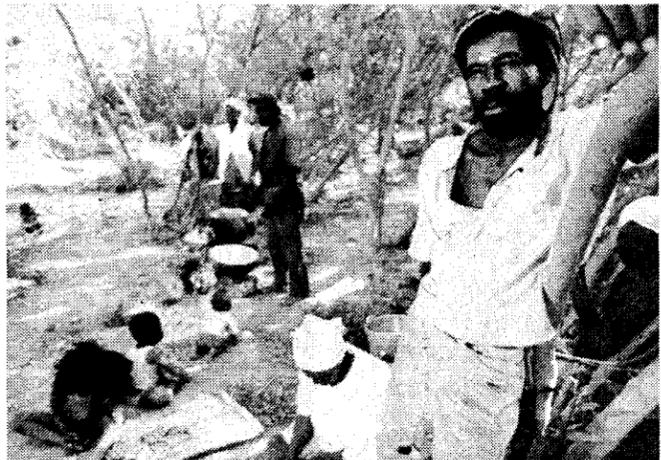
(continued from page 9)

left rhetoric, these organizations act in practice as an obstacle to raising the consciousness of the proletariat, ultimately placing themselves on the side of the capitalist state. Even after a red purge inside the PT resulted in the expulsion of pseudo-Trotskyists like Causa Operária (PCO—affiliated with the Altamira group in Argentina) and the Morenoite Convergência, they continued voting for Lula, while openly admitting that the PT-led coalitions in 1989 and 1994 were popular fronts. In 1994, the Morenoites were an official part of this class-collaborationist lash-up.

This time, reflecting the unpopularity of the new popular front, the Morenoite PSTU was not an official part of it. What was finally too much for them to swallow was the alliance with Brizola in particular. The PSTU proposed an alternative

struggle, workers councils, led by a genuine revolutionary workers party which can head the masses of landless peasants in a fight for a workers and peasants government and the extension of revolution to the imperialist centers."

For all its rhetoric about a revolutionary party, the IG clearly sees such a party as arising spontaneously from mass struggle. But in the absence of a revolutionary party in Brazil today and on the eve of a presidential election, what would the LQB's call for a "general strike" mean if not support to the workers' current leadership—the PT and its popular front? Sloganeering for "the general strike," which the IG does in common with centrists all over the world, is merely a militant-sounding way to pass off the glorification of trade-union struggle as a "revolutionary" strategy. The idea is that if only strikes can become militant enough and "general" enough, the struggle itself will objectively lead the oppressed masses to an all-out confrontation with the state power, regardless of



John Meier Jr

**Black landless peasants in Brazil's Northeast. Leninist party must champion agrarian revolution, combat pervasive racist oppression.**

"class" candidacy of Lula for president and the leader of the MST landless movement as vice president. In its absence, they ran their own candidate—but on a program no different from the 1994 popular front's program. Moreover, fearful of being blamed for Lula's defeat and hewing to their ultimate program of "fight FHC," they called for support to both Lula and their own candidate on the first round!

The centrist Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI, which recently split from the Argentine PBCI) did not call for a vote for the PT either in 1994 or this year. But the LBI does not oppose popular frontism in principle, as shown by its support to the PT in the 1989 elections. In an issue of *Luta Operária* (September 1998) preceding the elections, the LBI talks out of both sides of its mouth in an attempt to conceal its underlying "lesser evil," "fight the right" politics. The LBI admits that no matter who wins the vote a "war plan" will be unleashed against the working people. But to "fight" the popular front, the LBI comes out for a so-called "revolutionary workers front" to unite various "sectors." This is just another recipe for a rotten propaganda bloc—a lowest-common-denominator bloc antithetical to building a hard, programmatically homogeneous party fighting for the political clarification needed to break the workers from the pro-capitalist misleaders.

## IG/LQB: Militant Economism and Class Betrayal

The U.S. Internationalist Group (IG) and its affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) are not that far behind in capitulation. An LQB "Information Bulletin" (October 1998) posted on the Internet, which ritually denounces the popular front and calls for not voting for it, presents as its central slogan a general strike:

"The bourgeois offensive against all the working people must be answered with a class-struggle workers offensive fighting for power. The necessary response would begin with a strike of all public workers, then extending to the private sector in a general strike paralyzing all large industry, transport and commerce, which would be a showdown with the bourgeois power. To lead this fight, it will be necessary to throw out the existing pro-capitalist leaderships and form organs of

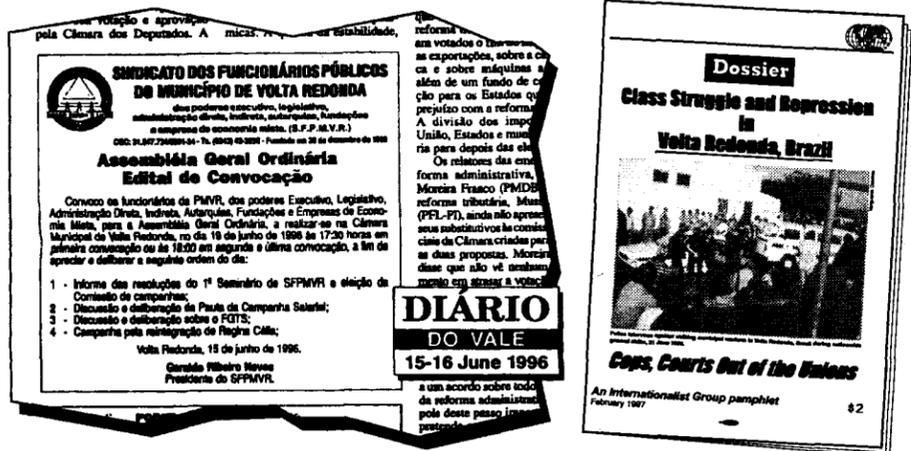
the workers' level of consciousness, and the reformist misleaders' hold on the workers will just disappear. The class struggle is a great teacher, but a vanguard party is crucial to drive home and keep alive the lessons of experience.

As Lenin insisted over and over in polemicalizing in *What Is To Be Done?* against the Economists who wanted to "lend the economic struggle a political character," militant trade-union consciousness in itself remains within the framework of bourgeois ideology, and socialist politics must—and can only—be brought to the working class through the intervention of conscious revolutionaries:

"Any subservience to the spontaneity of the mass movement and any degrading of Social-Democratic [i.e., socialist] politics to the level of trade-unionist politics mean preparing the ground for converting the working-class movement into an instrument of bourgeois democracy. The spontaneous working-class movement is by itself able to create (and inevitably does create) only trade-unionism, and working-class trade-unionist politics is precisely working-class bourgeois politics."

A proletariat under the sway of "working-class bourgeois politics" cannot be tricked or cajoled into making a revolution! The IG/LQB glorifies proletarian militancy as a substitute for the necessary fight to directly confront the workers' illusions in reformism and unmask the PT's subservience to the bourgeois order. This worship of spontaneity can only prepare new defeats.

The shameless class-collaborationist capitulation of the Brazilian "left" takes its worst form when self-styled "revolutionary" groups extend a hand to the racist, strikebreaking cops, calling them "workers" who belong inside the unions. During last year's police strikes, the Morenoite PSTU and the POR (associated with the Bolivian Loraites) called for "solidarity" with striking military police. The Altamiraite PCO sometimes calls for the dissolution of the military police, proposing instead "military police under the direct control of the population" (*Causa Operária*, 1 July 1997), suggesting that the hired thugs of the capitalist state can be made to serve the interests of the workers and oppressed. We Marxists understand that cops are not workers, but the mailed fist of the capitalist class.



**IG "dossier" covers up for class betrayal. Public call for 19 June 1996 Volta Redonda union meeting, supposedly called to oust cops from union, made no mention of cops! Meanwhile, IG's Brazilian allies dragged union into bosses' courts three times.**

Along with the courts, prisons and armed forces, the cops are committed to the defense of private property and capitalist rule, enforcing the exploitation of workers and the oppression of women, blacks and indigenous people.

Meanwhile, the LBI and the IG/LQB were fighting each other for control of the cop-infested SFPMVR municipal workers union in the town of Volta Redonda. Each of the warring factions claimed the union presidency for their man: Artur Fernandes, supported by the LBI, is an openly pro-cop thug, while the LQB supports Geraldo Ribeiro, a former cop. In their sordid battle, both sides sued the union in the bosses' courts! This shameless class betrayal confirmed the correctness of the International Communist League's decision to break fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 over the latter's inveterate trade-union opportunism and refusal to forge a Bolshevik vanguard nucleus.

Earlier, the two union factions had been allies in the "Municipários em Luta" slate, a bloc which broke down only when the LQB forces, at the urging of the ICL, belatedly came out against the presence of cops in the union. After this falling out among competing bands of craven trade-union opportunists came the suits and countersuits through which the LQB and its LBI rivals invited the bourgeois courts, another agency of the same capitalist state, to "settle" the union's internal affairs.

The IG has brazenly continued to deny suing the union even after the ICL published the proof in our press: Volta

Redonda court case numbers 30.831 (15 July 1996), 30.832 (8 August 1996), 30.833 (26 July 1996). (For further information, see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," WV Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). Recently, these cowardly defectors from Trotskyism have had little to say in their press or Internet postings about the travails of this union which they formerly presented as the very vanguard of the Brazilian working class. But in arguing with our comrades outside Spartacist League/U.S. public meetings, the IGlets call the SFPMVR a court-rigged formation. In other words, they claim it is no longer a trade union—because they no longer control it! The cynicism is breathtaking: don't the Volta Redonda municipal workers have a right to know that their union is no longer a union? We challenge the IG/LQB: bring your self-serving new line out into the open—put it in writing for the Brazilian proletariat!

Maneuvers and lies in the service of grotesque trade-union opportunism are what the IG/LQB is all about. The IG/LQB is a "party" which rejects the need for and purpose of a vanguard party—the fight to win the proletariat to the authentic program of Leninism and Trotskyism. The LQB and its IG godfathers are interested only in creating the fiction of a "working-class base," just like myriad other little groupings in Brazil and elsewhere which play politics inside the unions with utter contempt

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for the workers who suffer the consequences. The LQB and its "party press" are simply window-dressing for an operation which is really about doing anything to capture positions of influence in the unions behind the backs of the union members, including and especially delivering the unions into the hands of the capitalist state.

### Agrarian Revolution and Permanent Revolution

The posture of the IG toward the MST peasant movement has been a textbook case of centrist amorphousness and tailism. The landless peasants' courage notwithstanding, the MST is a petty-bourgeois formation fully in the grip of Lula's program. On their own, the landless peasants lack social power, and they are treated accordingly by the capitalist state and its repressive thugs. Brazil presents a classic case of "combined and uneven development," where pre-industrial forms of exploitation and modern industry co-exist and are intertwined. In such countries, no wing of the bourgeoisie can lift society out of semicolonial oppression. While defending the militant landless peasants and the MST leaders against state repression, we understand that in a country like Brazil "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy* and *national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (Leon Trotsky, "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" [1930]).

As was also shown in Mexico, where the Chiapas rebellion of Indian peasants was contained and now finds itself pulling the cart of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Cárdenas, petty-bourgeois strata such as the peasantry cannot play an independent class role. They are inevitably pulled in the wake of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. With the Brazilian proletariat politically disarmed, the landless peasant movement is delivered, with Lula

as the intermediary, to an impotent perspective of militant pressure politics.

With the recent large-scale land takeovers and consequent clashes with the "forces of order," the MST has become very popular among youth. Accordingly, the left portrays the MST as some sort of revolutionary leadership, and the LQB/IG in turn refuses to criticize it when it is so popular. The latest issue of the LQB's *Vanguarda Operária* (April 1998) is silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants. An article in the previous *Vanguarda Operária* (August 1997), while correctly defending two arrested leaders of the MST, had no criticism of this petty-bourgeois movement and instead implicitly associated the leaders of the landless peasants with the Bolsheviks. In the best centrist style, the LQB article in its first paragraph quotes MST leader João Pedro Stédile saying at a forum at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul:

"Only the organized people can make social changes, and the social problem can only be resolved through class struggle. It is necessary to discover magic banners to mobilize the people in rebellion against the government, as the Bolsheviks did with their slogans of 'peace, land and bread' which thus implanted communism in Russia."

Thus the LQB introduces the MST to its readers as Bolsheviks! So it seems that the Pabloite IG has found in this volatile petty-bourgeois sector a potential "new mass vanguard"—a substitute for the conscious proletariat. Through such centrist ploys big and little, the IG/LQB takes its place in the "syphilitic chain" of opportunists who tail the popular front.

In the LQB's October Internet statement on the elections, which has little to say about the landless peasants and never mentions the MST by name, it is stated no less than *four* times that the LQB is for "agrarian revolution," not agrarian reform. This is a masterpiece of centrists trying to mean all things to all people. Marxists understand that successful peasant seizures of the landed estates can only



Workers at Brazilian Volkswagen plant. Imperialist investment has created huge, combative proletariat.

come in the context of a proletarian assault on the bourgeois state power resulting in a victorious workers revolution. Agrarian revolution can be nothing other than the *expropriation without compensation* of all the land owned by the big capitalist landlords and agribusiness corporations by a *workers state*. But to the MST and its myriad leftist enthusiasts, the LQB's unexplained reference to "agrarian revolution" could mean the program of the MST!

And in place of the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution—the centrality of the proletariat fighting for socialist revolution as the only way to bring to fruition the struggles of all the oppressed non-proletarian masses—the LQB calls vaguely for a "worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat." This differs little if at all from the Maoist-Stalinist formula of "proletarian hegemony" in the "bloc of four classes"! Moreover, the "Program of the Class Struggle Caucus," the LQB's trade-union front (translated in *Internationalist*, January/February 1998), says not a word about the need to combat rampant nationalist influences within the Bra-

zilian left. Yet the fight against bourgeois nationalism is key to the perspective of permanent revolution, the road to the actual destruction of American imperialism and the capitalist world order.

Against all the capitulations of the pseudo-Trotskyist left, whose appetites for class collaboration (to the extent that they are able to influence events) will be paid for in more blood of landless peasants and workers, we seek to build a revolutionary vanguard party like the Bolsheviks. Workers revolution in Brazil would send shock waves not only throughout Latin America but around the world. A Brazilian Trotskyist party must be based on a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the Americas and into the imperialist heartland of the United States. Workers in the U.S. have a special responsibility to protest the atrocities of the murderous governments of American imperialism's neocolonies. The ICL fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution that will expropriate the bourgeoisie and open the road to social emancipation and a decent life for all. ■

## Japan...

(continued from page 3)

"rogue state," thereby bearing some responsibility for the attacks on Koreans in this country. In its bid to join a capitalist coalition government, the mass reformist Communist Party (CP)—itself the target of right-wing/militarist terror, most recently during the Akahata Matsuri [CP annual festival]—has joined the bourgeoisie's hysteria over the launching of the North Korean satellite. In less than 24 hours, they issued a press release that sounded as if it had been written in the halls of Nagatacho [Japanese government headquarters], denouncing North Korea for violating Japan's "national sovereignty." Their Diet [parliament] members, along with members of the Social Democratic Party and New Socialist Party, then proceeded to vote unanimously for the government's resolution condemning North Korea. This is the logical response of a party which refused to defend North Korea during the Korean War, and whose organizational rules border on outright racism, stipulating that only Japanese citizens can be members.

The Japan Revolutionary Communist League was more concerned about the safety of Japanese boats and ships than the warmongering coming out of the mouths of the Japanese bourgeoisie. They issued a clear statement of support for counterrevolutionary forces in North Korea who "seek democratization and oppose the Kim Jong Il regime" (*Kakehashi* No. 1550, 14 September). These are the same words used by the United Secretariat, the international co-thinkers of the JRCL, to back the forces which helped destroy the workers states in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The Bund

[another left group, formerly called Senki] advised this racist government, which is attempting to *starve* North Korea into submission, that its "hysterical response was not in the interest of Japan" and that North Korea should stop "scaring" its neighbors, and sit down and talk with them (*Senki* No. 951, 15 September).

The Japanese ruling class is determined to divert attention away from the worst economic crisis since World War II and has proposed spending billions of yen on a theater military defense system. Together with the expanded role for the imperialist Self Defense Forces (SDF) embodied in the new military guidelines, this system poses a mortal danger to the workers and toilers of Asia, as demonstrated by the dispatch of SDF planes to Cambodia and Indonesia. Revanchist Japanese nationalism is also aimed at the bourgeoisie's main trade competitors—American and German imperialism—as each imperialist power seeks to redivide the world into rival trading blocs. And trade wars lead to shooting wars, as the Pacific War showed.

As the imperialist powers seek a new carved-up world in the wake of the destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state, they more viciously squeeze the colonial and semi-colonial world, imposing starvation austerity from Indonesia to South Korea. The domestic reflection has been a wave of attacks internationally against the working class and the oppressed, as the capitalists drive to maximize profits by intensifying the exploitation of labor. Today in Japan most of these attacks are directed against those who are affiliated with Chosen Soren. But, as demonstrated by the death threats and bomb threats against award-winning novelist Yu Mi I, who had to cancel numerous speaking tours last year, all Korean residents will be targets as xenophobic racism escalates.

The interests of labor and minorities must advance together or they will fall back separately. When Iranian immigrant workers were being deported in 1993, we warned that the government's attacks against the most vulnerable layer of the proletariat were a precursor of the coming attacks against the entire working-class movement; that defense of immigrant workers was a defense of all workers in this country. Since that time, the ruling class has unleashed a frontal assault on the working class, including attempts to strengthen repressive laws such as Habo-ho [Anti-Subversive Law] and Sotai-ho [similar to U.S. RICO "conspiracy" law, allowing for almost unlimited wiretapping]. With the highest unemployment rate since World War II and *karoshi* [death from overwork] on the rise, the revision to the 1947 Labor Standard Laws allows for increased exploitation of labor. There is no such thing as "capitalism with rules"; capitalism is based on

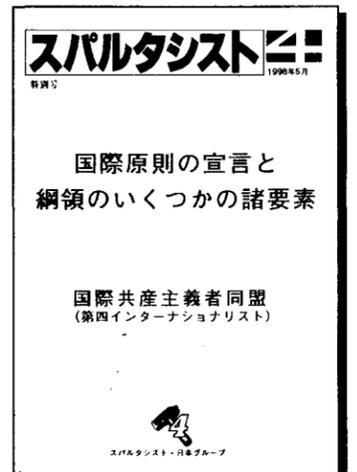
the anarchy of production, which leads to crises, increased inter-imperialist rivalries and wars. The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, education and social services to all, to eliminate the dangers of new imperialist wars is through the *expropriation of the bourgeoisie* by proletarian revolution and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society internationally.

The Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist); seeks to build a multinational, proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist party, a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights as a tribune of the people for a workers republic in Japan as part of a socialist federation of Asia.

**For labor/minority defense to smash racist terror! Full citizenship rights for everyone who lives here! Defend the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist provocations! ■**



Spartacist Japan



Spartacist Group Japan at 1994 protest against anti-Korean attacks. Now available in Japanese: ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, \$2.00. Order from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Ravaged by Imperialism, Hit by Financial Crisis

# Brazil: Cardoso Regime Bleeds Workers, Poor



Brazilian health care workers in November protest against new austerity plan. Tens of millions live in poverty, as children are forced to sleep on city streets.

The \$41.5 billion “rescue package” for Brazil announced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in mid-November underlined widespread concerns that the largest economy in Latin America and the fifth-largest country in the world is about to be hit by the spreading international financial collapse. The growing economic crisis was also the backdrop of recent presidential elections in Brazil.

After four years in office engineering massive layoffs and other attacks on the working class and minorities, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, known as FHC, was re-elected president in the first round of voting on October 4. Cardoso first rode in to office in 1994 on his infamous Real Plan—the monetary plan named after Brazil’s currency, the *real*. Introduced to “cure” economic instability, the Real Plan constituted an arsenal against the working class and the huge masses of poor people. While Cardoso was re-elected, his supporters in key state governments were not. And though voting is obligatory and enforced by huge fines, abstentions and invalid votes totaled 30 percent!

With 150 million people, Brazil contains half the total population of South America. Some 60 million—40 percent—live in poverty and 32 million are hungry. Huge cosmopolitan cities like São Paulo are surrounded by desperately impoverished *favelas* (shantytowns), and in mountainous Rio there is not a hill left without a *favela*. Unemployment is now up to 20 percent in those cities, and an uncounted number of black street children have been murdered by police death squads.

Brazil is the world’s ninth-largest economy. Seen as an emerging power, it has attracted massive foreign investment. While U.S. imperialism leads the way, European and Japanese capitalist interests are also substantially represented. High-tech multinational industries were

**No Illusions in Lula’s Social Democrats!  
For a Trotskyist Party—  
For Permanent Revolution!**

built, and with them was created a huge, young, highly combative proletariat.

Brazil is a semicolonial country where Trotsky’s program of permanent revolution powerfully applies: in the imperialist epoch, the democratic tasks historically associated with the bourgeoisie in the period of its ascendancy—such as “land

percent of all agricultural lands remain idle, nearly five million peasant families are landless.

The land question has been especially explosive in the heavily black, impoverished Northeast, where drought has brought the landless peasants to the brink of starvation. The past year was a year of



Financial Times photos

**Brazilian president Cardoso, popular front candidate Lula. Lula’s Workers Party pushes nationalist class collaboration, chaining Brazilian masses to their oppressors.**

to the tiller”—can be accomplished only through the seizure of state power by the revolutionary proletariat as part of a perspective for international socialist revolution reaching into the imperialist centers.

The agrarian question is a burning issue in Brazil. The country is rich in natural resources and land, but a mere 2.8 percent of the population owns 57 percent of the countryside—an area greater than Spain, France, Germany and England combined—exploiting a rural proletariat which includes more than 23 million workers over the age of 14, according to figures a decade ago. And while 50 per-

cent of all agricultural lands remain idle, nearly five million peasant families are landless. The struggle peaked in June and July, with militant land occupations on a large scale. In addition to trying to seize the land of large landowners and multinational corporations, rural militants also intercepted government food trucks and raided supermarkets and food warehouses, distributing food to the starving population. When the *sem terra* (landless peasants) movement, the MST, organized a 750-mile march to Brasília last year to demand land and protest the killings of landless activists, it was welcomed into the capital by 25,000 supporters.

The FHC government has responded to the struggles of the rural poor with brutal repression. Since 1995, 331 members of the militant MST have been arrested. In an April 1996 confrontation with the military police in Eldorado, 19 landless peasants were killed and 69 wounded. This past July 9 in Paraná, in the southern part of the country, 340 families were evicted from the Santa Gertrudes farm which they had occupied since June 25—700 cops descended on the farm in a predawn raid at 3 a.m., shooting and beating the landless peasants.

The International Communist League seeks to build a revolutionary *vanguard party* to lead the Brazilian proletariat to power. As we wrote in “Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election” (WV No. 608, 14 October 1994):

“Such a party must be a Leninist ‘tribune of the people.’ In Brazil this means taking on the issue of black oppression, which has been an ‘unspoken question’ on the Brazilian left, which echoes the bourgeoisie’s myth of ‘racial democracy.’ More than half of the Brazilian population consists of blacks and mulattos, who are concentrated in the proletariat and poor peasantry....

“The Brazilian proletariat can liberate itself only by taking on the historic mission of emancipating all the oppressed and smashing the rule of capital and putting this country’s immense resources and energies at the service of the working people.”

### “Global Economy,” Global Crises

What is now happening in Brazil is part of a financial chain reaction which began in East Asia in the summer of 1997 and spread to Russia earlier this year. After the Yeltsin government defaulted on its loans, some \$30 billion in short-term capital was suddenly withdrawn from Brazil as part of a global “flight to quality.” In response, the Cardoso regime moved to “defend” the *real* through

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