

## U.S. Hands Off Latin America!

# U.S. "Drug War" Means Imperialist Terror



American helicopters sent to Colombia for supposed "war on drugs," used to suppress guerrilla insurgents. U.S. supplied weapons to Mexican army (right) to crush Zapatista insurgency in Chiapas, 1994.

The past several weeks have seen a crescendo of jingoist calls by both Democratic and Republican politicians to "get tough" with Mexico and Colombia over the drug trade. In particular, the disclosure that Mexico's top "drug enforcement" official was on the take from narcotics traffickers provoked a frenzy of Mexico-bashing tirades. This came on the eve of imperialist chief Clinton's annual "certification" rulings threatening sanctions against countries deemed "lax" in the "war on drugs." In the upshot, Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo got a "thumbs up" from Clinton, but Colombia's Ernesto Samper failed to make the grade.

Propelled by rabidly anti-immigrant racists like California Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, Congress promptly voted against Clinton's ruling on Mexico, but by a safe enough margin to assure that a promised presidential veto would stand. As the *Wall Street Journal* (14 March) commented, Congress wanted to "upbraid the Mexican government in as public a manner as possible. But they don't want to disturb the Mexican economy with tough sanctions or scare away international investors." Coming from the U.S. imperialist government—which through the CIA became the biggest drug dealer in the world in pursuing its war against "international Communism" and which continues to prop up one corrupt, blood-soaked capitalist regime after another—the "certification" debate

certainly reeks with hypocrisy.

But it's not about drugs in the first place. The "drug war" has become Yankee imperialism's latest fig leaf for beefing up the forces of repression against peasant and working-class unrest in Latin America, while at home it has meant an escalation of racist police terror in the ghettos and barrios. As Marxists, we stand for decriminalization of drugs.

Behind Washington's arrogant "certification" proceedings is an assertion by the U.S. cops of the world of their "super-sovereignty" over all of what they see as their Latin American "backyard." Thus, the U.S. is now demanding that its Drug Enforcement (DEA) agents be formally allowed to carry arms as they maraud through Mexico and that American naval vessels be granted the right to detain boats in Mexican waters.

Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government has yet to openly accept this dictate. But as the entire history of U.S. imperialist invasion and plunder of Latin America shows, such legal formalities are utterly superfluous when Washington decides to throw its weight around. The U.S. slaughtered thousands when it invaded Panama in 1989 in order to "arrest" Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega, a former CIA "asset," for supposedly running drugs. Since proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine in the early 19th century, the U.S. has considered Latin America to be under its exclusive control.

The increasingly strident projections of U.S. dominance over Latin America accompany the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which we Trotskyists denounced as a "free trade" rape of Mexico. This is the expression in the Western Hemisphere of the interimperialist rivalries which have sharpened following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union: the U.S. seeks to shore up its Latin American domain, Germany looks to extend its reach throughout Europe and Japan aims to recreate a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere." As Marxist internationalists, we seek to mobilize the U.S. proletariat in struggle against the rapacious American bourgeoisie as part of a fight for international socialist revolution. *U.S. hands off Latin America!*

### "Drug War" Targets Latin American Workers, Peasants

Following the imposition of NAFTA and the subsequent collapse of the peso, Wall Street has virtually taken control of the Mexican economy. This has meant a massive decline in the living standards of already impoverished Mexican workers and peasants, leading to a series of peasant-guerrilla insurgencies, from the Zapatista (EZLN) uprising in the southern state of Chiapas to the more recent emergence of the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) in Guerrero and elsewhere. Mexico's neocolonial rulers, backed to

the hilt by the U.S., have responded with bloody state terror against the peasants and a crackdown on independent trade unions.

The "drug war" is nothing more than a pretext for imperialist-sponsored terror. This is amply clear in both Mexico and Colombia. Shortly after the EZLN rebellion broke out, the Pentagon not only delivered huge quantities of military equipment to the Mexican army, but sent thousands of U.S. troops and DEA and CIA agents to Guatemala near the border with Chiapas. Even the U.S. government's General Accounting Office has admitted that American "counter-narcotics" helicopters were used to transport Mexican troops to Chiapas, where they slaughtered hundreds of peasants.

U.S. military aid to Mexico has continued to escalate (see "U.S. Hands Off Mexico!" *WV* No. 658, 27 December 1996). According to a recent piece by Jeffrey St. Clair (*Inter Press Service*, 14 January), in November the Clinton administration delivered the first shipments of a \$50 million weapons and reconnaissance package, including 73 Huey helicopters, four reconnaissance planes, 500 armored personnel transporters, night-vision and "C-3" (command, control and communications) equipment. St. Clair notes: "The official pretext is that the arms are for use in the drug war. But the true purpose harks back to a famous

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# The Scab Speaks

7 December 1996  
Toronto, Ontario

To Whom It May Concern,

I am enclosing information for you *at the request of one of your members* selling your press at a meeting of Labour Council of Metro Toronto on Dec. 5, 1996.

If the TL [Trotskyist League of Canada] and your sister organization the S.L./U.S. have even an *ounce of political integrity* you will publish a correction and public apology for the libelous and highly inaccurate material attacking me in your press.

Then again, if you had any integrity, you would have checked the facts *before* publishing trash.

Sincerely,  
Barry Weisleder

## WV Replies

Weisleder's ox was gored by our article "Canadian 'Socialist Action' Leader Caught Scabbing" (WV No. 655, 8 November 1996), which documented how he tried to cross a strike picket manned by members of the Ontario Public Sector Staff Union (OPSSU) last September. The strike, by staff workers in the offices of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), was directed against a cutback contract proposal by the "fiscally responsible" OPSEU Executive Board, of which Weisleder is a member. In his spare time, Weisleder also heads up the Canadian Socialist Action group, affiliate of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Yet neither his union position nor his "revolutionary socialist" pretensions prevented this two-bit bureaucrat from trying



Maclean's



OPSSU strike bulletin exposed scabbing by Socialist Action leader Barry Weisleder.

to *scab* on his "own" workers. As we reported in our article, Weisleder was publicly nailed as a scab by the OPSSU strike bulletin *Walk/Talk*, which described how he showed up for "a day of scabbing" and unsuccessfully tried to force his way through an OPSSU picket line outside the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

Attached to Weisleder's whining missive were a letter from OPSSU president Terry Krulicki, an OPSEU "News Update" article on the strike settlement and Weisleder's own "Fact Sheet Antidote to 'Walk/Talk' Tales: OPSEU Belongs to its Members!" In fact these documents *confirm* that WV told the truth.

Defense Exhibit A is Krulicki's grudging expression of "regret" for accusations of scabbing against "OPSEU elected officials" who "were engaged in activities which were a normal part of their duties during the OPSSU strike." The letter stiffly notes, "In circumstances such as this it is not conducive to harmonious labour relations nor is it accurate to accuse them of being scabs." In fact, as the OPSEU tops' own "News Update" article makes clear, this "apology" was extorted from the OPSSU as part of the strike settlement. Even so, it does not deny that Weisleder tried to push his way through an OPSSU picket line.

Weisleder himself gives the show away in his "reply" to *Walk/Talk*, with his violence-baiting diatribe against OPSSU pickets for engaging in "foul language, unprofessional conduct, threats and intimidation" as well as "physical obstruction and aggressive pushing." That sure sounds like a picket line to us! But according to Weisleder, because the Ministry of Labour "is not an OPSSU work place," this wasn't a picket line at all. Weisleder might want to try out his crock of self-serving bureaucratic bull on the tens of thousands of unionists—including many OPSEU members—who shut down Toronto on October 25 in a one-day general strike. Hundreds of picket lines manned by "cross-pickers" closed *other unions'* worksites. By Weisleder's definition, these were merely "political demonstrations" that scabs like him had every right to ignore!

The pro-capitalist union bureaucracy—of which both Weisleder and Krulicki are minor but integral parts—has for dec-

ades undermined the basic working-class understanding that strike pickets are the fundamental battle lines of the class struggle. Instead, the labor tops offer deliberately porous "informational pickets," useless consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns"...and outright strikebreaking. In Canada, they steer worker militancy into the parliamentary dead end of the social-democratic New Democratic Party.

At the same time, "labor lieutenants of capital" like Barry Weisleder foster illusions in the capitalist state as some kind of neutral arbiter between the workers and the bosses. On this score, it's revealing to compare Weisleder's violence-baiting of OPSSU strikers with an article he wrote in *Socialist Action* (Spring-Summer 1996), in which he *praises* the strikebreaking, racist killers of the Metro Toronto police force for acting as "benign mediators" during last spring's OPSEU strike!

Marxists understand that the capitalist state—with its cops, courts and prisons—is the mortal enemy of workers and the oppressed, and must be swept away through socialist revolution. Yet as our article pointed out, Weisleder *supports* the presence of jail guards in OPSEU. Thus it's unsurprising that outside the December 5 meeting of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, Weisleder's frenzied companion Elizabeth Byce—a Socialist Action supporter and Labour Council official—shrieked that he should sue us for libel in the capitalist courts.

Weisleder's protest against our article doesn't hother to address his organization's friendly attitude toward the capitalist state's repressive armed fist. Instead, this scab questions *our* "political integrity" for telling the truth about him. In reply we can only point out that political integrity is based on principles. As we wrote in our article exposing Weisleder's scabbing:

"The kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers and the oppressed facing all-sided capitalist attacks won't come from scab 'socialists' who chatter about 'solidarity' and then act like the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We need a revolutionary workers party forged on the basis of an anti-capitalist program and genuine working-class principles—not least, the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!*" ■



TROTSKY

## "Ultra-imperialism" and Pacifist Reformism

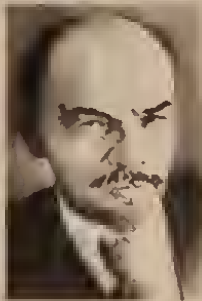
Various liberal and leftist theoreticians of the "global economy" assert that "multinational" corporations and banks have today displaced nation-states as the dominant power in the capitalist world. This is not at all a new notion. In the period around World War I, the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky echoed many bourgeois ideologues in maintaining that international capitalist cartels could establish a stable and peaceful

division of the world economy. In fact, as Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained in 1916, the inter-imperialist war was the necessary product of the major capitalist powers' striving to redivide the world. Lenin exposed Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism" as a reformist-pacifist denial of the need for proletarian revolution. This was demonstrated a year later in Kautsky's hostility to the Bolshevik-led October 1917 workers revolution in Russia.

Certain bourgeois writers (now joined by Karl Kautsky, who has completely abandoned the Marxist position he had held, for example, in 1909) have expressed the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalisation of capital, give the hope of peace among nations under capitalism. Theoretically, this opinion is absolutely absurd, while in practice it is sophistry and a dishonest defence of the worst opportunism. International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and the *object* of the struggle between the various capitalist associations. This last circumstance is the most important; it alone shows us the historico-economic meaning of what is taking place; for the *forms* of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively specific and temporary causes, but the *substance* of the struggle, its class content, positively cannot change while classes exist. Naturally, it is in the interests of, for example, the German bourgeoisie, to whose side Kautsky has in effect gone over in his theoretical arguments (I shall deal with this later), to obscure the *substance* of the present economic struggle (the division of the world) and to emphasise now this and now another *form* of the struggle. Kautsky makes the same mistake. Of course, we have in mind not only the German bourgeoisie, but the bourgeoisie all over the world. The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits....

The epoch of the latest stage of capitalism shows us that certain relations between capitalist associations grow up, *based* on the economic division of the world; while parallel to and in connection with it, certain relations grow up between political alliances, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the "struggle for spheres of influence."

— V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

*Workers Vanguard* (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7863 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: [vanguard@iac.net](mailto:vanguard@iac.net). Domestic subscriptions \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is March 18.

No. 664

21 March 1997

## Spartacist Forum

## Women and Permanent Revolution

Speaker: Janet John, Spartacist League

Thursday, March 27, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025



# Anti-Racist Sit-In at UMass Amherst

On March 3, students organized by ALANA at the University of Massachusetts occupied the Goodell administration building to protest the university's failure to fulfill a 1992 promise to bring minority enrollment up to 20 percent. For six days, hundreds of students from UMass, Hampshire, Smith and other area colleges held daily protests in support of the occupation and dozens camped outside Goodell around the clock. Comrades from the Boston Spartacus Youth Club were well received when they arrived with the following March 4 statement of solidarity.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club wish to express our solidarity with the campus protesters and wish them success in their just struggle. Coming amid a national atmosphere of slashing affirmative action and all other programs which give at least some minority and working-class youth a chance at a decent education, the failure of the UMass administration to meet even the minimal 20 percent minority enrollment must be seen as an intentional racist affront against every black, Latino

and poor youth.

As socialist revolutionaries, we understand that the national attacks on the right to an education result from the fact that this decrepit and inherently racist system is unable to provide decent jobs and lives for the working class and the ghetto poor. That is why we say that a successful fight for a decent education for the masses of people in this country is going to require a fight against the entire rotten edifice of capitalism. Students must ally themselves with the working class, the only class capable of bringing down this system of exploitation and oppression.

Through budget cuts and tuition hikes which constitute a racist purge of the campuses, the public universities more and more resemble the private campuses which are bastions of upper-class privilege.

*Free, quality education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Open admissions, no tuition, and a living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration! For worker/student/faculty control of the universities!* ■



Young Spartacus

## Drug War...

(continued from page 1)

recommendation first exposed in 1994, when Chase Bank circulated an advisory to its clients, saying that "the Zapatistas must be eliminated." Even now, three years after the Zapatista revolt, an average of five peasants a day are being killed in Chiapas alone by government-sponsored death squads.

Meanwhile, the Samper regime in Colombia continues to be beset by peasant guerrilla insurgencies which have now gone on for some 40 years. In recent weeks, attacks by the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) on government and police offices have increased, with British ITN television reporting that "the outbreak of violence now seems to be spiraling out of control." Clinton's refusal to "certify" Samper has more to do with the Colombian leader's inability to bring the FARC and other rebel groups under control than with his reputed association with drug cartels (which would at any rate put him on a par with virtually every bourgeois politician and military and police officer backed by the U.S.).

As Amnesty International documented in a report last year, U.S. "drug aid" to Colombia has consistently been funneled into "counterinsurgency" terror against leftist politicians and peasant militants and "was going to units ranked among the worst human rights abusers" (*New York Times*, 25 November 1996). Despite Washington's tongue-clucking over Samper's alleged drug connections, last fall the U.S. rewarded him with another \$40 million in military aid to combat guerrilla insurgents. And when Peruvian strongman Alberto Fujimori visited Washington in February to discuss how to crush the Túpac Amaru guerrilla seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, U.S. "drug czar" General Barry McCaffrey announced plans to beef up drug "interdiction" efforts there. As the *New York Times* (3 February) noted, this "could eventually bring a significant expansion of United States military involvement."

U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America has been enforced over the decades through savage terror against impoverished peasants, oppressed indigenous populations and restive workers, carried out by both the American military and its neocolonial death-squad regimes. Last year, Zedillo agreed to an unprecedented pact allowing Mexican soldiers to be trained at U.S. bases. Meanwhile, the "School of the Americas" (more accurately known as the "School of the Assassins") at Fort Benning, Georgia continues to train Latin American military officers in torture, execution and "neutralization" of leftists. At the same time, Clinton has massively militarized the U.S. border with Mexico in order to stem the tide of

desperate immigrants seeking to cross into *el norte*.

### Latin American Powder Keg

U.S. imperialist huffing of the Samper and Zedillo regimes has provoked a widespread nationalist reaction in both countries. This is particularly the case in Mexico, where deeply ingrained anti-American passions date from the 1836 Texas war and 1846-48 Mexican-American War, through which the bulk of northern Mexico was stolen. At the same time, the imposition of starvation austerity policies dictated by Wall Street and the financial vultures of the International Monetary Fund has led to a wave of strikes by the proletariat throughout South America.

Last month, 800,000 Colombian puh-

regimes of the Third World are incapable of achieving genuine national liberation, agrarian revolution and democratic rights for the oppressed. These bourgeois rulers, who brutally exploit their own working people, are completely tied to the imperialists and subservient to the world bankers who hold their countries in thrall.

What is needed above all is the forging of revolutionary workers parties armed with the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: to break the chains of imperialist domination, the proletariat—standing at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed—must seize state power from the weak and venal local bourgeoisies and seek to extend socialist revolution to the U.S. imperialist heartland. But particularly in Latin America, self-described "social-

independence of the proletariat. A case in point is the United Secretariat's now-defunct Mexican affiliate, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), which disintegrated after supporting Cárdenas' bourgeois PRD in the 1994 elections, with one wing of the PRT then joining the petty-bourgeois EZLN. Now the U.S. *Socialist Action* (February 1997) announces the founding of the Mexican Socialist Unity League (LUS), composed of ex-PRTers joined by former members of the Communist Party, now dissolved into the PRD.

All these former PRTers claim to have opposed their party's capitulation to Cárdenas. Yet at the LUS founding conference, "veteran" leader Manuel Aguilar argued—"with the support of other LUS leaders"—that "it was possible in 'exceptional circumstances' to support 'community candidates' endorsed by bourgeois parties." So the LUS keeps the door open to supporting bourgeois politicians. Against such nationalist class-collaborationism, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) insist that "in the present epoch, there is no 'third road' of 'democratic' revolution" and fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party committed to international socialist revolution (see "Mexico: Fight Austerity—Mobilize Workers' Power!" *WI* No. 647, 7 June 1996).

Here in the "belly of the imperialist beast," the U.S. working class must oppose Washington's imperialist adventures down the line. Against the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops, we fight for international workers solidarity, for common class struggle by workers in Mexico and the U.S. This means a fight to mobilize the U.S. labor movement to combat anti-immigrant racism and to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The millions of Mexican and Central American workers in the U.S. can serve as a living bridge between the struggles of the Latin American proletariat against the depredations of Wall Street and the fight for socialist revolution here.

This struggle can only go forward as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. We stand on the "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism," adopted at the 1938 founding conference of the Fourth International on the eve of World War II, which declared:

"The real character of 'democratic' American capitalism is best revealed by the tyrannical dictatorships in the Latin American countries with which its fortunes and policies are inextricably bound up and without which its days of imperialist sway in the Western Hemisphere are numbered...."

"The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it." ■



LeMoyné NY Times

**School of the Americas in Panama (now relocated to Fort Benning, Georgia), U.S. training ground for Latin American military dictators and death squads. Right: Victims of bloody state terror in Chiapas.**



Lehman/Saba

lie workers struck for eight days over falling wages, layoffs and privatization of state-owned industry. The Samper government called out some 300,000 troops, as riot police and soldiers stood guard outside public offices. The month before, dock workers shut down Colombia's main Pacific coast port, paralyzing coffee and sugar exports.

This outbreak of labor struggles from Argentina to Venezuela points to the enormous potential of the workers of the region to fight not only in their own immediate interests but on behalf of the many millions of downtrodden peasants and oppressed indigenous peoples. Occasionally, even hought-and-paid-for figures like Samper may feel compelled to mouth anti-U.S. rhetoric when pushed to the wall by Washington. But even the most "radical"-sounding nationalist

ists" have repeatedly renounced the struggle for proletarian leadership of the oppressed masses, offering instead a strategy of an "anti-imperialist united front"—a call for a nationalist "popular front" tying the working class to "democratic" bourgeois forces. Currently in Mexico, a host of organizations such as the bourgeois "Workers Party," Greens and ex-Stalinist Popular Socialist Party have joined with the ruling PRI in a joint declaration "for national sovereignty." Meanwhile, Cnautémoc Cárdenas' bourgeois-nationalist Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD)—which is tailed by the EZLN—issued its own call for a "national alliance" with the PRI.

Much of what passes for Trotskyism in Latin America likewise capitulates to "anti-Yanqui" bourgeois nationalism, renouncing the struggle for the political



# How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The first three parts of this article, which concludes below, were published in WV Nos. 660, 661 and 662 (24 January, 7 and 21 February).

The view that "transnational" corporations transcend the nation-state system leads to the notion that certain international economic agencies, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have now become a kind of world capitalist government. In a 1992 speech, "International Committee" (IC) leader David North contends:

"Not even at the height of its glory did the British Empire possess even a fraction of the power over its colonial subjects that the modern institutions of world imperialism—



Esparfaco

ist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars." [emphasis in original]

Spelling out the reformist implications of Kautsky's theory, Lenin added: "It is a most reactionary method of consoling the masses with hopes of permanent peace being possible under capitalism." Not surprisingly, Kautsky was to be a

## The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

such as the World Bank, the IMF, GATT and the EC—routinely exercise over the supposedly independent states of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East."

—Capital, Labor and the Nation-State (1992)

The idea that the World Bank and IMF exercise greater power over the workers and peasants of India and Pakistan than did the British colonial army and police is pacifistic nonsense.

No less absurd is the idea that these institutions are powers unto themselves, independent of the imperialist nation-states. The IMF and World Bank act in the Third World (and now in the former Soviet bloc) as brutal debt collection agencies, using blackmail to force through the imposition of draconian austerity policies on the working masses and peasants of the semicolonial countries. But these international agencies act at the behest and in the interests of the major capitalist powers, not autonomously of them and certainly not above them.

The policies and, indeed, very existence of the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization, European Union (formerly the European Community) et al. are based on compromises among rival imperialist bourgeoisies represented by their national capitalist states. Both the IMF and World Bank were conceived at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference and, as an article in *Monthly Review* (September 1995) noted, "ultimately reflected the interests of the world's overwhelmingly dominant power at that time—the United States." But that has changed with the waning of U.S. imperialism's hegemonic position.

For example, last year the U.S. proposed that the IMF and World Bank write off a large part of the money owed them by especially poor countries like Uganda. Washington officials argue that this is necessary to free up government funds for spending on infrastructure, for tax breaks to encourage new private investment, etc. However, Germany and Japan for months blocked the U.S. plan and succeeded in watering down any substantial debt reduction by the IMF/World Bank. As the growing conflicts between the major imperialist powers reach a certain point, institutions like the IMF and World Bank will be reduced to empty shells, stripped of their present financial resources and political influence. A glimpse of this



Der Spiegel

### Part Four

Top: Mexican workers protest imperialist-dictated austerity. Above: Brazilian poor scour garbage dumps for food. Breaking imperialist stranglehold over "Third World" requires socialist revolution.

came in 1995, when Tokyo and Berlin openly challenged Washington's demand that \$30 billion in IMF funds be used to bail out (U.S. banks in) Mexico.

#### "Ultra-Imperialism," from Kautsky to North

The current authority exercised by the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization et al. derives from the power of the imperialist states for which they function as agents. Let us imagine that a left-nationalist government comes to power in Mexico and repudiates that country's foreign debt. Will the IMF's army invade Mexico and install a puppet regime? Will the IMF's navy blockade Mexico's ports? Will IMF agents confiscate the assets of the Mexican government held in other countries? No, since the IMF has no army, no navy and no agents empowered to confiscate any property anywhere. A Mexican government which repudiated its foreign debt would face economic sanctions and potential military action by the U.S. and other imperialist states.

Basically, the Northites have reinvented the doctrine of "ultra-imperialism" expounded by Karl Kautsky before and during World War I. The core of Kautsky's theory, quoted by Lenin in his 1916 pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, went as follows:

"Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common

exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital? Such a phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable."

For the International Committee, such a new phase of capitalism is not merely conceivable but is now here. To be sure, North & Co. do not deny a tendency toward imperialist war. But they do so by counterposing "transnational" corporations to reactionary nation-states. Corporations like IBM, Siemens and Toshiba are supposedly striving for a transnational capitalist order but are obstructed by the bad, old, obsolete nation-state system. On the contrary, the root cause of imperialist wars does not lie in the nation-state system as such, much less in nationalist and chauvinist ideology and demagoguery. The imperialist nation-state is the fundamental political instrument by which transnational corporations, to use the Northites' favored term, struggle to expand their markets and spheres of exploitation.

As Lenin wrote in opposition to Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism":

"The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism....

"Therefore, in the realities of the capital-

vehement opponent of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat which was erected by it to replace the rule of capital.

No less inherently reformist and anti-revolutionary is the contemporary Northite version of "ultra-imperialism." If, to believe North, the competition among different imperialist powers has been subsumed by supra-national agencies, then the traditional Marxist position in inter-imperialist conflicts—that the main enemy is at home—is clearly "outmoded." When it comes to the national and colonial questions, as we will see, North & Co. rival the worst social-chauvinists of Lenin's day.

#### The U.S. Imperialist State and the Exploitation of Mexico

The central role of the imperialist state in what is currently termed the "globalization" of world capitalism is especially clear in the case of Mexico, U.S. imperialism's most important neocolony. One-fifth of all industrial plant and equipment owned by U.S. corporations in Third World countries is now located in Mexico. Over the past 15 years, the actions of the U.S. government have been crucial in promoting and protecting American investment in that country. Among other things, this has meant an increasingly open role by U.S. imperialism in aiding and arming the Mexican government's bloody repression against combative worker and peasant struggles (see "U.S. Hands Off Mexico!" WV No. 658, 27 December 1996).

Following the frenzied over-borrowing during the oil-price boom of the 1970s, in 1982 the Mexican government announced that it could not meet the scheduled interest payment on its foreign debt. The U.S. Treasury and Federal Reserve Bank immediately took over the "rescheduling" of Mexico's debts and those of other Latin American countries. This entailed the subsidization by the U.S. government, via Mexico, of the major Wall Street banks. Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, an arch-"free marketeer," wrote at the time:

"In the past five years the commercial banks have received large net transfers from the debtor countries, while the official creditors, including the creditor governments and the multilateral institutions, have made large net transfers to the debtor. Operationally, it can be



argued that the official creditors are indeed 'bailing out the banks'." — *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 4 (1986)

In the early and mid-1980s, American corporate investment in Mexico was effectively zero. In fact, the movement of capital across the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) was in the other direction. Wealthy Mexicans were smuggling out billions and parking their money in Wall Street banks, U.S. corporate stocks and bonds, and Texas and California real estate. The turnaround in the Mexican and, more generally, Latin American debt crisis came with the 1989 Brady Plan, named after then U.S. treasury secretary Nicholas Brady. This plan transformed the short-term bank debt of Latin American countries into long-term bonds guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury. In return, Washington levered open the Latin American economies to unimpeded exploitation by U.S. finance and industrial capital.

The Brady Plan opened the way for a massive American investment boom in Mexico. U.S. banks, mutual funds, insurance companies and corporations which engaged in manufacturing and services assumed that any money they placed south of the border would be fully protected by the fiscal resources and, ultimately, the political/military might of the U.S. capitalist state. The increasing weight of American capital in Mexico laid the basis for and was, in turn, reinforced by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into effect on New Year's Day 1994.

Among its other disastrous consequences, NAFTA meant the economic



India Office Library and records, London

Painting shows Indian Mogul emperor granting sovereign rights in Bengal to British general Robert Clive in mid-18th century. British domination in Africa is depicted in 1892 *Punch* cartoon of colonialist Cecil Rhodes.



Punch

cannon, jeeps, trucks and tanks. At the same time, hundreds of U.S. troops were sent to Guatemala in the region bordering Chiapas (see "Pentagon Beefs Up Mexican Repression," WV No. 604, 5 August 1994).

The sudden and unexpected Zapatista uprising exposed the fragility of the bourgeois order in Mexico, not least to the ever-wary eyes of foreign investors. Furthermore, the Mexican investment boom had reached a point of speculative frenzy. Prices on the *Bolsa* (stock exchange) bore

International Settlements (known as the central bankers' central bank). Mexican finance minister Guillermo Ortiz later told American journalist Thomas Friedman that if Washington had not acted when and on the scale it did, "We would have had to declare a moratorium on debt repayments." German and Japanese capitalists were displeased, to say the least, that no small amount of their money was being used to bail out U.S. banks, mutual funds and insurance companies. The German (and also the British) representative

16th-18th centuries was the attempt by the leading colonial powers to insulate their colonies and themselves from the world market by legal prohibitions and sanctions against trade other than between colony and "mother country."

Economic development during the era of mercantile capitalism laid the basis for the industrial revolution pioneered by Britain in the early 19th century. Marx and Engels initially believed that industrial capitalism would be extended more or less uniformly on a worldwide basis. The founders of scientific socialism were by no means blind or indifferent to the monumental crimes committed by the Western powers against the indigenous peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas. But they viewed such crimes as a historical overhead cost for the modernization of these backward regions. In an 1853 article, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," Marx wrote:

"England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of the old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia.... "Modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary division of labor, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power."

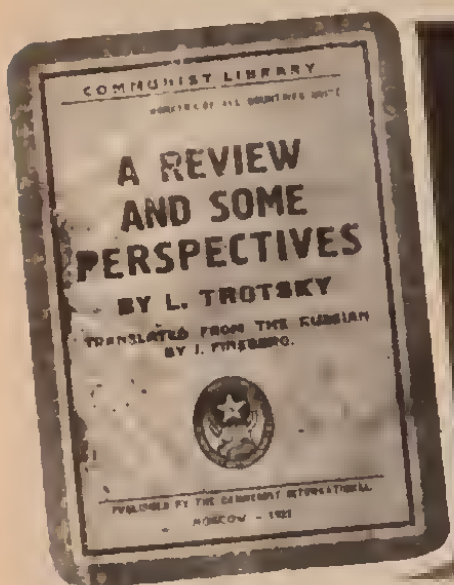
This projection was not borne out by the actual course of development. While the Western bourgeoisies introduced certain elements of modern industrial technology (e.g., railroads) into their colonies and semi-colonies, the overall effect of capitalist imperialism was to arrest the social and economic development of backward countries. Thus, British colonial rule deliberately perpetuated and utilized traditional reactionary institutions such as the caste system in India and tribalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Moreover, the economic development which was introduced under European colonial rule had a deformed character. Thus, the British built the railways in India only from the hinterland to the ports to facilitate trade with the imperialist metropolis. The rail lines did not connect the different regions of the Indian subcontinent. By contrast, railway construction in the United States during the same period was a prime factor in the economic and social integration of the American nation-state.

By the late 19th century, Marx and Engels had become champions of colonial independence and recognized that the modernization of Asia, Africa and Latin America could take place only within the context of a world socialist order. Thus, Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky in 1882:

"India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, it would have to be allowed to run its course; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g., in Algeria and Egypt, and

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Penguin

1921 Moscow edition of Trotsky's 1906 *Results and Prospects*, seminal exposition of theory of permanent revolution, borne out by 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Northites renounce permanent revolution, while embracing latter-day version of "ultra-imperialism" advocated by revisionist Karl Kautsky around time of World War I.



Frederick A. Praeger

destruction of millions of Mexican peasant smallholders who could not compete with the much cheaper and better-quality produce, centrally corn, imported from the highly mechanized farms of the American Midwest. Thus, the day that NAFTA came into effect saw a major peasant uprising led by the nationalist-populist Zapatista Army of National Liberation in the impoverished southern Mexican state of Chiapas. The bloody suppression of this uprising by the Mexican army was actively aided by Washington. In the first months of 1994, the Pentagon provided the Mexican army with an additional 3,000 military vehicles, including armored personnel carriers with water

no relation to actual or prospective profits. The Mexican government could not service its massively expanded foreign debt without devaluing the peso, which it did in December 1994, thereby precipitating a full-fledged financial panic. By year's end, foreign, mainly U.S., investors had liquidated and withdrawn \$23 billion in Mexican assets, more than twice the total value of U.S. direct manufacturing investment in Mexico at the beginning of 1994.

The financial panic was halted only when the U.S. government came up with a \$50 billion "rescue package"—\$20 billion directly from the U.S. Treasury, the balance from the IMF and the Bank for

in the IMF took the unprecedented step of abstaining on the vote for the Mexican loan package, while Japan only grudgingly voted in favor. And the next time around, the German and Japanese representatives might vote against.

The Mexican financial crisis totally disproves the Northite theory of a new era of globally integrated capitalist production transcending the nation-state system. At the first sign of political unrest and financial overextension, American "transnationals" dumped every Mexican asset they could and repatriated their money back to their own nation-state, the U.S. of A. The flood of pesos into dollars was stanching only when the U.S. government, acting both directly and indirectly, vastly augmented the short-term financial resources available to the Mexican government. And the Mexican financial crisis both exposed and intensified the conflicts of interest among the major imperialist powers: the U.S., Germany and Japan.

#### Against Capitalist Imperialism —For Permanent Revolution!

From its inception, capitalism has been a global system marked by conflicts among competing nation-states. The rise of the bourgeoisies in West Europe to wealth and power was directly linked to the conquest and colonization of more backward regions of the world—the Spaniards and Portuguese in Central and South America, the French in North America and the Caribbean, the British in North America, the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. A central characteristic of mercantile imperialism in the

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# Young Spartacus

## How Hollywood Disappears the Civil Rights Movement

The movie *Ghosts of Mississippi* opens powerfully with the brutal murder of civil rights activist Medgar Evers in June 1963. As the murder scene unfolds, Evers' family—and his KKK killer—are shown listening to a speech by President John F. Kennedy denouncing racial segregation. Kennedy's speech continues to dominate the soundtrack throughout the first moments of the film. This opening sequence encapsulates the chief lie which runs through *Ghosts of Mississippi*: that the capitalist government waged a fight for black rights in the South.

*Ghosts* is based on the true story of how a white Mississippi district attorney, Robert DeLaughter, finally convicts notorious Klansman Byron de la Beckwith for the murder of Medgar Evers, 30 years later. In his efforts, DeLaughter confronts many ghosts from Missis-

### Ghosts of Mississippi A Review by Jacob Zorn

social struggle against this racist system that brought even the limited gains achieved by blacks in the 1960s. In America, where capitalism inevitably means racism, without a socialist revolution there can be no end to racial oppression.

#### Who Was Medgar Evers?

To sell such a story, *Ghosts* turns the entire civil rights movement, starting

organizations, no demonstrators in the streets—there was just Medgar Evers" (Adam Nossiter, *Of Long Memory: Mississippi and the Murder of Medgar Evers*, Addison-Wesley [1994]).

In June 1963, Evers was gunned down in front of his wife and children by Beckwith, who had been hiding in the bushes by Evers' driveway. Beckwith was a known Klansman and White Citizens' Council member who had once

Rigid, brutal segregation was enforced throughout this period by Democratic Party (Dixiecrat) administrations. Overseeing this in the 1950s was the Mississippi White Citizens' Council, composed of local bankers, businessmen and Dixiecrat politicians, which was intertwined with the Klan. In much of the Mississippi Delta, blacks, who made up almost 80 percent of the population, lived in near-feudal conditions of abject rural poverty and were denied the right to vote and other elementary democratic rights.

In this climate, the NAACP, a liberal organization based largely on the black middle class—the petty bourgeoisie—sought to secure basic citizenship rights through, for example, fighting to abolish the poll tax which prevented poor people from voting, seeking to outlaw lynching and trying to integrate schools. For the Mississippi rulers, even such tepid aims to include blacks in the system were extremely threatening. In 1940, the NAACP had fewer members in Mississippi than in any other Southern state. If in urban Jackson NAACPers faced intimidation, in the rural areas of Mississippi they faced outright lynch mobs.

Evers, a traveling insurance salesman, joined the state NAACP in the early 1950s. After becoming the first black to apply to the University of Mississippi Law School in 1953, a year later he became a paid NAACP field secretary and traveled from one small rural town to another campaigning against Jim Crow segregation. One of his most important cases was the investigation of the 1955 lynching of Emmett Till, a black 14-year-old visiting from Chicago who was kidnapped, savagely beaten and shot dead for "reckless eyeballing," i.e., whistling, at a white woman. This murder, for which no one was ever convicted, focused the national spotlight on the barbarism of Jim Crow Mississippi.

Just before his murder, Evers organized students in sit-ins and boycotts against segregation in downtown Jackson. He faced constant threats and violence, as racists firebombed his house. For self-defense, Evers armed himself and taught his children to seek cover when cars passed the house.

When Beckwith assassinated Evers, he did so with the full support of racist Mississippi, including local law enforcement. The state had created a "Sover-



Medgar Evers, leading activist of Mississippi NAACP. Evers family at his grave in 1964, the year after his assassination by KKK terrorist.



AP photos

issippi's past as he faces the anger of racist whites: his not so subtly named wife, Dixie, leaves him; his children are beaten up; he receives bomb threats and his car is vandalized with swastikas and obscenities. But, despite the continuing racism it depicts, *Ghosts* is meant to show that through such efforts, Mississippi—like the "New South" in general—is improving. Or, as the movie's promoters wrote of DeLaughter's struggle, "Throughout a journey filled with self-doubt and public criticism, he pursues not only justice for Medgar Evers, but also proof that Mississippi can change for the better as well."

*Ghosts* turns an episode from one of American history's most important social struggles, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, into an individual battle between good and evil, and places the bourgeois state squarely on the side of justice. Thus *Ghosts* would have the viewer believe that racism can be eliminated through the benevolence of the capitalist state, burying the fact that it was more than a decade of unrelenting

with Evers himself, into the *real* ghost. Who was Medgar Evers and why was his assassination so important? As an activist with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Evers came to symbolize the civil rights movement in the popular consciousness of Mississippi—both black and white. One historian wrote that "Evers was the civil rights movement in Mississippi. There were no grassroots

vowed to "bend every effort to rid the USA of the integrationist, whoever and wherever he might be." Beckwith's gun was the murder weapon. Yet two all-white juries refused to convict Beckwith for murdering Evers. For almost 30 years, this racist killer walked free.

Mississippi's racism was notorious for its brutality. Between 1889 and 1945, it accounted for 490 lynchings, or 13 percent of all those reported in America.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation with signs honoring civil rights martyrs Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, at 1964 Democratic Party convention. Democrats refused to seat MFDP, favored segregationist Dixiecrat delegates.



Bob Adelman



eighty Commission" to safeguard segregation which supported the White Citizens' Councils and used spying, police intimidation and informants to harass anyone they perceived to be an opponent. In 1958, the governor of Mississippi instructed the commission that "spot checks be made of the activities of Medgar Evers, both day and night." After murdering Evers, Beckwith enjoyed the full support of the local sheriff and other state powers. The movie accurately portrays this, showing how a former governor gives Beckwith a congratulatory slap on the back during the 1993 trial. And from the start, Beckwith was treated with deference by the cops—in sharp contrast to the murderous violence they meted out to blacks and civil rights activists. Of course, it is not only in Mississippi that the cops protect—and overlap with—the Klan and other race-terrorist outfits.

## The Failure of the Civil Rights Movement

Despite the valor and dedication of the civil rights activists of the 1950s and '60s, it is evident that life for blacks today is marked by widespread social segregation, discrimination, poverty and repression. Why? To understand the failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement, one has to grasp the material basis of racism in American capitalism. Black oppression has always been at the bedrock of American class society. First as slaves, then as superexploited workers, blacks have been key to the American economy.

The Civil War smashed chattel slavery, paving the way for the full development of American capitalism. During the peri-



Old South, "New" South in Birmingham, Alabama: Police chief Bull Connor's cops terrorize civil rights demonstrators in 1963; cops arrest student protesters on anniversary of Martin Luther King's birthday in 1994.

odic young students, many of them Northern whites, poured into Mississippi, where they were confronted by brutal state and Klan terror. Near Philadelphia, Mississippi, three civil rights workers—Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman—were beaten bloody and murdered by the local sheriff and KKK, their bodies buried in an earthfill dam.

The civil rights leadership continued to call on the bourgeois state, especially the liberal Democratic Party, to step in and somehow eliminate racism. While the 1964 Civil Rights Act and other measures formally extended democratic

lation of black people into an egalitarian socialist economy where the material basis for racism has been abolished. We warned against reliance on the capitalist government in the fight against Jim Crow and racist terror and counterposed the need to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement in the struggle against racial oppression. Key to this is the Marxist understanding that the working class, because of its numbers, organization and powerful role in the production of wealth, is the only revolutionary class. A multiracial communist party, with a strong black leadership component, will be the instrument to lead the working class, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in socialist revolution.

The SWP leadership, instead of fighting to win anti-racist activists to the perspective of socialist revolution, argued that the civil rights movement could become in itself revolutionary—without the intervention of a revolutionary party—tailoring liberals and, later, black nationalists. Such an abstentionist perspective liquidated the struggle to build a revolutionary party, ceding leadership of the black struggle to other forces. Against this perspective, the RT argued that "any steps forward in this struggle immediately pose the class question and the need for class struggle in sharpest form" (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised], "Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). The SWP continued in its capitulation and abstention. In 1963, the RT was bureaucratically purged.

The futility of the liberal strategy of pressuring the Democrats became clear at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, where, after registering more than 80,000 black voters, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenged the convention to seat their delegates. Instead, the Democratic Party

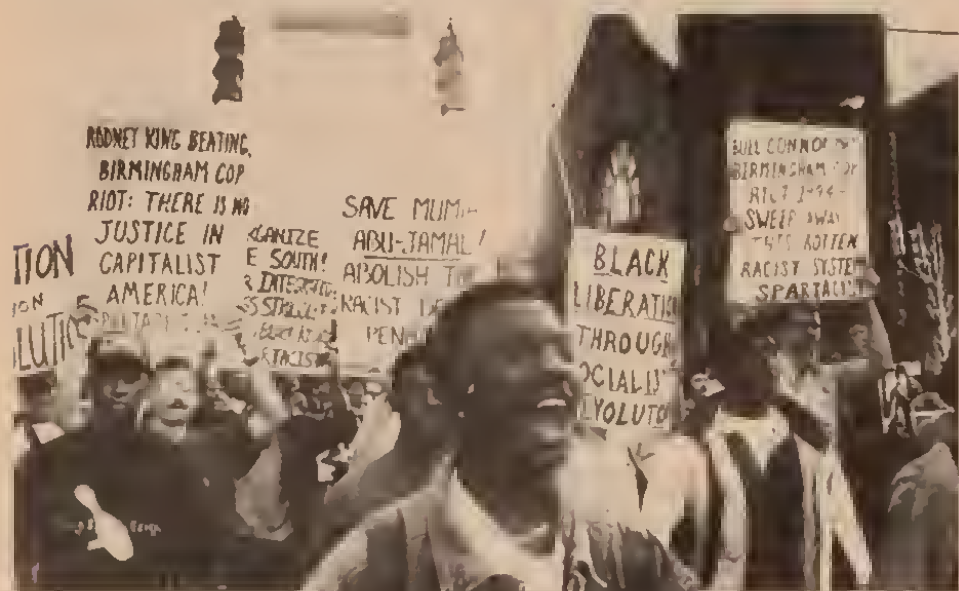
leadership seated the racist Mississippi Dixiecrats. This opened up the opportunity of reaching young activists with a broader revolutionary program, which we Spartacists did to the extent our limited forces allowed. We emphasized the need to mobilize the independent power of labor to defend against racist terror, for armed self-defense and for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party. But many black militants unfortunately ended up in the dead end of black nationalism, in the clutches of the government's COINTELPRO deathtrap or back in the fold of the Democratic Party.

## The Capitalist State: Enemy of the Oppressed

One of the most important issues in our struggle with the SWP was over the role of the state. The SWP incredibly raised the slogan, "Withdraw the troops from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi!" As we wrote at the time in an October 1964 *Spartacist* supplement, "So the bourgeois imperialist army, currently engaged in massacring peasants and workers in South Viet-nam, in burning their villages and defoliating their land, and imprisoning the people in 'strategic hamlets'—this army, says the SWP, should be transferred to the American South!" Marxists understand that the state of this capitalist ruling class is used to repress the working class and oppressed, both in the U.S. and abroad. We also noted at the time (*Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965):

"Once the Negro people begin to assert their real power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression. The civil-rights movement will then find itself witch-hunted, its meetings raided and supporters arrested, by the same F.B.I. it is presently beseeching to protect it."

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Spartacist contingent in March 1994 Birmingham protest against police attack on earlier student demonstration.

od of Radical Reconstruction it appeared as if the recently freed slaves might be integrated into society on the basis of equality. But with the end of Reconstruction in 1877, racists unleashed a reign of terror which wrested civil rights from blacks in the South, who again came to be formally segregated with the enactment of Jim Crow laws later in the century. There was a huge migration of blacks to the Northern cities, where they were used as a "reserve army of labor" by the Northern capitalists. Blacks in America thus form a race-color caste, integrated into the economy but forcibly segregated at the bottom of society. Racism is continually used by the ruling class to divide the working class and pit one sector against the other. The main task of the Civil War, black equality, is still unfinished.

Under its liberal leadership, the civil rights movement had as its premise that pressure must be brought to bear on the government, particularly the federal government, to bring about racial equality. Evers' murder and Beckwith's acquittal galvanized the movement. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee targeted notoriously racist Mississippi for a massive voter-registration drive. During the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, idealis-

rights to blacks, the capitalist rulers enacted these only to ward off greater social struggle, as well as to bolster the "free world" image of the U.S. during the anti-Soviet Cold War. The failure of the civil rights movement was highlighted by its inability to address the oppression of blacks in the North, where there was no formal Jim Crow segregation, but where most blacks nonetheless lived in segregated ghettos, poverty and unemployment. And today, even the minimal gains achieved in the 1960s are under attack while sharpening immiseration threatens the daily survival of the black masses. As a veteran of the civil rights movement remarked a few years ago, "What good is a seat in the front of the bus if you don't have the money for the fare?"

## The Spartacist Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism

In the early 1960s, the Spartacist League's forerunner, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), fought within the then-centrist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) for a program of *revolutionary integrationism*. Against the NAACP and other liberals, we stressed that black liberation can only be achieved through the assim-

## Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

### BOSTON

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, April 2: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party Today*, 605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston University, School of Education, Room 206  
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

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Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, March 29 *The State*, April 5: *The Bolshevik Revolution*; Rutgers University, College Avenue Campus, Scott Hall, Room 102  
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

### NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, April 3: *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)  
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

### SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, April 3: *The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116  
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

## Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Classes

### VANCOUVER

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, March 26: *Leninism vs. Stalinism: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; April 9: *Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; UBC, Student Union Building, Room 213  
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353



# ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops

We reprint below a February 26 New York Spartacus Youth Club leaflet distributed by SYC supporters at International Socialist Organization regional "educational conferences" held in New York and Chicago over the March 1 weekend.

In a recent issue (8 February) of *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—cothinkers of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S.—leading SWP "theoretician" John Molyneux asks, "Are all coppers really bastards?" Breaking with tradition, Molyneux actually answers the question: "Not all coppers are necessarily bastards but unless they get out (which happens quite a lot), or rebel collectively (which is very rare), they are all agents of the state, the system and the ruling class." Molyneux's column is nothing more than a whitewash of the role of the cops, and once again shows the SWP/ISO's base cynicism, opportunism, anti-Marxism, and inability to fight for the socialism it ostensibly desires.

According to Molyneux, the SWP/ISO thinks that cops would cease to be "agents of the state" if they were to "rebel collectively." But unlike the craven opportunists of the SWP/ISO, we Spartacists recognize that when the forces of the repressive state apparatus "rebel," they do so as *deadly enemies of the working class and minorities*. To hail their entry into unions, as does the SWP/ISO, to encourage them to "rebel collectively," is to dangerously reinforce these thugs' view that they are a law unto themselves.

Any black youth in this city knows the deal: the cops "rebel collectively" by demanding more money, more power, more leeway to gun you down. They demand "better working conditions" so that they can more easily get away with beating strikers and killing minorities. Try telling the families of Anthony Baez and countless others blown away by "New York's finest" that the cops aren't the enemies of working people! Or look at the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which amply illustrates the role of a cop "union" in its bloodthirsty drive to legally lynch black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As Marx and Lenin explained, the state, which consists of armed forces

such as police, prisons and courts, is how the capitalist class maintains its rule by repressing the working class. To Marxists, the question of the state is the question of which class will rule, the working class or the capitalist class. For socialists, there can be no question of reforming the capitalist state or converting its hired guns to socialism. The capitalist state must be smashed by socialist revolution. *The SWP/ISO's denial of this basic truth shows that not only are they unable to lead the struggle for socialism,*

subjecting inmates to a lockdown and then, when the prisoners staged a protest, rushing into the jail from their picket lines to suppress it.

Molyneux notes in his article that "the primary role of the police is...defending the existing social order" and then goes on to express a grotesque faith in the existence of "the odd individual cop who is an exception to the rule," the "naive idealists." Usually opportunism takes the form of tailing the most backward prejudices of the working class. Yet on the

Truth Kit" for more details on these positions).

For the ISO, the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence against the left. The ISO and its international cothinkers are renowned for their thuggery against the Spartacist League and other leftists. And since the ISO looks to the cops as comrades, they do not hesitate to call campus police on other leftists. Such tactics, which ape the methods



Philadelphia police "union" howls for Mumia Abu-Jamal's execution outside Mumia support rally at Philly hospital workers' union hall, July 1995. Is this what ISO means when it hails cops who "rebel collectively"?



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

they can't even recognize what that struggle is.

Molyneux's column is part of a long tradition on the part of the SWP/ISO of trying to reach out to the supposed few "good apples" among the racist thugs who compose the armed fist of the bourgeoisie. A few years back, the British SWP boasted that it had "a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives" (*Socialist Worker*, 26 June 1993). Last year, the ISO supported a "strike" by security guards in New York, just a month after these same guards acted as strikebreakers for the real estate barons during the SEIU 32B-32J building maintenance workers strike (in which the ISO was one of several so-called socialist groups that blithely walked across the picket lines). And the SWP/ISO's cothinkers in Canada supported a 1996 strike by "unionized" prison guards in Toronto, who staged a "work action" by

question of the role of the police, the SWP/ISO is consciously more reactionary than most workers, who, Molyneux is forced to note, "view cops with fear and suspicion." It is precisely the cops' primary role as strikebreakers and racist occupiers that turns them into brutal killers—as almost any striker or black youth can testify to.

The ISO's benevolent view of the capitalist state precludes its being a revolutionary organization. Instead, the most it can be is a tepid "left" face of capitalist barbarity, particularly in the guise of the racist Democratic Party, which the ISO always bemoans does not carry out its "promises" to the workers. Nonetheless, it recruits some honest militants who want to fight capitalism. The ISO's position on the state, its anti-Sovietism, its crossing picket lines, its backhanded support to Bill Clinton, however, make it vulnerable to criticism (read our "ISO

of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI "COINTELPRO" attempts to quash leftist dissent, serve only the bourgeois state, providing an excuse for the cops to victimize the workers movement.

What kind of "socialism" does the ISO represent if they go around whitewashing the role of cops? What kind of socialists are they if they try to quarantine their own members from political debate and police what they read? It is good to want to fight against racism, brutality, and capitalist exploitation, but it is necessary to join an organization whose program provides the way forward. If you believe that fighting for socialism means fighting for international socialist revolution to smash the capitalist order and do away with its murderous repression against workers, minority, women and youth, then read *Workers Vanguard*, journal of the Spartacist League, and check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

## Ghosts...

(continued from page 7)

This warning was amply borne out. The FBI repeatedly tried to crush the civil rights movement by expanding its "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). COINTELPRO aimed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist hate-type organizations." As we wrote in "How Mississippi Burning Rewrites History" (WV No. 470, 3 February 1989):

"As an arm of the capitalist state, the FBI's mission was to disrupt, derail, and 'neutralize' black and red organizations because the struggle for black equality represents the social tinder that can blow this country apart. In 1963, then-attorney general Robert Kennedy authorized FBI wiretaps on Martin Luther King, part of a years-long FBI campaign against him which included spreading gossip and innuendo about his personal life in an attempt to drive King to suicide."

But you wouldn't know this from watching *Ghosts*, or *Mississippi Burning*, which also presented the FBI as fighters against black oppression. *Ghosts* portrays the capitalist state as the vehicle for

racial justice. An FBI informant in the Klan provides the crucial evidence to convict Beckwith. In fact, there were many FBI informants in the Klan; according to one historian, "At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers," including in "top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups" (Patsy Sims, *The Klan* [1978]). These informants actually led Klan terror attacks. This was made clear in the horrendous 1963 Birmingham church bombing which killed four young black girls and in 1979, when a "former" FBI informant participated in setting up the murder of five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina.

### The "New South"—A Racist Myth

*Ghosts* paints a progressive veneer on the "New South" police apparatus, most obviously D.A. DeLaughter himself. Black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal explained that D.A. positions "serve as stepping stones of political power; but the rising is not made on steps, it is made on the skulls, the bones, and the shattered lives and for-

tures of those without wealth." In the movie, DeLaughter only "pursues justice" in his spare time, while his real job is prosecuting capital cases—no doubt largely against blacks. Throughout the U.S., the capitalist state and its cops—led by a "New South" Democratic president who interrupted his 1992 election campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man and who followed through on his promise to "end welfare as we know it"—terrorize the ghettos and imprison record numbers of black youth. While *Ghosts* peddles the lie that Mississippi has overcome the brutal racist oppression of 30 years ago, even a report in the *New York Times* last week punctured the "New South" myth, as it described how the University of Mississippi ("Ole Miss") continues to have "Dixie" as its school song and the Confederate flag of slavery as its banner.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win anti-racist youth to join us in the fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class to lead a socialist revolution which alone can put an end to black oppression. As we wrote in our article on *Mississippi Burning*:

"The civil rights movement tried to fulfill the unfinished business of the Civil

War—the promise of black freedom. To fulfill that promise requires a socialist revolution against the exploitation of all the working people. A key section of the working class and often its most combative sector, black workers can take the lead in this fight and open the road to real freedom for all mankind. *Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution!*" ■

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# Global...

(continued from page 5)

would certainly be the best thing for us. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will of themselves follow in their wake; economic needs, if anything, will see to that. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses" [emphasis in original]

In the 1880s, at the beginning of the era of modern capitalist imperialism, it was understandable that Marx and Engels assumed that proletarian socialist revolution would first take place in the advanced capitalist countries and that the socialist transformation of the more backward regions would gradually follow in consequence. However, imperialist domination and exploitation strengthened the bourgeois order in West Europe and North America, not least by infecting the working class in these countries with the ideology of national chauvinism and racism. As Lenin pointed out in his 1916 pamphlet, imperialist super-profits derived from the colonial world made it "economically possible to bribe the upper strata of the proletariat" in the advanced countries, providing a material basis for opportunism and social-chauvinism.

At the same time, imperialism tended to destabilize the traditional social order in backward countries, generating contradictions which Trotsky termed "combined and uneven development." A sizable industrial proletariat, working with modern technology, emerged alongside the mass of impoverished peasants still subject to feudal-derived forms of exploitation. The day-to-day struggle against capitalist and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation was organically intertwined with, and reinforced by, the struggle for national independence.

Recognizing the international contradictions brought about by the era of modern imperialism, Leon Trotsky challenged



ized the theory and program of permanent revolution to what is now called the Third World. Thus the section on "Backward Countries and the Program of Transitional Demands" in the 1938 Transitional Program states:

"The central tasks of the colonial and semicolonial countries are the **agrarian revolution**, i.e., liquidation of feudal heritages, and **national independence**, i.e., the overthrow of the imperialist yoke. Both tasks are closely linked with each other....

"The general trend of revolutionary development in all backward countries can be determined by the formula of the **permanent revolution** in the sense definitely imparted to it by the three revolutions in Russia (1905, February 1917, October 1917)." [emphasis in original]

## David North vs. Permanent Revolution

As clearly stated in the Transitional Program, Trotsky and the Fourth International he founded regarded the struggle for national independence in backward countries as an integral and important component of the world socialist revolution. The Northites now maintain that in the supposedly new era of "globalized" capitalist production, national independence has become impossible and, indeed, reactionary. In a 1992 lecture, "Per-



Imperialist chief Clinton with Mexican president Zedillo. Impoverished peasants in Chiapas led by Zapatista guerrillas rose up against 1994 imposition of NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico.

size here is that their position amounts to **passive acceptance of imperialist oppression and exploitation of backward countries.**

This can be seen very clearly in the case of Mexico. NAFTA represents a qualitative extension and institutionalization of the exploitation of Mexico by Wall Street. When NAFTA was first proposed in 1991, the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian sections of the International Communist League issued a joint declaration headlined, "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico!" The fight against NAFTA, we maintained, "is a battle against American imperialist domination of Mexico" (WV No. 530, 5 July 1991).

What of the Northites' attitude toward NAFTA? From a superficial reading of their press, one might assume they are implacably hostile to it. In their *International Workers Bulletin* (IWB) 11 April 1994), they stated, quite accurately, that NAFTA "effectively puts the entire Mexican economy at the service of the needs of US transnationals and the Wall Street financial institutions, providing low-wage labor, inexpensive natural resources and vast tracts of land for them to exploit and a huge market for American manufactured goods." Some months later, they wrote that "NAFTA means nothing more than the economic recolonization of Mexico" (IWB, 16 January 1995). This is actually an overstatement, since Mexico had already been an economic neocolony of U.S. imperialism for decades before NAFTA.

Yet the Northites have **never opposed** what they themselves call the "economic recolonization" of Mexico, either before NAFTA was implemented or even when its bloody consequences could be seen in the corpses of hundreds of impoverished Indian peasants in Chiapas. A few months before NAFTA came into effect, a political line statement in IWB (20 September 1993) declared: "American workers must not line up behind either side in the capitalist debate over NAFTA, but must adopt an independent class standpoint which is based on the genuine, i.e., international, interests of the working class."

What the Northites meant by "an independent class standpoint" was "neutrality" toward the intensified exploitation and domination of Mexico by U.S. imperialism. In fact, there was no debate within the American capitalist class, aside from a few maverick bourgeois pseudo-populists like Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan who opposed NAFTA from a chauvinist standpoint, as did the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. The large majority of the American imperialist bourgeoisie supported and still supports NAFTA wholeheartedly. More fundamentally, the Northites treat imperialist subjugation of backward countries as simply a matter of "debate" within the capitalist class. By this logic they should in retrospect not have opposed the Vietnam War, since this generated a real debate—indeed, a sharp division—within the U.S. ruling class. In short, North & Co. did not and do not support the actual struggles of the Mexican working people against NAFTA and its effects.

One has only to look at the Northites'

attitude toward the Chiapas peasant uprising of early 1994. This unexpected leftist-led revolt gripped the world's attention. But not the Northites'. The self-described "weekly socialist news-journal" of the American Northites ran one article on the Chiapas uprising during the period when it was convulsing Mexico and causing no small concern to U.S. "transnational" corporations and banks. This article, "Mexican Government Massacres Hundreds" (IWB, 10 January 1994), was simply a piece of descriptive journalism which raised **no programmatic demands** whatsoever. The Northites did **not** call for the defense of the peasant uprising against the Mexican neocolonial bourgeois state. They did **not** call for the withdrawal of the Mexican army from Chiapas. They did **not** call for the release of Zapatista militants and peasant supporters imprisoned and often tortured by the Mexican army and police. They did **not** call for a halt to U.S. arms shipments and other aid to the Mexican military. And, of course, they did **not** call for the abrogation of NAFTA, one of the key demands of the uprising.

In sharpest contrast, our international tendency actively mobilized in defense of the Chiapas uprising from a proletarian socialist standpoint. In the U.S., the Spartacist League joined in solidarity rallies outside the Mexican consulates in New York City and San Francisco. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) participated in a mammoth anti-government protest in Mexico City. A statement issued by the GEM, and published in the Mexico City daily *El Día*, declared:

"As a Marxist revolutionary organization, the GEM emphasizes to those who seek to fight against capitalism and imperialism, that it is the **power of the working class**, and not rural guerrilla warfare, which if organized behind the program of international socialist revolution can defeat NAFTA and mobilize the dispossessed peasants and all the oppressed against the misery and barbarity of the capitalist system. In the face of repression in Chiapas, it is an urgent duty for the working class to defend the courageous Indian insurgents and all the victims of bourgeois repression."

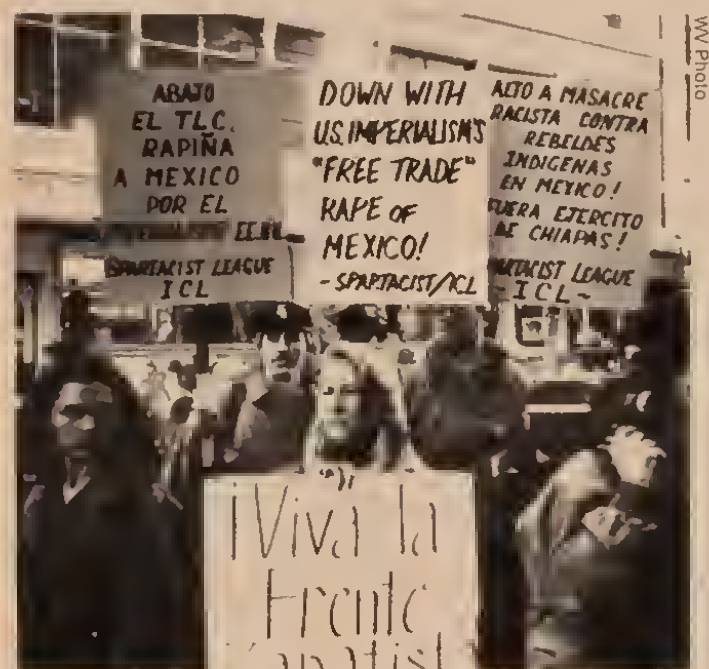
— translated in WV No. 592 (21 January 1994)

The very different responses of the ICL and North's IC toward the Chiapas uprising reflected our adherence and their opposition to the perspective of permanent revolution. By the beginning of the 20th century, tsarist Russia had become the weak link in the European imperialist system. In a parallel way, Mexico has now become the weak link in the American imperialist order in its Western hemispheric base.

## For World Socialist Revolution—Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International!

The massive inroads of American capital—at all levels—have fatally undermined the nationalist-corporatist economic structure upon which the political hegemony of the long-ruling Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has rested. A popular upheaval in Mexico, toppling the neocolonial PRI regime,

continued on page 10



Spartacist contingent at January 1994 protest against murderous repression of Zapatista revolt, held outside Mexican consulate in San Francisco.

the hitherto accepted sequencing of the world socialist revolution from the advanced to the backward countries. It was now possible that the proletariat of a backward country, leading the peasant masses in the struggle against feudal-derived exploitation and foreign imperialist domination, could come to power in advance of the workers of West Europe and North America. Such revolutions would severely weaken the bourgeois order in the imperialist centers while giving a powerful impetus to the revolutionary consciousness of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

Trotsky first developed this concept of "permanent revolution" at the beginning of the century specifically with regard to tsarist Russia, and it was validated by life itself in the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. In the late 1920s, in light of the experience of the defeated Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Trotsky general-

manent Revolution and the National Question Today," North pontificated:

"To the extent that Marxists attributed a progressive content to national liberation movements, it was because they were in some way identified with overcoming of imperialist domination and the legacy of backwardness, tribal and caste distinctions....

"That content is hardly to be found in any of the movements which presently claim to champion 'national liberation.' At any rate, whatever the subjective aims of different movements, the liberation of mankind cannot be advanced in this era of global economic integration by establishing new national states."

— Fourth International (Winter-Spring 1994)

We have previously discussed at some length the Northites' opposition to the democratic right of national self-determination (see "David North 'Abolishes' the Right to Self-Determination," WV Nos. 626 and 627, 28 July and 25 August 1995). What we want to empha-





Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Chicago cops brutalize black youth in 1992 police attack on Cabrini-Green.

## Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

of Police and the African American Police League were calling for increased police firepower.

Chicago cops have always acted like a colonial occupation force in the Cabrini-Green project. For years, the city's real estate tycoons have dreamed of driving out the black residents and razing the project in order to "gentrify" the area, which is right near the city's ritzy "Gold Coast" district. Meanwhile, the 6,000 tenants live in abject poverty. The CHA is one of the country's largest slumlords, with its run-down housing projects accounting for nine out of ten of the U.S.'s poorest neighborhoods.

Black or white, CHA or city—the cops are an armed force whose role is to repress the ghetto masses and the working class as a whole. The Chicago Police Department is notorious for fulfilling this role with ruthless efficiency. Frame-ups are routine and rife. In Chicago's Austin police district, where O'Shield served as commander before taking over the CHA force, dozens of convictions were recently reversed in the wake of a scandal which began when tactical unit officers

there tried their usual frame-up methods against federal undercover agents.

Whether occupying the ghettos, busting up strikers' picket lines or attacking opponents of Klan terror, the cops are front line guardians of racist capitalist "law and order." Daley is now pushing to overturn even the nominal limits on Chicago Police Department spying imposed by the feds in 1981. This is a sinister attempt to openly revive the city's "red squad," which became notorious in the 1960s and '70s for spying and disruption against unions, black and leftist groups and even mainstream civic organizations. But formal limitations or not, the Chicago cops have always hounded leftists and anti-racist activists.

Cops and prosecutors are currently pursuing a vendetta against three protesters for participating in the successful June 29 united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza. After protesters ward off a violent charge by Klansmen wielding studded shields and flagpoles, police moved in to assault the anti-Klan demonstrators. Nine anti-racists were arrested, of whom three still face bogus charges which could put them in prison for one to two years. The trial for PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse

## Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

The trial of Gene Herson, Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass—who were arrested last June 29 for participating in an anti-Klan protest—is set to begin May 5 in Cook County Circuit Court. The labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Anti-Klan Three! Protest statements demanding the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be sent to: Richard Levine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Cen-

ter, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information, contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com.



Jeffrey Lyon, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson.

& Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and young black worker Dennis Glass is now scheduled to begin on May 5. Defense of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three is vital to the defense of the rights of all working people and oppressed. Drop the charges now!

Fernanda Royal, who still has a police bullet lodged near her spine, is suing the CHA and its cops for millions, and she deserves every cent. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson admonishes Cabrini residents to "retreat to the nearest corner of dignity and let jurisprudence take its course," while pleading that the murderous cop invasion "was an extraordinary circumstance that I hope would not be politicized." What this loyal Democratic Party hack fears is the politics of resistance to this racist capitalist system, in which cop terror is endemic. In fact, Jackson has

shamelessly alibied the Cabrini-Green cop assault, lecturing those who have denounced the rampage "not to attack CHA police or regular police" and blaming the project residents themselves for the "violence"!

At the same time, black Democratic State Senator Rickey Hendon is lobbying for a review board to "monitor" the CHA police force. At best, such review boards occasionally slap a few "wayward" cops on the wrist while whitewashing the whole system of racist repression. The cops cannot be "reformed" or "cleaned up." The only way to end racist police terror and ensure a decent life with jobs, education and quality housing for all is through a workers revolution which sweeps away the capitalist rulers and the armed enforcers of their profit system. ■

## Global...

(continued from page 9)

would have a powerful radicalizing effect on the millions of Hispanic workers in the U.S., many of whom retain strong family ties to Mexico or Central America. As we stated in "Mexico and Permanent Revolution," published in the first issue of *Espartaco* (Winter 1990-91), journal of the GEM:

"The Mexican workers revolution will succeed where the bourgeois revolutions failed, because it will and must be internationalist from the beginning. It must come to the aid of the heroically struggling working people of Central America and extend to the north, in common struggle with the workers and oppressed in the very entrails of the imperialist monster.... This is the goal toward which the Grupo Espartaquista de México is working as part of the International Communist League in the fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution."

— WV No. 518 (18 January 1991)

Whereas we recognize that the Mexican proletariat, leading the rural toilers and urban poor, could strike the first decisive blow against American capitalist imperialism, the Northites maintain that Mexican workers are powerless to move forward unless and until a socialist revolution is on the order of the day in the United States. In a sense, North & Co. have recreated and adopted the Stalinist caricature of Trotskyism, that international socialist revolution means simultaneous revolutions in all major capitalist countries, both advanced and backward. At the time of the Mexican financial crisis in early 1995, the *IWB*

(16 January 1995) wrote: "The events in Mexico demonstrate once again that the only way forward for the working class in the oppressed countries is to unite with their class brothers and sisters in the imperialist centers in a common struggle for the overthrow of capitalist exploitation and the establishment of socialism." But what do the Northites tell the Mexican workers to do until the mass of workers in the U.S. move to overthrow the capitalist system? The answer is effectively nothing.

By counterposing an abstract conception of socialist internationalism to the actual struggles of the workers, rural toilers and oppressed peoples, the Northite tendency inexorably puts forward a defeatist line toward those struggles. In practice, the Northites oppose socialist revolution both in the U.S. and Mexico, as elsewhere.

Five years ago, as he announced the death of the Soviet Union and of the trade unions in the West, David North effectively proclaimed himself and his IC to be the leadership of the international proletariat. Yet while declaring themselves to be "clearly recognized as the only Trotskyist tendency," the Northites have transformed themselves into "Socialist Equality" parties whose program even at face value is profoundly reformist. Thus, a central aspect of the U.S. SEP's election platform last November was the stale, old reformist proposal to promote greater equality by "revising" the bourgeoisie's tax codes. At the same time, the SEP demonstrated its sneering approach to any struggle for social equality by highlighting its opposition to affirmative action programs for

minorities and women.

Indeed, while the Northites' open rejection of the right to self-determination may be a new innovation, getting there was not a very big step. They have long dismissed racial and other forms of oppression born of capitalism as somehow irrelevant to the "class struggle"—by which they meant the pursuit of a crude workerist adaptation to the Cold War labor bureaucrats. Their call on the AFL-CIO tops to form a "labor party" in the early 1970s—raised at the height of the Vietnam antiwar protests and militant struggles for black freedom—took up neither opposition to the imperialist war

nor the fight for black liberation.

As we concluded in our article on the IC's denial of the right of national self-determination (WV No. 627, 25 August 1995):

"The ICFI's 'theories' are nothing but cowardly rationalizations for sneering at the struggle against chauvinist oppression, and for writing off the economic defense organizations of the working class, in order to boost their own petty advantage. The Northites' policies are those of poseurs seeking a niche as spoilers. Otherwise, they are utterly devoid of, and antithetical to, a program which can lead the international working class and oppressed to a socialist victory over their exploiters." ■

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# Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

to mass social protest centered on the power of the working class.

## The 39th District Scandal: Tip of the Iceberg

As Jamal's PCRA hearing proceeded in the summer of 1995, daily revelations of police corruption filled the Philadelphia press. The two-year-old 39th District investigation, in which Pamela Jenkins played a pivotal role, has already led to 12 cops being charged with robbing or framing suspects and to the dismissal of 283 criminal cases! Among those is Betty Patterson, a black grandmother who last year won a lawsuit against the city for her false imprisonment on drug-dealing charges. In another notorious "drug dealing" frame-up, the cops hired a prostitute (Pamela Jenkins!) to testify against Temple University student Arthur Colbert, whom they kidnapped, beat and threatened with a revolver to his head. And this is just the tip of the iceberg.

In 1979, the federal government itself sued the city of Philadelphia, then-Mayor Rizzo and the city's police administration, charging them with systematic brutality, especially against blacks and Hispanics. Though subsequently dismissed on narrow jurisdictional grounds, the Justice Department lawsuit against the Philadelphia authorities was the first of its kind in U.S. history. Since then, the city has continued to be racked by a succession of police scandals—including the One Squad Case (1980-84), East Division (1980-83) and the Five Squad Case (1988-1990)—ranging from the 19th and Center City 6th districts to North Philly's 39th and elite units of the Highway Patrol and the Bureau of Narcotics Investigation. By 1984, the local F.O.P. was whining that its defense fund "seldom has anything in it" because so many Philly cops were under indictment. All of these scandals reveal the same picture: a system of police and prosecution corruption, beatings of suspects, theft, racist frame-ups and murder.

The widespread mistrust of the cops among Philadelphians—and not just the black ghetto residents who are the most likely targets of police terror—was captured last week when a jury took only three hours to acquit two defendants in a grisly murder case after they described an ordeal of forced "confessions" and manufactured "evidence." "Doubts Haunt Philadelphia," reported the *New York Times* (13 March) as it described the "common wisdom" these days expressed by one businessman's view that "the lack of evidence is highly disturbing." Yet the judge, visibly steaming at the verdict, did not even offer the customary thanks to the jury. This is the arrogant, racist Philly judiciary epitomized by Judge Sabo.

It's standard operating procedure—not just in Philly but throughout the capitalist *injustice* system—for the police to beat suspects, manufacture evidence and lie in court; among cops it's called "testifying." In "Police-State Philadelphia" (WV No.



Philadelphia Daily News

626, 28 July 1995), we documented how Rizzo, a racist demagogue who ran Philly for more than a decade as a local police state, spearheaded the savage crusade against Mumia. We also noted: "There was a bitter irony in the federal government suing the city of Philadelphia for police abuse since some of the most sinister police measures were instituted in direct collaboration with the Justice Department." In fact, the Philly cops' "counterintelligence" program served as a model for the FBI's own notorious COINTELPRO aimed at "neutralizing" black activists through imprisonment and assassination. Mumia was targeted by COINTELPRO from the time he was a 15-year-old Black Panther Party spokesman in the 1960s.

Now Pamela Jenkins provides a link between the frame-up practices revealed in the 39th District and the particular case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The pattern is so familiar: the use of prostitutes and others easily subject to police manipulation for perjury to secure convictions. In 1981, the FBI investigated police control over prostitution rings in Center City, where Faulkner's shooting took place, which led to more than 20 cops being convicted (including Inspector Giordano, the highest-ranking officer at the scene of the Faulkner shooting). That federal investigation was going on during Mumia's 1982 "trial," in which the main witnesses called by the prosecution, including a prostitute and a man on probation for felonious arson, were all clearly intimidated and/or rewarded by the prosecution before, during and after their testimony.

## Free Mumia Now!

The Philly cops and district attorney's office have consistently denied offering any favors to or coercing "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White for testifying against Jamal. This has already been shown to be a lie. Pamela Jenkins reports that Cynthia White told her, "that she had been threatened with her life by a police



AP

Racist Philly cops in action: Delbert Africa being beaten during 1978 cop siege of MOVE home. Above: Woman standing outside ruins of her mother's house, demolished by cops during drug sweep.

officer because of the Jamal case." And in a stunning new revelation, the latest defense papers reveal that "White plainly continued to receive special treatment as late as 1987, when a *Homicide detective came to court to ask the judge to let White out of jail because of her role in the Jamal case.*" When a judge was preparing to impose a bail requirement on White—on the basis of 17 failures to appear in court—during a June 1987 arraignment on robbery, assault and weapons charges, one of the detectives who had been involved in the Jamal case told the judge of White's role as a "Commonwealth witness in a very high profile case." White was allowed to sign herself out, skipped bail and has never been arrested in Philadelphia since.

Another new revelation in the latest defense papers concerns Robert Ryan, the cop who was at the scene of Faulkner's killing and who was involved in trying to pressure Pamela Jenkins to lie against Mumia. In February 1982, two months after the killing, Ryan arrested one Kenneth Freeman, the source of a driver's license found on Faulkner's body. Assisting Ryan in this arrest was James Forbes, the first cop on the scene after Faulkner's shooting and a key police witness for the prosecution at Jamal's trial.

The new information adds to the mountain of evidence which already exists proving Mumia's innocence and exposing his frame-up: that Jamal's purported hospital "confession" was concocted, as shown by a police report at the time stating that he "made no comments"; that police threatened William Singletary, who saw the real shooter flee the scene, destroying his true witness statement and forcing him to sign a false one; that prosecution witness Robert Chobert, a taxi driver, changed his original testimony to implicate Jamal after prosecutors promised to renew his suspended driver's license and ignore a prior felony conviction; that ballistic evidence which could have excluded

Jamal's gun as the murder weapon had disappeared. All of this and much more is documented in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (July 1995).

The vast array of terror and repression deployed against Mumia Abu-Jamal—from the time he was first targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO to the frame-up which sent him to death row to the continuing attempts to intimidate, silence and execute him—goes right to the very core of what the capitalist state is all about. From sowing racist terror in the ghettos to smashing the picket lines of striking workers, the bourgeois state is an instrument of repression which serves to hold down working people and minorities in order to maintain the profits and power of the tiny handful that make up the ruling capitalist class.

This is why we Marxists place no confidence in bourgeois "justice" and the capitalist courts. We seek the massive mobilization of the social power of the working class and all victims of racist and capitalist oppression in this country and internationally to free Mumia. The continuing state vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal underscores that this system of oppression and exploitation can only be swept away through socialist revolution. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

\* \* \*

To join the fight to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. 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. ■

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No. 18  
Spring 1997  
(64 pages)

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Philly 39th Police District Scandal Tied to Railroading of Mumia

### Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up

Even as the Pennsylvania Supreme Court issues one ruling after another signaling its intention to uphold the 1982 frame-up conviction of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, new evidence of Mumia's innocence continues to come to light. On March 10, supplementing the appeal currently before the state court, Jamal's attorneys filed new legal papers which give further proof that police and prosecutors manipulated and pressured witnesses to falsely convict him for the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sensationally, the new brief reveals a link between Mumia's case and the 39th District cop corruption and frame-up scandal which has rocked the city for the last couple of years.

At the center of the new evidence is Pamela Jenkins, a former Philadelphia police informant who was the central government witness in the 39th District federal investigation which recently led to the conviction of six cops for gross corruption, including *framing up hundreds of innocent people*. Jenkins has now come forward to say that among the cops who tried to pressure her in 1981 into perjuring herself to help frame Jamal was one Tom Ryan, one of the six convicted 39th District cops.

A former prostitute and girlfriend of Tom Ryan, Jenkins described how he, another cop named Richard Ryan (who was apparently at the scene the night Faulkner was shot) "and other police officers pressured me and asked me if I had seen the shooting of the police officer and whether I had been in the area of the shooting that night. When I said 'no' they pressured some more and asked me was I really sure that I hadn't been on the street that night and seen the shooting. It was clear to me that Tom Ryan and Richard Ryan wanted me to perjure myself and say that I had seen Jamal shoot the police officer."



Philadelphia, March 10: Attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass flank witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, who have courageously come forward to tell the truth about Mumia's frame-up.

On March 10, Jenkins joined Mumia's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein at a press conference in Philadelphia which announced the filing of the new papers. Standing shoulder to shoulder with Pamela Jenkins was Veronica Jones, a witness at the 1981 shooting who only last October described at an evidentiary hearing how she had been coerced by Philly cops and prosecutors to lie at Mumia's 1982 trial. For courageously coming forward for Mumia, Jones was vindictively dragged off the witness stand at last fall's hearing and thrown in jail.

At the evidentiary hearing, Jones testified that the cops had pressured her into changing her initial true account—corroborated by four other witnesses at the

time—that she saw two men flee the scene of Faulkner's killing, neither of whom could have been Mumia. Jones, a former prostitute, also repeated her 1982 testimony that the cops had offered to let her continue working the street like they had star prosecution witness Cynthia White if she joined White in claiming she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner. At the March 10 press conference, Veronica Jones made an impassioned public appeal for Cynthia White to join her and Pamela Jenkins in telling the truth about Mumia: "We know we can bring this down to a nutshell if you just come forward.... Then maybe you can clean up your past, like the rest of us are doing."

The legal case for Mumia's freedom is overwhelming. Yet the forces of death—



from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) to the racist politicians, prosecutors and judges—are ruthlessly pursuing their effort to silence this award-winning journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther and have him executed. As we reported last issue, Temple University's WRTI-FM radio recently capitulated to F.O.P. pressure and canceled a broadcast of Mumia's commentaries from death row. Now the Temple administration is trying to censor an anti-censorship forum called for April 18 in protest against its earlier action!

And in early March, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that Jamal's attorneys would not be allowed to present oral argument in his appeal before the Court and, even more dangerously, decided that the prosecution could file additional legal papers against Jamal while denying the defense the right of reply. These ominous rulings underscore our warning that no reliance can be placed on the capitalist courts, from Philadelphia's notorious "hanging judge," Albert Sabo—who presided over Jamal's farce of a "trial" in 1982 and his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal hearing—on up. Fighters for Mumia's freedom must look instead

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## Chicago Cops Shoot Up Cabrini-Green

CHICAGO—The racist Chicago cops showed what they are all about in a military-style invasion of the black Cabrini-Green housing project earlier this month. On March 4, a small army of Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), city and state police tore through the inner-city project, firing more than 70 rounds at terrified residents. With bullets crashing through apartment windows, tenants hit the floors while people outside the buildings scattered in panic. For more than an hour the cops rampaged, breaking down doors with sledgehammers and battering rams. Cabrini-Green resident Virgil Gibson recounted: "We were running. We were falling. Mothers were throw-

ing themselves on their babies."

It was naked racist terror, a savage illustration of the government's "war on drugs." The incident began with CHA cops in pursuit of "suspected drug dealers." When officer Roland Pace caught one young man and began to beat him, a crowd gathered to protest the brutality, including the youth's cousin, Fernanda Royal. Pace then shot the 26-year-old Royal, a mother of four, pointblank in the chest. As outraged residents protested the shooting, police reinforcements poured into the project to go after a supposed "sniper" on the rooftop. Three more residents were wounded in the police fusillade.

Fernanda Royal, current president of

her building's residents' council and a former CHA security guard, was placed under arrest as she lay in critical condition at Northwestern Memorial Hospital. For two days, the cops prevented her from talking to her kids or other family members, or anyone else. Meanwhile police and city officials scrambled to come up with a cover story for this widely witnessed atrocity. Even though dozens of empty shotgun casings were left at the scene and TV footage showed shotgun-toting cops, CHA police chief LeRoy O'Shield ludicrously denied that any of his men had carried shotguns or that the cops had been "returning fire." For his part, Mayor Daley brazenly defended the

role of the city police in the murderous cop assault, condemning the overwhelmingly black CHA force only for not being bloodthirsty enough. "They ran," fumed Daley.

In the face of a continual stream of eyewitness accounts, city officials rapidly shifted from blatant cover-up to damage control. Charges against Royal were dropped, and charges of aggravated battery with a firearm were filed against Pace. The squad of CHA cops at Cabrini was replaced with a fresh crew, while the bourgeois press mooted the disbanding of the entire force. Within hours of the Cabrini-Green rampage, both the Chicago Fraternal Order

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