

Outrage! NYC Evicts Occupy Wall Street Workers and Students, Shut the City Down!



Occupy Wall Street

On October 5, 30,000 New Yorkers came out to a union-called demonstration (above, Foley Square) to protest mass arrests by NYPD.

NOVEMBER 15 – At 1 a.m. this morning hundreds of New York City police descended on Zuccotti Park in the city's financial center to shut down Occupy Wall Street and drag out the protesters who have been camped out there for the last two months. Cops roughly set upon the sleeping occupiers, rousting them out of their tents minutes after the eviction order was read. At least 200 arrests were made, about 150 in the square and another 50 of

people on the outside who came to protest the unannounced raid. Another 20 were arrested at midday as activists attempted to occupy a new site about a mile to the north.

Ordered by billionaire mayor Mike Bloomberg and overseen by New York Police Department (NYPD) chief Ray Kelly, the dead-of-night police attack is the culmination of two months of mounting pressure from NYC authorities and the recent unrelenting propaganda barrage against OWS from the

media, both conservative and liberal. City rulers have been frustrated over their inability to silence the protesters denouncing political corruption and the looting of the economy by bankers and other corporate moguls. Unable to respond politically, the authorities used state power to raze the protesters' camp.

The cops particularly targeted the press, seeking to limit images and reports of the heavy-handed police action. Journalists denounced the deliberate "media blackout"

by the NYPD, which was clearly policy and was defended today by the mayor. Yesterday the media were kept well away from Zuccotti Park while the eviction was in progress. Reporters from the *New York Times* and National Public Radio were arrested, and a cop put a choke hold on a *New York Post* reporter. (City councilman Ydanis Rodriguez was also arrested.) Today a reporter and photographer from The Associated Press, a *continued on page 2*

99% Populism Is No Solution

Expropriate Wall Street Through Socialist Revolution

Occupy Wall Street: A Marxist Analysis

NOVEMBER 14 – In the two months since Occupy Wall Street burst onto the scene it quickly swept the nation. By late October the clearing house Occupy Together listed over 600 occupations in cities across the U.S., and many more around the globe. In New York City, "All day, all week, Occupy Wall Street" is not just a protest chant but an accurate description of local politics. The "Occupy movement" has crystallized a popular mood of anger and frustration as the world enters the fourth year of a full-fledged economic depression. But while denouncing the filthy-rich "1%" in the name of the other 99% of the population, it has not put forward any program for *what is to be done*. And the various

proposals floated by Occupy proponents do not challenge the capitalist system.

#Occupy has mushroomed, spurring thousands of young people to take action. Many are joining protests for the first time. So much for all the media talk of a passive "Generation Y"! It has also energized a lot of older folks: trade-unionists discouraged by so many defeats, veterans of antiwar marches from Vietnam to Iraq. It has shifted the political climate, so even bourgeois politicians now talk about inequality. "Occupy" has brought out many who voted for Obama in 2008 hoping for "change," and are now bitter that all they got was the same old, same old. The Democratic Party also has its oar in, hoping to tap the energy of the protests for the 2012 elections. Occupy Wall Street

embraces contradictory forces, including more than a few rightist Tea Party types. But whatever the weight of different currents, its political center of gravity is well within the spectrum of "mainstream" bourgeois politics. Rather than a "new New Left," it's more like a New Center, seeking a "new New Deal." But in the course of the struggle, particularly under the blows of repression, political outlooks can change sharply.

Called for September 17, on the anniversary of the 2008 collapse of the Lehman Brothers investment firm, Occupy Wall Street got off to a shaky start. Instead of the hoped-for 20,000 occupiers, at most a tenth of that number showed up. But OWS quickly caught on, for several reasons. To begin with, it was

a spark that lit the social tinderbox that was already there. Moreover, everyone expected (some fearing, some hoping) that with all the economic pain, sooner or later something would set off an explosion of unrest. The media were asking when the phenomenon of Tahrir (Liberation) Square in Cairo, *Los indignados* in Spain and Syntagma Square in Greece would arrive in the U.S. And then heavy-handed repression by the New York Police Department spurred the protesters on and won them widespread sympathy. Tens of thousands NYC of unionists demonstrated in support of OWS. A month later in California, the bloody police eviction of Occupy Oakland backfired even more spectacularly. *continued on page 6*

Outrage!...

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Daily News reporter and photographer for DNAInfo were led off in handcuffs.

The eviction was clearly part of a nationally coordinated crackdown, coming just a day after a similar attack on Occupy Oakland in California, and weekend raids in Portland, Oregon, Denver and Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Democratic and Republican mayors have been united in their determination to put an end to the occupations, which drove the capitalist politicians nuts, even as some cynically claimed to agree with the OWS' "aims" (but not its methods). Liberal Oakland mayor Jean Quan reported that she recently had "a conference call with 18 cities across the country who had the same situation." So once the Oakland eviction came down, it was a go. Was the Obama White House consulted?

The National Lawyers Guild went to court this morning to require the city to allow Occupy Wall Street back into the park with their tents and to return their belongings. Although the NLG got an initial restraining order, the city got another judge (a former prosecutor) to overrule the first in favor of his pals, the cops. There is no justice in the courts for the exploited and oppressed. We look to the working people, the poor and oppressed, the students and youth of New York to enforce our rights. **Together we have the power to defeat Bloomberg's attack.**

On October 5 in New York, 30,000 people came out to a union-called demonstration, jammed into Foley Square and then marched to Zuccotti Square, to protest the mass arrests by the NYPD of Occupy Wall Street demonstrators. And on November 2, following the brutal police eviction of Occupy Oakland, 40,000 people responded to a call for a "general strike," marching on the port and shutting it down.

In the face of the cop assault on OWS, what is urgently called for is a **massive mobilization of labor's power to bring New York to a standstill** over this **police-state repression**. During the early morning hours the Internationalist Group joined several hundred others in the streets of Lower Manhattan with signs declaring "Outrage! NYPD Out!" and "Defend Occupy Wall Street." Today the Internationalist Clubs at the City University of New York (CUNY) together with Class Struggle Education Workers and the IG distributed hundreds of leaflets denouncing the eviction and calling for **"Workers and Students, Shut the City Down!"**

Speaking to a crowd of 300 outside the cordoned-off Zuccotti Park this afternoon, an Internationalist spokesman said, "Dozens of unions have opposed police repression against Occupy Wall Street. Unions have protested Mayor Bloomberg's eviction order. But words are not enough. Solidarity must be put into action now. Labor, blacks and Latinos,



Hundreds came out in the early morning hours of November 15 to protest the NYPD eviction of Occupy Wall Street.

students, undocumented workers need to mobilize our power against the eviction, against NYPD brutality, against racism, against Mayor Bloomberg, against Governor Cuomo, and **shut the city down.**" The crowd cheered and enthusiastically took up the chant.

NYC unions had already called a major demonstration on Thursday, November 17 in solidarity with OWS. Given popular outrage over the eviction, this now promises to be huge. **The labor protest should be turned into a citywide strike, shutting down the heart of finance capital and ensuring the freedom of OWS to reestablish its occupation.**

In order to justify its raid, the city has resorted to all sorts of smears against Occupy Wall Street. After weeks of vilifying the occupiers for everything from noise, garbage, and sexual assault to germs, now the Bloomberg administration is claiming that protesters were stockpiling makeshift weapons, "such as cardboard tubes with metal pipes inside," and that when 700 demonstrators were arrested on the Brooklyn Bridge October 1, "knives, mace and hypodermic needles" were found on the roadway. But while making these wild accusations, not a shred of evidence was produced and no such items were found in the camp this morning.

The only knives in evidence were those of the police who systematically went through the camp slashing occupiers' tents in order to make them unusable in the future. The cops took the 5,000 books from the Occupy Wall Street library and threw them into a dumpster. A big orange bulldozer was used to scrape up the protesters' belongings, while sanitation workers shoveled everything

into garbage trucks. The city cynically announced that people could later reclaim their belongings at a garbage dump, provided they brought personal ID. So anyone who tries to reclaim their laptop would risk arrest. Pepper spray was used on several campers. And the police used blinding lights and a counterinsurgency weapon, a Long Range Acoustical Device (LRAD), which blasted the camp with ear-splitting noise.

The city also used "complaints from community residents" as a justification for the raid. In fact, the local community board complained about the city's "security" measures, including putting up metal grates everywhere to prevent demonstrations. The biggest complaint about noise in this largely business district was not about drummers in Zuccotti Park but about the pounding din of construction at the nearby World Trade Center site that goes on past 2 a.m. Even the rabid right-wing *New York Post* which pillories Occupy Wall Streeters as "bums" and "animals" reported today that its own poll showed that 57 percent of New York voters think the protesters should be allowed to stay in the public parks around the clock.

But the popular support for Occupy Wall Street meant nothing when the ruling class decided to unleash its uniformed thugs against the protesters. Unfortunately, even

as the cop assault was taking place, OWS supporters were chanting to the police, "We are the 99 percent, and so are you" and "Police are the 99 percent." Addressing "our brothers and sisters of the NYPD," one facilitator told them "we're all in this together." Perhaps, but on opposite sides of the police baton. These are dangerous illusions. Unless demonstrators realize that the cops are not friends but professional repressors, the armed fist of capital, they will be unable to resist the blows of the capitalist state. Likewise, any illusions in the "neutrality" of the courts are deeply disorienting.

This vicious attack on Occupy Wall Street and the right to demonstrate underscores that the courts, cops and capitalist politicians all serve to enforce the "law and order" of the ruling class. This includes the racist "stop and frisk" police campaign that targets more than 600,000 New Yorkers, overwhelmingly black and Latino youth, every year. As we have said before, this police-state repression at home reflects the U.S.' endless imperialist wars abroad. To put an end to this corrupt and oppressive system, we in the CUNY Internationalist Clubs seek to contribute to a working-class fight to **expropriate Wall Street** and the entire bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. **Workers and students, shut the city down!** ■



CUNY Internationalist Clubs joined more than 1,000 workers and youth in defending Occupy Wall Street against October 15 eviction attempt.

C.S. Muncy

Internationalist photo

Visit the League for the Fourth International/
Internationalist Group on the Internet

<http://www.internationalist.org>

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Internationalists Protest Imperialism's "Dr. Shock"

What the Hell Was Economic Hit Man Jeffrey Sachs Doing at Occupy Wall Street?

OCTOBER 9 – "Jeffrey Sachs is speaking at Occupy Wall Street? That can't be," a union activist at the City University of New York cried out when she heard the latest from the protest encampment in downtown Manhattan. But it was true. The fact that this top capitalist privatizer and imperialist criminal was invited to spout off Friday, October 7 at "OWS" says a lot about the agenda of those who invited him.

Who Is Jeffrey Sachs?

I - Decimating the Bolivian Working Class

"Widely considered to be the leading international economic adviser of his generation" (in the words of his official bio on the Columbia University website), the notorious Dr. Sachs was contracted by hard-line capitalist regimes from Bolivia to Russia. His task: to design an economic "shock treatment" that produced *misery and death for untold numbers of working people*.

Jeffrey Sachs gained notoriety for advocating and implementing what is now called "neoliberal" capitalist economics with a vengeance. Following in the footsteps of Milton Friedman's "Chicago Boys" – who helped the dictator Augusto Pinochet in mid-1970s Chile starve workers and the poor for the greater glory of the "free market" – Sachs first made the spotlight as leader of the "Harvard Boys" who brought shock treatment economics to Bolivia in 1985.

Determined to smash the combative tin miners who were the backbone of the Andean country's radical labor movement, newly elected president Víctor Paz Estenssoro and his ally, former military dictator Hugo Banzer, put forward a "new economic policy" which – in the words of the standard history of U.S.-Bolivia relations – "had a certain 'made in the USA' stamp about it":

"Its primary architect was Jeffrey Sachs, a bright, brash, young Harvard professor whom the *Los Angeles Times* called 'the Indiana Jones of economics.' Its domestic manager was Planning Minister Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, a businessman who had spent so much time in the United States that he spoke Spanish with an accent....

"The social costs...were immense.... Paz passed the costs of stabilization on to the lower classes. In the new era [of neoliberal economics], Paz looked to Sachs and Machiavelli.... The statistical details roll by too quickly for an outsider to fully grasp the human costs. In 1986 the purchasing power of the average Bolivian was down 70 percent.... Unemployment reached 20-25 percent, and nearly all social welfare benefits to workers were swept away."

– Kenneth D. Lehman, *Bolivia and the United States* (1999)

The assault on Bolivian workers was embodied in the most hated piece of legislation in the country's history: Supreme Decree 21060, which virtually illegalized strikes while shutting the mines, firing the vast majority of miners and "relocating" more than 20,000 of them to tropical



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Jeffrey Sachs speaking at Occupy Wall Street, October 7.

areas. "Following the advice of Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, whose neoliberal 'shock treatments' would later be applied to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to devastating effect, [it] cut government spending, overhauled the monetary system – thereby bringing a halt to hyperinflation while plunging the economy into recession – and encouraged foreign investment..." (Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics* [2007]).

Just as Milton Friedman was able to turn Chile into a laboratory for neoliberal economics only through the Pinochet dictatorship, Sachs's prescription for Bolivia could only be fulfilled through massive state repression. When the Bolivian Labor Federation (COB) called for a general strike against Decree 21060, the government declared a state of siege and exiled 175 labor leaders to a remote jungle prison camp. It brought out the army to crush a desperate March for Life led by women of the mining camps. By 1991, at least 45,000 jobs had been lost in mining and the public-service sector, plus 35,000 more due to factory closings.

In 1997, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada – who had since become Bolivia's president with the support of a coalition of center and right-wing parties – visited Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, where "Jeffrey D. Sachs, director of the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID), introduced the president as one of Latin America's boldest and most creative leaders," calling the president and his advisers "the main authors of economic reforms for Bolivia." Sachs added: "My role was partly to motivate the idea of quick stability, and to help with technical aspects of the reform" (*Harvard University Gazette*, 8 May 1997).

With Sachs's help, Bolivian mines, nationalized in 1952, were largely privatized, opening the door to Wall Street investors. Known derisively as *el gringo Goni*, Sánchez de Lozada launched a massacre against miners, indigenous peasants and the urban

poor in October 2003. However, he failed to crush the "Gas War" uprising that eventually overthrew him and drove him into exile in Miami. (See "Bolivia Aflame: Gas War on the Altiplano," *The Internationalist* [October 2003] on line at <http://www.internationalist.org/boliviaaflame1003.html>.) In Bolivia, Sachs's accomplice Goni is a wanted fugitive, charged with crimes against humanity, who remains free only because the U.S. refuses to extradite him.

II – Implementing Counterrevolution in Poland and the Ex-USSR

Having earned his spurs in Bolivia, Sachs was invited to help U.S. imperialism implement capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc. "In the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe he and a handful of other Harvard economists introduced so-called 'shock therapy,' characterised chiefly by instant and massive privatisation and the

simultaneous removal of all price controls," noted the London *Independent* (13 April 2007). His first job: helping Lech Walesa's Solidarność carry out a "rapid transition to 'normal' capitalism" in Poland.

At first, Sachs proposed "U.S.-style corporate structures, with professional managers answering to many shareholders and a large economic role for stock markets." When this failed to catch on, "Sachs came back with a Germanic idea – large blocks of the shares of privatized companies would be placed in the hands of big banks," as *Left Business Observer* (August 2005) noted ("The Long, Strange Career of Jeffrey Sachs"). Lionized by anti-communists, Walesa's capitalist restoration meant mass unemployment (even the Gdansk shipyards, the birthplace of Solidarność, were shut down), the destruction of social benefits, and a rampage of anti-woman, anti-worker and xenophobic reaction that continues to this day.

For Sachs, Poland was a stepping stone to the former Soviet Union, where he served Boris Yeltsin from 1991 to 1994 as the Russian president, George Bush Sr.'s man in Moscow, consolidated capitalist counter-revolution. The shock treatment's result in Russia "was a thorough disaster, one of the worst collapses in human history," notes the same *Left Business Observer* analysis. "Living standards fell and the population shrank, almost an unprecedented event in a country not at war.... In the words of former World Bank economist David Ellerman... 'Only the mixture of American triumphalism and the academic arrogance of neoclassical economics could produce such a lethal dose of gall.'" This produced millions of deaths, as the gross domestic product of post-Soviet Russia was slashed in half, poverty increased tenfold, health care services were devastated, mortality rates for workers shot up by 75 percent (from 800 working-age adults per 100,000 in 1989 to 1,400 in 1994) and life expectancy for

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Denouncing appearance of "Dr. Shock," Jeffrey Sachs, at Occupy Wall Street, October 7.

Internationalist photo

Georgia Carries Out Legal Lynching

Troy Davis Case Shows: There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

SEPTEMBER 21 – At 11:08 p.m. tonight, the state of Georgia executed Troy Davis. There was a delay of several hours for the U.S. Supreme Court to give its seal of approval to this *state murder*. As Troy's life hung in the balance, several hundred furious demonstrators marched through the streets of black Harlem and jammed into St. Mary's Church chanting, "Stop the execution, free Troy Davis."

Davis was convicted and sentenced to die for the 1989 shooting death of an off-duty Savannah police officer. There have been worldwide demonstrations demanding that he not be executed. Last week more than 630,000 letters were handed to the Board asking to stop the execution of Davis on the grounds that there is "too much doubt" about this case. Yet massive evidence shows that beyond a shadow of a doubt **Troy Davis was innocent.**

In recent days and earlier, the Internationalist Group, CUNY Internationalist Clubs and Class Struggle Education Workers joined in protests in New York calling to **free Troy Davis and smash the racist death penalty.** The execution was nothing less than a *legal lynching*. It showed, as a number of black Georgians bitterly remarked, that racist Jim Crow "justice" is alive and well in the state that was the lynching capital of the South in the 1920s. It demonstrated that for the racist U.S. *injustice* system, innocence is not a defense – especially for a black man accused of killing a white cop. It proved, again, that **there is no justice in the capitalist courts.**

Davis was convicted solely on the basis of witness testimony, and by now it is well-known that seven of the nine witnesses who testified in the 1991 trial later recanted their statements. Almost all said that they were pressured by the police to implicate Davis as the man who shot policeman Mark Allen MacPhail: "After a couple of hours of the detectives yelling at me and threatening me, I finally broke down and told them what they wanted to hear," one reported. Several said they never even read the statement the cops handed them to sign. An eighth witness told police before the trial that he wouldn't recognize the shooter, but changed his story on the stand.

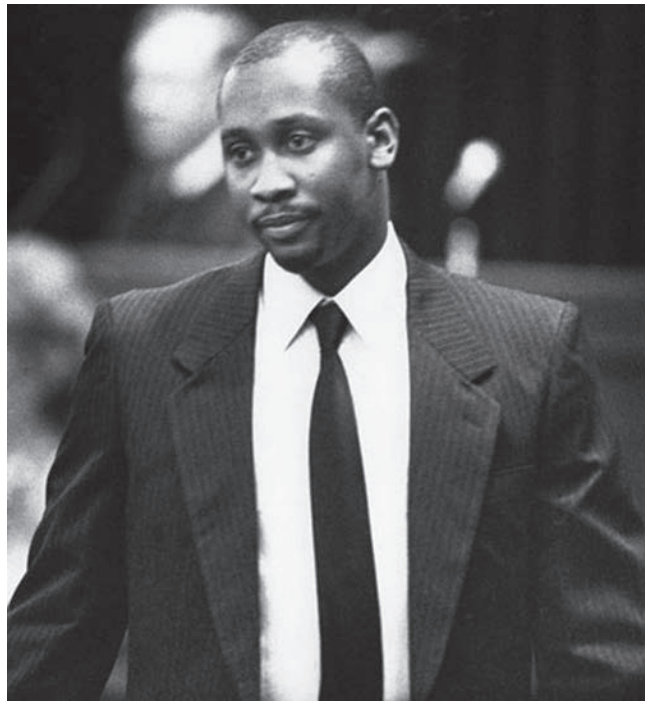
Yesterday, September 20, the Georgia Board of Pardons turned down Davis's request for clemency after a day of hearings, in which a juror in the original trial said she would have decided differently knowing what she does now of the case, and the verdict on Davis would have been "not guilty." Another reported she heard "witness" Sylvester Coles admit that he was the actual killer. Earlier, the 2007 Amnesty International document on the Davis case cited nine people who signed affidavits implicating Coles as the killer. Another man said he actually saw Coles shoot MacPhail.

As we have written previously (see our October 2008 leaflet, "Troy Davis Must Not

Die!" reprinted in *The Internationalist* No. 28, March-April 2009), the factual evidence demonstrating Davis's innocence is overwhelming. In addition, quite a list of luminaries have asked for clemency in his case. Even the prosecuting attorney in the original Savannah trial admits that for 80 percent of the witnesses to recant may be a judicial record, and such an across-the-board appeal for clemency from a whole array of bourgeois figures is unprecedented. Yet it has not changed the outcome. Why not?

First, there is the perceived need by the capitalist ruling class to maintain the supposed infallibility of its "justice" system, with the myths about "checks and balances," judicial review, and "innocent until proven guilty." All of these are constantly negated in reality, of course, but for the state to fulfill its function of repressing exploited and oppressed, it need to uphold the pretense.

Secondly, and more specifically, the unanimity of the witnesses' statements saying that the cops coerced or pressured them into fingering Davis meant that admitting their new testimony would mean in effect indicting the Savannah police of criminality. Moreover, since police around the country routinely gather their "evidence" using such



Savannah Morning News

Troy Davis in August 1991 during the frame-up trial that sentenced him to death.

coercive techniques, admitting the new testimony could call into question the *modus operandi* of the U.S. repressive apparatus. And a linchpin of the M.O. of that criminal enterprise – the police – is that when a cop is shot, someone must die, no matter who, particularly if it concerns a black ghetto or Latino barrio. Maintaining ruling-class domination in communities of the oppressed requires *intimidation*.

This is more than cop brutality, it is a *system* of police occupation that has meant massive arrests for everything from drugs to petty "quality of life crimes" which have put close to a third of young black men in prison,

on parole or probation (almost half in Washington, D.C.). It has meant massive police intimidation, as in New York City where according to the New York Civil Liberties Union last year over 600,000 people were stopped and frisked, overwhelmingly (85 percent) black and Latino youth. And it has led to a *600 percent increase in the number of death sentences over then last 40 years*, so that today there are more than 3,250 prisoners on death row, well over half of them black or Latino.

The death penalty in the United States is a legacy of slavery and its administration has always been racist. Recent news reports have revealed that the former chief psychologist of the Texas jail system has routinely testified in death penalty hearings for the last 20 years that black men are more likely to be violent in the future, and therefore should be executed. Georgia and Texas have always been high on the list of states that kill prisoners, and Republican right-wingers are big supporters of the death penalty. But it is the American capitalist ruling class as a whole that upholds the system of state murder as a key element of its domination. As our Internationalist placards have emphasized: "Imperialist War Abroad Means Racist Repression 'At Home'."

In recent protests, speakers from reformist left groups (Workers World Party, Revolutionary Communist Party) have highlighted that Republican presidential frontrunner, Texas governor Rick Perry, has presided over 234 executions. Nothing about the fact that when he was governor of Georgia, Democrat Jimmy Carter signed the state's death penalty act which had been rewritten to pass muster with the U.S. Supreme Court. Nor did they mention that Democratic president Bill Clinton authored the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that eliminated most *habeas corpus* appeals by death row inmates.

But most notable was the lack of criticism of Democratic president Barack Obama. The NAACP called on Obama to do something, like launch a federal civil rights investigation, in hopes that this might stay the execution of Troy Davis. Yet Obama is an avowed supporter of the death penalty, especially when it is used against those convicted of killing police. He made this clear when questioned about the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther and radical journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" who has been on Pennsylvania's death row for the last 29 years. Even so, the reformists have thrown their efforts into a misdirected effort to get Obama's attorney general Eric Holder to launch an investigation of Mumia's case.

In contrast, IG signs have proclaimed: "Down with the Democrats and Republicans – Racist Parties of Death and Imperialist War, For a Revolutionary Workers Party." Another read: "Obama's U.S.A., Prison Nation: Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart, ABU-JAMAL"

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Internationalist photo

Internationalist contingent at September 16 NYC rally to stop execution of Troy Davis.

Mobilize Workers' Power to Smash the Racist Death Penalty



Union demonstrate in La Paz, Bolivia in March 1985. Workers waged bitter battle against Jeffrey Sachs' "shock treatment." Now OWS invites him to speak.

Sachs...

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Russian men fell from 67 years in 1989 to 60 years two decades later.

In recent years, Dr. Shock has sought to rebrand himself as a *liberal* neoliberal with hipster cred. MTV broadcast a multipart "Diary of Angelina Jolie and Dr. Jeffrey Sachs" touring Africa, and the singer and philanthropist Bono wrote the introduction to a book by Sachs titled *The End of Poverty*. The fact that Jeffrey Sachs would qualify for a Nobel Prize in Poverty Creation was supposed to be erased. Lately, he has taken to denouncing Republican/Tea Party economic nostrums, and criticizing their reflection in the policies of the Obama administration.

But Sachs's criticisms of corporate funding of political campaigns, proposals to "tax the rich" and calls to "rebuild America at home" will do exactly zero to get rid of mass poverty and the exploitation of workers, which are inherent in the capitalist system of which he is a staunch defender. Defending the capitalist system is, after all, what this capitalist economic hit man has always been about.

Leonard Peltier and Thousands More, Free All Class-War Prisoners!" The list could be extended to include the Cuban Five, the Angola (Louisiana) Three and many others. While making clear that we were for Davis's legal team using every avenue available to them to stave off the execution, rather than forlorn appeals to the capitalist rulers, we called to "Mobilize Workers Power to Free Troy Davis Now!" This are not just words, but a perspective for concrete action.

The Internationalist Group and League for the Fourth International have spearheaded efforts for workers strikes to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has come to symbolize the struggle against the racist death penalty. Our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil sparked an April 1999 work stoppage (and several stoppages since then) for Mumia's freedom by teachers in the state of Rio de Janeiro. The 1999 action was carried out in conjunction with U.S. longshore workers of the ILWU who the next day shut down every port on the West Coast, saying "An injury to one is an injury to all, Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

On Troy Davis, our October 2008 article noted that the president of Local 1414 of the International Longshoremen's Association (the East Coast dock union) had spoken at a meeting of several hundred

"This Man Is A Criminal Enemy of the Working Class"

At an October 7 conference on "Defending Public Higher Ed," organized by the Professional Staff Congress union of faculty staff at the City University of New York (CUNY), speaker after speaker praised the Occupy Wall Street protest, while a CUNY Internationalist Clubs activist warned that the protests are dominated by bourgeois populism. Minutes later the word spread that Sachs was speaking at OWS. Hastening to the square, Internationalist supporters saw Sachs, having finished his presentation, chatting with the crowd.

A CUNY adjunct who teaches Latin American history and has written extensively on the struggles of Bolivian miners broke through the atmosphere of adulation to denounce Sachs: "What about Bolivia? What about the shock treatment you put into effect there? This man is a criminal enemy of the working class. He brought incalculable misery to the working people. He was the adviser to the presidents who unleashed bloody repression against the Bolivian miners, their wives and their

at Savannah State University protesting the scheduled execution of Troy Davis. In February 2010, we spoke with some militant longshoremen from Savannah at an international dock workers convention in Charleston, South Carolina. We asked if it would be possible to undertake any kind of labor-led mobilization to stop the execution of Davis. They responded that they had called on the union to protest, but received phone calls from the International in New York informing them that if they did so they would be in big trouble.

This is the response of the labor bureaucracy, which sits atop the unions and seeks to hold them in check and prevent militant action by the working class. It does this by tying labor to the capitalist Democratic Party, and by subjugating the workers to the bosses' laws. They won't mobilize for Troy Davis or Mumia Abu-Jamal any more than they would defy union-busting witch-hunting legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act. And that is why for decades the unions have been suffering one defeat after another, to the point of disappearing in many cases. But these misleaders, the "labor lieutenants of capital," can be swept away if the ranks mobilize on a program of sharp class struggle.

As an IG speaker noted at the rally for Troy Davis yesterday in New York's finan-

families."

After a brief attempt to disclaim responsibility for the results of his policies, Sachs turned tail and quickly departed. Many in the crowd applauded our comrade – while others were aghast that he did not "converse" with the esteemed economist, or accept that "people change" – after all, Sachs now styles himself an environmentalist and all-round friend of humanity. As if the posturing of this economic hit man and his pandering to the latest political fads could erase the devastation he helped inflict on millions around the world.

While some Occupy Wall Street (OWS) supporters were incredulous that such a criminal character would be invited, the information table sported a sign publicizing his 3 p.m. talk as part of the OWS events calendar. "Jeffrey Sachs Sings the Praises of Occupy Wall Street," headlines *AlterNet* (7 October), quoting him as proclaiming "We need to elect people who listen to the 99%." While criticizing Obama's huge reelection fund, he told the crowd, "I voted for, supported and support" Barack Obama.

A YouTube video (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8svbm4WYmU>) shows Sachs surrounded by admiring listeners as he says he "loves" OWS, pushes nostrums about "a more inclusive economy" and "tax the rich," and pontificates about the need for "a new model of campaigning" based not on "big bucks" but on "the free media and social networks and Twitter." He also took the opportunity to hand out some copies of his latest tome, *The Price of Civilization*.

When we questioned the staffer at the OWS information table about why Sachs was invited, she responded: "Everybody has the right to speak." Would you then invite Augusto Pinochet to speak here, we asked. "Absolutely! I'd have a lot of questions to ask him," she responded. Expressed as free-wheeling classless tolerance, this is actually the voice of imperialist liberalism for which death and destruction in America's neocolonies is little more than

cial district, an example of the kind of labor action that is needed and possible was the recent mobilization of hundreds of ILWU longshoremen in Longview, Washington this past September 8, when they "stormed" the port, according to the big business press, which complained of thousands of tons of tons of grain dumped onto railroad tracks to prevent it being loaded by scab labor. The leaders of the ILWU and ILA have vowed to act to defend threatened longshore jobs, but it is up to the workers to make sure this happens.

As our spokesman at the Wall Street area rally noted, that requires the leadership of a revolutionary workers party that fights to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and break the bonds chaining working people and all the oppressed to the partner parties of capitalist imperialism. This means fighting to defeat U.S. imperialist wars, from Afghanistan to Libya, and the capitalist war being waged against working people in the U.S. The fight to save all the Troy Davises from claws the racist injustice system is an integral part of that struggle. It will take nothing less than a socialist revolution to smash the death penalty and police-state repression in the ghettos and barrios and put an end to the capitalist system that lives on death. ■

an abstraction.

While almost all of the left has devoted itself to uncritical enthusing over OWS, the fact is that *bourgeois populism* has been the ideological glue holding together (so far) the mélange of forces assembled there. Among those camped out in the square are young anarchists and there are signs calling for "class war" – along with many variants of reformist socialist groups, a whole lot of disgruntled Obama supporters and quite a few people who aren't sure what they think should be done but are very unhappy about the state of society today.

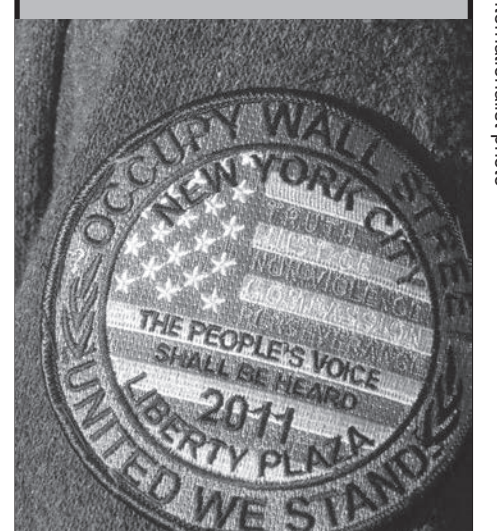
At the same time, devotees of the ultrarightist (and racist) Ron Paul, rightist Libertarians and followers of the fascist Lyndon LaRouche are regulars in and around the square. Calls to "End the Fed" (Federal Reserve) mix with a plethora of proposals to tinker with the financial system, tax the rich, reform campaign finance, and so forth. And they are accompanied by patriotic appeals, from "We the People" rhetoric to American flags. The second issue of *The Occupied Wall Street Journal* (8 October) features "Reports from intrepid, heartfelt, truly patriotic occupiers everywhere."

That Jeffrey Sachs can show up and make sound bites from some of the key phrases of OWS itself is significant. It should be food for thought for those leftist-minded youth and labor activists who have gravitated to Liberty Plaza in the hope that the protest will spur struggle against inequality, unemployment and the hypocrisy of bourgeois politics. For Jeffrey Sachs did not miscalculate when he ventured he would get a receptive audience at Occupy Wall Street.

In response to our comrade's denunciation of Dr. Shock, a young admirer in the crowd called out "That's debatable." A companion scolded that instead of denouncing Sachs, we should have engaged in a dialogue with him. "You want to debate mass starvation and army repression? Tell it to the workers and peasants of Bolivia," our comrade responded. "The workers in Bolivia, if they knew this guy was here, they would run him out."

For OWS to give a platform to the notorious Dr. Shock, Jeffrey Sachs, was a slap in the face to the millions he victimized, from Latin America to the former Soviet bloc. For us as internationalists, it was an elementary act of solidarity to expose their capitalist-imperialist persecutor in the heart of finance capital. ■

9/11 Patriotism at OWS



Whose flag? Their flag! Economic hit-man for U.S. imperialism fits in with flag-waving at Occupy Wall Street.

Expropriate...

continued from page 1

Now, in mid-November, local rulers are deciding so much for democracy, it's time for the fist. In NYC, the rabid right-wing *New York Post* has been screaming for blood, with a front-page editorial "Enough!" (4 November) calling on the mayor to have the NYPD "throw the bums out" of Zuccotti Square. Over the weekend, following an earlier eviction in Denver, Portland (Oregon) police evicted the occupation there, and cops arrested occupiers in Albany, New York. As we go to press, on November 14 some 700 to 1,000 police drove out Occupy Oakland. Instead of the usual polyannish refrain, "This is what democracy looks like," this time the crowd chanted, more accurately, "This is what a police state looks like." While raising our Marxist program – including sharp criticisms of OWS – we have mobilized to defend it against police repression.

Greed and Corruption

The Occupy protests have taken aim at corporate greed, political corruption and the growth of income inequality. Although the media routinely portray OWS as a radical left movement, there is nothing particularly leftist about these issues. Being against greed is like coming out for the Ten Commandments. Everyone including the terminally corrupt denounces corruption. Even the United States Congress, that exclusive millionaires' club, is on record against the obscene bonuses Wall Street bankers awarded themselves after getting trillions in government bailout dollars. The OWS focus is deliberate. The call that launched Occupy Wall Street, put out last July on the web site of the Vancouver-based anti-consumerist satirical magazine *Adbusters*, explicitly said they were looking for "something all Americans, right and left, yearn for and can stand behind."

This helps explain the extraordinarily wide appeal of Occupy Wall Street and the other occupations. More than a movement with specific goals, they are a phenomenon. Early on, an October 9-10 *Time* magazine public opinion poll found that over half (54 percent) were favorable to OWS, while 86% thought Wall Street and its lobbyists had too much power in Washington and 79% thought the gap between rich and poor in the U.S. had grown too large. More recent polls show between a third and a half of "the public" in favor of Occupy Wall Street, still far more than those who support the right-wing Tea Party. But while most people agreed with what OWS is *against*, many were (and are) unsure of what it is *for*. That will change if and when the occupiers put forward a concrete agenda.

Tens of Thousands March to Defend Occupy Oakland



Robert Galbraith / Reuters

In Oakland, California after the October 25 cop assault on Oscar Grant Plaza and the subsequent protest demo using tear gas and all sorts of "less lethal" munitions, some 40,000 people responded to the call by Occupy Oakland for a "general strike" on November 2. The massive march on the port that evening effectively shut it down, highlighting the centrality of labor despite the fact that the union bureaucracy refused to call their members out on strike.

The Occupiers popularized the slogan "we are the 99%." In social (not statistical) terms, *there is no 99%*. This slogan poses the fight as one of income distribution. The top 1% has indeed greatly increased its share of total income in recent decades, from roughly 9% in 1980 to almost 24% in 2007, almost exactly the percentage as in 1928 on the eve of the last Great Depression. In terms of wealth, the top 1% is even more dominant, with 43% of financial assets. But underlying this is the more fundamental issue of class, and class power. The 99% slogan is pitched so it does not challenge the fundamental *property relations* of capitalism. Moreover, many of those who enforce this system of exploitation and oppression – such as the police (commanders and beat cops alike), military brass, private security contractors and the like – make far less than the "1%." Ending the vast inequality produced by capitalism will not come about through the IRS ("tax the rich"). Occupying symbolic spaces is not enough, it is necessary to *expropriate Wall Street* and the whole of the capitalist class, through *socialist revolution* that brings down the whole system of production for profit.

Cops and Flags

There have been a number of hot issues at Occupy Wall Street that are barely papered over by the anti-democratic "consensus" decision-making process. First and foremost is the question of the police. Following the early attacks on OWS demonstrators on September 24 and October 1, the Internationalist Clubs at the City University of New York put out a *Revolution* leaflet (October 5) titled "NYPD: Guard Dogs of Finance Capital" (see page 12 of this issue). We recounted how even after the New York Police deliberately trapped protesters and arrested hundreds, gratuitously pepper-spraying women snared in the cops' orange netting, many OWS supporters called on the police to join them, claiming that these uniformed thugs are also part of the "99%."

We reported how a team of official march "pacekeepers" tried to shut us up as we chanted "We are all Sean Bell, NYPD go to hell," referring to the young black man murdered on the eve of his 2006 wedding by a police death squad.

While there has been some dissent over the appeals to the police, OWS "facilitators" have taken the position that the "blue shirts" (the patrolmen), unlike the "white shirts" (supervisors), are potential allies. This promotes the bourgeois myth that the police are there to "serve and protect" the population. This is a lie. Anyone who lives in the police-occupied barrios and ghettos of New York City or who has experienced the normal operations of the NYPD would have to be blinder than Stevie Wonder to believe that fairy tale. But then, the non-leaders of the OWS don't live there. They also are oblivious to the lessons of history. An article in *The Occupied Wall Street Journal* (No. 3, 22 October) says: "Prior to the massive protests at the WTO in Seattle, protest policing in the U.S. was a largely casual affair punctuated with isolated outbursts of police misconduct." What racially blind arrogance! Were the constant, vicious police attacks on civil rights marches in the South just "isolated outbursts of police misconduct"? Or how about the 1964 cop riot against blacks protesting police brutality in Harlem?

As Marxists from Karl Marx on have written, the police (along with the courts and military) are the backbone of the capitalist state. Unlike the army, which can be split along class lines in a social crisis, the cops are professional repressors. Their job is to impose bourgeois "law and order" and guarantee the functioning of capitalism. *The police are the armed fist of ruling class*. And as an article on the web site of the *London Guardian* (1 November) noted, "Occupy protesters have invited cops to join the movement, but so far, the response has been with tear gas and batons." Now the Oakland Police Officers

Association has picked up on this, declaring: "Oakland police officers are the 99% and we understand and sympathize with your message.... Our police officers are the 99% struggling in Oakland neighborhoods every day to contain the 1% who rob, steal, rape and murder our law-abiding citizens. The Occupy Oakland protest ... is taking our police officers out of Oakland neighborhoods and away from protecting the citizens of Oakland."

–quoted in The Lede blog, *New York Times*, 11 November

Three days later they launched a second assault on the occupation at Oscar Grant Plaza.

The article in issue 3 of *The Occupied Wall Street Journal* on "The rule of law vs. the forces of order" criticizes the "mostly unnecessary arrests" and "expensive control of these demonstrations," while saying that "some protests have been illegal and disruptive." Police have no right to declare political protests illegal, put up barricades, pepper spray and mace demonstrators and the rest of their "crowd control" arsenal. It is the cops who are disruptive, by assaulting our rights. The CUNY Internationalist Clubs call on students, workers and defenders of democratic rights to *demand that all charges against all the demonstrators be dropped!*

Another hotly disputed issue, at least by us, is the proliferation of American flags, most of them the real Stars and Stripes (see our photo display, "Isn't That the American Flag They're Waving," on page 7 of this issue). Their presence is not accidental but conscious and calculated flag-waving patriotism. Even when flown upside down, it signals "nation in distress." The first issue of *The Occupied Wall Street Journal* featured the *Adbusters* version, with corporate logos instead of the field of stars. Issue No. 2 included "reports from intrepid, heartfelt, truly patriotic occupiers everywhere." An *Adbusters* "tactical briefing" by the Internet hacker group Anony-

Internationalist photo



This is "anti-capitalist"?

mous is directed to “jammers, dreamers, patriots.” But American patriotism means support for U.S. imperialism. In response to calls to “take back our country,” a CUNY Internationalist spokesman at Occupy Wall Street on October 1 said:

“This was never our country. It was always their country. The American flag is the flag of slavery, of empire, of police repression, of pepper spray. Our flag is that of the working class. It is red.”

—see the Internationalist4 account at YouTube

Occupy Wall Street and Bourgeois Populism

The Adbusters appeal which launched Occupy Wall Street was for “democracy, not corporatocracy.” This was coupled to “one simple demand – a presidential commission to separate money from politics,” which would “start setting the agenda for a new America.” Simple-minded would be more accurate. The idea that the millionaires who run Washington politics would agree to banish the influence of corporate cash is laughable. And the notion that President Barack Obama – whose 2008 campaign cost over \$400 million, who turned down public financing in 2008 and who got big bucks from Wall Street long before winning a single primary – would set up such a presidential commission, or that it would do anything, is equally nonsensical. Scandals about big business buying elections and politicians go back to the dawn of capitalism. So long as they are the ruling class, the capitalists will get the best “democracy” their money can buy, and no presidential commission or mere law will stop them.

A number of observers have noted parallels between Occupy Wall Street and the right-wing Tea Party, at least before that hot property was snatched up by New York financiers like the Koch brothers. Any resemblance is purely intentional. The early Tea Party also yelled about corruption in Washington and the bank bailout. The architects of Occupy Wall Street want to play on the same turf. The point was not how real the “one simple demand” was, but to have an issue that would not be seen as leftist. An entry on the Adbusters Blog (11 August) spelled it out:

“[I]f we naively put our cards on the table and rally around the ‘overthrow of capitalism’ or some equally outworn utopian slogan, then our Tahrir moment will quickly fizzle into another inconsequential ultra-lefty spectacle soon forgotten. But if we have the cunning to come up with a deceptively simple Trojan Horse demand... then we just might have a crack at creating a decisive moment of truth for America, a first concrete step towards achieving the radical changes we all dream....”

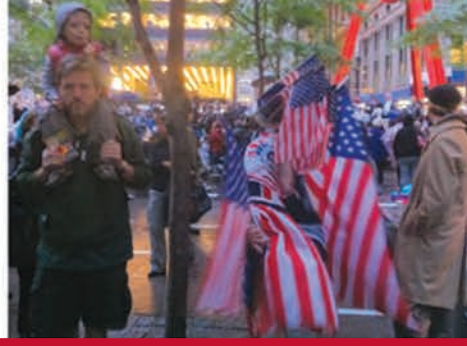
The idea that by being “cunning,” donning a Guy Fawkes mask and just “hang[ing] in there day after day, week after week, until a large swath of Americans start rooting for us and President Obama is forced to respond” one can sneak “radical change” past the rulers of American capitalism is beyond some kind of movie fantasy. It is based on swallowing whole the kind of faith in “democratic” U.S. imperialism taught in high-school civics courses.

In an article titled “Inside Occupy Wall Street” in *Rolling Stone* (24 November), Adbusters founder Kalle Lasn is quoted as saying that, for all the talk of following the example of Tahrir Square, “We knew, of course, that Egypt had a hard regime change where a tor-

Isn't That the American Flag They're Waving?

Several readers have suggested that the American flags mentioned here are really the “corporate America” protest flag sold by Adbusters, which first issued a call to occupy Wall Street last July. Not so. On hearing initial reports that OWS protesters were marching with the U.S. flag, we were also skeptical, until we repeatedly confirmed it. Yes, several flags have been the protest version, with the field of stars replaced by corporate symbols – itself an appeal to American nationalism. But in multiple marches, most of those red-white-and-

blue flags have been the real stars and stripes, the bloody banner of U.S. imperialism as it lays waste to the world, from Afghanistan to Libya. And the flag-waving patriotic appeal is real. While there is a hodgepodge of political currents in the occupation, the common denominator is nationalist liberal populism, counterposed to working-class revolutionary internationalism. To back up our statement, we have put together a collage of photos showing numerous instances of the U.S. flag in OWS events in New York, which can be seen below.



trous dictator was removed, but many of us felt that in America, a soft regime change was possible.” Even today, they think that “#OCCUPY has the magic and the ear of the world, and anything seems possible. We could see a soft regime change in America...” (Adbusters

Blog, 26 October). Oh really now? Mayors and police forces from New York to Denver to Oakland are making clear how misguided that feeling is. OWS organizers try to counter the mounting barrage of hostile propaganda by studiously avoiding saying anything that “all

Americans” can't get behind. But relentless efforts to appear oh-so-moderate will not be enough once the capitalist rulers decide to use their state power.

We have noted that, “While almost all of the left has devoted itself to uncritical

Why I Joined the Internationalist Group

We reprint the letter of application of a comrade who recently joined the Internationalist Group and who is active in the Internationalist Clubs.

My name is Rogelio. Ever since I grew up in Mexico, I've known about the struggles of indigenous groups, workers, students and teachers, even if at first I didn't know their causes or identify with them. My older brother was part of the ten-month-long student strike at UNAM (the National Autonomous University of Mexico) in 1999-2000 and I participated in some events in support of the strike. I also witnessed the caravan from Chiapas to Mexico City that was organized by the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) of Subcomandante Marcos, and I was influenced by his ideals for some time.

I grew up in a poor working-class neighborhood where basic services were not available, partly because the majority of the land where we lived was sold illegally. But with the power of the working people who lived there they gained ownership little by little.

One of the reasons that made me feel a hatred toward the bourgeoisie was the way that my parents were exploited from an early age. They had to emigrate from their homes in Oaxaca to Mexico City to work in restaurants and support their respective families.

When I was a teenager, music influenced me a lot, since some of the bands that I listened to made me think about inequality, war, etc. A majority of the bands had anarchist tendencies or spoke against racism. This also had a big impact on me since I wanted to fight against the system and racism.

When I was a student at high school,

my mother returned to the United States. The absence of my family led me to drop out of school, and eventually I decided to join them. Since then, life has not been easy. We're told that we come here to work, period.

In the U.S. I rediscovered music, and this sparked a rebellious streak in me again. However, my political perspective was unsystematic liberalism, and that didn't get me anywhere. I took part in some anarchist protests here in New York. I marched with them on May Day, 2006 against the infamous HR 4437 anti-immigrant bill. There I witnessed the power of the working class.

Meanwhile, some fellow musicians who were supporters of the Internationalist Group and I formed a band together. While writing songs the IG supporters emphasized the differences between a liberal and a professional revolutionary Marxist. They also invited me to attend various events with them and the IG.

A few years earlier I had studied with members of the Spartacist League and Bob Avakian's RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), neither of which I could identify with. The first seemed very arrogant, and the second idolized their leader like a god, which led me to distance myself from them.

It was with the Internationalist Group I learned the actual significance of class struggle and why a workers state – the dictatorship of the proletariat – is necessary to overcome the capitalist system and establish socialism. In the course of attending the IG's Marxist study groups and considering the contributions made by participants in these classes, I have decided to adopt the profession of a revolutionary.

enthusiasm over OWS, the fact is that bourgeois populism has been the ideological glue holding together (so far) the mélange of forces assembled there" (see "What the Hell Was Economic Hit Man Jeffrey Sachs Doing at Occupy Wall Street?" on page 3).

When used by the bourgeois media, the term "populism" is often an insult, accusing some wayward politician of "pandering" to the masses instead of "responsibly" defending the interests of the capitalist rulers. In the United States, "populism" refers to a strain of bourgeois politics that goes back to the late 1900s. After the abolition of slavery during the Civil War and the democratic interlude of Radical Reconstruction that lasted up to 1876, the remnants of the Southern plantocracy and the Northern industrialists made a pact to crack down on the former slaves as well as the growing labor movement. Military force was used on workers' strikes and Ku Klux Klan terror unleashed to intimidate freedmen, while rigid Jim Crow segregation was introduced. This was initially resisted by a populist movement of small farmers and sharecroppers, white and black, leading to a Populist Party which soon fell apart, its leaders merging with the Democrats and embracing Jim Crow.

In Europe, right-wing populism fueled anti-Semitic attacks on "Jewish bankers." In the U.S. in the 1930s, populism often took a right-wing bent, with leaders like Louisiana's Huey Long and the clerical-fascist "radio priest" father Coughlin. In more recent decades, "Klansman in a suit" David Duke ran for president using the name Populist Party; while right-wing populist Ross Perot and fascist ideologue Patrick Buchanan ran as candidates of the Reform Party. But there are also more liberal variants of populism such as Ralph Nader. Though lionized by many leftists due to his opposition to the Iraq war, when Nader was Green candidate in 2004 the Reform Party backed him because he demonized "illegal" immigrants, denounced abortion and bashed China. Whether in right-wing or left-wing versions, populism lays the blame for society's ills on "a few bad apples" seen as specially corrupt and greedy. Its political function is to divert working people from struggle against the capitalist system and the ruling class as a whole.

By focusing on Wall Street, and explicitly opposing calls to "overthrow capitalism," the "Occupy movement" promotes this bourgeois populism. This explains the presence of right-wing Tea Party forces at the occupations. Although Congressman Ron Paul is a big backer of corporations, he opposed the bank bailout and wants to abolish the Federal Reserve (his supporters carry signs to "End the Fed" in OWS demonstrations), echoing the 19th century Populists' opposition to a national bank. (Paul also wants to abolish the income tax, is a racist opponent of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and a columnist on the web site of the Council of Conservative Citizens, the current incarnation of the White Citizens Councils, the front for the KKK during the 1960s Civil Rights struggles.)

By portraying the enemy as a tiny layer of the super-rich ("the 1%"), Occupy Wall Street is pretending that everybody else ("the people") has common interests. The frequent chant, "The people united, will never be defeated," promotes the same false idea. So does the "consensus model" of decision-making. In fact, there are fundamental divisions among "the people" between the working class (proletariat) and the capitalist class (bourgeoisie), with middle-class layers (petty bourgeoisie) in

between, vacillating between the two fundamental classes depending on which is stronger. Dissolving the working class into "the 99%" is similar to union leaders constantly referring to workers as "middle-class" – it echoes the myth that America is not really a class society. By supporting populist movements and politicians or by means of a "popular front" tying workers organizations to sections of the capitalists, the working people, the poor and the oppressed are "united" with their class enemy. This means one defeat after another for the working class, while capitalist depressions typically end not through tax tinkering but all-out war.

Not "99%, But Class Against Class

Contrary to the portrayal by the right-wing media of Occupy Wall Street as "lazy/dirty hippies," "an unfocused rabble of ragtag discontents" (*New Republic*) and "collection of ne'er-do-wells" that "no one seems to care very much about" (*Wall Street Journal* editorial), the occupation has from the beginning had significant support from ... Wall Street. The profile of OWS in *Rolling Stone* waxed lyrical about the initial meetings of the New York General Assembly: "They had no money. And they were planning to take over one of the most heavily policed public spaces on the planet." Actually, as a revealing article in the *New York Times* (18 October) pointed out, OWS started out with a stash of cash, from Robert S. Halper, the former vice chairman of the New York Mercantile Exchange. In a visit to Vancouver last June, Halper gave *Adbusters* editor in chief Kalle Lasn a check for \$20,000 explicitly to fund "a plan to fill Wall Street with protesters as a way to galvanize anger on the political left into a revolutionary movement resembling the Arab Spring." Brokers always like to hedge their bets.

Twenty grand may not seem like much on the Street, but for organizing street protests it can do a lot. (Barack Obama also got seed money from Wall Street, but presidential campaigns are more expensive: he took in \$984,000 from Goldman Sachs.) *Adbusters* has also been funded over the years by the Tides Foundation of San Francisco, but contrary to right-wing conspiracy mongers who see the hand of billionaire George Soros everywhere, the supposedly "socialist" financier insists that the dough from his Open Society group to Tides is earmarked, and he has never given a dime to *Adbusters* or Occupy Wall Street. In this case, the relationship may be the other way around. Occupy Wall Street has received over \$500,000 in contributions which are funneled through the Soros-funded Alliance for Global Justice, which takes a 7 percent cut for administrative expenses. The point here is that while many participants early on were anarchists, OWS is also part of the liberal NGO ("non-governmental organization") milieu.

Big surprise, the Democratic Party would like to co-opt Occupy Wall Street. The occupations aren't rushing to endorse Obama in 2012, of course, nor do the Democrats want that. They're quite content to siphon off protesters as primary season rolls around and many figure they have no choice but to go for the "lesser evil." Exactly this perspective was put forward by Angela Davis at an Occupy event in New York's Washington Square Park on October 29. After first saying that there should be a "radical third party" in the U.S., she then backtracked. Right now, she said:

"Much as Obama has disappointed us, we can't permit the election of a Republican. This movement reflects the social forces that made the election of Obama possible.... The situation today is qualitatively different [than under Bush]."

This left many in the crowd shaking their heads, saying no, the situation is qualitatively the same under Obama and Bush. The same bank bailouts, the same unemployment, the same wars. But Davis was right about the of the social movement behind the occupations. Overwhelmingly, these are disappointed Obama voters. The question is where will they go.

Occupy Wall Street protesters who reject electoral participation cannot avoid politics. The demands that the OWS initiators have put forward as "pragmatic solutions" – like the so-called "Robin Hood tax" (a 1% tax on financial transactions, supposedly to increase market stability by slowing down turbo-charged computer trading) or restoration of the Glass-Steagall Act of 1932 (reregulating financial institutions) – are thoroughly capitalist measures. But even the "occupy everything, demand nothing" crowd is tacitly going along with the populist program, in the name of "diversity of tactics." So liberals do their nickel-and-dime reforms, anarchists do some street theatrics with the police, and then what? To actually combat the devastation wrought by Wall Street's would-be masters of the world, it is necessary to fight capitalism politically.

"Education Should Not Be a Debt Sentence," said a protester's sign at Occupy Cal in Berkeley. For sure. But free public higher education and canceling student debt will not be achieved without doing away with private ownership not just of the banks but of all the means of production. OMG, money influencing politics?! When has that not been the case in (capitalist) democracy? ***Greed, corruption, income inequality, mass unemployment, racism, imperialist wars – all of these are part and parcel of capitalism, and cannot be eliminated short of a revolution overthrowing the profit system.***

"From New York to Oakland, the system is broken," chanted Occupy Wall Street protesters after the October 25 cop assault on Oscar Grant Plaza. Broken or not, the answer is not to fix it (which is impossible) but to get rid of it. The "pragmatic solutions" of the founders of Occupy Wall Street will probably go nowhere and in any case can accomplish nothing. The occupations will peter out, or polarize. Indeed, a polarization along class lines is what's needed, breaking the stranglehold of the Democratic Party and unchaining the power of the working class. While it has no real answers, the Occupy movement – and the social crisis it emerged from – have led many youth to ask big questions among the society we live in. It's necessary to get at the root – which is what radical means. The root of the problem is capitalism. 99% populism is no solution – we're fighting for socialist revolution. ■

It Will Take Socialist Revolution to End Racist Repression

NYPD's "Stop and Frisk": Racist Attack on Black, Latino and Immigrant Youth

By Cristina

In marches around New York City in recent weeks, Occupy Wall Street protesters have chanted, "We are the 99 percent." Then, turning to the police, demonstrators chanted, "You are the 99 percent." Really?! These are the same cops who line the streets, putting up metal barricades, trying to snare demonstrators in orange netting, lunging into the crowd to grab someone and slam them to the ground, pepper spraying defenseless women, arresting a dozen, scores, hundreds at a time.

The idea that cops are potential allies of those protesting Wall Street is a dangerous illusion. Think that cops can be won over? Think again. And look at Oakland ... or your own experience in NYC. "New York is Oakland, Oakland is New York!" demonstrators chanted on October 26, following the violent police eviction of Occupy Oakland. They're right. And from Oakland to New York, the police are the armed fist of capital.

On Friday, October 21 over a hundred protesters marched in Harlem to protest the New York Police Department's racist "stop-and-frisk" policy. This is one of the main NYPD policies to jail, scapegoat and intimidate African American, Latino and immigrant youth (who could be, and often are, deported). Over 30 arrests were made at the Harlem protest after a group of protesters blocked the doors to the 28th police precinct, which is notorious for its aggressive use of "stop and frisk." The protesters have been released, but two activists who were held the longest face charges of resisting arrest and obstruction. *We demand that all charges be dropped!*

According to the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU), about 3 million New Yorkers were stopped by the NYPD from 2004 to 2010. In 2010, the NYPD recorded more than 600,000 stop-and-frisks. Black and Latino men are singled out for 85 percent of these searches. The practice is applied overwhelmingly in non-white neighborhoods. At some subway stops with racially and ethnically mixed populations, the number of whites stopped is less than 5 percent of the total. *We demand an end to "stop and frisk," which is inherently based on racial profiling and intended to criminalize oppressed youth.*

The use of "stop and frisk" tactics is part of the ramped-up police repression since 11 September 2001 (9/11). It goes hand in hand with the policy of "zero tolerance," started by the notorious racist mayor Rudolph Giuliani and continued by billionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg. Huge numbers of arrests are made for things like graffiti, or spitting on the sidewalk. At the same time, it is linked to the proliferation of killer elite squads such as the Street Crimes Unit which gunned down Amadou Diallo with 41 shots on the doorstep of his home in Soundview, the Bronx in 1999, or the Club Enforcement Unit which murdered Sean Bell in Queens in a hail of 50 bullets on his wedding day in 2006.

The "Stop and Frisk" operation is also

November 2011



Ed Stern/Flickr

NYPD "stop and frisk" on Amsterdam Avenue in Manhattan.

part of a war on low-income and working-class areas. Similar tactics are used by police to a lesser degree across the U.S., but in New York City it is used to criminalize entire communities. Brownsville in Brooklyn is one of the poorest neighborhoods in NYC, with 43 percent of the population below the official poverty line. It is also the most police-infested neighborhood in Brooklyn. The *New York Times* (11 July 2010) wrote that 52,000 stops were made between January 2006 and March 2010 on eight blocks there. Supposedly the practice is directed at "high crime areas," yet less than 1 percent of these stops resulted in an arrest for anything.

Officers entered the names of those stopped into a police database even if no arrest was made. The purpose given for entering the names was to "solve future crimes"! What about "innocent until proven guilty," supposedly a cornerstone of the American "justice" system? Don't count on it. These black young men (more than two-thirds of those stopped on those blocks) are treated as guilty even before a crime is committed! Here's another statistic: residents of Brownsville's 73rd Precinct and Harlem's 28th Precinct had a one in three chance of being stopped by police in 2006 while the average citywide is one in 15. "Racial profiling"? For sure, this is unadulterated racist state repression.

"Stop and frisk" is also tied to the escalation of persecution against immigrants. The Democratic Obama administration has sharply *increased* the number of deportations over the Republican Bush, with a quota of 400,000 a year. In addition to raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), *la migra*, under the "Secure Communities" program information on anyone who comes into contact with local police – like someone stopped on the street – is passed on and can lead to deportation. Even though this program supposedly isn't being enforced

in New York City, thousands of immigrant youths are being snatched by the feds from the Rikers Island prison (see "Drive Out ICE – Migra Go to Hell!" in *Revolution* No. 8, April 2011).

According to the Supreme Court, the basis for these stops is a "reasonable belief" that the person is armed and dangerous. New York courts have ruled it can be for reasonable suspicion of a crime. What crime? Two thirds of the stops are for "furtive movement" (i.e., "walking while black"), or "other." In Brownsville, a huge portion of the stops are for entering housing projects without a key, even if the doors are not locked, or the locks are broken for weeks and months on end. And in many cases it is blatant racism, such as that of a black man arrested by police officer Michael Daragjati on Staten Island last April after asking for the badge number of the plainclothes cop. Daragjati bragged in a phone call that he had "fried another n-----r."

In fact, the whole policy is a violation of the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution against unreasonable search and seizure. Some activists at the October 21 protest called "stop and frisk" the "new Jim Crow." In fact, it is the expression of institutionalized oppression of black people that is part of the DNA of American capitalism, founded on chattel slavery. When slavery was abolished as a result of the Civil War, after the brief democratic interlude of Reconstruction and the defeat of Southern populism, rigid legal segregation was consolidated to deprive the formerly enslaved black population of its rights. And when a century later civil rights laws ended formal Jim Crow segregation, police-state repression of the ghettos – and black people generally – took its place.

"Stop and frisk" is a part of that, but only a part. So, too, is the *quadrupling* of the population behind bars in the U.S. since 1980, to 2.25 million, 60 percent black and Hispanic – the highest rate of

incarceration in the world – plus another 5 million on probation or parole. And so is the racist death penalty, another legacy of slavery. This produced the legal lynching of Troy Davis by the state of Georgia last month, despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence and support even from prominent bourgeois figures. It has held renowned radical journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal on Pennsylvania's death row for nearly three decades under threat of execution (see article, page 10).

Protesters outside the 28th Precinct on October 21 called to "stop 'stop and frisk.'" Certainly, but that will not stop the *system* of racist repression. After the February 1999 police murder of Amadou Diallo, many called for the NYPD to dissolve the Street Crimes Unit, which under the pressure of mass outrage it did. Instead it launched "Operation Condor," flooding "high crime areas" with hundreds of cops, with equally deadly results: the March 2000 murder of Patrick Dorismond by an undercover narcotics squad. The escalating police attacks on the black and Latino population and working people generally are a product of decaying capitalism, intensified by the unending U.S. wars which have labeled immigrants the "enemy within."

CUNY Internationalist Clubs signs at demonstrations have proclaimed, "Imperialist War Abroad Means Police-State Repression 'At Home'." On a march from Liberty Plaza to One Police Plaza we chanted, "We are all Sean Bell, NYPD go to hell." This brought us a visit from a squad of OWS "pacekeepers" who wanted us to shut up. When we held signs against racist police repression, even as cops were beating demonstrators five feet away, people complained we were "alienating the police." We replied that we don't need to alienate them, their job is to "serve and protect" capital, and to repress us. (See "NYPD: Guard Dogs of Finance Capital," on page 12 of this issue for more.)

Not everyone at OWS shares the "consensus," though. One guy in dreads responded to admonitions yelling, "sure the cops are my friend, like when they're beating me on the head with their batons!" Some of the most socially aware among the overwhelmingly white, largely middle-class demonstrators have said that they are getting a taste of what the police routinely dish out to poor blacks and Latinos. But only a small taste. Most demonstrators are let out the same day and given misdemeanor summons. Youths, or anyone else, arrested in Brooklyn ghettos or Bronx barrios almost *never* get out in less than 24 hours, even for a violation. The NYPD used to hold everyone arrested at a demo for 72 hours until a court suit forced it to stop.

Occupy Wall Street can be a "teachable moment," a learning experience about the nature of the police. *We must unite along class lines against our common oppressor – the capitalist class.* You don't have to be a Marxist to understand that the cops are not and will never be our

friends. Many black people, Latino immigrants and workers know this from their own experience. The police are “special bodies of armed men” whose job is to protect capital, as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin taught. Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the Russian October Revolution together with Lenin, wrote: “The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker.”

It’s not just the “white shirts” (police commanders), but “blue shirt” street cops as well. Sixteen of them are on trial in the Bronx right now for a corrupt ticket-fixing scheme, but the prosecution is trying to keep the tape recordings under wraps because they are filled with vile racist epithets. On Friday, October 28 hundreds of off-duty cops besieged the courthouse, knowing that many more of their brethren in blue are guilty of the same thing. This was an ominous demonstration of police power. The cops know they can get away with it, because the ruling class depends on their guns and batons to enforce bourgeois law and order. For protesters who didn’t know that before, what’s happened in Oakland and NYC should be an eye-opener.

The fight against “stop and frisk” must be part of a larger struggle to bring down capitalism, which produces endless oppression and inequalities. To put an end to police brutality and racist repression it is necessary to mobilize the power of the working class in socialist revolution. Young people who like that idea should join with us to help

All Cops Off Campus! NYPD Out of the Schools!

In addition to “stop and frisk,” students in New York face the pervasive presence of police in the schools. At City University, the Public Safety Department has 700 officers, plus who knows how many rent-a-cop security guards. This department was formed in 1990 and beefed up in response to student takeovers of campuses during tuition hike protests in the ’90s. PSD officers have state “peace officer” status so they can make warrantless arrests. The elite SAFE unit has weapons, including hollow-point (dum-dum) bullets that are officially denied to the NYPD. *The campus cops are there to intimidate – and arrest – students.*

- The CUNY Internationalist Clubs waged a campaign from 2003 to 2005 to defend Miguel Malo, a student leader at Hostos Community College who was tackled by campus cops while protesting cuts and fee hikes in campus programs and then outrageously charged with (and convicted of) “reckless assault” (see “Miguel Malo Is Innocent,” *Revolution* No. 3, November 2005). In that campaign and since, the Internationalist Clubs have called to abolish the PSD and for *all police off campus, including campus cops and security guards.*

- At Hunter College last year, stories were circulated about homeless people bathing in the bathrooms, potential danger to women and other scaremongering propaganda to build support for installing turnstiles. In fact, from 2008 to 2010 there were no sex crimes reported, no assaults and only

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

By Leslie

The following is from a presentation last July by comrade Leslie to the Spanish-language Marxist Study Circle organized by the Internationalist Group and CUNY Internationalist Clubs. See the box below for an update of recent legal developments in Abu-Jamal’s case. You can read many other articles and statements about Mumia Abu Jamal on the Internationalist Group website, www.internationalist.org/mumiatoc.html.

In the past decade and a half the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has become the focal point of the struggle against the racist death penalty in the U.S. and internationally. Thousands all over the world have come out to defend the former Black Panther Party spokesman and renowned radical journalist on death row in Pennsylvania. It must be said emphatically, Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent. They want to kill him for being a black revolutionary.

In the early morning of 9 December 1981, Mumia was shot in the chest by Philadelphia police, beaten within an inch of his life. When he survived, he was charged with the murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner, who was also shot at the scene. Mumia was convicted in a frame-up trial before a notorious “hanging judge” and sentenced to death in 1982. Despite a mountain of evidence disproving every aspect of the prosecution’s case, witnesses who recanted their earlier testimony coerced by police, and proof of racist jury selection, in multiple attempts to appeal his frame-up conviction Mumia has never been allowed to present evidence of his innocence.

Mumia’s lawyers have filed numerous appeals about the many ways in which his trial was flagrantly rigged. Almost all have been rejected out of hand. In one or two instances, the prosecution’s arguments were so flimsy that the judges felt they had to reject them. This is important, but it only gains time for Mumia’s defenders to organize. The question is how to do it. Mumia’s defenders must not fall into passivity. There have been innumerable petitions, resolutions, demonstrations and other shows of support.

As important as these are, they are far from sufficient. Mumia is under attack by the U.S. capitalist state, the dominant imperialist power. What’s needed to save him from his would-be executioners and win his freedom is to mobilize a superior power. That is the power of the working class, which makes everything in capitalist

society run and can bring it all to a halt.

The truth is that Jamal was put on trial for having been a spokesman, at the age of 15, of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, and because as a journalist he continued to crusade against the corruption and brutality of the Philadelphia police and city government.

Jamal was the victim of a vendetta by the former police chief, and later Republican mayor of Philadelphia, Frank Rizzo, for having defended the mostly black radical group MOVE against Rizzo’s cops.

Years later in 1985, the Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered the police to firebomb MOVE’s communal house, killing eleven black people, including five children, and burning down 62 homes.

For passionately and eloquently speaking out against the racist injustice of American capitalism, Mumia became known as the “voice of the voiceless.” A voice the racist rulers are determined to silence. But even on death row, Mumia has continued undaunted to promote the cause of the oppressed. Only the executioner can stop him, and it is up to us to stop the executioner!

In the battle to save Mumia, it is of crucial importance to clearly understand what we are fighting for, and against whom. Many of those who defend Mumia have focused on the demand for a “new trial,” others only call for a “proper judicial procedure” while some vaguely beg for “justice” and even avoid opposing the racist death penalty. Why? They appeal to those who have illusions that a “fair trial” for Mumia is possible under this system, that the farce of Mumia’s trial and sentencing was simply a “miscarriage of justice” and in doing so they promote these dangerous illusions. Jamal is a victim of the same injustice system that is a daily reality in the life of black people under capitalism.

While many liberals and reformists chant “no justice, no peace,” the Internationalist Group insists that there is no justice for the oppressed, even less so for a black revolutionary, in the capitalist courts.

The courts are not impartial, nor are the police – they are part of the machinery of the bosses’ state, whose job is to tenaciously defend the interests of the ruling class against its victims. That is why we say that the police, judges, jailers and security guards are not part of and have no place in the workers movement. They are the iron fist that enforces the interests of the class enemy. Mumia will not be saved by bourgeois pressure politics, but only by the mobilization

of the working class and minorities in a sharp class struggle that can defeat the death machine of the capitalist state.

This program of international workers defense goes back to the first years of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky, and to the International Red Aid. The Brazilian workers also mobilized for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, giving an example of international working-class solidarity. The series of work stoppages and marches they carried out constitute an important step forward in the struggle to save the renowned black radical journalist sentenced to death in Pennsylvania. ■

Update on Mumia’s Case

On 11 October 2011, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to consider the petition of the Philadelphia district attorney (prosecutor) for a hearing to overturn the December 2001 ruling by federal judge William Yohn, who reaffirmed the frame-up conviction of Mumia Abu-Jamal while ruling that the original death sentence was invalid due to misleading instructions to the jury. Judge Yohn’s decision had previously been upheld twice by the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia (in 2008, and again in 2010 on a review ordered by the Supreme Court). If the prosecution chooses to pursue a new penalty trial within the 180-day deadline set by Yohn’s 2001 ruling, the only legal options would be life without parole, or a new death sentence.

Various liberals and reformists have hailed the Supreme Court’s action that in effect upholds Yohn’s 2001 ruling as a victory. *The Internationalist* (No. 13, May-June 2002) called that ruling “a frontal attack on the fight for freedom for Mumia.” This new ruling by the black-robed hangmen of the Supreme Court, coming on the heels of massive outrage at the legal lynching of Troy Davis, is a political decision aimed at undercutting support for Mumia from liberals (and the “socialists” who follow them) who campaigned for a “new trial” because they are reluctant to defend Mumia’s innocence and demand his freedom.

Mobilize workers’ power to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class war prisoners!

a couple of crimes against people, neither of which resulted in arrest. The real purpose of the turnstiles is to seal off the campus from the community. The Hunter Internationalist Club campaigned against the turnstiles and calls for them to be ripped out.

The situation in New York City public schools is even worse. A report by the New York Civil Liberties Union on *Criminalizing the Classroom* (March 2007) tells us that in 2006 there were more than 4,600 uniformed NYPD “school safety agents” (now up to around 5,000) and 200 armed police in the schools. This number is “larger than the police forces of Washington, D.C., Detroit, Boston, or Las Vegas”! These thousands of cops occasionally make the headlines, like when they handcuffed a seven-year-old

first grader at PS 153 in Maspeth last April. Or when a math teacher in Washington Heights objected as cops slammed one of his students against a car, and the teacher was then grabbed from behind and thrown to the ground, injuring his head.

But what about all the “crime in the schools” sensationally reported in the *New York Post* and *Daily News*? Aren’t metal detectors needed to keep guns out of school? The NYCLU report found that of the 17,300+ items seized from students in a nine-month period of 2006 over 70 percent were cell phones and 29 percent were iPods and other electronics. Do the math: 70 + 29 = 99 percent. Of the remainder, a third were “dangerous instruments” including scissors and T-squares, and a tiny percentage of

weapons, including knives. Oh, and guns? None, zero, nada.

The NYCLU only complains of “over-policing” of NYC schools. The United Federation of Teachers and even many oppositionists in the UFT defend the NYPD in the schools. *We say no.* Class Struggle Education Workers, an opposition group in the NYC teachers unions which the CUNY Internationalist Clubs works with, calls for “*Cops Out of the Schools! No to Mayoral Control! For Teacher-Student-Worker-Parent Control of the Schools!*” (see “NYC Department of Education: Corporatization, Repression and Union-Busting,” in *Marxism and the Battle over Education*, 2d. ed., special supplement to *The Internationalist*, January 2008). ■

Mumia...

sigue de la página 12

grande. El poder de la clase obrera que es el que hace funcionar la sociedad capitalista y que puede también detenerla por completo.

La verdad es que Jamal fue procesado por haber sido en su adolescencia portavoz de los Panteras Negras en Filadelfia y porque como periodista continuó su cruzada contra la corrupción y brutalidad de los policías de Filadelfia y del gobierno de la ciudad.

Jamal fue la víctima de una vendetta montada por el ex jefe de la policía y después alcalde republicano Frank Rizzo por haber defendido al grupo radical MOVE en contra de los policías de Rizzo.

Años después en 1985, el alcalde demócrata negro Wilson Goode ordenó a la policía bombardear la comuna MOVE que dejó el saldo de once personas negras muertas, cinco niños incluidos, y 62 casas destruidas por el fuego.

Por su apasionada y elocuente denuncia de la injusticia racista del capitalismo norteamericano, Mumia llegó a ser conocido como “la voz de los sin voz”. Voz que los amos racistas están resueltos a silenciar. Sin embargo, incluso en el corredor de la muerte Mumia ha continuado intrépidamente impulsando la causa de los oprimidos. ¡Sólo el verdugo puede detenerlo y está en nuestras manos detener a este verdugo!

En la batalla para salvar a Mumia Abu-Jamal es crucial tener claridad en torno a cuáles son las razones por las que estamos luchando y en contra de quienes lo estamos haciendo. Muchos de quienes defienden a Mumia se han centrado en la exigencia de un “nuevo juicio”, otros sólo exigen un “proceso correcto”, algunos otros vagamente imploran justicia para Mumia e incluso evitan oponerse a la racista pena de muerte. ¿Por qué? Ellos apelan a quienes tienen ilusiones en que un juicio justo para Mumia es posible bajo este sistema, que el embuste que se le tendió fue una mera aberración y al hacerlo promueven esas peligrosas ilusiones. Jamal tuvo el mismo tipo de injusticia basada en el embuste que los negros viven al diario en el capitalismo.

En tanto que muchos liberales y reformistas griten “sin justicia no hay paz”, el Grupo Internacionalista sostiene que la justicia no existe para los oprimidos y que mucho menos para un revolucionario negro en los tribunales capitalistas.

Los tribunales no son imparciales al igual que los policías, son parte de la maquinaria del estado de los patrones cuyo trabajo es defender ferozmente los intereses de la clase dominante en contra de sus víctimas. Por eso nosotros decimos que la policía, los jueces, los carceleros y los guardias de seguridad no son parte ni tienen lugar en el movimiento obrero. Ellos son el puño de hierro que impone los intereses del enemigo de clase. Mumia no se salvará mediante la política burguesa de presión sino sólo a través de la movilización de la clase obrera y las minorías de una aguda lucha de clases que puede derrotar a la maquinaria de la muerte del estado capitalista.

Este programa de defensa obrera internacional se remonta a los primeros años de la Internacional Comunista fundada por Lenin y Trotsky y del Socorro Rojo. Los trabajadores brasileños también se movilizan por la liberación de Mumia Abu-Jamal dando un ejemplo de solidaridad obrera internacional. La serie de paros y marchas que ellos realizaron representaron un importante paso hacia adelante en la lucha por salvar al renombrado periodista radical negro sentenciado a muerte en Pensilvania. ■

NYPD Guard...

continued from page 12

face more serious charges. We demand: **Release them all now! Drop all charges against OWS protesters!**

After a thousands-strong march against police brutality on September 30 that ended in a rally at One Police Plaza, city unions are promoting a massive rally against police brutality for Wednesday, October 5. A huge turnout is called for, but more than marches and speeches, what’s needed is to **mobilize labor’s power against racist police-state repression**. As hundreds of demonstrators chanted along with supporters of the CUNY Internationalist Clubs on September 30: **“Students and labor, shut the city down!”**

But the response to the heavy-handed repression must also be political. The NYPD is acting as guard dogs of finance capital. As if to underline this, right after the mass arrests of OWS protesters, JPMorgan Chase announced an unprecedented “charitable” contribution of \$4.6 million to the New York City Police Foundation. Many protesters have huge illusions about the police. Some carried signs calling on cops to join them, saying police are part of the “99%” of the population which the OWS seeks to represent. Dead wrong. The thugs in blue uniforms are not fellow workers but the armed fist of the class enemy: professional repressors and enforcers of racist “law and order.” **The police are at the hard core of the capitalist state.**

Not Illusory, Cleaned-Up Capitalism...

The Occupy Wall Street protest in lower Manhattan has grown by the thousands since it began two weeks ago. They are camped out a few blocks from Wall Street in Liberty Plaza (a/k/a Zuccotti Park, named after the real estate mogul who owns the park and many of the neighboring office buildings). The NYPD’s heavy-handed repression of OWS has only brought it greater attention and public sympathy, striking a deep well of discontent across the country. Now similar protests are mushrooming in cities across the U.S., from Chicago to Los Angeles to Salt Lake City, Birmingham, Philadelphia and soon to come to Washington, D.C.

Something was bound to spark the discontent that is growing in nearly every sector of U.S. society. U.S. corporations are earning record profits, a projected \$1.6 trillion in 2011, even as U.S. unemployment is over 17 percent and the capitalist economy is mired in a depression. To secure these and future profits, imperialist wars drag on endlessly, civil liberties are shredded “at home,” workers who still have jobs face ferocious union-busting, declining wages, disappearing health care and foreclosed homes, immigrants are subject to mass deportation while middle-class students and youth confront a debt-ridden jobless, downwardly mobile future.

Right-wing media try to paint the OWS protesters as fire-breathing radicals, which the vast majority certainly are not. For communists what’s striking is how “mainstream” the protests are: liberal politics with a heavy dose of flag-waving populism. In fact, many of the largely middle class white protesters are youth who tweeted, texted and voted for Democrat Barack Obama in 2008. Now that it’s clear that there has been none of the hoped-for “change,” many have concluded that “No they can’t” achieve anything through the electoral system because

the Wall Street banks own it all, including Obama, so they’re taking to the streets.

Railing against greed and corruption on Wall Street is hardly against the system. While there is no agreed-upon set of demands, only a long list of grievances in the style of the Declaration of Independence, the proposals that have been floated at most amount to a slightly reformed, cleaned up, “green” capitalism. Yet greed and corruption are the lifeblood of the production-for-profit system. And there are quite a few American flags at the protests. As the 700+ demonstrators were arrested on the Brooklyn Bridge the crowd sang the national anthem, with a number standing at attention and saluting, and at the end broke into chants of “USA, USA,” to emphasize their patriotism.¹

The common ground shared by the angry liberals, social-democrats and populists who cohabit in the occupation’s assemblies – as well as the Ron Paul racists in the crowd and LaRoucheite fascists lurking around the corners of the square – is faith in U.S.-style (capitalist) “democracy” and visceral anticommunism, in which they are joined by the various anarchists. Mention the word “socialism” at the “people’s soapbox” and suddenly the “people’s microphone” cuts out, as occurred when an Internationalist Group supporter spoke at a meeting in the square on September 30.

Shortly after, on the march to police headquarters to condemn cop brutality against the occupation, IG supporters began chanting “We are all Sean Bell, NYPD go to hell,” whereupon a squad of “radical” busybodies sporting a large U.S. flag tried to hush us up! Apparently that was “off message,” and the march on One Police Plaza was to beg these racist killers who had just beaten, maced and arrested nearly a hundred protesters to “join us”! The next night, at the October 1 General Assembly immediately after over 700 of their fellow protesters had been arrested on the Brooklyn Bridge, official “facilitators” shut down a young black woman who had witnessed the police entrapment and tried to report it. “This is not the time for personal statements,” said the arbiters of the “people’s microphone.”

At that meeting OWS spokespeople shamefully *blamed the police roundup on its victims*. One attacked the “small number of individuals” who deviated from the official plan. An OWS media spokesman told the London *Guardian* (3 October) that “provocateurs” led the march onto the roadway. However, a CUNY Internationalist speaker told the crowd that it wasn’t the demonstrators who were responsible for the mass

¹ Several readers have suggested that the American flags mentioned here are really the “corporate America” protest flag sold by Adbusters, which first issued a call to occupy Wall Street last July. Not so. On hearing initial reports that OWS protesters were marching with the U.S. flag, we were also skeptical, until we repeatedly confirmed it. Yes, several flags have been the protest version, with the field of stars replaced by corporate symbols – itself an appeal to American nationalism. But in multiple marches, *most* of those red-white-and-blue flags have been the real stars and stripes, the bloody banner of U.S. imperialism as it lays waste to the world, from Afghanistan to Libya. And the flag-waving patriotic appeal is real. While there is a hodgepodge of political currents in the occupation, the common denominator is nationalist liberal populism, counterposed to working-class revolutionary internationalism. To back up our statement, we have put together a collage of photos showing numerous instances of the U.S. flag in OWS events in New York., which can be seen on page 7.

arrests but the police, the mayor and Wall Street. He added that this never has been “our country,” and the stars and stripes is not our flag. “Our flag is that of the working class. It is red,” he ended to applause (video available at www.internationalist.org).

...But Workers Revolution

The source of the injustices that feed this new protest movement is capitalism, as many of the protesters recognize in some way. Whether there is (bourgeois) democracy or not, lots of corruption or little, appropriation of the surplus value by the capitalist owners of the means of production inevitably produces growing inequality and misery for the many.

Although the protest may “occupy” a square near the heart of finance capital, a Marxist understanding of the nature of capitalism and the revolutionary program to bring it down is rare. Involvement of labor and the union-backed rally could change things. The people who make the trains and buses run, who make the lights turn on, who daily feed, clean, build and maintain every city and town are the only ones with the power to defeat the capitalist class and its guard dogs in blue. The working class has scores to settle with the racist rulers whose “justice” lynched Troy Davis and whose police treat black and Latino neighborhoods like an occupying army.

The working-class rebellion in Wisconsin earlier this year, recent sharp clashes pitting ILWU longshore workers against a union-busting grain terminal operator and an on-going teachers strike in Washington state show that at least sections of the working class are ready and willing to fight. But the union bureaucrats are loyal to their capitalist masters. The OWS populists’ flag-waving and appeals to the police would sit well with these misleaders, who presided over the near destruction of organized labor in the U.S. while patriotically enlisting in the anti-Soviet war drive. They continue to chain the workers to the capitalist Democrats, as they did in Wisconsin, leading to the collapse of labor resistance. Now these “labor fakers” have seen that OWS has struck a chord, and want to control it and divert it.

The gushing accounts by various left groups are silent about all this. On the street these reformists never talk of socialist revolution, since (a) they’re not for it, despite their names, and (b) they don’t want to “get out too far ahead” of the protesters. But we Internationalists believe in telling the truth, and **the truth is that capitalism cannot be reformed to “serve the people,” it must be brought down through a struggle for workers power**. Demonstrators are getting a chance to see how the capitalist system works, and some may learn from their experience in the school of hard knocks.

While the inaugural issue of the *Occupied Wall Street Journal* gushes about “real democracy,” and features an American flag, the only movement that has ever brought down the rule of capital, ended an imperialist war, and served as a beacon to the oppressed and exploited all over the world was the Russian socialist revolution of October 1917. The CUNY Internationalist Clubs join with the Internationalist Group, U.S. section of the League for the Fourth International, in seeking to build revolutionary workers parties as **the only means by which the millions who are exploited and downtrodden by the dying capitalist system can triumph over the imperialist would-be masters of the world. Expropriate Wall Street through socialist revolution.** ■

Mobilize Labor's Power Against Racist Police-State Repression

NYPD: Guard Dogs of Finance Capital

OCTOBER 5 – With the okay of NYC's billionaire mayor Bloomberg, the New York Police Department lashed out at the "Occupy Wall Street" (OWS) protesters Saturday, October 1, arresting over 700 demonstrators as they tried to march over the Brooklyn Bridge. After setting the trap, police closed off both ends of the span and surrounded the marchers with orange plastic netting. Cops held the protesters there for a couple hours in a cold rain as they were handcuffed with plastic zip-ties and loaded onto pre-deployed police vans, Department of Corrections vehicles and some commandeered MTA buses, which then went precinct-hopping in Manhattan and Brooklyn looking for jail space.

The NYPD and the bourgeois media are now trying to baffle people with BS, debating whether the police "led" the marchers onto the bridge roadway where they could be arrested for obstructing traffic. In fact, it was "a planned move on protesters," as a police official anonymously told the *New York Times* (1 October), which noted that earlier in the afternoon ten buses had been dispatched from the Rikers Island prison to transport the not-yet-arrested prisoners.

And it wasn't the first time. A week earlier, on September 24, police penned in OWS marchers as they were returning from Union Square to their base. The cops arrested 85 people, charging into the crowd to yank people out, throwing anyone who objected to the ground, kicking the feet out from under a woman photographer. Outrage boiled over when videos were posted of a high-level police inspector attacking trapped women with point-blank pepper spray in the face. Two days before, police repeatedly blockaded, clubbed and arrested marchers protesting the execution of Troy Davis.



Mario Tama/Getty

In pre-planned operation, NYC police arrested 700+ protesters on October 1, trapping them on the Brooklyn Bridge.

The escalating series of arrests, beatings and harassment by the NYPD have spurred city and national unions to come out in favor of the protest. Last week, the powerful Transport Workers Union Local 100 declared its support. On Monday the TWU sued the city to prevent the NYPD from

using MTA buses as mobile jails, saying it backed the marches and the demonstrators should never have been arrested. Other major unions, including the United Federation of Teachers, Service Employees 32BJ (janitors and building staff) and 1199SEIU (health care workers), and the United Steel-

workers and Laborers International have offered various kinds of support.

In all, around 1,000 protesters have been arrested in the past two weeks. Most have been released and issued summonses for violations. A few are still in jail and may

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¡Libertad para Mumia Abu-Jamal, ya!

Por Leslie

El artículo que publicamos a continuación es tomado de la exposición en julio pasado por la camarada Leslie al Círculo de Estudio Marxista en español organizado por el Grupo Internacionalista y los Clubs Internacionalistas de la CUNY. Consulten el recuadro en la página 10 (en inglés) para informaciones sobre los más recientes acontecimientos jurídicos en el caso de Mumia Abu-Jamal. Hay varios artículos sobre Jamal disponibles el sitio de Internet del Grupo Internacionalista, www.internationalist.org/mumiatoc.html.

A lo largo de la última década y media el caso de Mumia Abu-Jamal se ha convertido en el punto focal de la lucha contra la racista pena de muerte en los EE.UU. y a escala internacional. Miles alrededor del mundo se han pronunciado en defensa del ex-militante del Partido Panteras Negras y renombrado periodista radical negro que se encuentra en el corredor de la muerte en Pensilvania. Hay que decirlo bien alto, Mumia Abu-Jamal es inocente. Lo quieren matar por ser un revolucionario negro.

En horas de la madrugada del 9 de



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Mumia Abu-Jamal

diciembre de 1981, la policía de Filadelfia le pegó un tiro de bala en el pecho a Mumia Abu-Jamal, y luego le dio una golpiza que casi lo mató. Al sobrevivir, le acusaron de haber matado al policía Daniel Faulkner,

acribillado a balazos en el mismo lugar. Mumia fue declarado culpable y sentenciado a la muerte por un tristemente célebre "juez verdugo" en un embuste de juicio en 1982.

A pesar de las incontables pruebas

que refutan cabalmente todo aspecto de la acusación de la fiscalía, los testigos que luego retractaron sus declaraciones hechas bajo presión de la policía y una selección racista de los jurados, en sus múltiples intentos de apelar su condena, nunca se le permitió a Mumia presentar las pruebas de su inocencia.

Los abogados de Mumia han entregado numerosas apelaciones en torno a la manera en que su proceso fue amañado. Casi todas fueron rechazadas de plano. En un par de casos, la acusación del fiscal fue tan endeble que los jueces se vieron obligados a rechazarla. Esto es importante, pero sólo gana un poco de tiempo que los defensores de Mumia deben usar para organizarse. La pregunta es cómo hacerlo. Los defensores de Mumia no deben de caer en la pasividad. Ha habido innumerables peticiones, resoluciones, manifestaciones y otras expresiones de opinión.

Esto ha sido importante pero dista de ser suficiente. Mumia es blanco de los ataques del estado capitalista de la potencia imperialista dominante. Lo que se necesita para salvarlo de sus verdugos y ganar su libertad es poner en marcha un poder aun más

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