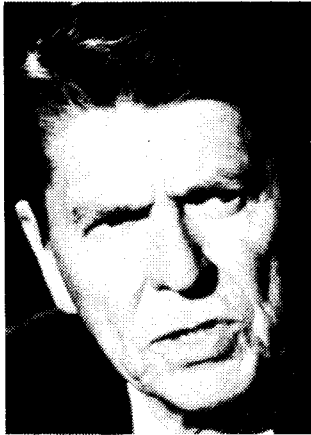


U.S. Hands Off Libya!

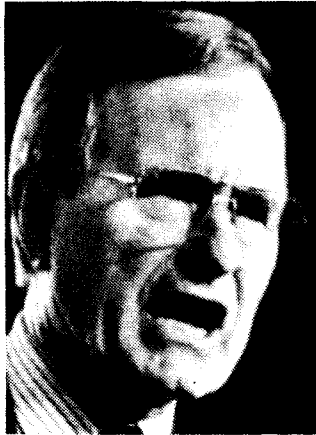
It was "Qaddafi IV," another Libya shoot-em-up starring Ronnie Raygun and introducing "Poppy" Bush. Like one of those badly acted B-movies on late-night TV you've seen so many times you can recite the script from memory. The front page of the *New York Times* flashes an ominous report from anonymous "U.S. intelligence sources" about a new "Libyan threat," this time an alleged "chemical weapons plant" being built by Libyan strongman Qaddafi. President Reagan offhandedly tells reporters he "would not rule out" a military strike against Libya. And then, "Blam! Blam!"—two Libyan MIG-23s are shot out of the sky by American F-14s claiming "self-defense." The F-14s were from the carrier *Kennedy*, which just happened to be conducting "training exercises" off the Libyan coast.

continued on page 13

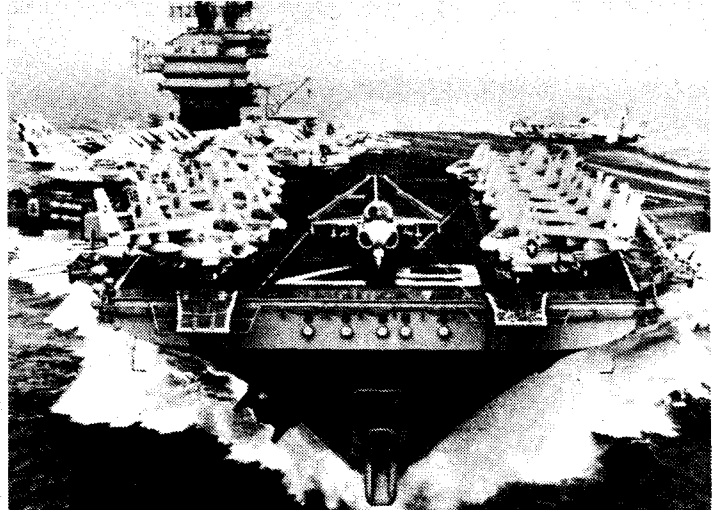
Reagan/Bush: Imperialist Bullies



Cambio 16



Downing/Newsweek



U.S. Navy

Latest U.S. military attack on Libya was carried out by fighter planes from aircraft carrier *Kennedy*.

International Protests Demand:



Workers Hammer

London, January 14—Iranian leftist groups joined with Spartacist League/Britain in united-front demonstration outside Iranian embassy.

Stop Executions in Iran!

JANUARY 16—In half a dozen cities in Europe and North America this past week, chants of "Stop the Executions!" resounded outside offices of representatives of the Iranian mullah regime. In Washington, D.C., Toronto, London, Hamburg, and Paris and Lyon in France, protesters sounded the alarm over the massive wave of killings of leftist political prisoners and other dissidents in Khomeini's jails. They were responding to a call by the international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee for an emergency mobilization to "raise a worldwide cry of outrage against these unspeakable crimes being committed against opponents of the mullahs' dictatorship!"

Sections of the iSt in seven countries

issued an appeal, published in English, French, German, Italian and Farsi (the dominant language of Iran). Already, the protests have drawn participation from a range of Iranian left organizations. Further demonstrations will be held this week in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia; Milan, Italy; and outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations in New York on January 19. The urgency of this campaign is underlined by reports that the Islamic dictatorship is intent on executing every imprisoned leftist in the country by February 12, the tenth anniversary of Khomeini's seizure of power.

The wave of executions began last August as the mullahs' regime sought to behead a potential social explosion in the aftermath of the stalemated Iran-

Iraq war, which took more than a million lives. A recent article in the London *Guardian* (13 January) headlined, "Political Executions Break All Bounds," underscored the need for even broader and more powerful protest actions. Reporting that thousands had already been executed, the *Guardian* added that:

"... it is difficult to escape the impression that the Ayatollahs, through these executions and the war of attrition just ended against Iraq, have embarked on the decimation of an entire generation, apparently determined to kill off what could have been—had it survived—the cream of tomorrow's intelligentsia."

The victims include supporters of the Islamic populist Mujahedeen, the pro-Moscow Tudeh party, Fedayeen (Majority), Fedayeen (Minority), Rev-

olutionary Workers Organization (Rah-e Kargar), and militants among the oppressed Kurdish minority. As the *Guardian* noted, "Most of those who have died have been leftwing political activists and sympathisers." Women and religious minorities are also being executed, and even "disloyal" mullahs.

In calling for an international campaign against the mass slaughter underway in Iran, the iSt and PDC sought a united protest by diverse groups. In such a united front, each group can present its own political views while making common cause around the central demand of "Stop the Executions in Iran!" And in the event, various exile organizations of the Iranian left, bitterly rent by fratricidal sectarianism,

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Defend Greg Wiggins! Drop the Charges!

Support Builds for Black Muni Worker

SAN FRANCISCO—Support is building in Transport Workers Union Local 250-A for Greg Wiggins, the black Muni bus driver brutally beaten by five SF cops while he was driving his bus last October and then framed on assault and other charges. Union officers and members have turned out for Wiggins' pretrial court appearances, and the TWU local issued a special bulletin urging members to "show support and solidarity" in the courtroom. Now Muni and other SF workers must come out for the trial, which begins on February 3, to show Mayor Agnos and his gangsters in blue that SF workers won't tolerate their racist police terror. Smash the frame-up of Greg Wiggins!

On the witness stand at the January 12 hearing, Muni supervisor Carl Politis' story stank. Politis assisted the band of racist police in boarding Greg's bus so they could beat him to within an inch of his life. Equally twisted was the testimony of the arresting cop, one

Eugene Yoshii. Even the judge noted "many discrepancies" between their testimony and their reports filed just after the incident. As Wiggins' lawyer Tito Torres pointed out in his hearing summation, these guys have to lie to justify their obscene actions.

Greg Wiggins is in constant racking pain from injuries to his back, neck, throat and hip as a result of the vicious beating he received from the cops, who shouted racist epithets all the while. All-around sadist cop Eugene Yoshii is already in court on rape charges brought by a female rookie partner in 1987. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 May 1987) reported: "According to affidavits filed by the rookie in San Francisco Superior Court, Yoshii physically assaulted her, choked her unconscious, repeatedly raped and sodomized her and forced her to have oral sex." The article refers to ten misconduct complaints against Yoshii while he was a training officer.

The cops have the green light from Agnos and his police commission friends to do just as they please in yuppie San Francisco, and that spells first and foremost violence and race-terror toward working people, blacks and other minorities. Last September riot police nearly killed 52-year-old United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta at a demonstration, repeatedly hitting her with a baton, breaking her ribs and rupturing her spleen. No charges were brought against her attackers and the only result is new "crowd control" guidelines for the police. Meanwhile, SF cops routinely rampage through the SF projects looking for "drug dealers" and beating up black kids.

TWU Local 250-A president Bobbie Brown, who was present at the January 12 pretrial hearing, told *WV* that he has written to Muni management demanding the charges against Wiggins be dropped. The TWU must also fight for



Greg Wiggins

WV Photo

two-man crews in Muni, which would give drivers added protection as well as creating jobs for hundreds. The keenly felt outrage among SF unionists and others must be organized into mass labor action to defend Greg Wiggins. Drop the charges! Jail the real criminals, the murderous cops! All out for Greg's trial, February 3, 9 a.m. at the SF Hall of Justice. Be there! ■



TROTSKY

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

In putting forward the class-struggle program for black liberation, the Spartacist League is indebted to the conception of revolutionary integrationism first developed in the early-mid 1950s by Richard Fraser. The forced segregation of black people at the bottom of American capitalist society can be ended only through assimilation into an egalitarian, socialist society. An early statement of Fraser's

position was given in two 1953 lectures for the Los Angeles branch of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

As an oppressed racial minority having no homeland other than the United States, the Negroes find driving force in their struggle for emancipation in the demand for full equality: the right to complete integration and assimilation into American life.

Revolutionary socialists stand squarely upon this program: *for immediate and unconditional economic, political and social equality.* An important part of this stand is to reject and condemn every proposal for the solution of the Negro question through racial separation, whether it be the vicious segregationism of the bosses' doctrine of "separate but equal" or the more subtle program of the Communist Party for "self-determination" for the Negro people. Both of these can only buttress the basic social system of Jim Crow whose main pillar of support is segregation....

The "Negro Question" in the United States exists because of the failure of the capitalist class to solve the most elementary problems of the democratic revolution in the South: the problems of land tenure and democratic rights. Thereby it has left the social heritage of color slavery intact as a malignant feature of social life.

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the country side. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

It falls upon the shoulders of the proletarian revolution, in which the American workers will join together with the Negro people in the abolition of capitalism, to uproot the Jim Crow system. It is our task to build the party to lead that revolution: the Socialist Workers Party.

—Richard S. Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (November 1953)



LENIN

Letter

"The Order" and the Manson Gang

8 January 1989

Dear comrades,

The fascist commemoration outside Seattle of the murderous Order's dead führer Robert Mathews underlined how the KKK and skinhead killers are "some of the most debased human garbage on the planet" ("Metzger's Skinheads and The Order," *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). Suit-and-tie fascists like Tom Metzger and David Duke may clean up their language a bit when they're running in Democratic Party primaries, but Metzger hails killer Mathews as a "martyr" and Metzger's skinhead gangs groove on beating, mutilating and killing people in the most gruesome ways they can (like driving nails and carving "tattoos" into their victims' bodies).

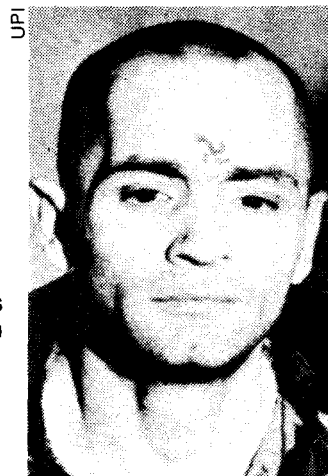
For a flavor of what makes these "Aryan race purification" freaks tick, take a look at the Charles Manson "Family," which was responsible for the murder of upwards of 30 people, including the notorious Tate-LaBianca killings in Los Angeles, in the late 1960s. Prosecuting attorney Vincent Bugliosi's stark account of the Manson murders, *Helter Skelter* (1974), reveals a striking affinity between the psychopathic, Hitler-loving "Family" and "The Order" hailed by Metzger.

The Order pumped a dozen bullets into Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg; the Family carried out a string of gruesome murders, stabbing some of their victims 40 or 50 times. As Manson "child" Susan Atkins plunged a Buck knife into eight-months-pregnant actress Sharon Tate over and over, she screamed at her victim: "Look, bitch, I don't care about you. I don't care if you're going to have a baby.... You're going to die, and I don't feel anything about it." Atkins later ghoulishly confessed that she had tasted Sharon Tate's blood and that they had also wanted to cut out the baby.

The murders—the more shocking the better—were to be blamed on blacks, thus precipitating "Helter Skelter," a holocaust triggered by the whites' retal-

iation. Manson convinced his vacant, ex-hippie "children" that he was god on earth, destined to rule over the "biologically inferior" black people after a race war in which the entire white race—save the Family—would be exterminated by blacks. This fits to a tee the racist scenario of the fascist "survivalists" like the "Aryan Nations" types that spawned The Order.

Another Manson victim was killed—decapitated and then carved up—because, among other things, he was a white man married to a black woman and Manson "had a thing" about interracial marriage. Manson idolized Hitler as a "tuned-in guy who leveled the karma of the Jews." During the trial,



Charles Manson

Manson carved a swastika into his forehead, and his acolytes immediately followed suit.

In the 1930s, the fascists in Spain proclaimed "Long live death!" A few years later, Hitler's death camps were murdering millions. From Manson to Mathews to Metzger, these kill-crazy racist terrorists are the dregs of a social system in its death throes. As the November 5 victory in Philly over the Klan and skinheads showed, integrated labor-centered struggle can and must sweep this filth into the sewers.

Comradely,
Len Meyers

WORKERS VANGUARD

BOB LITTON/PHOTO USA

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 469

20 January 1989

Racists Threaten to "Celebrate" M.L. King Murder

Klan Terror in the "New South"

They claim Atlanta is the "city too busy to hate." But on the heels of repeated acts of racist and anti-Semitic terror on the outskirts of Atlanta, the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead thugs say they are going to stage a "White Supremacist" march through the city on January 21. Their targets are blacks, Jews, unions, "reds," gays—and everyone else who doesn't believe in slavery. Taking aim at the Martin Luther King Jr. birthday celebrations, and scheduled the day after the inauguration of George Bush, the KKK terrorists' provocation is an attempt to project their racist terror nationwide. The KKK's deadly threat must be stopped!

State officials and Atlanta police spokesmen have told the press that lots of cops and even the National Guard will be on hand to "protect" Richard Barrett's fascists. They remember last July, when the racist lynchers and skinhead thugs of Barrett's "Nationalist Movement" were stopped in the streets by hundreds of anti-Klan demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention. The Atlanta demonstration to "Stop the KKK" on January 21, initiated by the Partisan Defense Com-



KKK attacks King Day marchers in Forsyth County, Georgia, January 1987.

protection in Pulaski, Tennessee, birthplace of the Klan in 1866. In Phoenix, Arizona skinheads marched against M.L. King Day, flaunting Confederate flags with Nazi swastikas in the center. The skinheads are psychos who make a cult of random violence. In every city in

hoods and Confederate flags, in recent months Klan marches and anti-Semitic vandalism multiplied on the outskirts of Atlanta.

In September, 150 Klansmen in robes and military fatigues marched against Jews and the NAACP in Lawrenceville, northeast of Atlanta. In October, the Hebrew Academy of Atlanta was spray-painted with swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs. This followed attacks on Jewish schools and community centers in Doraville, Sandy Springs and Cobb County by fascists earlier this year. On November 12, the KKK, led by convicted Birmingham church bomber J.B. Stoner, terrorized members of the Macedonia Baptist Church in Powder Springs, in Cobb County. Protected by the police and the FBI, the Klan burned a 30-foot cross in front of the church to "send a message" to this black congregation in an integrated neighborhood.

The key to defending blacks, Jews and all the intended victims of Klan/skinhead terror lies in the strength of labor. Even in open-shop Georgia, the heavily black unions—in sanitation, hospital, transit, longshore, airlines—have the power to lead all the KKK's intended victims and stop the fascists' attacks. That masses of people in Atlanta would like to make a strong response of defiance against the Klan threat was suggested by the unprecedented 100,000 people who turned out January 16 for the city's annual King Day celebration. What is required is a leadership willing to mobilize that strength in determined action against the Klan provocation. For if the government succeeds in sealing off the

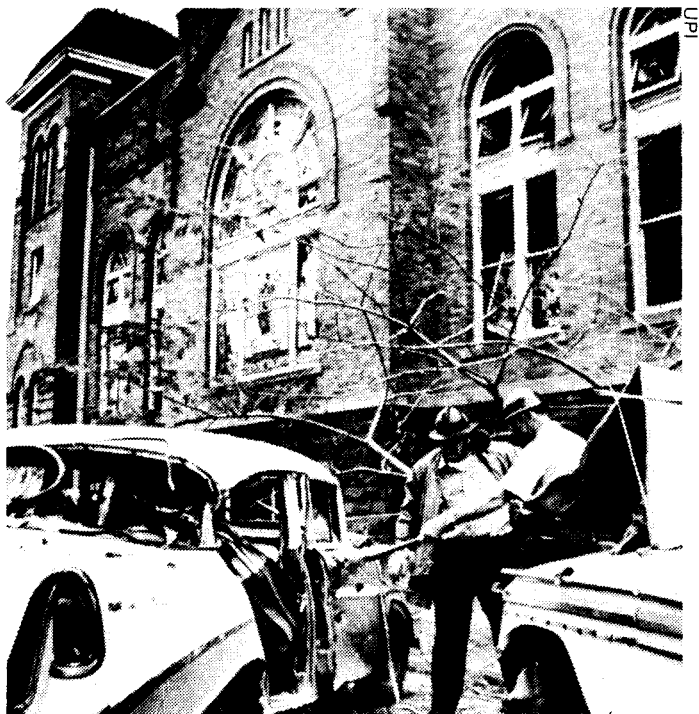
KKK from organized mass protest, the authorities will be responsible when outraged citizens are left with nothing but the option of unorganized protest action.

But black labor in Atlanta is hamstrung by the ties to the Democratic city administration, which oversees the financial and commercial "hub" of the Southeast on behalf of the racist ruling class. Atlanta's black population has repeatedly come up against the city administration, from the bitter city workers strike broken a decade ago by then-mayor Maynard Jackson, to the recent Democratic Party convention, when Andrew Young razed the plywood shacks of the homeless to guarantee Dukakis a pristine site for his nomination.

Almost one-third of Atlanta's population lives below even the miserable federal "poverty level," and huge sections of the black workforce are paid so little that many are forced to work two jobs. At the M.L. King memorial, as tourists line up to buy "I have a dream" ashtrays, homeless blacks huddle right across the street. The glitter of the "New South" is reserved for the Coca-Cola capitalists and fancy projects like the "Underground Atlanta" entertainment and shopping complex. A highly visible black middle class and a black city administration are promoted, while underneath lies the de facto segregation and grinding exploitation.

Labor/black power must be unleashed, and that requires breaking from the "property party"—Democrats and Republicans—and struggling for a revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed. This must be a fight for a third American revolution, to "Finish the Civil War" and end once and for all the racial and class oppression which underlie every aspect of American capitalist society.

The Klan intends for their provocation on January 21 to take center stage in a national celebration of racist hatred. But mass mobilizations of labor and minorities have successfully spiked KKK provocations, in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, in San Francisco, Chicago and elsewhere. Most recently in Philadelphia, a KKK/skinhead rally was called off when they came up against the massive support for the union-based November 5 Mobilization to Stop the Klan. A mobilization of labor/black power to stop the racist nightriders in Atlanta can inspire integrated class struggle across the country. Act now! Stop the Klan! ■



Birmingham church bombing, 1963: four little black girls were killed by Klan terror.

mittee and endorsed by key Atlanta unions and tenant and student organizations, aims to bring organized labor/black power to bear against the deadly Klan/skinhead threat.

Today's KKK has joined forces with a hideous "youth movement" of skinhead punks whose forces have grown ominously. Last Saturday 400 Klansmen and skinheads marched with police

this country, blacks, gays and immigrants are the choice target for humiliating insult and attack at the hands of these thugs, but white mothers too know to grab their children and run the other way when they see these sickos coming. At Barrett's camp in Mississippi, his skinhead followers received paramilitary training and took target practice at silhouettes of Martin Luther King Jr.

KKK: A Century of Racist Terror

The KKK was born as the resurgent terror arm of the defeated Confederacy after the Civil War. The modern Klan was refounded in 1915 following the lynching of Atlanta Jewish businessman Leo Frank, when the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross at Stone Mountain east of Atlanta. Growing to hundreds of thousands in the 1920s, the Klan terrorized blacks, immigrants, Catholics. In 1925, 40,000 hooded Klansmen marched through the streets of Washington, D.C.

Today, the "reborn" Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter and Jesse Jackson parades Atlanta as the capital of the "New South." But from the hail of rocks against black demonstrators in lily-white Forsyth County to the poverty of much of Atlanta's black population, the "New South" is a paper-thin veneer on the same old grinding oppression and racist terror. Leading up to the fascists' threat to invade Atlanta with their

Act Now! Stop the Klan in Atlanta!

Dig deep and give NOW. It'll take \$\$\$ to stop the KKK in Atlanta. Trade unions, tenant and student organizations have endorsed and pledged support to the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated demonstration. Expenses are mounting—we need money for printing 80,000 leaflets and getting the word out. Get your union, community and campus group to pledge. Send contributions to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013



Memphis sanitation workers on strike in 1968. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis while supporting the strike.

As Peking Encourages Capitalist Forces

Racist Riots Erupt in China

The People's Republic of China, in the tenth year of the Deng regime's attempts to "build socialism with capitalist methods," has produced an explosion of racist mob violence. Deng's program of decollectivization and private production in the countryside and an "open door" (tax breaks plus cheap labor, land and raw materials) for foreign capital has fostered a social climate of cutthroat competition, chauvinism and corruption. Thus at the end of December the world witnessed the appalling spectacle of Chinese university students on a racist rampage against black African (and other dark-skinned) students studying at Chinese schools.

On Saturday, December 24, at a party given by foreign students at Hehai University in Nanjing, long-simmering racial tensions exploded when a Chinese security guard refused entrance to two Chinese women and their African dates. A heated argument quickly escalated into a near-pogrom. Chinese demonstrators in Nanjing, sometimes numbering several thousand, threw rocks, smashed windows in dormitories where African students live, and shouted "black devils" and other racist slogans in clashes that began Saturday and continued for several days. The black students, who had been joined in solidarity by other foreign students including Americans, were eventually able to take refuge in the Nanjing railway station.

On the following Monday night, police herded the besieged students to a hotel outside the city. This move, supposedly for the students' protection, was actually more a house arrest, where reportedly Chinese police stripped a number of African students and beat them with their batons and tortured them with electric cattle prods. For 44 of the African students it took a two-day hunger strike, and an international storm of publicity highly embarrassing to the Chinese bureaucracy, to eventually get them freed.

The Hehai University explosion quickly triggered other racist incidents in eastern China. At Peking Languages Institute, where African students were carrying out a boycott of classes in protest against racial discrimination there and demanding freedom for the Nanjing students, hundreds of Chinese students demonstrated for hours on January 3 under slogans in Chinese and English declaring, "We Demand a Safe Campus," "Hooligans Go Home," and "No Offend Women's Rights" (*Newsday*, 4 January).

At the Zhejiang Agricultural University in Hangzhou, the African students (who are predominantly male and study in China for as long as six years) were subjected to new regulations restricting them to dating no more than one Chinese woman, who must be officially registered with the authorities! Meanwhile, there is a systematic rumor campaign labeling African students as AIDS carriers. This profoundly male chauvinist and racist campaign in the name of "protecting our women" from the African students is pure reactionary filth.

All the Old Crap Is Rising in Deng's China

The Chinese students have "justified" their mass racist attacks and hostility toward the African students as resentment at the Africans' "privileged" position:

"Many Chinese students apparently resent the benefits that African students enjoy as foreigners, such as larger



Chinese student youth terrorize black African students in racist, male chauvinist campaign. Police reportedly beat and tortured Africans while "protecting" them.



scholarships and better housing. African students have a room to themselves, while Chinese at Hehai University, where the weekend fracas began, are housed eight to a room."

—*New York Times*,
27 December 1988

In Deng's China there certainly is massive privilege and inequality to resent and attack, but what small benefits the foreign students (i.e., not just African students) enjoy are only marginally better than those of their Chinese counterparts. At the top of the heap are the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, small-scale capitalists, and Western and Japanese businessmen, some of them operating large enterprises. Yet the students are not demonstrating against the truly privileged in People's China.

There is doubtless very deep demoralization and frustration among youth in China. The millions of workers and peasants who believed they were "building Communism" in the disastrous Great Leap Forward, the student-youth who flocked to the Maoist Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution," have become disillusioned with politics and absorbed in narrowly personal concerns. Deng and Zhao Ziyang have promised gold at the end of the rainbow (to be achieved through hustling in the marketplace and looking out for Number One), but today's students are finding their country still miserably poor

and backward. Not seeing a genuine communist alternative, these youth are taking on some of the most repellent aspects of Western bourgeois culture.

Up to the point in 1971 when Mao sealed his alliance with U.S. imperialism (as U.S. B-52s carpet-bombed Vietnam), Chinese Stalinism was widely perceived as the militant ally of the "Third World" against the major imperialist powers. Pictures of Mao with the leaders of the emerging black nations of Africa were commonplace. Black American radicals like Robert F. Williams looked (mistakenly) to China as the way forward and in the late '60s traveled there, where they felt they were treated with the respect and dignity denied them in racist America. And certainly, whatever the brutal crimes and stupidities of the Red Guards, they did not engage in race riots.

The young Karl Marx, two years before the *Communist Manifesto*, wrote: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." In present-day China—the product of 40 years of rule by a Stalinist bureaucracy attempting to carry out the objectively impossible goal of building "socialism" in one

terribly economically backward country—the "old crap" is reviving with a vengeance.

For thousands of years, Imperial China (the Middle Kingdom) was a great and isolated center of civilization. The Chinese word for foreigner was "barbarian." What we are seeing today is in part a return to Han Chinese xenophobia and racism. And it comes from the top. The bureaucratic elite ruling the People's Republic, under both Mao and Deng, are deeply nationalistic and dream of restoring a new Middle Kingdom to its rightful place in the world. In 1984 Deng proposed to quadruple national output by the year 2000 through rural free markets and an "open door" to the imperialist West. When this is achieved, declared Deng, "China's international influence will also be quite different, and our country's power will become truly strong."

Deng's China looks toward the West and Japan as its allies and economic partners, no longer proclaiming "solidarity" with the impoverished and exploited Third World. Whereas African and Asian heads of state used to be lionized in Peking, now it is Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers and Japanese industrialists who are given the red-carpet treatment when they visit China. No wonder Chinese students display the same racist contempt for black Africans to be found at Harvard or Today University.

Trotsky once said one of Stalin's greatest crimes was turning countless young revolutionary idealists into political cynics. This is also one of the great crimes of Chinese Stalinism, under both Mao and Deng, played out on the scale of an entire nation. But now it has gone far beyond political cynicism: a whole layer of privileged Chinese student youth, in this bureaucratically deformed workers state with its emphasis on market competition being fostered by the top leadership of the country, is behaving like racist, chauvinist, grasping "socialist" yuppies.

Eroding the Gains of the Revolution with Capitalist Methods

The Chinese working class and any other section of that society which maintains a shred of a sense of internationalism should crush these racist outrages wherever they arise. But it is important to understand at the same time that the present-day children of the Chinese Revolution are having their birthright stolen from them and are victims of a massive fraud. "Building socialism by capitalist methods" has led *not* to the modernization of the country but rather to an explosion of petty capitalism and massive inequality in both town and country.

Already by 1985 there was an extreme disparity between rich and poor peasants, with the press regularly reporting peasants earning 10,000 yuan a year, 20 to 30 times the national per capita income! The basic unit of production, accounting and distribution had become the individual peasant household—the Chinese Stalinists turned the calendar back 30 years to the very beginnings of agricultural collectivization.

At the same time, tens of millions of poor peasants have poured into the cities in a futile search for gold. Rather than prosperity for the masses what one finds in China today is...all the old crap. In the southern Guangdong Province child labor has been resurrected. In

continued on page 12

Labor Must Defend the Clinics!

Abortion Rights Under Siege

In the U.S. today, a showdown is coming over the question of abortion rights. Terror bombings and arson against abortion clinics have been followed by mass mobilizations of fanatical "god squads" attacking the clinics and harassing women. Now the Reagan/Bush administration has gotten the U.S. Supreme Court to review a Missouri anti-abortion law, which may well lead to the overturn of the court's 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationwide. There is a felt sense of crisis among those defending women's right to abortion that unless this reactionary wave is stopped, in another few months maybe there won't be any clinics left to defend.

The Supreme Court majority that passed *Roe vs. Wade* has been whittled down to a razor-thin edge, so now one black-robed justice's "swing vote" is supposed to determine one of the most intimate and private decisions for millions of women! At a demonstration in New York City on January 10, held in a Greenwich Village back alley, Bill Tatum, publisher of the city's largest black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, said, "I recognize this alley as the emergency room for women of my child-



Battle over NYC abortion clinics, January 13-14: pro-choice activists confronted Operation Rescue fanatics (right).

So today the president-elect is "kinder, gentler" George Bush, who said during last fall's televised campaign debate that "there's got to be some penalties" for women who have abortions. As Ellen Goodman wrote, "By any estimate, 15 million American women have

Stanford University "Operation Rescue" leader Randall Terry was shouted down by students.

In Boston last October 29, some 2,000 defenders of women's rights lined Beacon Street, forcing the "Operation Rescuers" to drive to Rhode Island, but the "pro-choice" activists were then treated to a Democratic Party election rally. So what have Dukakis and the Democrats done to defend women's rights? It was under Democratic president Jimmy Carter that the Hyde amendment was passed, cutting off federal Medicaid funding for abortions. For poor and working-class women, the right of choice requires "free abortion on demand" linked to free, quality health care for all. Yet bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women, *Ms. magazine* and the rest of the "you've come a long way, baby" crowd will never fight for that.

The NOW crowd are pressure groups on the Democratic Party, playing the sectoralist game, bringing out their "constituency" at the polls in exchange for a few crumbs. They accept the framework of capitalist politics, including the bourgeoisie's "right" to exploit the working class, instead of waging a fight against the all-sided reaction being imposed on the American people. The Democrats will not and *cannot* defend women's rights against the attacks on women carried out in the name of sacred "family values." They share with the Reagan reactionaries a common commitment to preserving the patriarchal family unit, the bedrock of social conservatism and the main social institution of women's oppression.

* Abortion rights activists feel isolat-

ed. Yet the right to abortion is *popular* and widely supported by the American people. A survey by the National Opinion Research Center showed that support for women's right to choose abortion has *grown* from 59 percent in 1972 to 63 percent in 1987. In fact, despite the denunciations by the Catholic church hierarchy (like NYC Cardinal O'Connor, who blesses the clinic blockaders) and "born-again" bigot preachers, the abortion rate for Catholic women is 30 percent higher than for Protestants, while one out of every six women who have abortions describes herself as an evangelical Christian. So the anti-abortion fanatics have turned to direct physical intimidation, attempting to make their unpopular reactionary program prevail as the law of the land.

What's needed to stop these reactionaries is first of all a *break* with the Democratic Party that ties the oppressed to their oppressors. Independent labor-centered mobilizations have the social power and class interest to defeat the anti-woman "god squads," the "gay-bashers," the racist terrorists. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have shown the way by mobilizing unions, blacks, gays and others against KKK and skinhead provocations. Massive support for our strategy of mobilizing labor/black power kept the Klan off Philadelphia's streets last November 5. It will take a revolutionary vanguard party, acting as a tribune of the people, to lead the fight for liberation of all the oppressed from our common enemies. For labor defense of abortion clinics! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



Spartacist contingent in 1,000-strong protest against bigots' blockade of abortion clinics in New York last April.

hood. Unless we fight, this will become the emergency room of poor, black and Hispanic women of our future." Rabbi Balfour Brickner of Manhattan's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue stated, "We've been too genteel and are in danger of losing the battle for women's rights" (*Newsday*, 11 January).

The sinister forces behind the anti-abortion vigilantes of "Operation Rescue" are driving hard to inflict their reactionary program on everybody by force. And they take their cues from the Republican White House: they targeted Atlanta during the Democratic Party convention, and repeatedly went after abortion clinics in Brookline, Massachusetts, Dukakis' hometown. Joe Scheidler of Chicago, who orchestrated last spring's "Operation Rescue" attacks in New York City, was arrested in June 1986 for smashing up an already twice-bombed clinic in Pensacola, Florida. And in California, some of the "right to lifers" who are regularly at "Operation Rescue" blockades have appeared on fascist Tom Metzger's TV show.

had abortions since it's been legal. Everyone knows someone who's had one. Would they be criminals in Bush's America?" (*Boston Globe*, 4 October 1988). This is no abstract question. Before abortion was legalized, at least eleven states made women who survived illegal abortions into criminals, with jail sentences of two to five years. And in some states, doctors who performed abortions could get up to five years in jail.

Over the last couple of years, time after time defenders of abortion rights have found themselves penned in behind police barricades while the "right to lifers" terrorize women and block clinic doors. But lately the religious fanatics have been stopped here and there, and there is a growing will to find a successful strategy to fight back. In Chicago in May 1988, a united front of abortion activists and leftists including a large Spartacist contingent prevented Scheidler's vigilantes from blocking a clinic. In November, "pro-choice" demonstrators in Redwood City, California stopped the religious nuts, while at

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Young Spartacus

Eyewitness Report

A Young Trotskyist Visits Gorbachev's Russia

"Glasnost" has generated a groundswell of interest in the Soviet Union. We reprint below some impressions written by Nick J., a young comrade who visited the USSR in September (during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit), focusing on some of the striking contradictions of Soviet society. The overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a collectivized, planned economic system by the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution is the most important international victory of the working class. Yet the parasitic bureaucracy which usurped political power in the 1920s and rules the USSR today undermines the gains of the revolution by its economic mismanagement, heavy-handed suppression of political and cultural life, and selling out struggles abroad in the name of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists who are hell-bent on restoring capitalism in the degenerated Soviet workers state. We Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union unconditionally against imperialism and counterrevolution, and insist that only proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and social revolution in the capitalist countries can open the road to world socialism.

As we drove from Sheremetyevo airport into Moscow we passed through the forests of white birch that cover much of the USSR. Alongside the road is a huge concrete monument piled high

with flowers. It's called the "hedgehog," a 50-foot-high structure that resembles the jacks kids play with—a giant replica of the tank traps that surrounded the cities of European Russia during Hitler's invasion. The monument is situated at the point furthest east that the Nazis reached during their advance on Moscow, and it reminds you right off that it

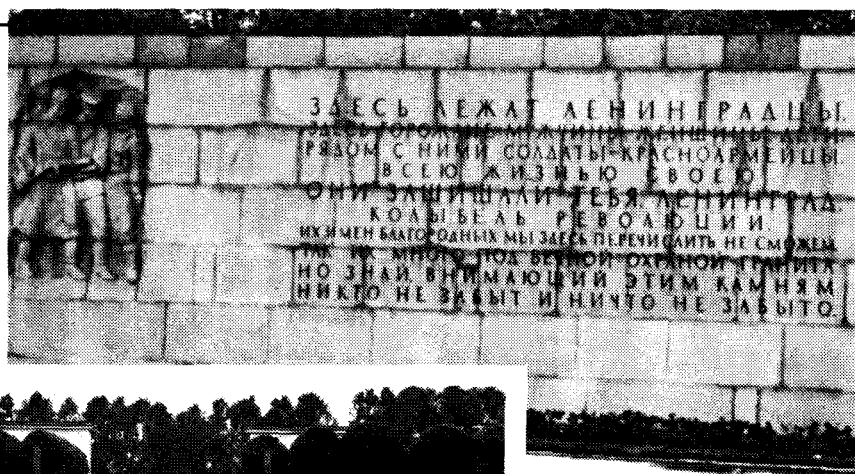
was the Red Army that smashed Hitlerite fascism.

The contrast with the rotting misery of Reagan's America hits you in the face. The ghetto hellholes, the millions of homeless, the unemployment lines, the rotting steel mills that cover the U.S.—you don't see these things in the USSR. My companion put it well: her

most striking impression of the USSR was the "absence of squalor." As the bus drove through Moscow to our hotel I kept thinking, "this society, where a job, an education, a place to live is a right, this is what the U.S. ruling class would like to nuke out of existence." A huge, modern industrial economy, without the capitalists!

"Here lie Leningraders,
Here citizens, men, women, children,
Alongside them soldiers of the Red Army.
With the whole of their lives
They defended you, Leningrad,
Cradle of the Revolution.
Their noble names we cannot list here,
So many of them are in the eternal shield
of granite.
But know, you who gaze upon these stones,
None is forgotten, and nothing forgotten!"

—Olga Berggolts



Young Spartacus Photos

Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery where a half million Leningraders lie in collective graves, victims of the 900-day Nazi siege.

White Racist "Club": A Threat to Temple Students

Something calling itself the "White Student Union" has crawled out of the sewer at Philadelphia's Temple University. While "White Student Union" vice president Harry Maryanski whines that "there is really no expressive white pride" at Temple, the group, which claims some 90 members, is an open racist threat on this campus in a city the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads have openly targeted. Last November 5, the Klan and skinhead fascists tried to hold a race-hate "white pride" provocation in downtown Philly—an action that was spiked by a successful labor-centered united-front mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Even before the Temple administration announced recognition in late November of the "White Student Union" on ludicrous "free speech" grounds, some revolting and obscene "expressions of white pride" began appearing around campus. According to the Temple NAACP, on October 27 the words "We white people need protection from you n---ers" were found in Jones Hall. On November 9 someone scrawled a racist epithet in the Stu-

dent Activity Center, and "N---ERS GO HOME" appeared in the Paley library. The Temple NAACP responded with a leaflet which stated that "we want to send a message to the person loud and clear that we cannot tolerate these ridiculous racist writings that are appearing throughout the university." Far from being "ridiculous," this filth is the language of would-be lynchers and a rallying call to racist violence.

There is reason to believe that the group of "white pride" punks at Temple is part of the KKK/skinheads' avowed goal of "creeping up on Philadelphia." Just a month after Temple's recognition of the racist student group, the Ku Klux Klan (represented in court by the ACLU) won the "right" to "hand out literature" at Stockton State College in Pomona, New Jersey, just across the state line from Philadelphia. The KKK crawled out of the sewer there after the racist and anti-Semitic rag of Tom Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" was stuffed inside the campus newspaper in 1986. Metzger's 20-year-old son John heads up the "Aryan Youth Movement," a fas-

cist skinhead outfit which according to a recent Anti-Defamation League report is trying "to establish White Student Unions on high school and college campuses to serve as forums for Tom Metzger's views and recruiting grounds for his organization."

Where racist terrorists like the Klan and skinheads are involved, the issue is not "free speech" for these fascists but *self-defense* for their intended victims. On October 29 in a subway station in New York City, skinheads from the Philadelphia area attacked a white family who had objected to their racist epithets, even trying to throw their baby down a flight of stairs. And on November 13 in Portland, Oregon skinheads beat and killed a black Ethiopian worker.

According to the Temple administration itself, "The stated purpose of the White Student Union is to 'preserve and promote white racial culture and pride, and to abolish affirmative action'" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 December 1988). So-called "reverse discrimination" has been a battle cry of 1980s racism, from Reagan and Bush to the pupified "new

Klan" of former "grand dragon" (and California Democratic "Klandidate") Metzger. The "new Klan" expresses its "white pride" the same way the "old" one did—with the burning cross, the lynch rope, and now the skinheads' "Doc Marten" boot. While the Temple NAACP intends to "monitor" the WSU's activities, Temple students, campus workers and faculty should take note: neither fascists nor the racist punks on campus need "official recognition" or permits to carry out their deadly program.

This racist and fascist filth must be crushed—and fast. With the wave of racist attacks on college campuses over the past couple of years, black students have often found themselves besieged and isolated. But Temple has a substantial number of black and other minority students. And allying students with the power of labor has scored real victories, not least in Philadelphia itself. Temple students played an important role in mobilizing against the KKK/skinheads' planned November 5 provocation in Philly, but some of the student groups who initially helped to build the successful anti-Klan action backed away from it in the days leading up to November 5. Anti-communist sectarianism can only embolden the fascists. The November 5 victory over the Klan has to be *carried forward*. The fascists and their racist punk understudies in the "White Student Union" must not be allowed a foothold at Temple!



Young Spartacus

TASS billboard hypes Reagan-Gorbachev Moscow summit. Bureaucrats push "peaceful coexistence" with warmongering imperialists.

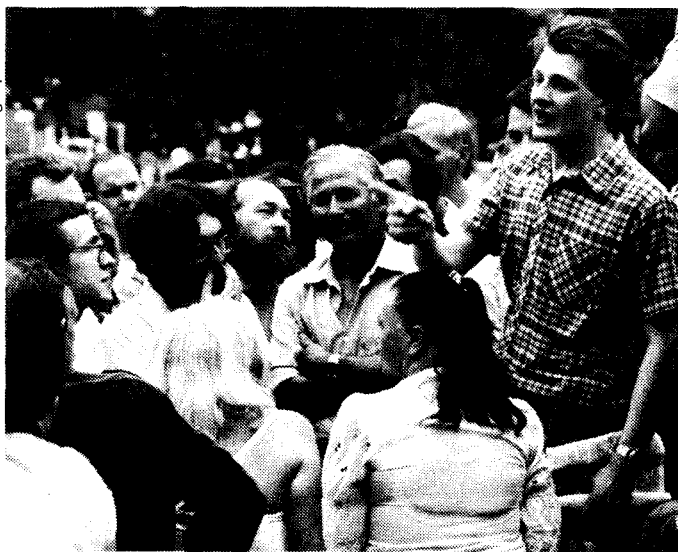
The government's summit hype is everywhere. People in the street are waving star-spangled summit buttons, carrying summit shopping bags with U.S. and Soviet flags on them. There are summit T-shirts with Reagan's and Gorbachev's signatures on them, pictures of Reagan and Gorbachev in the shops. In Irkutsk, Siberia I even saw a working woman wearing a button with just a picture of Reagan on it! (I haven't even seen that in the U.S.) Gorbachev's line is that Reagan is a peacemaker, a friend of the Soviet people. The flip side of détente is of course the disappearing of any hint of international class struggle against imperialism. There are no placards, no newspaper articles, no speeches, that even pay lip service to anti-imperialism or internationalism. I saw one sign of the Afghanistan war: a billboard in a Moscow park with photos of the Soviet troops leaving. The inscription read, "The limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has already begun to withdraw." When the U.S. Navy shot down the Iranian airliner, murdering some 290 innocent civilians, the story was buried in the Soviet press and the meager reports termed this atrocity "an accident."

People find it hard to believe the picture I paint of the oppression and poverty in the U.S. But a popular joke we heard about defectors reflects the Soviet people's understanding of the hypocrisy and inequalities of capitalism: "A man dies and goes to hell. He takes a look around: it's hot, it's nasty and he doesn't like what he sees. So he asks god, 'Listen, do you think just once, before I spend all eternity roasting, that you could send me on a two-week vacation to heaven?' God thinks about it and decides to grant the request. The man goes to heaven and has a great time, eating, drinking, screwing to his heart's content. The accommodations, the food, the people are incredible. But at the end of two weeks he finds himself, once again, at the gates of hell. 'God,' he says, 'look, why don't you just make an exception and send me to heaven for good? What do you say?' Again, god decided to grant his request. The man goes to heaven, and is immediately put to work cleaning toilets from dawn till dusk. 'God,' he asks, 'the first time I came up here everything was just beautiful and now they put me to work cleaning toilets—what's the deal?' 'Well,' says god, 'now you know the difference between tourism and defection'."

As for the supposed Soviet "police state," you see far fewer cops on the street than you do in Chicago. The general puritanism and oppressiveness of the Brezhnev years is noticeably absent. Gorbachev's speech to the conference is live on television, but Wimbledon and a documentary about seals are playing opposite him on other channels. There is plenty of rock 'n' roll on TV, and even a Soviet version of the "Solid Gold dancers." Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign, a massively unpopular move to discipline the Soviet workers, is the notable exception and the brunt of

another current joke: "A man is waiting to buy vodka in one of the 'booze lines' which are so common in Soviet cities. After two hours he gets fed up and says to the guy in front of him, 'I've had it! I'm going to punch Gorbachev!' and stomps off in the direction of the Kremlin. About an hour later he returns. The guy who remained in line asks him, 'Well, what happened? Did you punch

Young Spartacus



Orator in Pushkin Square, Moscow. Glasnost has sparked political ferment in USSR.

Gorbachev?" The man replies, 'No, the line was too long'."

* * *

It's disturbing how little the Intourist guides say about the October Revolution and how much they say about the renaissance of the Orthodox church, one of the most oppressive, anti-Semitic, anti-woman institutions in history. Our guide gleefully pointed out the site where a new church is to be built on land granted free by the state. Many of the older women on our tour were straining at the bit to visit a functioning church. When they finally got the chance in Irkutsk, most of them were turned away at the door because they were wearing pants and not skirts. Well, they wanted the Russian Orthodox church, and they got it!

Boris, our guide, was an interesting character. He is very consciously a part of the Soviet elite. He recently purchased a pedigreed English cocker spaniel which he plans to enter in dog shows, explaining that pedigreed hounds are all the rage among Moscow snobs. Boris got a deferment from military service because he was in a special language program, yet he holds the rank of lieutenant in the Red Army anyway. I asked him what he thought of perestroika and

the fact that, for the first time since the revolution, there might be unemployment in the USSR. "That's good," he replied. "It will get the lazy buggers off their asses."

Boris carries around a Bible with him, although he treats it more like a fashion accessory than a religious artifact. He knows his Russian history backwards and forwards, but my questions about October elicited minimal responses. He reserves his eloquence to describe the palaces of the tsars, the Fabergé eggs, etc. "I was born in the wrong time," Boris was fond of saying. Boris is, of course, a member of the Komsomol and is applying for Party membership this year.

* * *

It was in Uzbekistan that the nature of the revolutionary gains we defend hit me the hardest. In this part of the world that was positively medieval in 1917, people appear to have as high a standard of living as in Moscow. Where Islam once ruled and women were bought and sold as virtual chattel, you now see women integrated into the society at all levels. And there are light-skinned Europeans and dark Uzbeks, but you can't find the color line in Bukhara or Tashkent. You see mixed couples walking down the street without fear of harassment.

Here we didn't get the kind of church-mongering that we got in Moscow. People here *know* what Islam is about and they don't want to turn back the clocks. I did not see a single woman wearing the veil. Most of the mosques are museums or tea shops although a few are still functioning. Our guide in Tashkent pointed out the old Madrasa (Koranic school, now a museum), "from the minarets of which they used to throw women who had committed adultery." She then pointed to a tall modern building across the street and went on, "And this is the Moscow Hotel, the tallest building in Tashkent. After the revolution the women considered throwing adulterous men off the top but they decided it would make too big a pile." ■

Defend Anti-CIA Protester!

Madison

MADISON—On December 8, the University of Wisconsin campus cops staged a violent attack against students protesting CIA recruitment here. Chief Ralph Hansen led the roughing-up of anti-CIA protesters and the arrest on trumped-up charges of one protester who may face years in jail. Cop Hansen has overseen the cracking of leftists' skulls since the '60s, notably including the beating of anti-CIA protesters in October 1985.

At the December 8 protest some 25 students, including members and supporters of the Madison Spartacus Youth Club, lined the halls of the Engineering Placement Building where the CIA was interviewing. According to a witness, grad student Doug Sherry, "Police started pushing two people on the opposite side of the police. They threw one woman to the ground. Another fellow was... tackled and arrested.... One policeman took out a blackjack and started to swing it around. This was without provocation" (*Badger Herald*, 9 December 1988).

The arrested man was grad student James Carl. After being roughed up by the cops, he was charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and attempting to disarm an officer! Although Carl was released on bail, if convicted of the last charge, a felony, he faces the possibility of many years behind bars. "I did not attempt to disarm an officer, and I did not see any weapons out of their holsters," James Carl told the *Daily Cardinal* (13 December 1988). Over a

month later he has yet to be formally arraigned and charged, as the D.A.'s office plays a cruel game of suspense.

The victimization and attempted frame-up of James Carl is orchestrated by the administration of "progressive" chancellor Donna Shalala. Her "Madison Plan" includes a carte blanche for the CIA terrorists, and cop violence and the threat of jail for those who would

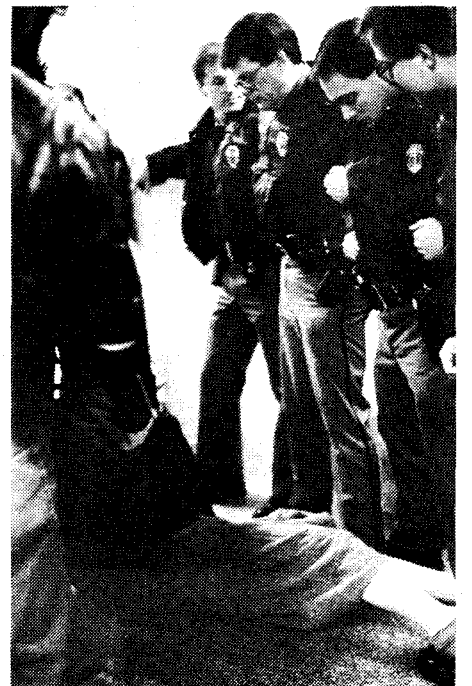
protest the CIA. As CIA-man Bush prepares to enter the White House, Shalala and the university administration are trying to send all students a message: Stay in line like good careerist sheep or else it's off to the slammer.

Drop the charges against James Carl! Cops and CIA off campus! There must be a massive outpouring of support for Jim Carl—an injury to one is an injury to all. A mass united-front mobilization of students and labor could spike this frame-up and the intended intimidation of student protest. ■



Young Spartacus Photos

UW cops rough up Madison anti-CIA protesters last December.



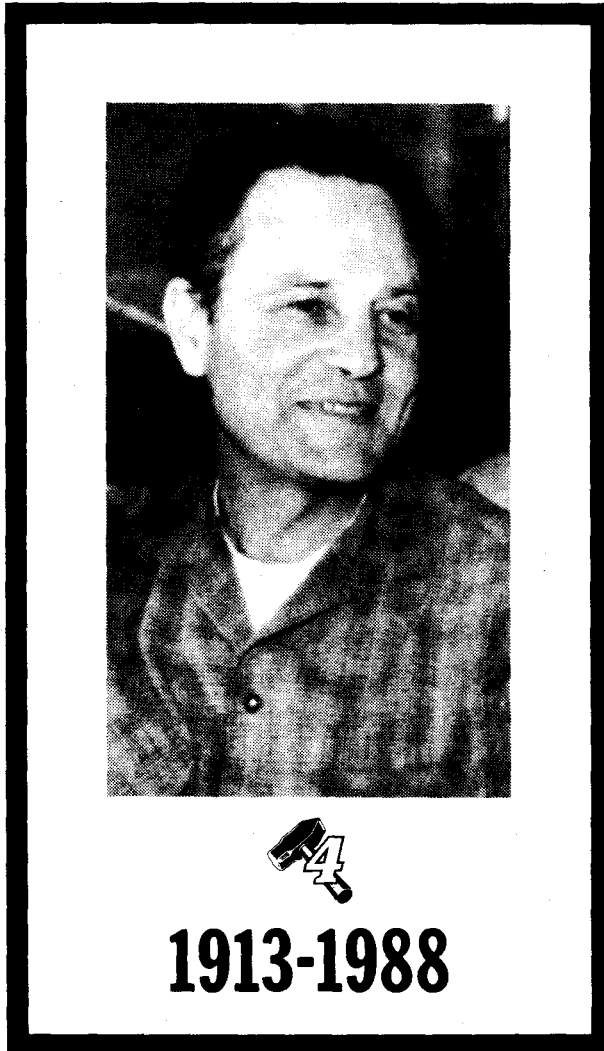
Richard Fraser—Memorial to a Veteran American Trotskyist

Comrade Richard S. Fraser died on November 27, 1988 at the age of 75. On January 8, we held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles to honor the life and work of this veteran American Trotskyist who above all established his mark as a tenacious fighter for black liberation. Some 85 people came out to pay tribute with their memories of Dick Fraser, from old comrades and friends going back over 50 years when Dick joined the Trotskyist movement to a younger generation which included many members of the Spartacist League. Also present was his son Jonny, whom Dick cherished.

A beautiful display of photographs and other materials showing Dick's life was assembled by comrades from the West Coast, many of whom had worked with and cared for Dick during his last years as he courageously fought to overcome many painful and debilitating illnesses to carry on his life's work. The speeches and messages to the memorial meeting were as rich in their diversity as was the man they spoke of.

Dick Fraser was a talented violinist, an expert in the trade of plaster pattern making, a seaman who was a member of the National Maritime Union, an innovative although untrained scientist many of whose works were patented. But above all else Dick Fraser was a devoted communist. Although lacking much formal education Dick dedicated himself to the study of the black question in America, and he enriched the program of Marxism with his understanding that emancipation of blacks in this country will only come through integrated revolutionary struggle for proletarian socialist rule.

For close to 30 years Dick was a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party, where he began his life-long work on the program of revolutionary integrationism as the road to black freedom. Later, he was a founder of the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party and an editor together with Arne Swaback of the journal *Revolutionary Age*. After a split in the FSP he went into the New American Movement hoping to educate some of these young New Leftists in the old Leninist school and was subsequently carried into the Democratic Socialists of America.



The American attack on Libya was decisive in breaking the contradiction between Dick's fervent political beliefs and his formal membership in the DSA. A co-reporter on the black question at the

founding conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. in 1966, over the years Dick continued to develop his relations with the SL, leading to a close and invaluable collaboration in our work to establish organizations of labor/black defense. The author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle," Richard Fraser was a theoretical mentor, cherished friend and in the end a comrade of the Spartacist League.

Dick Fraser was a veteran of the old revolutionary SWP. Together with other veterans of the party that James P. Cannon and Trotsky had built, he taught us some of the things that make us what we are today. Above all what emerged from the tributes and memories of Dick Fraser at the memorial meeting was the thread of revolutionary continuity which his life embodied, from the tradition of western radicalism represented by the Wobblies which, refracted through the experience of the great Russian Revolution of 1917, led to the formation of the American Communist Party and later to the foundation of American Trotskyism by Cannon and other leading cadre out of the CP to carry forward the program of Leninism.

Both Frank Krasnowsky, who was a longtime comrade and collaborator of Dick's in Seattle, and the SL's Jim Robertson remarked at the memorial meeting that they would have liked to have had the time to speak about the reformist degeneration of the SWP and all those who scorned Dick Fraser and his invaluable contribution to a revolutionary program for black liberation. The sequel came with Jack Barnes driving out and expelling the last longtime party veterans, laying to rest any ghost of a claim to continuity between the anti-Trotskyists of Barnes' organization and the revolutionary SWP.

The Spartacist League is fortunate to be the heirs to an unbroken revolutionary tradition which goes back to Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. Dick Fraser was an important part of that continuity and it is in this spirit that we are reprinting in full the speeches and messages to his memorial meeting, serially in this and the coming issues of *Workers Vanguard*.

Karen Wyatt

Los Angeles Spartacist League

We're here today to honor the life of Richard Fraser. Dick joined the Trotskyist movement at the age of 21 in 1934 and was an active participant in the socialist movement until his death on November 27, 1988. The attendance here today I think is a testimony to his deep and lasting friendships as well as the political impact he had on his own and on younger generations. We'll have seven speakers as well as twelve messages from comrades and friends who couldn't attend today. After that we will conclude with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Now you're all welcome to stay following that. The



Don Andrews of Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense.

bar will be open and you can look at all the displays that have been done. We'll also be playing music that Dick particularly liked. Included in this is some music that was written, orchestrated and played by Dick's son Jonny who is here today. Dick's love for his son was very great. Even after eleven hours of surgery the mention of Jonny's name would light up his eyes, and he was very proud of his music.

* * * * *

Don Andrews

reading statement of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

We in the Labor Black League for Social Defense salute Richard S. Fraser, historic American Trotskyist, who died today, 27 November 1988. Richard Fraser was our teacher, the author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" that lights the road to black freedom through the program of revolutionary integration, the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society.

Richard Fraser, the theoretician, was above all an organizer and a tireless fighter for freedom for black Americans and all the working people. His courageous struggle in his later years to overcome his many painful illnesses in order to complete his historic work on the black question is only one recent example of his exemplary tenacity.

Comrade Fraser rejoiced in and endorsed our victorious labor/black mobilizations that stopped cold the Ku Klux Klan's intended provocations in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 and our recent satisfying victory against these fascists on November 5, 1988 in Philadelphia. The labor/black mobilizations are in life the verification of Richard Fraser's historic contribution to history: for revolutionary integrationism as the road to the emancipation of the American proletariat—white and black—as opposed to the dead

end of black nationalism. From its inception the Spartacist League's adoption of Richard Fraser's program of revolutionary integrationism has been the cornerstone of Spartacist's program of black liberation through socialist revolution. Our organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, grew out of the SL's successful November 27, 1982 mobilization that stopped the KKK.

We honor our friend and teacher Richard Fraser most of all by continuing his fight. Forward to the Third American Revolution to Finish the Civil War! Hail Richard S. Fraser, fighter for black freedom!

* * * * *



Labor Black Leagues embody concept of revolutionary transitional organizations advocated by Dick Fraser in the SWP 30 years ago.



Charles Curtiss, who was L.A. organizer of the Trotskyist Communist League of America in the early 1930s, addresses memorial meeting. WV Photo

Charles Curtiss

who knew Dick Fraser for 55 years and was Los Angeles organizer of the Communist League of America when Dick joined

I am here in two capacities. From the Los Angeles Socialist Party I bring condolences to the family, friends and comrades of Dick Fraser. But I'm also here in a personal capacity, for the ties that link Dick Fraser and me go back more than a half century. On counting back it was about 55 years ago that I first met Dick in San Diego. We were obviously considerably younger then. Together we studied the fundamentals of internationalist socialism, the class struggle and its final outcome in socialism. We pondered over the sources of surplus value, class exploitation and its termination in a socialist society of abundance for all with production for use not profit.

We analyzed the cruelty and the absurdity of unemployment, of want and suffering in the midst of plenty. This was in the very depths of the Depression. We probed the economic and political roots of war and imperialism, and how to eradicate them and establish an economic order internationally where the antagonism between classes vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

We learned and we were also active. We fought against fascism in demonstrations. We battled in discussion with individual members of the Communist Party and its supporters against Stalinism and for the internationalist essential of socialism as against the monstrosity of the theory of "socialism in one country." And he, we, responded "present" with enthusiasm on picket lines, as volunteers in supporting union efforts, in backing the movements of the unemployed and the oppressed segments of our society for human rights.

Dick had a constant and loved companion—his fiddle. He was a sensitive musician, a talented and devoted violinist. For it is well to remember that we, young people, many of us in our teens, brought into the socialist movement music and literature. We had choral groups and we heard recitals at our socials. We formed drama groups and Dick among others gave much here.

There was a kindness and generosity in Dick that surmounted even the bitterness of the factionalism that marked the socialist movement and that asserted itself, despite the torturous pain he was suffering. And this kindness and generosity, as so often happens, called forth kindness and generosity in turn in those he touched, whether briefly or for long periods of time. There is guidance in this thought. Dick in his integrity, his giving of himself without stint in the daily work for socialism, his respect for clarity and knowledge in the realm of thought, his artistry, his magnanimity, was a forerunner of the person of the human future of associated labor in which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

As I visited him in the last months of his life, and these visits were harrowing for he was very sick, I bear witness that he remained true to the ideals and goals and values he consciously adopted 55 and more years ago. The thoughts of youth were for him long, long thoughts. With all the setbacks of the intervening years and with all the pain of his illnesses, Dick stood fast as an internationalist socialist to the very last day of his life. This memory he left us and it is precious.

* * * * *

Myra Tanner Weiss

former longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party sent the following greetings

Dick Fraser lived his whole life as a socialist. However important the differences we had between us, we shared the desire for a socialist society and Dick struggled always to organize the working class and to raise its political consciousness. My special sympathy for our loss goes to those of you who not only lost a comrade but a close political collaborator and friend as well. He can never be replaced in your hearts. Dick was always certain of the socialist victory for which he devoted his life. And so are we. In revolutionary solidarity, Myra Tanner Weiss.

* * * * *



Dick Fraser studied to be a violinist and never lost his love of music. WV Photo

Dave Cooper

member of Socialist Action who first met Dick Fraser in the SWP in Minneapolis in 1938

I was listening to a tape recording this morning of the history of the IWW. Now Dick was never a member of the IWW. But if you knew Dick Fraser you knew that his roots were in the IWW. What do I mean by that? I mean, Dick may not have had a penny in his pocket, but he might have heard that there was a contact a hundred miles away. And Dick knew how to go the cheapest way—thumb or railroad.

One of the comrades I talked to, Asher Harer, who was recruited by Dick, said they had a peace demonstration where Asher went to school, and who showed up but Dick Fraser. And when he showed up, Asher said, "Do you have any money?" "Hmm, yes," he said, "I have five dollars." Now he had to go about 150 miles, but he heard that there was a peace demonstration and there might be a possibility of a recruit. So wherever there was a possibility of recruiting, wherever there was

a possibility of participating in a strike, wherever there was a problem in the working class you could expect Dick to be there.

Now I lived in Minneapolis. I went to the university during the great strikes. And we were sitting around with Max Goldman—unfortunately this has been a period where we've lost a number of the comrades that have had 50 years in the movement or more. A good part of that generation—I'm glad I'm a lot younger—but a good part of that generation has left us. But we were sitting around the table, Max Goldman had just come from the convention in '38, which was the founding of the Socialist Workers Party. He was much wealthier—he took a bus or a train, I don't remember. And about three or four days later, in came Dick. A knock at the door and this man with a gentle face, as he's been described by Charlie, 5' 10" or 5' 11", I guess, came in. And I said, "Well, how did you get here?" He said, "a very cheap form of transportation." I asked him what it was and he said, "Well, I found that the boxcar and the thumb were one way you can get almost anywhere in the country." That was Dick Fraser.

I didn't meet Dick again—although I heard that he had become a seaman, he was a seaman for about four years—until I came to Los Angeles. I had heard from Asher the story that Charlie told you, about the fact that Dick had been a violinist, that he was with the San Diego symphony orchestra for a period of time. People wanted him to go on to study with leading musicians. But once he had seen the vision, the socialist vision, once he had seen the idea of internationalism, of an independent working class, of a type of party that was necessary to make a revolution in this country, Dick put away his violin and joined the socialist movement.

And in Los Angeles, the thing that I remember about Dick is that there was no task that Dick wouldn't do. I was telling Karen when I talked to her that if the office had to be cleaned up, Dick would clean it up. If there was a strike to go to, Dick would go and provide whatever leadership. If there was a struggle, any type of struggle of the working class, you could depend on Dick to be there.

And that was one of the reasons that I wanted to

speaking. Because in this tradition of a number of comrades that have left us—I must tell you that I talked this morning to a woman who was one of the leading comrades on the East Coast and she said, "What have we achieved? We've had Dick and Max [Shachtman] and [James] Cannon and all these people. Where are we now?" And I smiled to myself as I said to her on the phone: Where was the working class in 1917? Where is the working class of the world today? Where is the capitalist class today? It's in a blind alley. These comrades left us with a great and a historic tradition and we will link up with the revolutionaries of England, France, of Africa, Latin America.

Yes, great were the contributions that these comrades made and we will live to see younger comrades coming in, taking up the cudgels and becoming part of that fight. And you young comrades who are not part of the movement yet, you must take up where Dick and many of the others left off and carry this struggle on.

continued on page 10

Fraser Memorial...

(continued from page 9)

Because there is no question, there is a socialist vision and there is a socialist movement. And if you believe in the socialist vision, you must become a part of that socialist movement. Thank you.

* * * * *

Dorothy Ray Healey

of the Democratic Socialists of America sent the following statement dated 28 December 1988

I don't remember what year it was when I met Dick Fraser. I do remember, however, how it came about and what we discussed. He phoned, said he listened to my radio program on KPDK, was a former member of the S.W.P. and suggested we get together for a visit. Both of us were amazed at how much the S.W.P. and the C.P. resembled one another in their organizational methodology even as each was proclaiming the other as a chief opponent. When I told him how Les Evans, then a member of the S.W.P. had told me of his being present at Jim Cannon's home watching the TV news report of the 1962 California elections and how Cannon exulted in Pat Brown's defeat of Richard Nixon for governor, Dick commented that way down deep many Trotskyists did recognize that there was a difference between Republicans and Democrats. He said that in 1939 when Cannon and other leading Trotskyists visited Trotsky in Mexico, they discussed electoral policy with him and asked what the position should be if an Afro-American was running as a Democrat. According to Dick, Trotsky replied: "We support the men not the party."

Dick's pamphlet, "An Open Letter to American Trotskyists" is one of the few examples I know of where a critical and self-critical analysis of past policies was made public. It was no surprise to anyone who knew of Dick's focus on a proper policy for Marxists

I met Dick in 1985 and had a couple of talks with him concerning a book that he was in the process of writing. At the time, the title of the book was "The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," but was changed in June 1986, because a Senator Wilson used the same name about a century ago.

In our conversation, Dick told me that I would be surprised how many black people do not know the complete truth about slavery in the United States. Dick said, "My book will be written for scholars, teachers, students and for anybody who wants to read the book."

Fraser sent me to my history book when he said, "After the election of Thomas Jefferson as president and he (Jefferson) made the Louisiana Purchase, everything went along smooth for the slave holders." Jefferson's presidency (1801-1809) was the beginning of the now Democratic Party.

Thomas Jefferson being president of the United States (his occupation listed as a planter) and a big slaveholder was a founder of the now "friend of labor" Democratic Party. This is why the workforce, black and white, should break away from the Democrats, for a party started by wrong people cannot be changed. You destroy this wrong party and build a new party free of slaveholding policies.

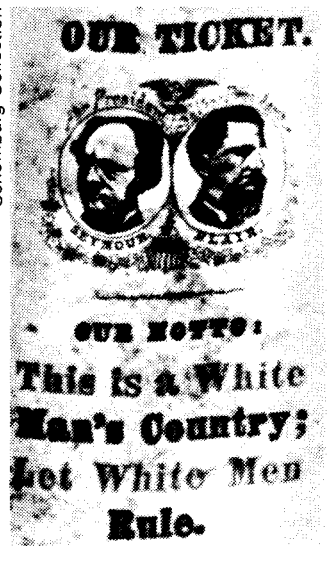
Dick Fraser sent me a copy of his writings entitled, "Two Lectures on Black Liberation," which was delivered in 1953 at the Militant Labor Forum at Los Angeles. One of the subtitles is, "The Negro Struggle, Capitalist Politics and the Labor Movement." Enclosed are five sentences from the above:

1. "But it must be remembered that if it was the Democratic Party which created the semi-fascist Southern system, it was the Republican Party which voluntarily turned the South over to the Klan."

Dick was talking about the Compromise of 1877, when arrangements were made between Southern Democrats and Republicans to give the 1876 presidential election to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes (loser in

Democratic Party poster in 1868 (right). In post-Civil War period the Democrats campaigned to restore white-supremacist rule in the South through KKK terror.

Schomburg Collection



Harper's Weekly

importance in the South."

This is true because the working people have never obtained anything at the voting polls except another politician to mess up things some more.

4. "Without the overthrow of prejudice unionism itself is always in danger."

This reminds me of November 27, 1982 when the Spartacist League along with unionists from the East Coast stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. The very first workday on the job, fake local union heads tried to bring the stoppers of the KKK up on charges of inciting a riot. A Klan sympathizer is the same as a Klansman.

5. "The low wages of the South are a constant pressure upon all unions throughout the country."

The capitalist uses the South to set the standards as far as prices are concerned. Cheap labor can always be found in the South for the Northern factories.

While looking through my files, I came across a note-type letter that was never mailed to Dick Fraser: To Dick Fraser: You said, "Discrimination and prejudice in the rest of the United States derives directly from the Southern system, feeds upon it, and like racial discrimination throughout the world is completely dependent upon it."

In another paragraph you said, "But since discrimination in the North and West derive from the Southern system, it will never be eliminated until the Southern system is uprooted and destroyed."

My comment to Dick: I like this, Dick. This is important to remember for everybody who is against discrimination and prejudice. If you want to destroy the two (discrimination and prejudice), you start at the source, the beginning. Go to the South Land, the origin of the hell fire.

Dick told me he joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1934. With the decay of the SWP, and the actions of Dick's last performances prove that he is the same Trotskyist in 1988 as 1934.

The worthwhile people die too quick.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



AP Photo

Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

toward the "national question" for his pamphlet to attack the racism involved in the S.W.P.'s policy in the 1930's toward Harry Lundberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

He joined the New American Movement and was active within it until his illness curtailed his mobility. But each time I visited him at the hospital or his home I was impressed by his willpower and his determination to overcome his physical ailments and the mental clarity with which he surveyed the world.

I am grateful to all of you for the solicitude and care you gave him until the day he died.

* * * * *

Cliff Carter

a longtime union activist in the Tidewater area and a friend of Dick's sent the following message dated 28 December 1988

Today I went to the public library and looked in the *Books in Print* titled "Authors," and searched for Richard S. Fraser. Dick's name wasn't there and I felt a little bad about this; but then I had a very good feeling that in the near future his name will be listed with the "Authors" with the completion of his book titled, "The Struggle Against Slavery in the United States."

Some time ago, around the end of November I received a call from a friend that said Fraser passed away in his sleep 27 November 1988, the same day the Spartacist League and friends stopped the Klan in 1982.

the popular vote), in exchange for withdrawal of federal troops from the South.

2. "The Democrats, it is true, are the main upholders of white supremacy."

With this coming from Dick over 30 years ago, why are labor and black leaders still today trying to tie the workforce with the Democratic Party? To preserve white supremacy and maintain segregation among the workforce.

3. "Voters don't determine or control anything of great

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

Spain: "Socialist" Regime Hit by Protest Strike

On December 14, Spain was shut down by a massive one-day general work stoppage protesting pro-business economic policies which have brought massive unemployment and falling wages for the workers and fabulous profits for the bosses. Almost eight million workers, 90 percent of the working class, struck against the "socialist" government of Felipe González. The response exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the Socialist-led UGT (General Workers Union) and Communist-led Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.—Workers Commissions) union leaders who called it. It was the first time in more than half a century, since before the Civil War of the 1930s, that Spain had seen united strike action by the entire proletariat.

The workers were lashing out at González' program to "modernize" the country by attracting international capital with "free market" policies. With this policy of economic growth through high tech and low pay, the yuppie social-democratic planners did produce an investment boom. Joining the Common Market in 1986, Spain outstripped most of Western Europe in economic growth. But in "restructuring" industry by dismantling unprofitable state-owned companies, unemployment shot up to the highest level in Europe, almost 22 percent in 1985 and double that for youth under 25. So González introduced a plan to pay employers for hiring youth at the minimum wage, while "flexibilizing" (removing) controls on firing workers.

After years of tightening their belts so that companies could rake in millions, and now facing the prospect of government-subsidized mass layoffs, Spanish workers have had it. The last attempt at a general strike (in June 1984) had spotty results, as Comisiones Obreras went it alone. This time discontent among labor was so strong that the UGT joined in. The result was a total shutdown. Even though only 12 percent of the labor force is unionized, 95 percent of industry, construction and transport stopped work. Government offices closed, newspapers didn't publish. The streets were deserted as small shops kept their shutters down. Even agricultural workers refused to go into the fields, and many of the government-ordered "minimum services" stopped as well.

A dramatic showdown came at RTVE, the state broadcast network run by Pilar Miró, a close personal friend of the prime minister and one of the most

notorious "beautiful people" of his PSOE (Socialist Workers Party) government. She had ordered broadcasts to continue throughout the 14th. But at 12 midnight, just as the announcer on the news program declared that minimum services would be maintained, technicians pulled the plug and TV screens went blank throughout the country. And exactly a month later Miró was sacked after a judge ordered her to repay over \$30,000 which she had taken from

plenty of pickets (80,000, according to *El País*). But as a correspondent in Barcelona reports, "the 'information' they gave out was that everything was closed." Throughout the industrial belt of the Baix Llobregat and Vallès, factories were shut down with handfuls of pickets. Militants drove around looking for plants that were open and picketed them out.

There were also major labor mobilizations during the strike week, the

strike would let González "stop feeling imprisoned by the de facto powers" such as the army and the banks. But from the beginning of his reign, the "Socialist" prime minister has tried to show himself the handmaiden of the capitalists and militarists, bringing Spain into the Common Market and NATO against massive popular opposition.

Moreover, the Spanish general strike is part of a growing trend in West Europe of workers' opposition to the

Spanish working class showed its power. General work stoppage on December 14 shut down 95 percent of industry, construction and transport.



the RTVE treasury to pay for expensive clothes and jewelry.

"The main symbol of the wide support for the strike was the closing of small shops," reported *El País* (19 December 1988). Even in Madrid's posh Salamanca barrio, where nostalgic Francoists give the stiff-arm fascist salute on the anniversary of the dictator's death, shutters were closed. Soccer matches were canceled as star teams like the Barça and Real Madrid joined the strike. In Barcelona 75 percent of the bordellos reportedly closed. The few clashes came outside the department stores of the Corte Inglés chain, which has a company union and vowed to stay open. But although scabs came to work, they were forced to shut down by midday because of the large picket lines and lack of customers.

The government raised a hue and cry over fears of picket line violence. Before the strike they even set up a hot line so finks could help the police by calling in. The labor tops, themselves fearful of strike militancy, responded by declaring that pickets would only be "informational." On the 14th, there were

largest in years. On Wednesday (December 14), more than 200,000 demonstrated in Barcelona even though, despite the government's "minimum services" order, there was no public transportation at all to bring them in from the workers' towns. And on Friday, half a million marched in triumph through the center of Madrid, converging on the Puerta del Sol. A giant papier-mâché float was burned which showed González and his hardline deputy Alfonso Guerra clutching wads of money while starving workers holding red roses (the Socialist Party symbol) looked on. Police helicopters circled overhead, and at the end riot cops laid into the dispersing crowd.

General Strike Poses Fight for Power

The day after the walkout, Felipe González issued a statement recognizing "the political success of the general strike, as well as the heavy blow it means for the government" (*El País*, 16 December 1988). For the last month, government and PSOE leaders went all out in redbaiting and violence-mongering in an attempt to break the momentum. They tried to split the UGT, whereupon dozens of union leaders who opposed the strike were ousted. Already in 1987, UGT chief Nicolás Redondo had resigned his parliamentary seat as a PSOE deputy; the strike formalized the division in the "Socialist family." But without a revolutionary leadership, the tremendous social mobilization will only serve as a *pressure tactic* for a slight shift in government policy, the so-called "social turn."

The reformist leaders of the UGT and CC.OO. underlined this in a statement in which they showed their "concern over the tremendous strength and power that we have today, which requires us to administer the success with great caution. We do not in any way seek the fall of the government" (*El Periódico*, 15 December 1988). Likewise the general secretary of the Communist Party (PCE), Juan Anguita, stressed that the

Reaganite/Thatcherite economic program being carried out by social-democratic regimes. Next door in France, the Socialist Party government of Mitterrand/Maurois was hit last fall by the biggest strike wave in years, centering on government employees. On November 30, they brought in the army for the first time in years to break a Paris transit strike, yet even then it dragged on to the end of the month. But while González and Maurois denounce the strikes as political, *the reformist union and CP misleaders refuse to wage a political fight against the anti-working-class regimes they helped put in office.*

In his terse televised statement, Felipe González stated the obvious: "By definition, a general strike is political. Trying to pretend otherwise is a waste of time." Yet having demonstrated the backing of eight million workers, the UGT/CC.OO. tops demanded the government fulfill a pitiful minimum program of a 2 percent wage increase, withdrawing the misnamed "youth employment plan," indexing pensions for inflation and increasing the number of those eligible for unemployment benefits from under a third to barely half of the jobless! Easily affordable—but a month after the strike, talks broke down as the government refused to meet even a fifth of the unions' demands. So much for González' "social turn"!

Rather than fighting for powerful working-class action to kick out the pro-business government, the fake-Communists are treating the December 14 strike as a popularity poll on the González regime and looking to the next elections. And to increase their vote, they are trying to reconstitute the splintered PCE by bringing back the "ex-pro-Soviet" Stalinists of Ignacio Gallego's PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain), while leaving ex-CP *caudillo* Santiago Carrillo's PTE (Workers Party) out in the cold. Also absent from this lash-up is the PCC (Catalan Communist Party), the former *afganos* who formed as a hardline

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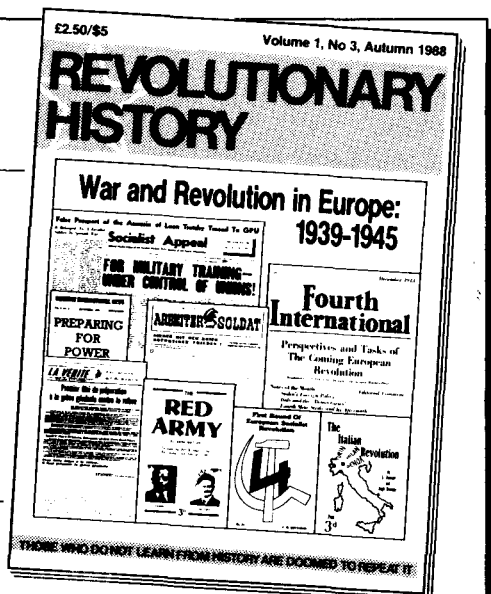
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China...

(continued from page 4)

Peking homeless live on handouts and others steal to live. In southern Canton there now exists a small army of beggars by day, many of whom turn to gambling and prostitution by night.

The Chinese economy and Chinese society after 40 years of Stalinist zig-zags and adventurism is in a shambles. Inflation is running close to 50 percent a year. The foreign debt is \$40 billion. And the government is "considering" retrenchment and redeployment (read layoffs) of 2.5 million workers currently on the state payroll. The prospect of mass layoffs (and unemployment) is the inevitable result of the erosion of centralized planning and an emphasis on competition among the various enterprises and regions. As the London *Guardian* (19 October 1988) noted:

"To put Chinese factories on a commercial footing would mean sacking up to 30 million workers, or 20 to 30 per cent of the urban industrial workforce. To really allow the market to set prices would inevitably mean real hardship for millions."

Indications are that the Chinese working class is fighting back against rocketing inflation and government attempts to break the lifetime job security (the "iron rice bowl") that has become traditional since the revolution. For example, in November dock workers at Tanggu (a major port about 100 miles southwest of Peking) began a go-slow work action that paralyzed the port. This action is part of a sharply rising line of workers struggles that between January and July last year resulted in 49 strikes by official figures (the real figure is doubtless much higher).

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

There have now emerged openly pro-capitalist elements within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Recently, three



Gamma



Wallis/J.B. Pictures

Deng's program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" encourages emulation of imperialist West, including Madison Avenue-style hype and promoting of social inequality.

prominent economists with close ties to the Deng regime have proposed to "transfer ownership of all of China's state-owned companies to shareholders that would include individuals, universities, institutions and local governments" (*New York Times*, 10 January). However, the restoration of capitalism in China cannot take place simply through bureaucratic fiat, passing new regulations and the like.

The Chinese Revolution which triumphed in 1949 on the bayonets of Mao's Red Army and without the participation of the working class, was, despite its profound bureaucratic deformation, a world-historic event. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie, was destroyed.

Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were abolished. A nation which had been ravished and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. These fundamental gains of the Chinese Revolution will be defended by the workers and poor peasants, and can be overturned only by civil war, a massive social cataclysm.

But what the bureaucracy is doing does endanger and erode the gains of the revolution, thus powerfully strengthening capitalist-restorationist forces. Viscerally hostile to the Leninist program of world socialist revolution, the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking seek a modus vivendi with the imperialists. The Deng regime has gone further, allying China to American imperialism (for example, in attacking and besieging Vietnam). It has also opened the country to ever greater

imperialist economic penetration and pressure, pressure which is especially heavy given China's backwardness.

The alternative to "opening" China to capitalism is not national autarky along the lines of Mao's Great Leap Forward, but genuine international socialist planning. And that requires socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies not only in Peking but also in Moscow. A revolutionary workers government in China, based on soviet democracy, would promote balanced economic growth, ensuring a steadily rising standard of living for the population. But *this cannot be done solely on the basis of the resources available in China*. The modernization of China, the world's largest nation with its rich and ancient culture, is a great task for the international proletarian revolution and global socialist order. ■

Spain...

(continued from page 11)

opposition to Carrillo's "Eurocommunism." But especially as Soviet leader Gorbachev takes up many of the themes of yesterday's "Euros," while withdrawing from Afghanistan in the face of Reagan's *mujahedin*, these "ex-pro-Soviets" have no independent program either nationally or internationally.

For a Trotskyist Party in Spain!

As for the ostensible Trotskyists, they are hardly more militant than the Stalinist or social-democratic reformists. For the December 14 general strike, the PST (Socialist Workers Party), followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, in no way posed the question of power, calling only to "defeat the economic and social policy of the government" (*La Verdad Socialista*, 15 November 1988). And no wonder, since Moreno & Co. hailed the

election of social-democrat González in 1982 as a "workers victory." Meanwhile the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League), supporters of Ernest Mandel, have dissipated into every conceivable petty-bourgeois milieu. At the end of the Barcelona march on December 14 the LCR distinguished itself by being the only ones to sing the Catalan nationalist anthem.

Any real general strike inevitably raises the question of who will rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The Spanish "general work stoppage" was, as Leon Trotsky wrote of France in February 1934, "not a general strike in the proper meaning of the term, but only a 24-hour demonstration." While the Stalinist leaders temporized, seeking to avoid at all costs a struggle for state power, Trotsky emphasized:

"The fundamental importance of the general strike, independent of the partial successes which it may and then again may not provide, lies in the fact that it poses the question of power in a revolutionary manner. By shutting down the factories, transport, generally all the means of communication, power stations, etc., the proletariat by this very act paralyzes not only production but also the government. The state power remains suspended in mid-air. It must either subjugate the proletariat by famine and force and constrain it to set the apparatus of the bourgeois state once again in motion, or retreat before the proletariat.

"Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the general strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses, and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the general strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question: *Who will be the master of the house?*"

—Leon Trotsky, "Once Again, Whither France?" (March 1935)

It was because they were not prepared to give a revolutionary answer to this

question that the Spanish "Communists," including *afgano* militants prominent in the labor movement, refused to call a general strike during 1975-77 after Franco's death when shaky governments survived only because of pacts with the UGT and Comisiones. A "strike of folded arms" will not suffice to defeat the ruling class. This was the lesson of the general strike fetishism of the Spanish anarchists during and after WWI, and of the failed August 1917 general strike against the Bourbon monarchy. What was lacking then was precisely the key which led to victory

three months later in Russia—a Leninist vanguard party, tested in battle and forged in the political struggle for authentic Marxism.

As Trotsky noted in his repeated warnings during the 1936-39 Civil War, in the absence of such a party, the heroic efforts of the Spanish proletariat to defeat Franco and the fascists were held back by the Popular Front of class collaboration. The struggle for a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Spain today, as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International, remains the key to victory. ■

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Libya...

(continued from page 1)

You could almost see Reagan swaggering about the White House "impersonating a Western gunfighter drawing his six-shooters," as he reportedly did back in 1981 when the U.S. also shot down two Libyan planes. It was Reagan's last parting shot from office, a bit of cheap bravado to set the tone for the incoming administration of his disciple Bush—in short, a demonstration of unbridled imperialist arrogance from the White House, which thinks it has the right to bomb anyone in the world, anytime, to satisfy the obsessions of a dying empire.

The Reagan/Bush gang has made Qaddafi's Libya, a "radical" Arab regime and Soviet military client, the number one target for U.S. state terrorism. Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, an idiosyncratic nationalist demagogue, is portrayed as the evil genius orchestrating every terrorist act on the face of the planet. In 1986 the White House falsely accused the Libyan strongman of engineering the bombing of a West Berlin disco frequented by U.S. servicemen. In "retaliation" U.S. warplanes bombed Tripoli in a deliberate attempt to assassinate Qaddafi. They succeeded in killing his adopted baby daughter and killing and maiming over 100 Libyan civilians. In solidarity with the Libyan victims of this cowardly imperialist attack, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli right after the U.S. bombing.

Given the rising crescendo of threats from Washington in recent weeks, the Libyans had every reason to believe another bombing attack was imminent. A second aircraft carrier, appropriately named the USS *Theodore Roosevelt*, was heading for the Mediterranean. Moreover, in a little-noticed admission, the Pentagon has stated that U.S. fighter-bombers were "engaged in bombing practice Wednesday 70 miles off the coast of Libya—dropping smoke bombs and then performing bombing runs on the columns of smoke—when two Libyan MiG-23 fighters were detected" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 January). Sending up a couple of MIGs for reconnaissance was a minimally prudent step on the part of the Libyans.

The Pentagon claims these MIGs attacked the U.S. planes, which first took "evasive maneuvers." But even the *New York Times* (6 January) printed a diagram of the "U.S. Pilots' Version" which shows that the first thing the two American fighters did after picking up the Libyan MIGs on radar was to turn 180 degrees and "head toward them." Some "evasive maneuver"! And then they quickly dove to a very low altitude, knowing that the MIGs' radar has difficulty detecting planes below them, which gave the F-14s the advantage for an attack.

Who Buys White House Lies?

After eight years of practice, the Congressional Democratic "opposition" no longer even stumbles over their Reaganite lines. Senator Christopher Dodd instantly praised the shutdown as "appropriate defensive action." Les Aspin, liberal Democratic chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, went on at length about the "paranoid" Qaddafi. Of course the yellow press like the *New York Post* ran flag-waving headlines about the "Top Guns" of the U.S. Navy who managed to push the right buttons on some millions of dollars' worth of high-tech gear to shoot down reconnaissance planes which never fired a shot.

But after eight years of Reagan/Bush lies, many of which came apart in the Iran/contra affair despite the best efforts of Congress to cover it all up, media skepticism was massive. Even ABC's Ted Koppel, no liberal muckraker he, warned on *Nightline* (4 Janu-



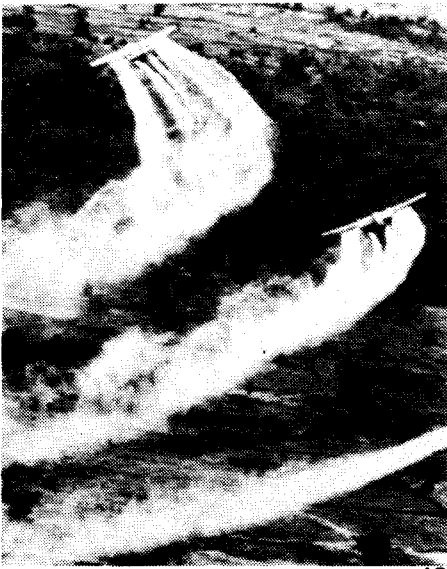
Reuters

Libyan capital of Tripoli was bombed by U.S. warplanes in 1986 in attempt to murder Qaddafi. International Spartacist tendency protested Reagan/Bush state terrorism.

ary) against being misled by the White House:

"The only reason for being at all cautious about the Pentagon version is that once, referring to a Libyan assassination plot against President Reagan, and once in blaming the Libyans for blowing up a cafe in Berlin, the Reagan administration misrepresented the facts. The assassination plot later turned out to be deliberate disinformation; the cafe bombing was later reportedly linked to the Syrians. In any event the rest of the world is treating today's story with restraint."

When the U.S. tried to "prove" its planes had been attacked by releasing a videotape of the clash, the editor of the respected military publication *Jane's Avionics* yearbook, David Brinkman, remarked, "The video doesn't prove it to me..." "It could have been just an innocent wish to investigate what was out there," he said of the Libyan planes' course from their airbase out toward the American carrier group offshore (*Newsday*, 7 January).



AP

Chemical warfare: U.S. Air Force dropped 19 million gallons of "herbicides," including deadly Agent Orange, on South Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, administration attempts to line up its allies on this one didn't fare so well. In Europe only Thatcher's Britain backed the U.S., but the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (15 January) astutely observed that "In the minds of many Americans a US strike on the plant would be in revenge for the Pan Am sabotage at Lockerbie"—for which there are no known credible suspects. At the United Nations Security Council, no one was buying the U.S. representative's inkblot test—a dark, blurry photo of a Libyan jet which, it was claimed, showed the plane was armed (so what?). Only vetoes from the U.S./Britain axis blocked the condemnation of the American action.

The Pentagon and Chemical Warfare

The Reaganites' accusation that the firm of Imhausen-Chemie was supplying the alleged poison gas plant in Libya has heated up relations between the U.S. and its West German ally. Washington is pressuring West Germany over its sales of high-tech equipment to the

Soviet bloc and over disgruntlement in Bonn with NATO policy. West Germany has been increasingly aggressive in pursuing its own imperialist interests, including secretly developing nuclear weapons with South Africa. Resentful of American arm-twisting, Bonn reportedly told the Reaganites that West Germany was not a "banana republic." But after weeks of denying any link between Imhausen and Libya, the conservative Kohl regime shamefacedly backtracked.

Not coincidentally, the U.S. propaganda campaign against the alleged poison gas plant came on the eve of the Paris meeting of 145 nations to discuss the question of chemical warfare. Secretary of State George Shultz came to pontificate on the dangers of the spread of chemical weapons to the Third World, and everyone knew he meant Libya, not U.S. allies like Egypt and Israel, both of which have chemical weapons. Indeed, if one wants to pinpoint murderous outlaw states in the Near East, Israel is certainly at the top of the list. It has carried out bombing attacks against other nations in the region at will, from the 1981 attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor to the bombing of Lebanon in 1982 to the 1,500-mile bomber raid on Tunisia in 1985.

Israel has stockpiled mustard gas and nerve gas, as well as a massive arsenal of nuclear weapons, without so much as a peep of protest from Washington—a fact not lost on Arab states at the Paris conference who note that chemical weapons are the "poor man's atom bomb." If Qaddafi has managed to build a poison gas factory with West German help, it could be considered a prudent deterrent against demonstrated Israeli/U.S. aggression. (Despite Qaddafi's braggadocio, his minuscule military force has never gotten further than Chad, and didn't fare very well even there.)

In any case, it takes a lot of chutzpah for the U.S. to lecture the rest of the world on this subject: the U.S. has one of the largest stockpiles of chemical warfare agents in the world. In fact it was Vice President George Bush who broke the tie in the Senate in 1986 to resume production of nerve gas. During the Vietnam War, the U.S. Air Force dropped over 19 million gallons of "herbicides," including the deadly Agent Orange, over Viet Cong-controlled territory. The Vietnamese are still paying for this mass poisoning, especially with large numbers of birth defects. It was only in 1975 that Washington finally signed the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical warfare agents. And then it had the gall to add a caveat exempting so-called military "herbicides." This was done because the U.S. government wants to claim that what they did in Vietnam was not chemical warfare!

Once Again, Gorbachev Bows to U.S. Imperialism

If anything, these continued U.S. provocations ought to wake up the Rus-

sians, who under Gorbachev are foolishly undermining the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state by conciliating the imperialists at every turn, from Afghanistan to Angola. In this latest incident, the Soviets at first appeared to put up at least a verbally strong defensive reflex by denouncing the American action as "state terrorism." *Krasny Zvezda* (Red Star), the Soviet Army newspaper, called it "banditry" and "piracy," a return to the U.S.' notorious "aircraft carrier diplomacy." But at the UN they caved in, agreeing to see some of the U.S. "evidence" in private.

The latest U.S. attack comes directly in the wake of Gorbachev's visit to the U.S., his announcement at the United Nations of a unilateral cut in Soviet armed forces, and other concessions. All this has only *emboldened* the warmongers in Washington. Some of the franker American strategists are admitting as much. As one imperialist think-tank analyst, Stephen Sestanovich, noted in an article titled "Gorbachev: Giving Away the Store?":

"Gorbachev's is a foreign policy of concessions...offering one new formula after another, often without receiving offsetting concessions from the other side...."

"But other governments are bound to ask the obvious question: Why reciprocate, rather than simply wait for another concession? Why not add new demands? There's a dawning sense that Gorbachev may be a man who can be had...."

—*Washington Post*,
11 December 1988

Rather than being the road to "peace," Gorbachev's détente is only fueling the American imperialists' drive toward war. Cuban leader Fidel Castro is worried that "détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, does not necessarily mean that there is going to be peace for us" (*New York Times*, 11 January). And détente won't bring peace to the Soviet Union either. As the Soviet bureaucracy throws its allies (such as Afghanistan) to the imperialist wolves in the name of détente, it will find itself completely isolated when the wolves finally turn on Moscow. Remember June 1941! Stalin almost lost the Soviet Union to Hitler's armies because of the same sort of blind faith in paper agreements with the capitalist powers. And now Stalin's heirs are repeating the same fatal error.

Reagan/Bush celebrate the repeated attacks on Libya, like the 1983 invasion of tiny black Grenada, as military victories on the cheap. Bullying this small, weak Arab country is intended to overcome "the Vietnam syndrome" in preparing the American people for new, bigger military adventures—like sending U.S. troops into Central America, perhaps starting with Panama. The imperialists' drive toward war can only be stopped by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must disarm the terrorists of Washington by smashing capitalist rule and establishing workers power. ■

Bloody Horror in Khomeini's Iran

The Graveyard of the Damned

As news began filtering out about the massacre now going on in Iranian jails, particularly of leftist political prisoners, several relatives and friends of those executed who had managed to escape to Europe told of the reign of terror in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic."

Farhad Moghaddam wrote in the London *Guardian* (13 January) of Masoomeh, a young woman he had known in Tabriz who was among those recently killed. She was arrested at the age of 16 and, although sentenced to four years, was not released until six years later in November 1987. Following the August 1988 cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, Moghaddam learned from her relatives that:

"All visits to political prisoners were cancelled and Ladjevardi, better known as the butcher of Evin, was returned to his old job. He is especially remembered for two widely used innovations

in Iranian gaols.

"The first, still in operation, was the rape of virgin girls through forced 'marriages' to prison guards, so that an obscure religious sanction against the execution of virgins could be overcome. "The second... was to test 'converted' prisoners' loyalty by using them in firing squads aiming at other inmates. "This ploy backfired when 'tested' inmates opened fire on prison officials including Ladjevardi himself, before committing suicide."

Khomeini declared that "Islam does not believe in prisons," so now the prisoners would become corpses, and those earlier released would be rearrested. Among them was Masoomeh. In December, she was executed.

In Berlin, Mahin Esmati told *Die Tageszeitung* (16 December 1988) that she had learned of the execution of her husband Reza when her mother-in-law was called to the prison to pick up a bun-

dle of clothes. "She had to sign a statement that the family would not stage any funeral ceremonies." Mahin and her husband were both supporters of Komala, and he had been in jail for three years under the shah. One night in 1981, the *pasdaran* showed up at the door and dragged Reza away. He was given 20 years as a "Communist" and "blasphemer." Reza was arrested shortly after his son was born, and they hadn't had time to pick his name. Mahin tried to tell him during prison visits, but they could only "communicate" through sign language. In early December Reza was executed without learning the name of his son, Said.

Marvam Entazari's husband was also among those recently executed. "I insisted on knowing his place of burial," she wrote in the *New Statesman* (13 January). "They wouldn't tell me. I

knew that executed leftists were usually buried in a cemetery in Jadeh Khavaran," the infamous "Graveyard of the Damned" where non-Muslims are buried. When Entazari went there she found an insane gravedigger who pointed at some newly dug graves, filled with bodies that had arrived the previous evening from Qum, Khomeini's headquarters. She began digging with her hands:

"It was shocking and horrific. I unearthed the body of a young man, 26 or 27 years of age. He was clothed and wrapped in a blanket. His face was bloody, his eyes had popped out of their sockets. His feet were swollen and there was blood between his toes. The body was dumped and covered with only a few centimeters of earth. He was not my husband, but he was someone's loved one."

Marvam Entazari decided to leave Iran with her children. And she wanted to tell the outside world of the horror that is going on in Iran. "This is a regime of murderers," she writes. "Please print my words. Tell the people of Britain that the Iranian people are captives in their own land. They are at the mercy of criminals who kill indiscriminately. Even young children are not spared. Please tell them this. Ask them to put pressure on the regime to stop the murders." ■



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison



Guardian [London]

"Islamic Revolution" means women in veils, bloody repression of working class and national minorities (left). Pasdaran ("Revolutionary Guards") in Teheran (right).

Afghanistan: Soviet Withdrawal Means Bloodbath for Women, Leftists

At the January 11 protest in Hamburg against the mass executions in Iran, supporters of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) carried the sign, "Afghanistan: Soviet Withdrawal Means Bloodbath for Women and Leftists." A TLD speaker declared, "It is not an accident that this bloodbath in Iran comes now, as the Red Army is withdrawing from Afghanistan. The regime in Teheran is giving us a foretaste of what the *jihad* [Islamic holy war] in Afghanistan has promised."

At the beginning of the '80s the international Spartacist tendency's support for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against mullah-led counterrevolution ("Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!") led to howls of outrage from Western leftists sucked into Washington's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. In Germany, Islamic reactionaries stabbed a leader of the TLD for our forthright opposition to the CIA-financed terrorists.

But just as our call "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" in Iran proved tragically prophetic of a decade of Khomeini's repressive regime, culminating in today's blood-

bath, and has won us respect among thoughtful militants, our warnings of the impending nightmare of fundamentalist terror hanging over Afghanistan have increasingly gained a hearing. At a December 3 TLD forum in Berlin titled "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution," an Iranian militant underlined this connection as he recalled the time of Khomeini's triumph in 1979.

"After a week, the TLD—I didn't

know the organization at all—wrote a declaration, 'Down with the Mullahs! Down with the Shah!' This statement impressed me greatly. At the Technical University there was a prominent action by a couple of people from the TLD, and unfortunately the Iranians pushed them away, reacting very sharply against the action. I even heard that they said these people were CIA agents. Then we spoke with the [Tudeh] party, and asked Kianuri, the

party leader, what have you got against this organization? He said, 'Khomeini is saying the same as the Communist Party about the revolution. So we want to continue with Khomeini.' That is very important, because there was no revolution. And Kianuri said, 'the whole party is going home, we have supported Khomeini there, although Khomeini spoke on the radio about Islamic law.' We had to learn from Tudeh how to defend the revolution.

"And what do we have now? The party has been destroyed. Thousands have been executed, and recently, two or three days ago, we heard that 33 more members of the Central Committee were executed.

"In another article I read about the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan. What will happen when the Red Army is out of Afghanistan? As an Iranian, I tell you: that means the annihilation of the revolution. That means the annihilation of the entire population of Afghanistan, 15 million or so. Don't make a mistake like our mistakes. It's very important what is being said here. I don't know your organization, but the whole movement here is about Trotskyism. I think that if we had understood the TLD back then, or wanted to, then the party wouldn't have been annihilated at all. Then we could now say out loud that the revolution must be made and not destroyed."

As mass executions proceed in Iran, Soviet leader Gorbachev woos bloody Khomeini regime.



AP

Iran Executions...

(continued from page 1)

found in the Spartacist-initiated protests their first opportunity to cooperate in a joint action protesting the bloodbath unleashed by the ayatollah's regime.

Hamburg, West Germany

Some 100 people, including scores of Iranian exiles, turned out in Hamburg January 11 outside the General Consulate of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Joining with the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) were the Communist Party of Iran (CPI)/Komala, Rahe Kargar, the Fedayeen Central Committee of Minority Cells, and sympathizers of the former Peykar organization. Demands at the rally included: "Stop [Interior Minister] Zimmermann's Deportation Program!" "Political Asylum for Refugees from Reactionary Terror" and "Deportation Is Murder!" A CPI/Komala speaker linked the wave of executions to the Islamic regime's pursuit of better relations with the Western imperialist powers and specifically to West German foreign minister Genscher's visit to Iran in late November: "Herr Genscher travels to Teheran to boost the hangmen."

The TLD speaker stressed the urgent need for *united-front defense* to stop the executioner's ax, pointing out that today Khomeini "is attacking everybody, including those who ten years ago had open illusions in the mullahs and also served Khomeini. It is easy today to be against Islamic reaction. But in 1978 and '79, it wasn't so easy. Then, the international Spartacist tendency stood alone. We told the truth: 'Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!'" The demonstration concluded with the singing of the *Internationale* in German, Farsi and Serbo-Croatian.

Paris and Lyon, France

Also on January 11, 140 demonstrators gathered outside the offices of Iran Air on the Champs Elysées in Paris. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), initiators of the protest, had distributed 10,000 leaflets at various universities in three days, and numerous Iranian groups responded to the call. Speakers at the protest included a representative of the Committee Against Political Executions in Iran, and sympathizers of the CPI/Komala and the Fedayeen Minority. Also participating in the protest were Rahe Kargar, the Fedayeen Majority, supporters of the Iranian journal *Recommencement*, and the Muslim group, Ershad. Three supporters of Tudeh also joined the demonstration.

The next day, January 12, some 45 people demonstrated in Lyon, including a number of Iranian women and members of the Kurdish and Azeri national minorities. The Iranian women enthusiastically joined in LTF chants of "Down with the veil! Down with Islamic reaction!"

Washington, D.C.

On January 13, some 20 protesters demonstrated outside the Iranian Inter-



Campaign initiated by the international Spartacist tendency: Paris (top); Hamburg (bottom left); Washington, D.C. (bottom right). Sign in Farsi says, "Stop the Executions in Iran!"

ests Section located in the Algerian embassy on the outskirts of Washington. In addition to denouncing the executions in Iran, they chanted "U.S. hands off Libya! Down with U.S. war moves!" A speaker for the Spartacist League/U.S. declared: "As American revolutionaries, it's incumbent upon us to fight our own bourgeoisie. And we say: U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! Remember Iran Air Flight 655—the 290 people who were killed, victims of U.S. war moves."

London, England

On January 14, over 60 demonstrators joined with the Spartacist League of Britain (SL/B) in picketing outside the Iranian embassy in London. Speakers included an Iranian activist and a London-Islington branch official of the National Union of Public Employees, as well as spokesmen for the British "Leninist" organization, Iranian Political Prisoners Action Committee (IPPAC) and the SL/B. Also participating were supporters of the CPI/Komala, Fedayeen Majority, Fedayeen

Minority, Committee for the Defence of the Iranian People's Rights, and Committee Against Political Executions in Iran.

The police prevented a number of Iranian militants from joining the protest by threatening to arrest them if they refused to remove headwear covering their faces and thus expose themselves to the agents of Khomeini's murderous regime. A Spartacist representative denounced this provocation as "an outrageous example of collaboration between the British state and the Iranian state."

The spokesman from the IPPAC quoted a letter he had received from Iran: "Everyone you know, anyone whose name you know, has been executed." The SL/B speaker drew attention to the bloodbath which looms following the Red Army's withdrawal from Afghanistan: "Iran shows clearly what is planned by the *jihād* [Islamic holy war] in Afghanistan against leftists and against women." The protest concluded with the singing of the *Internationale* and a final defiant chant: "Down with Khomeini! Workers to power!"

Toronto, Canada

A protest called by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) in Toronto the same day attracted 60 people to Speakers Corner at City Hall. Cosponsors included supporters of Tudeh and the Fedayeen (Majority) in Canada and the Toronto South Asian Women's Group. Also participating were supporters of Fedayeen Majority, CPI/Komala and the Democratic Organization of Iranian Women. The Tudeh supporters pulled out early on, objecting to groups carrying any slogans other than the

call to stop the executions. However, a Tudeh representative did speak, as did Janet Yip, a member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Afterwards, the demonstrators marched to a nearby Tudeh hunger-strike protest where a TLC spokesman addressed the protesters.

From Germany to the U.S., these protests were a statement of proletarian internationalism. In response to the hideous massacre in Iran, the international Spartacist tendency has simply carried out the duty of communists to champion the oppressed as part of the struggle for world socialist revolution. As the TLD speaker in Hamburg concluded: "Iran is very similar to the Russian empire under the tsar—a huge prison house of peoples. Equality for women, liberation for the Kurds, Baluchis, for the other peoples, an end to the oppression of the religious minorities like the Bahais—the bourgeoisie can bring none of this. But in Russia there was one thing that does not exist in Iran and which did not exist ten years ago, when the question of revolution was posed. This was a revolutionary party of the working class.

"Comrades, proletarian revolution is what is necessary to open the doors of the prisons, for freedom for the Kurdish people, for the other peoples, for the peoples living in Afghanistan. This generation of Iranian leftists must be saved. What is necessary is a powerful outcry from the whole left, from the workers organizations, above all from the trade unions, and from all organizations who defend democratic rights. We must stand together to demand an end to the executions in Iran. Stop the executions in Iran!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

— ACT NOW! — STOP THE KKK!

**Atlanta: Saturday, Jan. 21 at 12 noon
Central City Park near Five Points**

We reprint here the demonstration call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 11 January 1989.

The KKK and skinhead racists say they are going to march through the streets of downtown Atlanta, from the state capitol to the Omni, on January 21. The slogan of Richard Barrett's sinister "Nationalist Movement" from Mississippi is "No King Over Us." These fascists are trying to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and they have the working people of this city lined up in their sights. Anyone who thinks it is a question of "free speech" for the likes of Barrett and J.B. Stoner had better remember the four black little girls murdered in the Birmingham church bombing.

Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be Fatal

The official presidential selection process could be pretty discouraging to everybody who is on the receiving end of the bad stuff this society dishes out. It's shifted from Jesse Jackson to Michael Dukakis to Lloyd Bentsen to "Poppy" Bush to Dan Quayle; Bush the oil man and ex-CIA chief came out on top. Now the day after the presidential inauguration, Barrett, a particularly virulent Klan/Nazi/skinhead would-be führer,



Atlanta city workers protest at City Hall last February.

Public Employee

wants to really shove it to the people of Atlanta.

We've always known that the so-called "New South" ends at the city limits—but now they are threatening to invade Atlanta with their white hoods, swastikas and Confederate flags. The fascists are poison to every kind of integrated social struggle—like union organizing and winning strikes. Behind the Klan with their gut hatred of unions stands a greedy racist ruling class which

thirsts to drive down wages and increase work until we reach the point that nobody can live anymore.

The country has lurched to the right, but we can stop these genocide-lovers in the city of Atlanta. Arch-capitalist Bush has a hard row to hoe—maybe if we act strongly here we can start reversing this willful, deliberate increase in the misery of people, especially poor blacks but in fact practically everybody.

Atlanta is a city with a black and

labor majority, many of whom took the lead in smashing Jim Crow. And labor's social power can stop the KKK/skinhead marauders in their tracks! Let's do it.

Act now! Stop the Klan!

Initiated by the
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 3132
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 659-3088

"We endorse and will help build a demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan/Nationalist Movement/skinheads in Atlanta on January 21, 1989."

Partial List of Endorsers as of 14 January 1989

AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, GA
AFSCME Local 1644, City Chapter (City Employees), Atlanta, GA
AFSCME Local 1644, Grady Chapter (Hospital), Atlanta, GA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
Anti-Apartheid Committee, AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, GA
Bomani Bakari, Producer/Host, "Round Midnight," WRFG, Atlanta, GA
Derrick T. Boazman, President, Student Government Association, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, GA
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union, Chicago, IL
Harry G. Britt, President, Board of Supervisors, San Francisco, CA
Sadie Campbell, Business Agent, CWA Local 1150, Bronx, NY
Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA
Ronald V. Dellums, Member of Congress, Oakland, CA
John J. DiPaola, President, IAM Local 1018, Ronkonkoma, NY
Michael B. Drake, Chief Steward, IAM Local 1690, Riverdale, GA
Rev. Graylan S. Ellis-Hagler, Pastor, Church of the United Community, Roxbury, MA
M.J. Flynn, President, IAM Local 1690, Forest Park, GA
Freedom Socialist Party
Francis R. Grinnon, Jr., Business Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Hattie Harrison, President, Martin St. Plaza (Tenants Association), Atlanta, GA
Gene Hoffman, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100, Lynbrook, NY
Calvin Holland, President, Jonesboro Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Hollywood Ct. Tenants Association, Atlanta, GA
Hometowns Against Shutdowns, Freehold, NJ

Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Rev. Nelson N. Johnson, President, Theologues Fellowship, Virginia Union University, Richmond, VA
Melvin C. Jones, Chairman, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Atlanta Chapter, Atlanta, GA
Jonesboro Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Mel King, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
George Lach, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203, Baltimore, MD
Susan Lantz, Director, Labor and Community Affairs, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, Forest Hills, NY
Fannie Maddox, President, University/John Hope Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Martin St. Plaza (Tenants Association), Atlanta, GA
Thecla A. McCulloh, President, Black Student Alliance, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA
Jean M. McGuire, Treasurer, Boston School Committee, Roxbury, MA
Franz Minuty, Host, Caribbean Forum, WZBC Radio, Mattapan, MA
Delois Payne, President, Hollywood Ct. Tenants Association, Atlanta, GA
Radical Women
Larry Regan, President, USWA Local 1014, Gary, IN
J.C. Reynolds, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
James Richardson, Financial Secretary, USWA Local 8751, Jamaica Plain, MA
Harold Rogers, Assistant to the President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Chicago, IL
Malcolm Samuels, Senior Representative, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 28, Oakland, CA

San Francisco Black Fire Fighters Association, San Francisco, CA
SEIU Local 679, Atlanta, GA
Margie Smith, President, Techwood/Clark Howell Tenants Association, Atlanta, GA
Spartacist League of the U.S.
David Stewart, Vice President, Northern California Chapter, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Berkeley, CA
Student Government Association, Clark College, Atlanta, GA
Bob D. Taylor, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100, College Park, GA
Ron Teninty, President, Teamsters Local 315, Martinez, CA
Stanley E. Tolliver, Sr., Attorney-at-Law and member, Cleveland Board of Education, Cleveland, OH
Ronald A. Tyree, Vice President, CWA Local 1150, New York, NY
United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442, Atlanta, GA
University/John Hope Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
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Ben Visnick, Executive Board member, Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA, Kensington, CA
J. Lowell Ware, Editor/Publisher, *The Atlanta Voice Newspaper*, Atlanta, GA
LeRoy Washington, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100, Lynbrook, NY
Bob Zimmerman, Secretary, AFT Local 1474, Berkeley, CA
*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that endorsers of the demonstration against the KKK/Nationalist Movement/skinheads do not necessarily agree in any particular with the anti-Klan call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed above.