

Bush's "Kinder, Gentler" Police State?

Racist Cops— Judge, Jury, Executioner

As George Bush was crowned imperial president in Washington, D.C. in a biggest-ever \$30 million extravaganza, here is what was happening in the rest of America.

Miami, January 16: After the parade honoring Martin Luther King's birthday, a 23-year-old black man, Clement Anthony Lloyd, was giving a friend, Allen Blanchard, a ride home on his motorcycle when Lloyd was shot dead in the Overtown district by a Miami cop. Blanchard later died from the injuries he suffered when the cycle then crashed. This was a cold-blooded execution: the cyclist was struck by a bullet in the temple. According to a longshoreman, one of six witnesses, the cop was writing in his notebook when he saw the cyclist and grabbed his pistol like he was entering a shooting gallery:

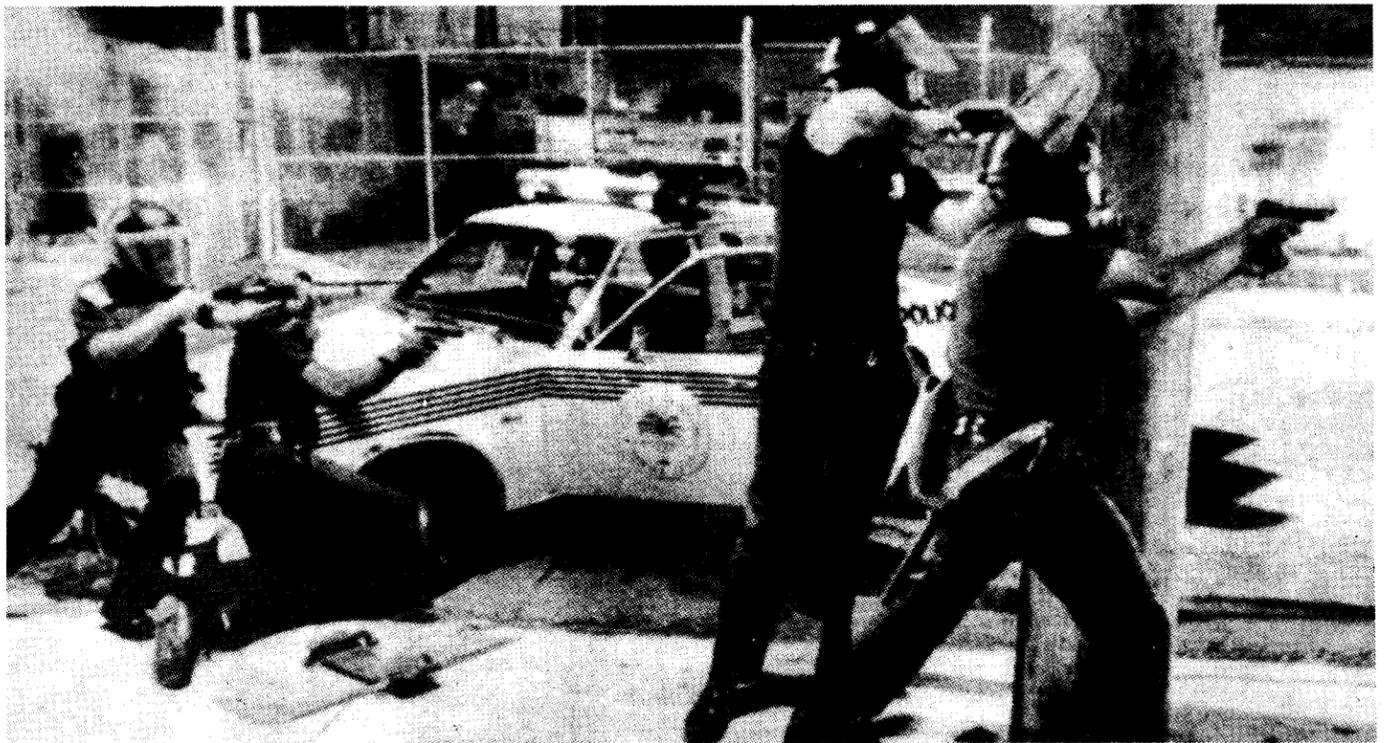
"He crouched, then kind of tiptoed out into the street.... He crept into the street, almost to the center line, holding his pistol with both hands.

"Just when the motorcycle came by, he fired. Boom!... He meant to kill him!"

—*New York Times*, 22 January

This incident triggered three nights of anti-police rioting in black areas of Miami. Desperate to keep the lid on the city on the eve of the Superbowl, SWAT teams sealed off 130 blocks in Overtown and part of Liberty City, site of the 1980 ghetto explosion after the acquittal of four cops who had killed a black businessman coming off I-95 on his motorcycle.

Atlanta, January 21: The day after the presidential inauguration of George Bush, city and state authorities in the majority black city of Atlanta deployed a combined force of some 2,000 National Guardsmen, Georgia Bureau of Investigation commandos, state prison riot cops and local police in order to make sure that seven white supremacists could parade through downtown with a banner saying, "No King Over Us"—a racist "protest" against the



Miami cops occupy black area in January after gunning down black motorcyclist.

Frakes/Miami Herald

Miami to Toronto—Blacks Under the Gun

MLK holiday. With flak jackets, body shields, riot clubs and sharpshooters on the roofs, the paramilitary police forces formed a Roman Legion-type phalanx around the little band of KKK lynchers and skinhead Hitler-lovers as they spewed out racist filth to taunt the thousands of blacks, trade unionists and other decent people who came out to protest this obscenity. Such a mobilization of paramilitary forces for police-state repression hasn't been seen in a major American city for years.

New York City, January 23: On Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn, a 62-year-old black construction contractor, Stephen

Kelley, was arriving home in his van when he found the road blocked by a double-parked car. He honked, and two off-duty cops in street clothes jumped out of the car and argued with him, then one pistol-whipped him and shot him dead with two bullets in the abdomen. His son Stuart heard the shots and ran outside to find his dad dying, and the cop who did it said, "You better watch it, or I'll shoot you, too." Kelley was described by his six sons (one of them an Army sergeant in Germany, another a lawyer in California) "as someone who avoided trouble but could not resist intervening when someone else was in

need" (*New York Times*, 28 January). He had once received a letter from the mayor for rescuing a woman from a burning building. But last week Stephen Kelley was wantonly slain by a killer cop over a parking space.

Cops Rampage Coast to Coast

This wave of racist police provocations has not been limited to the Old South and New York's mean streets. Last September in San Francisco cops savagely beat up Dolores Huerta, well-known leader of the United Farm

continued on page 11

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

**As Army of Cops,
Troops Shields 7 Klansmen**

**Atlanta: 3,500 Turn Out
Against KKK**

SEE PAGES 7-10



Australia, Italy, U.S.

Protests Demand: Stop Iran Executions!



Demonstrators chanted, "Stop Khomeini's executions—Fight for workers revolution!" Left: New York City, outside Iranian mission to United Nations. Right: Sydney, Australia Town Hall Plaza.

In mid-January demonstrations were held on three continents demanding, "Stop executions in Iran!" The protests in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, New York City and Milan, Italy were part of an emergency campaign called by the international Spartacist ten-

dency and the Partisan Defense Committee against the massacre now being carried out by the bloody Khomeini dictatorship. The recent actions followed earlier demonstrations in Hamburg, London, Washington, D.C., Toronto, and Paris and Lyon, France.

Speaking at the New York protest January 19, a PDC spokesman stressed that "up to 10,000 people have been hanged, shot before firing squads and dynamited en masse since the August cease-fire stalemate in the Iran-Iraq war which took one million lives." It's feared that the wholesale physical annihilation of political prisoners is planned by the tenth anniversary of the mullahs' seizure of power, February 12, he said. "We are witnessing a calculated program of extermination in the wake of a protracted reactionary war. This must be met by mass workers actions around the world."

In Melbourne, Australia on January 17 some 60 demonstrators rallied at Town Hall Plaza. Joining the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, which had called the demonstration, were representatives of the Revolutionary Workers Organization of Iran (Rahe Kargar) and the Freedom Socialist Party—both of whom addressed the demonstration—the Iranian Refugee Association, the Union of Australian Turkish Workers, the Community Centre for People of Turkey in Victoria, Devrimci Yol and the Chilean Socialist Party. A statement of solidarity was read from Louis Kent, Labor Member of the House of Representatives, condemning the executions, and nailing the threatened deportations of Iranian refugees by the Hawke Labor

On January 27, the London *Independent* reported, in an article by Middle East editor Harvey Morris, that Khomeini has "in effect called a halt" to the executions. However, Iranian opposition groups had predicted that the regime would first wipe out its opponents and then declare an amnesty on the anniversary of the mullahs' seizure of power. Khomeini's "offer" stipulates that political prisoners will still have to recant and have their cases heard before a special commission. A spokesman for the People's Mujahedin described the announcement as "a sham to counter Iran's bad image," adding, "otherwise why haven't they allowed anyone to visit the prisons?"

government as "execution by proxy of the deportees."

Two days later a Spartacist-initiated demonstration of 80 people gathered at Sydney's Town Hall Square. Nearly half the demonstrators were Iranian, Turkish and Kurdish militants. Speakers from the SL/ANZ, the Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners in Iran and the Sydney Turkish Workers Association addressed the rally. The demonstrators enthusiastically chanted: "Free women, Free Kurds—Victims of Islamic reaction!" "Down with Hawke's deportations to death!" and "Down

continued on page 15

For Black Emancipation Through Socialist Revolution

Mounting racist terror and government assaults on the most minimal gains of the civil rights movement make it clear that black equality cannot be achieved within the framework of capitalism. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, pointed to the pioneering role of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky in stressing the centrality of the struggle for black emancipation to the



TROTSKY



LENIN

American socialist revolution. The integrated working class must take the lead in the fight against segregation, KKK terror and all manifestations of racial oppression.

The policy of gradualism, of promising to free the Negro within the framework of the social system that subordinates and degrades him, is not working out. It does not go to the root of the problem. The aspirations of the Negro people are great and so are the energies and emotions expended in their struggle. But the concrete gains of their struggle up to date are pitifully meager. They have gained a few inches, but the goal of real equality is miles and miles away.

The right to occupy a vacant seat on a bus; the token integration of a handful of Negro children in a few public schools; a few places open for individual Negroes in public office and some professions; fair employment rights on the books, but not in practice; the formally and legally recognized right to equality which is denied in practice at every turn—that's the way it is today, 96 years after the Emancipation Proclamation...

In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.

An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

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Army Seizes Oil Workers Chief

Mexico Rulers Declare War on Labor

MEXICO CITY—On the morning of January 10, army troops and federal police agents arrested the leader of the powerful oil workers union following a shoot-out at the labor chief's home in which one cop was killed. In the next hours, the government rounded up dozens of the union's top officials. The bazooka blast which blew in the door of the house of Joaquín Hernández Galicia, popularly known as "La Quina," was not just a settling of accounts with the union leader who had run afoul of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Salinas' first major act since taking office December 1 was a declaration of war on the organized labor movement as a whole.

In an effort to forestall resistance from the 200,000-member Revolutionary Union of Oil Workers of the Mexican Republic (SRTPRM), government troops occupied oil installations around the country. As news of the arrest of La Quina spread through the oil fields, tens of thousands of workers walked off the job. Seven of the country's nine refineries shut down. Long lines of cars formed at service stations as people filled their tanks in anticipation of a showdown. Mexico was poised on the brink of a major class battle that could have ignited the restless proletariat and the poor in struggle against the starvation policies of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

In taking on the mighty oil workers union, the Harvard-trained technocrat president had broad support from the Mexican and U.S. bourgeoisies. The *Wall Street Journal* (12 January) wrote approvingly, "If Mr. Salinas succeeds in breaking Latin America's largest union, he will have dramatically asserted his authority after coming to power six weeks ago with the weakest mandate of any president in modern Mexican history." The *Journal* editorialized that it "is difficult to overstate the importance and significance" of this "bold stroke," saying, "The United States has a large and obvious interest in his success." U.S. president-elect Bush applauded the union-busting assault by his Mexican counterpart.

Salinas' bazooka blast signaled a



Army troops rode shotgun with tank trucks when Mexico's oil workers struck over arrest of union leader, January 10.

hardline policy toward labor, but the heads of Mexico's PRI-affiliated unions didn't reply in kind. The wizened leader of the 6.5-million-member Mexican Confederation of Labor (CTM), 88-year-old Fidel Velázquez, muttered about not being "indifferent" to this blow "which can endanger the civil peace." Worried about solidarity strikes, the government stationed riot police outside union offices and telephone company installations in the capital. But Velázquez' only "action" was to visit Salinas to pledge that, as one of the ruling party's three sectors, the federation promised "support for your government."

Anxious to keep the lid on the angry ranks, oil workers union leaders called for the members to return to work. SRTPRM bureaucrats only mobilized 15,000, largely technical staff, for a protest march on the National Palace January 12. While demonstrators demanded an end to military occupation of PEMEX, the state oil company, La Quina's boys are scared to death of the

consequences of solid strike action. Hernández Galicia himself told the press from behind bars that he saw "no reason to break the alliance with the government," and that he had signed the attorney general's charges because he was afraid PEMEX workers would be driven back to work "by blood and fire" (*La Jornada*, 13 January).

The Mexican reformist and nationalist left initially opposed Salinas' unexpected assault on the oil workers. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the bourgeois populist candidate and former PRI leader who challenged Salinas in last July's vote, denounced Salinas for violating the constitution by sending in the army. His newly founded Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) issued a statement criticizing the arrests, as did the leftist parties in Cárdenas' popular front (PMS, PFCRN). But Cárdenas pointedly refused to defend the oil workers leaders and didn't show up at the January 12 protest. An open letter from the establishment intelligentsia (including writers Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes) backed Salinas.

Outside the CTM, there exists a whole range of important "independent" unions, but with few exceptions they have subordinated themselves to the Cardenista popular front and took *no action* against the government's union-busting assault. One large and potentially powerful labor grouping which does not support Cárdenas is the Stalinoid-syndicalist Movimiento Proletario Independiente (MPI) which organizes the militant Mexico City bus workers. On January 13, a demonstration called by the MPI brought out more than 80,000 to denounce the government's wage-freezing "economic solidarity pact." But while they carried banners for a "government of the workers," the MPI raised no slogan or demand against the government assault on the oil workers union.

The *quinazo*, Salinas' coup against La Quina, was a bazooka blast at one of the basic pillars of Mexico's semi-bonapartist regime. For over five decades the PRI has maintained itself in

power by incorporating the unions and peasant associations into its party-state apparatus. The "social peace" praised by Fidel Velázquez (and greatly prized by Washington and Wall Street) has been achieved by using the carrot of massive corruption to buy off a narrow layer, and the stick of brutal repression. But after six years of austerity in Mexico's worst economic crisis of the century, as Salinas prepares to slash Mexican capitalism's huge "public" sector, the government's jackboot will be felt by "independent" and PRI-controlled unions. Defense of the oil workers is defense of the entire proletariat.

Throwing Down the Gauntlet

Already under Salinas' predecessor Miguel de la Madrid, airline, auto, mine and other workers in strategic sectors have seen thousands of jobs axed, strikes broken and several unions smashed. Now the pre-emptive strike against La Quina has dealt a blow against the biggest obstacle to Salinas' plans to "modernize" Mexican industry by "privatization"—the selling-off of nationalized companies. Government economists have been preparing plans to divide the giant PEMEX into three separate companies for drilling, production and distribution. This would also mean breaking up the union, the juggernaut of Mexican labor.

The accusation against Hernández Galicia and his cohorts centers on illegal possession of weapons reserved for the armed forces. Upon breaking into La Quina's Gulf Coast home in Ciudad Madero, the government says it found 200 Uzi submachine guns and more than 300,000 rounds of ammunition. Whether or not they were placed there by the army, as a Cardenista oil worker parliamentary deputy and several area residents say they witnessed, guns are hardly the issue. Heavily armed union bureaucracies are the norm in Mexico. The government claimed the weapons were intended "to paralyze the headquarters of PEMEX" and thus threatened "national security." A week beforehand La Quina had threatened a nationwide strike if the government attempted to break up the state petroleum company.

Other charges against the union tops include fraud and tax evasion. Corruption in the SRTPRM is hardly news. For the last quarter century Hernández Galicia maintained labor peace in return for government concessions which made him and his cronies millionaires. "Don Joaquín" oversaw the union and its various enterprises, dispensing favors and ruthlessly crushing opposition like a Mafia godfather. First as Secretary General and later as "Director of Social and Revolutionary Works," La Quina delivered the union's considerable resources to elect PRI officials. Union members got a few crumbs too. While working for miserable wages they often received subsidized housing, cheap groceries through a chain of union-owned supermarkets, etc. The union even had several "collective farms."

Cracks in this paternalist corporatist system began to show in the previous administration in which Salinas was the austerity budget minister. When he was tapped as De la Madrid's successor, PRI labor chiefs were infuriated. During the election campaign, La Quina paid lip service to Salinas while not-so-secretly backing Cárdenas, whose father nationalized the petroleum industry in 1938. The rift widened last fall when PRI legislators from the oil workers union launched corruption charges against a former PEMEX chief and Salinas ally who is currently governor of the state of México. For Salinas this was the last straw.

To carry out this coup against what they describe as "a state within the state," the Salinas regime brought in a hit squad of police officials notorious for their heavy-handed tactics. The new

continued on page 15



Oil workers march on presidential palace in Mexico City, January 12, demanding freedom for union leaders.

Richard Fraser—Memorial to a Veteran American Trotskyist

We print below the second portion of the series of speeches and messages delivered at the memorial meeting, held on January 8 in Los Angeles, honoring the life of Richard S. Fraser, who died in November of last year. Many spoke and wrote of Dick's historic contribution to the Marxist movement through his elaboration of the program of "revolutionary integrationism" as the road to black freedom in the United States.

Dick witnessed the betrayal of blacks by the Communist Party which was the Stalinists' pledge of allegiance to American imperialism during World War II. He was a Trotskyist, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party which stood alone in struggle for black rights during the war and recruited hundreds of black workers. As a member of the National Maritime Union Dick worked together with many blacks. In a letter to his son Jonny he noted, "I had the advantage of having lived with black workers and with our own black cadre and had experienced their frustrations with them, and I realized that their problem was a unique American phenomenon and had to be treated independently."

The SWP's loss of the bulk of its black members at the onset of the Cold War made Dick come to feel that the American communist movement had yet to come to grips with the problem of black liberation. Seeking to redress this failure he devoted himself to the study of the evolution of the racial structure in the United States. In 1955 he submitted his document, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question," for discussion in the SWP, in counterposition to a nationalist conception of the black question within the organization, particularly associated with George Breitman, which posited an "independent" separatist road to liberation.

That same year Dick fell into disfavor with the SWP leadership for his opposition to the party's slogan for "Federal Troops to Mississippi" to defend Southern blacks. In 1957 when the SWP supported Eisenhower's introduction of federal troops to Little Rock, Dick argued powerfully against it in his "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis," pointing out that the end result had been the destruction of local black self-defense efforts.

By the early 1960s, the SWP had fully embraced black nationalism, which became the cover for their abstention from the mass civil rights movement. This was one of the central issues in the fight of the Revolutionary Tendency against the reformist degeneration of the SWP. At the 1963 party convention the RT (forerunner of the Spartacist League) supported Fraser's and Clara Kaye's resolution for revolutionary integration.

Today, through our initiation of mass mobilizations bringing to bear the power of organized labor, blacks and others to stop the fascists, and building organizations for labor/black defense, the Spartacist League has sought to carry forward the program to which Dick Fraser dedicated his life—integrated revolutionary struggle for black liberation through proletarian power.

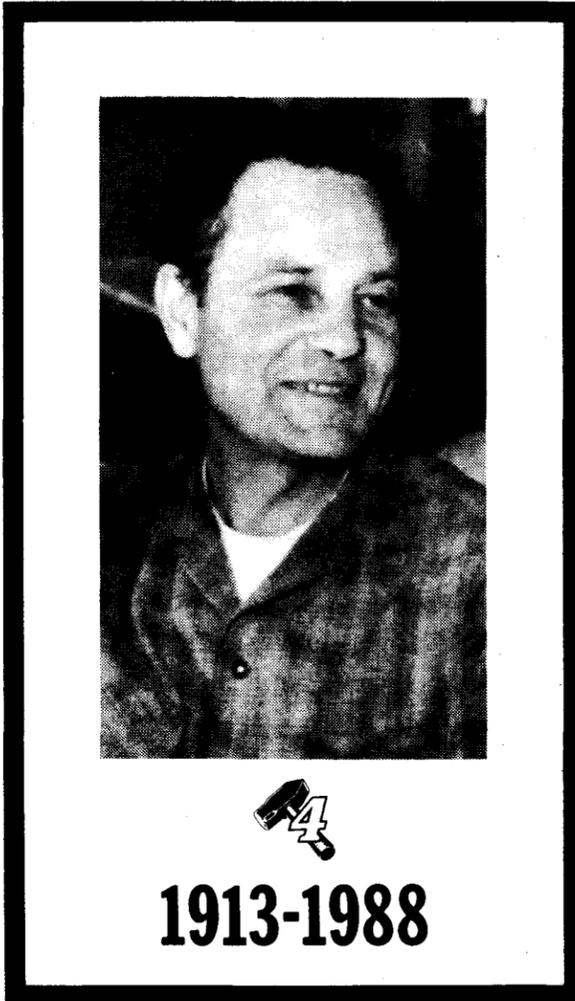
Monica Hill

reading statement from the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee

The Freedom Socialist Party extends its sympathy to Jon Fraser and to the comrades and friends of Dick Fraser gathered here today.

Dick made a lasting contribution to our movement and to the Black liberation struggle through his collaboration with Dan, Clara Fraser and others in originating and developing the Revolutionary Integration position. Dick spoke brilliantly on Revolutionary Integration, many times from the pulpits of Black churches. And his grasp of history, economics, and politics was widely admired. He is remembered for his scholarly talks on a host of issues, his energetic organizing, and his stinging barbs at the bourgeoisie.

Fraser's profound Marxist analysis in Revolutionary Integration is destined to become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of U.S. radicals. It has already left an indelible mark on our organization, helping to shape it into a multi-racial party with deep respect for the materialist roots of the vanguard role of



Blacks in the fight for socialism.

The FSP parted ways with Dick in a serious, bitter and well-known struggle over women's rights. Still, we pay respect to him today for his positive contributions to the movement as writer, speaker, teacher, historian and leader who never relinquished his socialist goal. His long life encompassed a host of jobs and talents. In the '30s he supported himself in Seattle by selling *The Militant* on Skid Road; he later became a merchant seaman, a carpenter, and a plastics technician. He was a violinist and a gourmet chef. And he devoted his life to Trotskyist politics. As the son of a miner killed in a mine explosion, he was always a highly class conscious worker and unionist. He never finished high school but became a consummate worker-intellectual; his agile mind soaked up ideology like a sponge.

He left us two chief legacies: theoretical work which guides our daily practice, and his jazz musician son Jon who is creating the music of a new and better society in the belly of the old one. And we salute this unique legacy, this incendiary mixture of jazz, Black history and revolutionary socialist theory!

* * * * *

Charles Du Bois

a friend and comrade of Dick's since 1974

This is very beautiful here. I find these things out about Dick that I never suspected. He was not a braggart, obviously. I first heard about Dick Fraser through reading "The Materialist Conception of the Negro Question." I was about 18 years old, this is back in '71. I was impressed with the document, and it had a profound impact on my development and understanding of American politics and especially the black question, since I had come from being a black nationalist, Maoist, kind of.

So I was in awe of his name, you know, Richard Kirk [Fraser]—well, who is this guy, he's pretty good. Of course, I didn't know that about a year and a half later we'd be sharing the same couch. I was on the couch first, I was staying at Ted and Gayle Fagin's house, and I was sleeping on the couch, and he needed a place. He had seniority, so he got the couch and I got the floor. So I finally said, this is Dick Fraser and, legends don't quite fit the mental image or expectations—I came from this Maoist background and they have these

bigger-than-life leaders, you know, Lenin's got bulging arms and stuff—this is Dick Fraser, wow. But he was "bad." Size don't count.

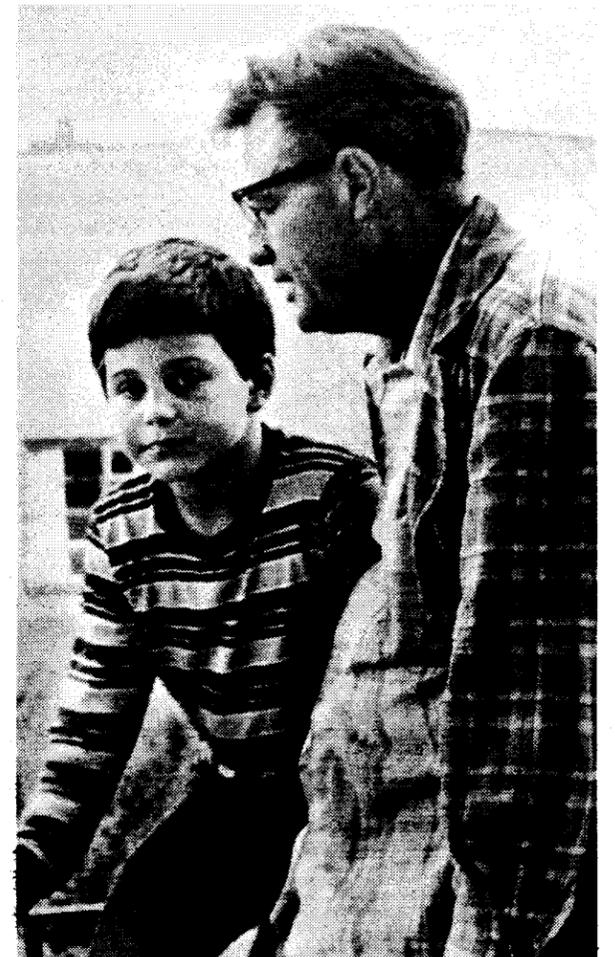
When I met him, he was on some kind of rebound. He was not one to talk about a lot of his problems, and I wasn't the kind of person to get nosy with something somebody didn't want to talk about. But since I had met him, I guess sometime around '72 or '73, he was on some kind of rebound. I guess it was some years later where he actually ended up soliciting me for a place to stay, but it was a privilege that I was able to help him out. Myself and the Spartacist League and all people in the socialist movement are indebted to this man for his contribution.

What we were doing, while I was a member of the Spartacist League, was collaborating with him on doing archival research into the SWP work in the '40s. See, he never mentioned a lot of this stuff that he had written before—we were going into the '40s, so he pointed us in the right direction, but he didn't tell us. Of course, he had a hard time speaking, too, so I guess he had to save his words. But I was very surprised to see a lot of this stuff and hear all these stories. I mean, I never knew all this stuff about Dick.

But one thing I could not understand at the time was that he was giving us all this information and helping us out, pointing us in the right direction, and telling us stories, like how the SWP looked and what it was doing, or how it lost its members, how it gained them, what the organization in Detroit looked like as far as he could recall. But he was in NAM [New American Movement], and you know, this was a political opponent, an organizational opponent. See, I didn't have it then, you know—political opponents, organizational opponents, I didn't quite get the differentiation, you see. And it was painful for him to talk, but he was giving us all this stuff, and I couldn't figure it out. Well, I got it figured out now.

He really cared for revolutionists, and people that wanted clarity and respected history and wanted to study. And that above all was what the man was about. He wanted to teach. And your organizational affiliation wasn't necessarily the thing that was going to color what he did and how he did it. The man was very, very generous. I knew that, and hearing these people that knew the man, really knew the man, yes.

So we have a great loss here, a great loss with Dick



The Fraser Family
Dick Fraser with his son Jonny, who is now an accomplished jazz musician.



WV Photo

Frank Krasnowsky, editor of *Revolutionary Age*, speaks of his long collaboration with Dick Fraser, at memorial meeting held in Los Angeles January 8.

Fraser. But when I reread the "Materialist Conception" after I met him, I had read it before and I always read it again, but it's kind of funny reading it now, because you read his polemical barbs and I know how he looks, or how he looked, and could sort of see the twinkle in his eye like he's kind of saying this stuff. It's kind of fun to read, yeah, Dick.

I don't know what emotional cost he had to pay in terms of the constant rebounds he was having to make, politically, personally and then in terms of his health. But the man, he never quit. And I'm just very glad to say that he was able to witness the impact of what his contribution actually has meant, in terms of the mobilizations that have stopped the Klan. That he was able to witness that and see that what he stood for was not just a good idea and he's pretty sure he's right, but he



WV Photo

Charles Du Bois spoke of the impact of Dick Fraser's writings on him as a young radical breaking from black nationalism.

knew he was right, and that the last act that he did do, the last political act [endorsing the November 5 Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Philadelphia], this is very gratifying that he was able to see that carried out.

And what I can say is that Dick Fraser did not surrender to the bourgeoisie or bourgeois ideology. People have said it, he died a communist. And we owe a lot to Dick Fraser, we're gonna miss him.

* * * * *

Larry Levinson

a Spartacist comrade who sent the following message, dated 30 November 1988

Dear Comrades and friends,

I am sending this letter to share a few thoughts on my impression of Richard Fraser. I was privileged to help take care of him while I was still living in Los Angeles. Looking back at this I can see that I was carrying out an important duty as a young communist in assisting Richard. For me being with Dick was my chance to have a real link with a socialist from the old revolutionary SWP. A generation of militants that I would only know through the program and the written word they left behind. Although most of the time I spent with Dick was involved with basic survival tasks for him, a few telling facets of this man stood out.

First and foremost Dick was a tenacious man. The medical battle he waged not only against his condition but also against the wretched world of doctors and hospitals would daunt anyone. Dick kept on fighting and at the same time kept an ironic slant on all this. Dick could tell you the most horrible things that happened to him and have you laughing and crying at the same time. It was a bittersweet task to take care of Dick.

That Dick was able to continue contributing politically was a real testament to his history as an organizer and leader in the SWP. Where I mainly saw this was how he would continually overcome the latest adversity to strike him so as to be able to keep on following world events and most importantly write down his thoughts. The most important possessions he had were his books, his television and his typewriter.

The other thing that sticks in my mind is how Richard's eyes would light up when he mentioned two other things important to him. These were his son and music. Richard's voice would get that tone of pride when he mentioned his son. And one nice memory that will stay with me was when we were able to take Dick to a concert of the L.A. Philharmonic.

Dick was a charming man who had wards of nurses of numerous hospitals in the greater Los Angeles area caring for him as their favorite patient. The only patient I had ever seen who had a typewriter in his room.

I end this by saying that I will always be proud for having been a part of helping Dick in his later years and always a little sad that I didn't know and learn more from him.

* * * * *

Jim Stark

a Spartacist comrade, sent the following contribution

Dick, in spite of being in bad health during the last years, and when I helped care for him in Los Angeles, was always willing to draw on his own array of political experience to help us with our work. (In hindsight, he laughed at some of them.)

I remember in particular the good advice he gave me at the first national SL conference after he found out that I was doing work among black workers in the South. He told me that in addition to having a revolutionary program, because of the history of segregation, it would be necessary to find ways of achieving social interaction with my black coworkers. He suggested that if necessary, join clubs or associations where one could establish these kind of relationships, but that I would have to find out how to do it in my own way. It was good advice on his part, as we have learned from doing communist work among the black working class in the Deep South.

This example is probably a small thing by itself, but the total of Dick's work, in particular his work on the black question, is a valuable contribution to Trotskyism.

* * * * *

Message from the Chicago Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League

Long service and tenacity as a partisan of the working class and oppressed demand the greatest admiration and respect from we who come after. His contribution to be realized in the struggle for black liberation and proletarian power that will be the American socialist revolution.

* * * * *

Frank Krasnowsky

*a longtime comrade of Dick's who collaborated with him for over 20 years in the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party and the Freedom Socialist Party, and as editor of *Revolutionary Age**

We've got all these young people up here today. I'd like to thank you for the invitation to speak here, and particularly I want to thank those of you who took care of Dick in these last years, and made his last years so productive and as pleasant as possible.

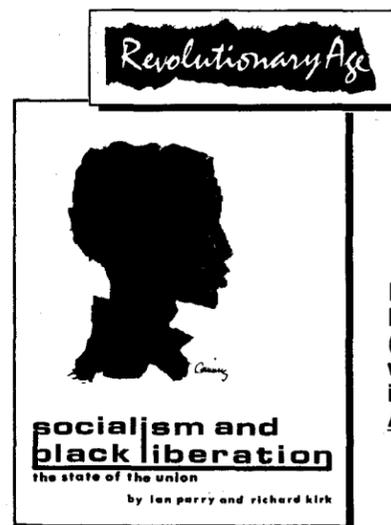
When I was asked to speak, I was kind of pleased with the idea that I would finally get a chance to get even with all those people who ignored Dick over all the years, you know. And I worked out a wonderful talk that I was going to give down here. I was going to go through the whole history of his ideas and present them to you here. And talk a little about the way he worked with others and confronted with others, to talk a little bit about the way I and Clara Fraser and the Seattle branch worked together with him in developing his ideas. Then after all that I was told that I should try to keep it to ten minutes. So you don't know how lucky you all are here today.

No, I'm not really going to talk too much about the contents of his writings, because those are all available. We've printed them out, particularly in two publications which I edited, in the *Revolutionary Age*, in the work "Revolutionary Integration," and "Crisis and Leadership," which were the major works we published.

I'd rather talk a little bit on the way Dick worked, that is how he managed to enrich his own ideas and to test them in the class struggle, and to help others develop their own thinking and their own understanding. Dick, as you know, and as has been described here to you, was never what you'd call an ivory tower radical. He was a constant activist. But he used all the material on hand, both in the form of data and the knowledge and experience of others in developing his own ideas. He was particularly astute in drawing people out and getting them to express their ideas and in trying to get his ideas over to them.

It wasn't mentioned here, but Dick for a couple of years worked as an engineer at Weyerhaeuser in Seattle. Now you know he didn't have a college degree or anything, but one of the people who worked with him, who was a doctor in physics at the University, said that he thought that Dick was the greatest engineer that he ever met. And I asked Dick, "How'd you get a reputation like that?"

Well, what happened is, if he ever had a problem or a puzzle, he would head straight for the University of



Many articles by Dick Fraser (Richard Kirk) were published in *Revolutionary Age*.

Washington, talk to all the professors who were involved in that field, bring together all their knowledge, and then use it. This was a great talent. And he'd use that same talent, of course, as a Marxist thinker and a writer. In this respect he received, I would say, constant help from our Seattle branch and of many individual comrades in Los Angeles and throughout the country.

This may step on some people's toes, but I have to say it anyway—he got almost no help from the official party to which he had devoted his entire life. Neither in the form of support for his ideas on black liberation, nor what would have been important for him as well, in the form of an honest confrontation of ideas. In 1957 when the Southern movement was first beginning to break out, and when his ideas were getting their first real test in life, we went to the '57 convention of the Socialist Workers Party with a resolution and were answered, rather strangely, with a demand by the National Committee that we provide a vote of confidence in the National Committee in opposition to his resolution. I had never heard that before in the party.

Again in '63, where we put together all of the

continued on page 6

Fraser Memorial...

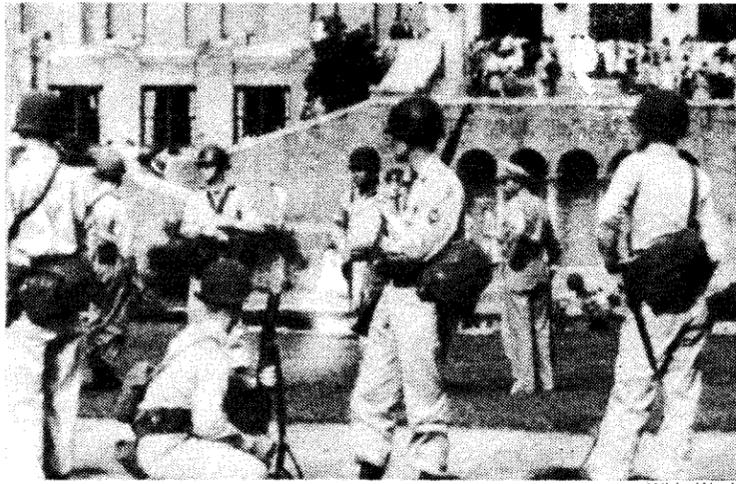
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experiences of the Southern movement, we came in with the resolution and for the first time in the history of the party, equal time was not provided to the opposition. There was an hour and a half given to the majority, a half hour given to Dick's position and to our position, and the bulk of the discussion consisted of an organizational attack upon our branch. And finally in '65 when we presented the document, it was called "Crisis and Leadership." After it was all over we received instructions from the presidium not to discuss any of the political material presented, and transforming the conference into an active workers conference. Now there was in that no confrontation of ideas, no way that he could draw from any of that.

Fortunately, there were better places for him to develop his ideas and his inspiration. Dick took every opportunity that was offered to him to talk and discuss with revolutionary black leaders his ideas on revolutionary integration. Anybody who came to the Northwest got stuck, that is about what it came down to. Maybe there was one or two of us who would talk to them in the afternoon, but by the time it was over they were over at Dick's for ten to twelve hours and all night long, discussing and talking. And I'm not talking just about this or this Joe, it didn't matter to Dick who he talked to, but among the people who he caught were William Worthy, James Farmer, Gibson, Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Robert Williams.

I can't recall all that were there, but we had a session with Dick Gregory in which together we organized a whole meeting in the black community, of a very conservative black community, in support of the Southern struggle. Dick could talk with him. And these weren't just little discussions, they were a complete confrontation of ideas, one to the other, in which he hoped to teach and he hoped to learn. And I don't remember any of them ever being angry about having participated in it.

But I'll tell you, visitors could escape with maybe ten or twelve hours of discussion. That wasn't true of the rest of us in the branch. In Seattle we had a man named Waymon Ware. He was a young man then, of course. Waymon Ware was probably the leading person in the black movement in Seattle. He was also a member of our group. And Dick was constantly in conversation with Skip Ware. And his wife, who was not in our



Wide World

Eisenhower sent federal troops to Little Rock during 1957 school integration battle. Dick Fraser's "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis" opposed SWP's call for troops, insisting government stepped in to "cut off an insurgent movement of the Negro masses there which was beginning to erupt."

tion movement. I'm not going to go into now what had happened before Dick came, but we were very active when he arrived. But in the '60s we were already central to the whole organization of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. We were involved in the training of cadres, we helped send people down. In fact, one of the announcements we got from the South, from the people who were participating, was that the people from the Northwest were those best equipped mentally to participate in the struggle down there.

Incidentally, we also sent two people down from the Seattle branch, one our only Spartacist member, and I think you may know of that around here somewhere, who spent about six months at least in the South during that period. We didn't discriminate in the branch, if different political opinions, if they were helping to build the organization. So that even those in the end who weren't in the SWP and who went down to the South that were not in our organization came back with the experience that we provided them, with the knowledge we provided them, and added a new mass of experience for the development of our ideas for the next cadres that could go down and carry out the fight.

I'm going to tell you a little story. I don't think anybody knows this here. But in 1964 for the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, my former wife Ann Krasnowsky took a carload, actually it was a van, of black women and SNCC leaders to the convention, with a resolution for the Mississippi Freedom Dem-

every time I came through Los Angeles, we'd have coffee, Ann and I, at his house, and have a little discussion for several hours with him and Rose [Karsner]. And this time he was sitting there and studying two books. One was a book by James Boggs, *The American Revolution*, and the other was Harrington's *The Other America*. And he commented to us, "Why is it that two non-Marxist writers can write a brilliant analysis of what is going on in the United States in the nature of class relations, and even propose a political program, and the pages of our magazine, the *Fourth International*, are completely sterile?"

Well, it was a rhetorical question, but I decided I'd try to answer it anyway. And I said, well, if you really want to get original thinking in the SWP, you're going to have to read the internal bulletins. And that was about the way it appeared to me. That many of the people who had been studying and thinking had been suppressed by what I considered a sort of a bureaucratic centralism, not democratic, in which people with all kinds of ideas found that they didn't have a way to express their opinions. And I really think that that's one of the great tragedies of the movement.

I have some optimism out of this whole meeting. I will say that I came down here a little depressed, and much of that is overcome already by the people here. But I think that the great tragedy really of the movement in the past is not just that we lost for a while, because we can win again. But the number of fine minds, fine thinking and the rest that have not found the way to express themselves, that got confined in this myth that everybody must hold the monolithic idea and not open criticism, and not think about things anymore. The party should be, an organization of the left should be an extra group that strengthens your ideas, that builds you, that makes you better able to deal with the class struggle as you go on.

It's for that reason that I truly thank the people who organized this memorial, who are part of an organization with which I have had many differences, but then I can't think of one that I didn't have many differences with, if you want to get down to it. But at least for rescuing from extinction the work of one of the truly great Marxists and Trotskyists of our era, and for helping him to live and last as long as he was able, and to make new contributions in the struggle for which he lived. Thank you.

* * * * *

Statement of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency

Comrades,

We would like to add our salute to the memory of comrade Dick Fraser. A number of us had the honour of meeting comrade Fraser, which serves to underline our deep sense of loss. We stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us. As Marxists and internationalists we deeply appreciate the work he did, in particular "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question." This contribution is not narrowly confined to enunciating the crucial elements for black freedom in the United States through the programme of revolutionary integration. By clarifying a Marxist methodological approach, he aided us in building our international on a firm basis. Our capacity to address the national question and situations such as Ireland where the problem of interpenetrated peoples must be confronted owes a great deal to the Bolsheviks, but also to such contributions as comrade Dick's.

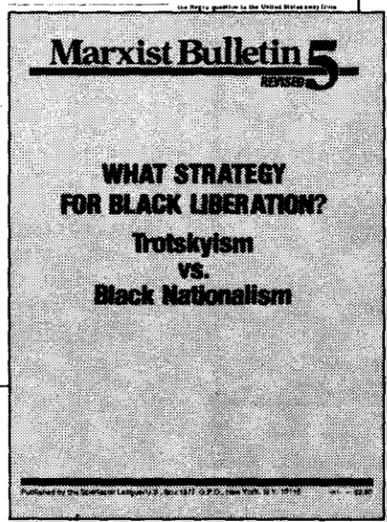
Comrade Fraser already has an epitaph in his contributions, and we are sure that he, like any revolutionary, would feel his memory can best be honoured by carrying the work forward for world revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SWP discussion bulletin	
<small>Published by the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 116 University Place New York 3, New York</small>	
<small>Vol. 12 No. 1 1968</small>	
CONTENTS	
1. RESOLUTION ON THE LITTLE ROCK CRISIS	Page
-- by Richard Kirk	1
2. REMARKS ON KIRK RESOLUTION -- "On The Little Rock Crisis"	
-- by Dan Roberts	12
3. ANSWER TO DAN ROBERTS	
-- by Lois Saunders	16

For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle

by R.S. Fraser



Spartacist strategy for black liberation, documented in Marxist Bulletin No. 5, traces its continuity to Fraser's fight for revolutionary integrationism, as opposed to SWP's embracing of black nationalism.



WV Photo

organization but was a leading community activist, also suffered, enjoyably, constant probing and discussions of her ideas.

And not only, and this may strike people as some kind of a violation of some myths about democratic centralism, but not only did he confront them with his ideas, but our document that was in preparation, called "Revolutionary Integration," was carried by these people into the South for their discussion. The columns appeared in SNCC and in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. They were sent out so people could study them, to look at it, write back to him, so we could build up our resolution with people who were serious about our ideas.

But ideas alone do not make a Marxist movement, or a Marxist theory. You have to take your ideas and put them into life, to test them, to reformulate, so that you know your ideas are rooted solidly in Marxism at the same time that they deal with all of the newest and most modern developments in society. The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party took every opportunity it could to participate in the black libera-

ocratic Party, which condemned the whole racist role of the Democratic Party in the South, and called for the unseating of the Mississippi Democratic white delegation and the Alabama delegation. And I want to tell you, we were a little surprised when we heard over the radio that almost precisely the wording of his resolution was presented by the black caucus at that convention.

Now, this is just an inkling, I'm not going to go on too far, of the kinds of experience and work that went into the concepts that Dick presented and developed in our movement. The rejection of which I can say quite bluntly, since it involved the rejection really of the revolution in the United States, led very much to the degeneration of the organization that we built earlier, of the Socialist Workers Party.

And one last thing in conclusion. In the '60s, I had a little talk with Jim Cannon. I'm just dropping names now. Actually, I didn't know Jim that well, he was a different generation than mine. Actually it was something which I realize now was something that bothered me much more than it bothered him. But

As Army of Cops, Troops Shields 7 Klansmen

Atlanta: 3,500 Turn Out Against KKK



ATLANTA, January 29—The Klan and skinhead thugs planned their racist “celebration” of the murder of Martin Luther King with a January 21 march through this capital of the “New South.” Taking place just miles from where the modern Klan was reborn at Stone Mountain, their provocation was intended to fuel racist terror across America. The Georgia state house and the black Democratic city administration mobilized a virtual army to ensure that organized protest would not prevent the race-haters from invading a black city on the first day of the Bush administration.

But thousands filled Central City Park in downtown Atlanta in a labor/black mobilization of defiance. This integrated demonstration, bringing out over 3,000 unionists, students, gays and socialists, was a sight not seen in the open-shop, Klan-infested Deep South for decades.

Last summer, would-be führer Richard Barrett and his skinheads were frustrated in their attempt to march outside the Democratic convention by several hundred demonstrators. So the powers that be served notice that this would not be allowed to happen again. The relationship of forces on the side of the state was so overwhelming that when the march passed the 3,000 anti-Klan demonstrators in Central City Park, only the fascists’ disgusting “No King Over Us” banner was visible amid the 2,000 cops and troops arrayed in riot gear and battle fatigues. Elsewhere along the line of march, skirmishes broke out as protesters tried to get at the Klansmen. The cops escorted the fascists through town



Atlanta's Central City Park, January 21: thousands demonstrate defiant opposition to KKK and skinhead racists.

Labor/Black Mobilization Says: “Sweep the Fascists Off the Streets!”

and launched a police rampage against black Atlanta.

Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be Fatal

In initiating this labor-centered show of strength against Barrett’s fascist provocation, the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, initiated a united-front call: “Act Now! Stop the KKK!” Pursuing the same strategy which spiked a Klan/skinhead threat in Phila-

delphia November 5, on the eve of Bush’s election, the PDC call warned “Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be Fatal”:

“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’s heavily black and beleaguered unions saw the need to act.

Key Atlanta unions joined the mobilization: AFSCME Local 1644 city and hospital workers, Service Employees International Union Local 679, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732 representing MARTA transit workers, as well as Machinists’ officials at Atlanta’s huge Hartsfield airport. Jerry Waters, AFSCME City Chapter chairman, spoke to the significance of the anti-Klan rally:

“Our message at AFSCME is that labor has to take a stand to rid this country of its apartheid ways. It is very simple... if you give the Klan the right to march in a city that is predominantly black you’re saying to the Klan that you’re giving them the right to hang, burn, kill and beat.”

In the heavily working-class housing projects, tenants councils added their support to the effort, joined by student organizations from the black Atlanta University complex and Georgia State University. From elsewhere in the South, Greensboro Massacre survivor Nelson Johnson and Crystal Lee Sutton (the real “Norma Rae”) added their endorsements.

By 10 a.m. on January 21, two hours before the demonstration’s scheduled start, people were already gathering in Central City Park. Three hours later, the crowd had swelled to over 3,000, with unions and black fraternities providing marshals to ensure the crowd’s safety. When the cops and troops reached the Five Points intersection, 150 feet from the rally, thousands of voices erupted in chants of “Down with the hoods, down with the sheets—Sweep the Klan off the streets!” and

continued on page 8

Atlanta...

(continued from page 7)

"Hitler-lovers, you can't hide, KKK must not ride!"

The united front provided a platform for a wide divergence of views around the common determination to oppose the Klan nightriders. One black nationalist was loudly booed when he started white-baiting and gay-baiting other protesters; an SL speaker was cheered for sharply criticizing those remarks. A number of speakers, including a member of the Georgia Rainbow Coalition, expressed illusions in MLK-style pacifism and black Democrats like Jesse Jackson.

For most participants, the event was their first exposure to the socialist program of the Spartacist League: that black liberation requires an American workers revolution. Many reacted strongly against our chant that "Cops and Klan go hand in hand." But there it was, staring everyone in the face: a horde of baton-wielding city and state police marching with the KKK. It was an object lesson in which side the state is on, whether under black Democrats or Reaganite Republicans.

The unions that helped build this labor/black mobilization represent a crucial toehold of labor power in the South. Atlanta is a transportation and commercial/banking hub for the region. It is also the bastion of the "New South," administered by black bourgeois politicians on behalf of the Coca-Cola bourgeoisie. In the 1960s Andrew Young counseled the oppressed black masses to "turn the other cheek" in the face of racist terror. Today these advocates of MLK-style "nonviolence" unleash their extremely violent cops on the black citizens of Atlanta in defense of the open shop and the Klan's "right" to terrorize.

Unionized black workers in Atlanta



Phalanx of cops and troops escort 7 Klansmen up Decatur Street. Inset: fascist Barrett protected by Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

get shafted. In 1977, a bitter AFSCME city workers strike was viciously broken by then-mayor Maynard Jackson. Today, Andrew Young jets around the world selling Atlanta's "pro-business" (low-wage) climate to investors. The black working people of Atlanta know that the "New South" stops at the city limits. And their wages and living conditions are no better now than before a black administration took office. At a recent fund-raiser for the Martin Luther King Center, the "official" civil rights leaders were embarrassed when a bitter SEIU janitor rose to donate one hour of her wages—\$3.35!

KKK/Cop Violence

The All-Peoples Congress (APC), which attracted several hundred youths

to a site near the state capitol, now cheer how "Atlanta youth rebel against Klan, National Guard" (*Workers World*, 2 February). The APC and its parent Workers World Party were playing at a cynical and light-minded game and, especially in the South, a potentially deadly one. Prone to inciting young people into pointless confrontations with the police, the APC undercuts their ostensible—and our real—purpose in these anti-fascist demonstrations. The APC spurns mass mobilization based on the social power of the unions; the APC leaflet was even printed by a scab shop!

APC's mindless "militancy" conceals a liberal program. Today they tail after the black Democrats who have made their hallmark the anti-drug witchhunt carried out by naked racist police terror.

WWP/APC jumps on the bandwagon, obscenely arguing, in the middle of their article which attacks the cop terror against protesters, that "the Klan and Nazis have no more right to be on the street marching to recruit lynch mobs than drug dealers have the right to set up shop on campuses." "Stop the drug dealers" is exactly the excuse used by Mayor Young's cops as they bust heads of black youths and housing project residents who dare venture downtown.

The city fathers perhaps thought they could use the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee as a steam vent for black Atlanta's outrage over the Klan incursion. But a powerful and determined mobilization of black labor united with anti-racist whites and "reds" was more than they bargained for. After the rulers marched the Klan through Atlanta and their cops rampaged against black protesters, their press starts screaming about "violence" by anti-Klan protesters and says everybody should have stayed home. If they wanted to save \$300,000 and have a peaceful Saturday, they should have kept the soldiers at home, and it would have been the last time the Klan terrorists tried marching in Atlanta.

The *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (29 January) trotted out one Harvey Klehr to insinuate that the Spartacist League and the PDC had "another agenda," not stopping the Klan. Klehr "exposes" the revolutionary slogans carried by the PDC and the Spartacist League: "Free Abortion on Demand," "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty," "Workfare Is Genocide," "Billions for AIDS Research," "Free Iranian Political Prisoners" and "Defeat Yankee Imperialism in Central America." Hardly a secret agenda.

Klehr noted that "The Spartacists, for example, have long denounced black leaders like Jesse Jackson as 'shills' and 'front men' for a racist society." That's right—we say the Democratic Party for which Jackson fronts is an enemy of black and working people. What Klehr doesn't mention is that in a 1988 report on "The American Radical Left Today" sponsored by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, he attacked Jackson for endorsing a "communist-controlled" 1985 Moscow youth festival, going on to denounce him as an apologist for "Palestinian terrorism." Klehr even retailed the old Hoover-Kennedy smears about Communists in M.L. King's organization.

We can tell you straight out what Klehr's secret agenda is. He is a professional redbaiter and apologist for Zionist state terror. Nationalism always has the potential for fascism, and Klehr's variety is played out in Israel, where significant sectors are pushing for a genocidal program against the embattled Arab population. But the Zionist garrison state is a deathtrap for Jews as

"Students Unite with Labor to Fight Racist Terror"

Two Spartacus Youth Club militants recount the long march through police-occupied Atlanta to reach the Central City Park rally.

Black students at Clark and Morehouse campuses of Atlanta University had decided to organize a march from campus to the labor/black mobilization at Central City Park. We gathered in a parking lot near Clark College at 10:30 a.m. At first it was all women—just us and the Delta sorority. Then some men began to trickle in and a group of Morehouse students showed up. We headed out to Morris Brown and started a chant on the bullhorn, "Students unite with labor to fight racist terror!"

At Morris Brown, there were another 50 kids waiting and we all started marching off. We chanted, "Down with the hoods, down with the sheets, sweep the Klan off the streets!" But at about the halfway point, the sound system died. We got to Spring Street, turned left and hit a police barricade. We were told we had to turn around and go past Five Points. There were about 150 of us. We turned down Alabama Ave., marched to Five Points MARTA station, hit another roadblock. We thought we could get through Five Points, but ran into a barricade. It was a hairy situation—as we approached, some of the men ran to the barriers as though to jump them and about 100 cops in riot fatigues ran forward to meet them.

We rushed to the front, saying this is a police provocation, they're there to protect the Klan. The crowd backed off. Just then, two people from the All-

Atlanta U. Contingent Marches



Black students' march joins rally at Central City Park.

Peoples Congress showed up with their own (working) bullhorn, bent on hijacking our group and began leading the crowd away from our march route to the Capitol. They got the group to turn left and boom, all you could see was the sun glittering off thousands of helmet-clad shield-wielding troopers. Tired of marching, a large chunk of the group ran toward the APC demo. Some hung back, knowing something was wrong. "This is not our demonstration, this is a police trap," we said. The lack of a bullhorn was maddening. We began chanting, "Our demonstration is at the park, we have to link up with the city workers and transit workers to stop the Klan."

Then, miracle of miracles, our bullhorn crackled back into life. We man-

aged to extract a good chunk of kids and started down MLK toward Techwood. The people who had left the APC demo with us had really made a decision to throw in their lot with us and understood about staying tight together. Several of the young women made up chants, and took the mike—seeing all those Deltas chanting "Workers of the World Unite!" was great. One girl came up and said, "You know, it really blows me away that they use all those cops to protect the Klan and meanwhile they're keeping us from exercising our rights."

We'd been marching an hour and a half. As we passed through downtown chanting, cars honked in support and traffic stopped to let us pass. With clenched fists we finally entered Central City Park.

"Down with the Hoods, Down with the Sheets— Sweep the Klansmen Off the Streets!"

Dorothy Woods

Recording Secretary, ATU Local 732

We are here to honor the working people who built this country. We must realize the danger of the Klan and the Nazis, even in small numbers. Labor has the power, and that's why we're gathering like this.

Thecla McCullough

President, Black Student Association, Georgia State University

One thing that I think is a total travesty—less than one week after we



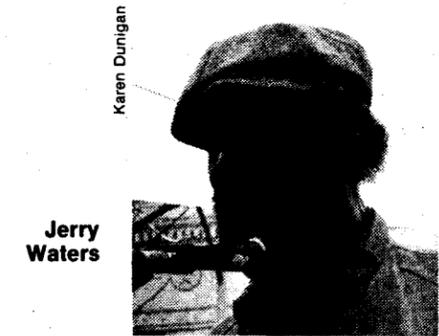
Thecla McCullough

celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, there are people who chose to make a mockery out of the whole ordeal.

Jerry Waters

City Chapter Chairman, AFSCME Local 1644

We black people have taken great interest in ridding South Africa of its apartheid system. We have taken so much interest in calling for a free Johannesburg that we have closed our eyes to



Jerry Waters

racial hostilities here in America. From AFSCME 1644 we say that we wholeheartedly endorse this movement, and we say: Power to the people and stop the Klan!

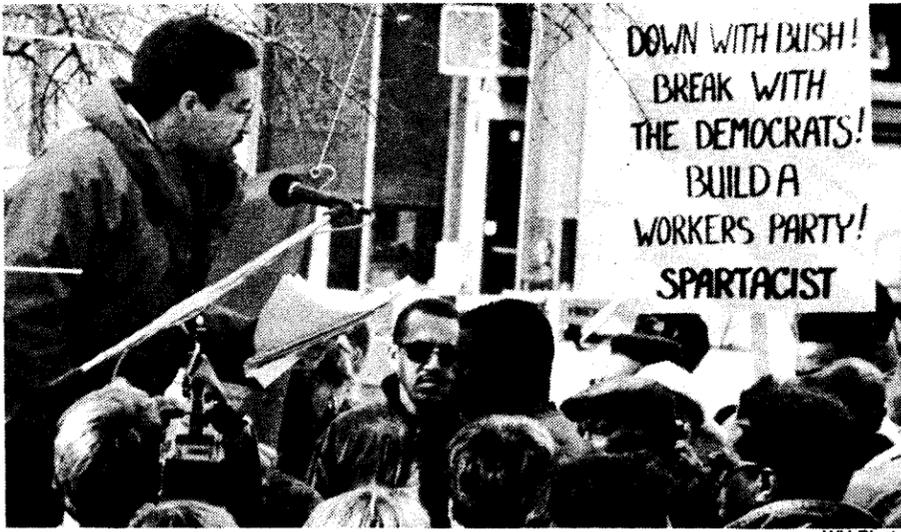
Whitney Young

Former president, Student Government Association, Clark College

I just came from a long walk around, because our great city did not allow us to walk down our own streets that we pay tax for. Our nation is involved in terroristic acts all over the world. Here in their own backyard they sanction an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan.

well. And Klehr should remember where Atlanta is: the Ku Klux Klan signaled its rebirth with the 1915 lynching of Atlanta Jewish businessman Leo Frank. Among the many SL/PDC signs at the demonstration, one Klehr did not report is: "Remember Leo Frank!"

Klehr made clear what really irks him and the bourgeois rulers he serves when he pointed to one of the Spartacist chants at the demonstration: "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!" We Trotskyists insist it will take a proletarian revolution to finish the task of black liberation begun by the Civil War. As the 21 January PDC press release said, "In the open-shop, anti-union, Klan-infested 'New South,'



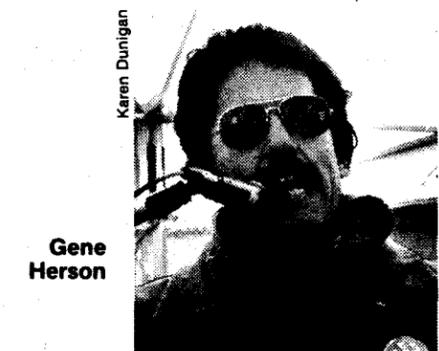
Rally co-chairman Brian Manning of the Spartacist League.

They allow them to march and sit on our capitol, the capitol of Georgia. These things must cease.

Gene Herson

Rally co-chairman and labor coordinator for the Partisan Defense Committee

The Klan are at the capitol. We don't know if there are so few of these snakes up there, or if you just can't see them,



Gene Herson

because there are thousands of police surrounding them. We want to make it clear why that is. The cops and the state are trying to use this rally as a steam vent. But we are here and we are organized. The city and state are letting the KKK march in an empty concentration camp. They have cleared the streets.

Now the reason that they are surrounded by thousands of police, and the reason that the police and the state and the city have created that vacuum is because we have the power, we are organized. In the forefront is the power of the integrated trade unions—we make the city and the industries work. We have the tenants associations. We have the student organizations. That's why they have created this kind of police-state vacuum to allow these snake Klan/Nazis to slither down the streets and back up.

Everybody here is sharing a piece of history. When else has it ever happened

today's demonstration of labor/black power in Atlanta marks a milestone in the fight for black emancipation."

In his book, *Let Me Live* (1969), Communist organizer Angelo Herndon recalled an integrated unemployed workers demonstration in Atlanta in 1935: "It was a demonstration of the Southern worker's power. Like a giant that had been lying asleep for a long time, he now began to stir." The January 21 labor/black mobilization can be a beacon for the black and working people of the Deep South, and for the oppressed throughout racist America. That giant, the power of labor, united in defense of its real interests, must uproot the fascist scourge once and for all through proletarian revolution. ■

in this city of Atlanta that you saw something like this? We should remember what we have done here, and how to go on from here and build, and to keep on building, and to never let the Klan and these Nazis want to even come out of their holes in the future.

Dean Manley

Coalition Opposing Operation Rescue

Uncle Klan wants you dead! He doesn't think that you have a right to live. If you're gay, if you're black, if you're a woman—he wants you chained to your stove, he wants you barefoot and pregnant. The Coalition Opposing Operation Rescue is trying to break those chains.

Rolf Jones

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Georgia State University

In a time when the media gives more attention to hate groups, to the skin-heads, the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nation, to see all of us, black and white together, this is good.

Terry Rose

Homeless Task Force

Don't let these people run you into the ground. Stomp the KKK! Stand up for your rights! Homeless are people too, and you have a right to be heard, no matter who you are. These streets are for you.

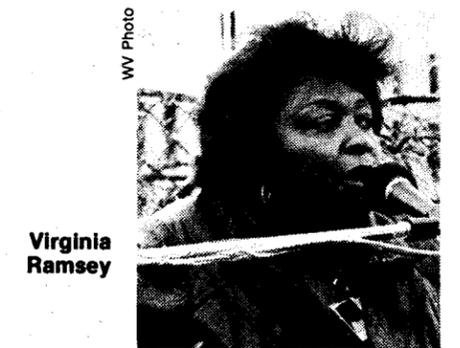
Virginia Ramsey

City chairperson of the Grady Hospital Chapter of AFSCME Local 1644, vice president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

I want to say to you today, the health care workers protest the marching of the KKK. We in health care and we in the labor union movement have no intentions of turning around now. The KKK says "No King Over Us." If they're protesting the birthday holiday of Dr.

Martin Luther King, Dr. Martin Luther King was there for labor when labor needed him. And we are going to keep on living the dream, and we are going to keep on dreaming the dream, and we are going to keep on demonstrating the dream!

I want you to take a message back to your neighborhoods, in order for the KKK to be able to receive it. You can tell them that we've come too far to stop now. We are not afraid anymore. Our strength has renewed. We are not going to run and hide in the basements. We are not going to sing how "We Shall Overcome" over a tub of water no more. We are not going to hide in the thickets by



Virginia Ramsey

the riverbank and leave our homes because we are afraid the KKK is coming in and burning them down.

Brian Manning

Spartacist League

When the KKK can march with impunity on our streets, it's an incitement to more terror, more cross-burnings, more lynchings. That's why we're out here today. To stop the KKK and the skin-heads, they feed on and inflame race-hate and fear, they poison every kind of integrated social struggle, from union organizing to winning strikes.

Who benefits by divide-and-conquer? They're the ones who are up in Washington, D.C., celebrating this weekend. They're the ones who are spending \$1,500 on a plate of food this weekend, to celebrate the coronation of George "Poppy" Bush. And it's both the Democrats and Republicans. You know, the loyal opposition in the Democratic Party. They're driving up the misery index, whether it's homelessness, joblessness or hunger. Even Jesse Jackson met with George Bush, and says, well, I'm going to reserve judgment on George Bush for right now.

It's time for us to get up and fight for what's rightfully ours. Let's not beg, let's take it, it's ours. We need full social equality for blacks, which is impossible except through a socialist revolution. Let's build a party that can take this government out of the hands of the racists and the warmongers and run it for ourselves. Let's fight for a workers government. ■

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42 Arrested—Drop the Charges!



Riot cops vault wall, beating and arresting protesters, to protect Klan terrorists in racist provocation against Atlanta.

Cops Rampage Against Anti-Klan Protesters

As over 2,000 cops and troops turned downtown Atlanta into an armed camp January 21 in order to escort seven fascists through this 60 percent black city, one anti-racist protester exclaimed, "This is a war zone." And when thousands of demonstrators turned out in defiance of the KKK and skinhead thugs, the cops ran amok—over 40 protesters were arrested, dozens clubbed. In the following days, Mayor Andrew Young and the bourgeois press launched a campaign to smear the anti-Klan demonstrators as violent "outsiders" and "hooligans." First they carry the fascists through black Atlanta in an incredible provocation, now they lie about it. *The truth is there was a police rampage on January 21.*

The day began with a massive array of force by six state and city agencies, under the control of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI). Starting at the state capitol, a gigantic phalanx of armed cops and soldiers surrounded a handful of Richard Barrett's Klansmen and skinheads. GBI arrest teams were on the inside. Ringing them were 1,020 National Guardsmen in flak jackets, long riot batons and gas masks, who were in turn flanked by state troopers in riot gear and mounted police. In front of this so-called "protective sock" was an ominous wedge of 200 state prison guards from the "special tactical unit." The formation stretched for an entire city block, led by motorcycle squads, prison buses, vans and squad cars. Outside the phalanx were the Atlanta cops, who barricaded every street within a block on either side of the march route—turning downtown Atlanta into

an armed concentration camp. Instead of a Klan "march," *two thousand cops and troops invaded Atlanta.*

From the day Barrett announced his racist provocation, black Democrat Andrew Young and the state of Georgia sought to ensure that the Klan would march through black Atlanta at all costs. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was denied the right to demonstrate at the state capitol, where the Klan assembled. By doing everything to prevent organized protest, Young was *guaranteeing* that there would be unorganized protest and the cops and Klan would provoke and set up individual protesters for arrest. And the liberal antics of the All-Peoples Congress fed into this, telling black and white youth to assemble *in the middle of the state's martial law zone at the capitol.* In contrast, the PDC sought to organize powerful labor/black protest against the Klan.

As the cops' massed formation moved through downtown, several hundred dispersed youth tried unsuccessfully to confront the Klan. When the phalanx passed Five Points in the central business district, the fascists were not even visible in a sea of riot helmets, cop horses and military fatigues. Thousands of blacks, unionists and students assembled at the PDC-initiated demonstration in Central City Park erupted in chants of "Down with the hoods, down with the sheets—Sweep the Klan off the streets!" and "Hitler-lovers you can't hide, KKK must not ride!"

Hundreds of black youth, including many students who had marched from Atlanta University, were cut off from

Central City Park by the cordon of Atlanta police and prison guards who filled Marietta Street at Five Points. It took determined efforts by Spartacus Youth Club leaders to find a route around the lines of cops. Another group of two hundred students from Morehouse College were able to find their way underneath the police lines by taking MARTA transit. But hundreds of others were stranded south of Five Points.

As the cop/Klan formation moved down Marietta back toward the capitol, police charged demonstrators along the route. Carlos Williams, a Grady high school senior, described how the cops "jumped over the wall and started beating everybody. They slammed me up against a concrete wall." George Napper, the city "Public Safety" Commissioner, came down from his observation helicopter and went to the business district at Five Points. He was greeted with chants of "Napper and the Klan go hand in hand."

The cops went berserk, wading into the crowd. One student described how GBI agents and Atlanta police "turned their fury on" the youths, "beating them with nightsticks and deliberately smashing a pair of eyeglasses" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 24 January). Two hours after the Klan had gone, squads of police swept up and down Peachtree Street—the TV news that night was filled with scenes of cops clubbing black youths. Forty-two anti-Klan protesters were jailed on charges of battery, assault, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot, while the racist terrorists were given a GBI escort out of town. Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel

Wolkenstein denounced the arrests as "the result of a police riot." At the anti-Klan demonstration, she said, "People were very disciplined but very defiant" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 23 January). Sunday morning at 3 a.m., PDC representatives went down and bailed out everyone we could. We demand: Drop all the charges now!

After initial admissions on television by Napper that "some folks... should not have been arrested," Andrew Young laid down the law: "I think the actions of the police, from what I have seen and heard, will stand up under any investigation" (*Constitution*, 24 January). By who, the GBI? The capitalist press, which had reported some of the cop rampage, changed its tune and denounced "hooliganism" and "outsiders." It wasn't so long ago that black Democrat Young was baited as an "outside agitator" during the civil rights movement. But now he rules black Atlanta on behalf of the "Old South," and lays open the streets to the Klan.

On January 21 the black Democrats in city hall and white Dixiecrats in the statehouse waged a military campaign (at a cost of over \$300,000) against blacks and labor in Atlanta. They sought to guarantee that George Bush's first day in office would be marked by the successful incursion of Klan raceterrorists against the black population of Atlanta under the guns of troops and cops. But the 3,000 blacks, unionists, students, gays and socialists who formed the powerful labor/black mobilization in downtown Atlanta stood united and defiant in the face of racist reaction and state violence in the "New South." ■

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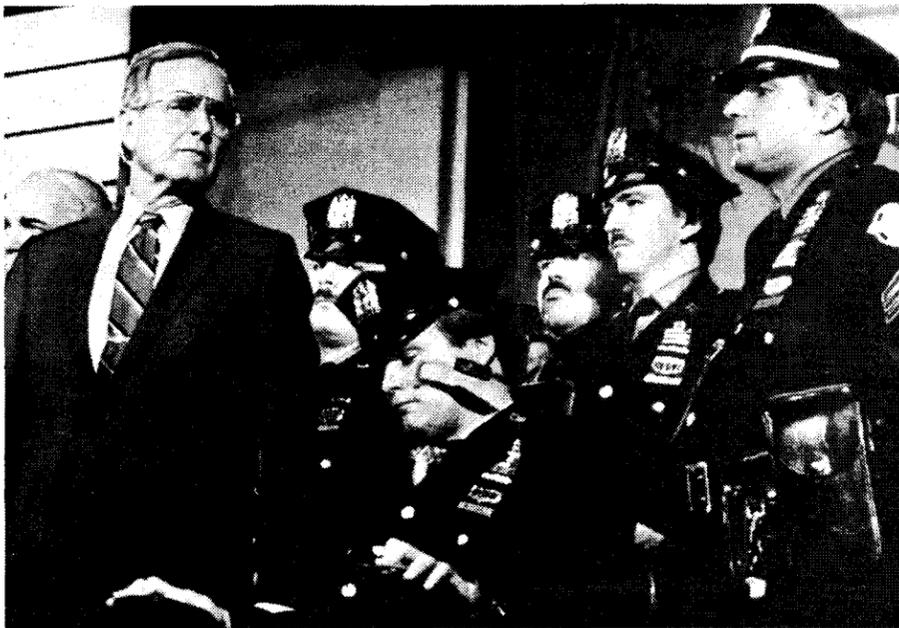
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Racist Cops...

(continued from page 1)

Workers union, at a protest demonstration for the homeless. Huerta was sent to the hospital with a ruptured spleen which had to be removed in emergency surgery. A local TV station broadcast footage of a cop furiously hitting people with his baton, and one could see the 58-year-old Huerta crumple to the ground. But after a meeting with SF mayor Art Agnos in December the police chief announced that the cop would not be disciplined. In another case, last October SF cops savagely beat a black Muni driver, Greg Wiggins, in his bus, then arrested him on charges of battery on a police officer. Wiggins' trial is coming up February 3, and fellow unionists are mobilizing to show solidarity at the Hall of Justice.

And in Long Beach, California on January 14, a black cop on leave from the local police, Sergeant Don Jackson, exposed racist police practices by driving through town as an ordinary workman, followed by an unmarked TV van. Within five minutes of entering Long Beach, the camera recorded his arrest on faked traffic violation charges. The incident was shown on national television as viewers saw the cop cursing Jackson and then throwing him face-first through a plate-glass window. Meanwhile hundreds of cops have been rounding up black and Hispanic youth in Los Angeles in a police crackdown against gangs in the name of the "war on drugs." Last May 1,500 were rounded up in one weekend simply for being on the street at the wrong time.



Downing/Newsweek

Cop endorsements played big role in Bush campaign. Killer cops have green light from White House.

and handcuffed, suffering broken teeth and various bruises. He is still seeking justice in court as his lawyer argues that the cops think "they can beat someone up anytime they want to" (*Alameda Journal*, 16-22 December 1988).

Green Light from the White House

It was not coincidental that the latest police provocations occurred in the same week as the Bush inauguration. When Reagan was elected in 1980, right-wingers in Central America celebrated by cruising around Guatemala City and San Salvador shooting off their automatic weapons. With Bush's inaugura-

and alienating the racist vote.

When Ronald Reagan came to office in 1980 his chief adviser was Edwin Meese, who oversaw the war against the Black Panther Party in California when Reagan was governor, and later became the nation's top cop. Meese yearned for a police state not so much to impose a reactionary social agenda, although he certainly has one, but because as a "cop's cop" he believed that police should rule. Now George Bush is in the Oval Office, and after all the rhetoric about a "kinder, gentler" America, in his inaugural address he proclaimed a new "intolerance" toward drugs. At a press conference a week later, he clarified this message, saying that in the anti-drug campaign his emphasis would be to cut demand by unleashing "law enforcement at home." Reading the lips of this former CIA director and control agent for the contra murderers, cops around the country are already carrying out this deadly threat to unleash police power.

The "Larry Davis Syndrome"

The cops' behavior in New York City is a litmus test of the violent change taking place across the country. Last summer the police went on a rampage in an attempt to impose a curfew in Manhattan's Tompkins Square Park. Dozens of local residents objecting to the curfew were brutally beaten by cops; 120 complaints were filed with the Civilian Complaint Review Board, and the incident was videotaped by TV stations as well as one independent crusader against police abuse. But to date not one of the 440 cops involved has been prosecuted, as the cops thumb their noses at the phony "review" board. PBA chief Phil Caruso excused the cops' action at Tompkins Square in a letter to the *New York Times* (25 January), complaining of "deviant behavior" by local residents and brazenly saying "some officers at the scene found it necessary to remove their shields" in order to avoid having to explain their brutal actions later.

But what really got NYC cops going was the acquittal in late November of Larry Davis, the black man who survived a police raid/shoot-out, hid out for two weeks and then emerged from a Bronx housing project as residents cheered. A jury of his peers—ten blacks and two Hispanics, who no doubt had bitter experiences with the NYPD—dismissed attempted murder charges on grounds of self-defense, finding that Davis had good reason to fear for his life if the cops were coming for him (because he knew about their drug deals). The next day an all-white crowd of 3,500 armed cops demonstrated outside the 113th Precinct, where several cops were transferred over racism, as Caruso vowed to "get these radicals" and "shove them aside and let us do our job." What this meant was shown in January when cops went looking for another black

man, 20-year-old Ralph Richardson, in a case remarkably like that of Davis... except for the ending.

Richardson had been the focus of a massive five-day police manhunt after he escaped a confrontation in Brooklyn when the cops sent five officers to his Bed-Stuy apartment, not to arrest him but "to establish that he was staying there." It ended in a shoot-out in which two cops were wounded and Richardson fled. After a crime spree over the next few days, Richardson was found dead in the front seat of a car in the early morning of January 25. The cops are claiming suicide, but nobody is buying it. Police claim the right-handed man shot himself in his left temple with his left hand. Columnist Jimmy Breslin decided to investigate the cops' story that the body was "found" by cops on "routine patrol" at 3:30 in the morning at a desolate junkyard. Local residents told him addicts go there to do drugs because the police are never around:

"As you looked around the place, a phrase came to mind naturally: 'taken for a ride.' I don't know of anybody who believes the police story. At the same time, most people don't care. Which is fine at first drink. Great! Gone. As vicious as we've ever had.

"But already we have had a Bronx jury of 12 people, in the Larry Davis case, announce that they believe that the police murder people and sell drugs. And there are at this time two more cases of people being shot by police."
—*Newsday*, 26 January

Was the Ralph Richardson case the cops' revenge for the Larry Davis verdict? This is the way the death squads got started in Brazil in the mid-'60s, as frustrated cops began executing drug dealers.

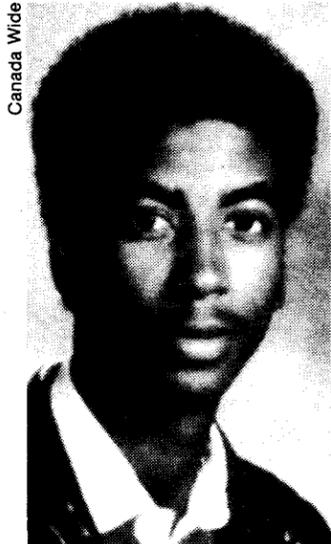
While police "hold court in the street," the sicko racists in this deeply racist country take their cue from the cops. Last week in Stockton, California a crazed drifter unloaded his AK-47 into a schoolyard, killing five children of Southeast Asian immigrants. Their parents came to America, they said, to get away from the killing fields of Cambodia. And the cult of cop violence is a staple of the mass media. Having reached the saturation point with fantasy cop shows like *Miami Vice*, they're now serializing real-life police terror as the Murdoch TV network (Fox Television) broadcasts a weekly half hour of cops bashing minorities, titled *Cops* ("viewer discretion advised").

The Bush administration is proposing to dig a huge ditch south of San Diego to stop "illegal aliens," while other Bush-whackers want to build a 12-foot-high concrete wall topped by barbed wire fence along the border with Mexico. Like the Sam Houston gang that died fighting for slavery at the Alamo, the Texas cabal now running Washington—from the Republican White House to the Democratic Congress—wants to run the country like the Texas Rangers run roughshod over blacks, Hispanics and Asians. At bottom, the capitalist class rests on the organized violence of its special bodies of armed men. And it will take a socialist revolution not only to win justice for the working class and minorities, but simply to make the streets safe from the cops. ■



AP

Loyal Garner, Jr. (left), beaten to death in Texas jail. Michael Wade Lawson (right), shot in back of head by Toronto cops.



Canada Wide

The racist cop terror runs north of the border, where on December 8 Toronto cops chasing a 17-year-old black youth in a car shot Wade Lawson in the back of the head through the rear window with an illegal hollowed-out bullet. They incredibly claimed self-defense. Four months earlier, police shot a 44-year-old black man to death in a Toronto rooming house. In January the cops staged a slowdown to protest manslaughter charges being brought against one of their own, while the president of the police association warned of "another Detroit" if city authorities allowed Toronto to be "run by a very small group of black activists" demanding justice. The Canadian cops are apparently copying their American brethren in preparation for economic *Anschluss* (annexation) with the U.S. under the new trade pact.

The cops' message is that they can do whatever they want, and this makes them very dangerous to everyone. Nothing matters—not videotapes, not evidence, not eyewitnesses. Incidents of police terror and murder are typically racial, but not always. A year ago in Alameda, California a 65-year-old white man, John Mitcheom—an ex-Marine, former Kiwanis Club president and real estate agent—was stopped for a routine traffic violation but ended up kned in the groin, thrown against a wall and then to the ground,

it seems American cops are doing the same, except they're not firing into air. During the inaugural parade, Bush was saluted by a joint contingent of Boston and New York police associations. They had reason to strut: they played an important role during the election campaign by coming out for Bush in a carefully orchestrated campaign to paint Dukakis as "soft on crime." Bush arranged "photo ops" with the uniformed killers, prompting the copycat Democrat to do likewise.

As the presidential campaign was getting really down and dirty, Bush's TV ads featured one Willie Horton, a black prisoner accused of raping a white woman while he was on furlough from jail in Dukakis' Massachusetts. It was the classic symbol used to grease the Klan's lynch rope and fuel racist fears. The media didn't mention the case of another Bill Horton, a sheriff's deputy in Bush's Texas who was one of the three killer cops who beat their black victim, Loyal Garner, Jr., to death in a jail cell on Christmas night 1987 because he asked to make a phone call after being arrested on a trumped-up traffic violation (see "Cop Terror Stalks Black America," *WV* No. 444, 15 January 1988). This Horton and his fellow badge-toting killers were acquitted in July of civil rights charges; in August the murder charges were dismissed. But the Democrats said nothing, ever afraid of

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Young Spartacus

How Mississippi Burning Rewrites History

Continued from page 16

"sorry if them two civil rights boys is dead" (the third, James Chaney, is black and therefore doesn't count).

This film evokes an image of the KKK as hulking, slobbering, pea-brained racists who hold blacks in thrall by a tyranny of fear. What that leaves out is the fact that the Dixiecrats ran the KKK from the courthouse (controlled by the White Citizens Councils), the big house (Dixiecrat Senator Eastland's vast plantations were just a spit away from "Jessup," the movie's fictional county symbolizing Neshoba County, Miss.) and the State House where governors across the South called for "massive resistance" to integration. As Francis M. Wilhoit wrote in *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (1973):

"For it was, after all, the region's political parties—particularly the dominant Democrats—that bore the chief responsibility for politicizing the segregationist masses and getting them to the polls on election day to vote for anti-integration candidates. Furthermore, since membership in Southern parties overlapped with membership in the Klan, the Councils, and other resistance groups, it appeared for a time that the segregationists would get a stranglehold on policy making in the racial area, and prevent even tokenism."

It's as if the Confederacy had won the Civil War. The images in the film are vivid, terrifying, and true. Hooded gangs lie in wait for blacks after evening church services, then chase them through the dark, beating, kicking, terrorizing every man, woman and child they can land a boot or a blackjack on. A black man who was questioned in public by the FBI is forced to flee his home when the Klan shows up that night; he gets tortured in a wire cage in a cotton field and dumped on Main Street the next day. "Can't have blood on Main Street," quips the sheriff who routinely orchestrates the release of his prisoners into the hands of the Klan.

The strength of the film is that it shows—so graphically that many who participated in the Southern civil rights movement wept even as they raged against the deliberate distortions—the raw reality of Klan terror. Unlike

muddle-headed libertarians who today champion the KKK's supposed right to "free speech," *Mississippi Burning* shows the KKK is not interested in debating their "point of view" but exists for racist murder. In scene after scene the KKK "speaks" for white supremacy through beatings, firebombings, castrations, lynchings and shootings of blacks,



Wide World

Lunch counter sit-in against Jim Crow segregation. Civil rights militants in Northern cities picketed Woolworth's in solidarity.

Jews and "nigger-loving commies." Multiply the violence of Jessup a thousand times—for every village, town and city throughout the South and the segregationist enclaves in the North—and you know it's going to take a full-blown revolution to finish the Civil War and overturn the enslavement and oppression of black people that has existed for 400 years. Despite itself, the movie shows that freedom cannot be won through demonstrating an endless capacity to suffer, but only through a fight for power.

Mississippi Lies

Into the Deep South swoop two G-men—Mr. Ward (Willem Dafoe) and

Mr. Anderson (Gene Hackman). Ward is an idealistic young Northern Kennedy liberal who's pathetically ignorant of race relations in the South and gets a lot of black people hurt by sticking to the letter of the law instead of the law of the land. Anderson is a white Southerner and ex-sheriff who "gets down in the gutter" to play hardball with the Klan.

Together this FBI odd couple cracks the case, mainly thanks to Anderson's understanding of the local psychology and willingness to dispense with the ineffective "bureau procedures" favored by Ward.

The brutal violence against blacks is so visceral that viewers are tempted to suspend disbelief—it's satisfying when the feds get the Klan. (As Julian Bond aptly put it, it's like "Rambo Meets the Klan.") As the level of frustration mounts, finally you see a man who will no longer submit to white tyranny and stands up for black dignity. In the dramatic high point of the film, a heroic black avenger kidnaps the mayor and threatens to cut off his balls, thus persuading him to spill the beans on who killed the civil rights workers. But it turns out the avenger is an FBI man too! (In fact the only blacks on the FBI payroll at the time were J. Edgar Hoover's five personal slaves—three chauffeurs, a doorman and a "houseboy.")

Anderson seduces the wife of the deputy sheriff who tells him where the boys are buried. She is then beaten within an inch of her life by her husband and his Klan buddies, but says she ain't leaving town because there's a lot of good people who are proud of her for what she did. The killers are sent to jail and black and white unite in Mississippi, singing hymns together amid the charred embers of a black church burned to the ground by the Klan. So much for the fantasized story line of *Mississippi Burning*. The reality is precisely the reverse.

Even the martyrs are nameless in this

film and their story untold. On 21 June 1964, the very first day of "Freedom Summer," Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney were picked up by Neshoba County sheriff's deputy Cecil Price on a phony speeding violation. They were on their way home from investigating the burning of a black church, the first of many that were burned to the ground that summer. They were held for several hours and released after nightfall. Ten miles outside of town, their car was again stopped by the deputy sheriff, this time accompanied by a large party of Klansmen.

Mickey Schwerner, a 24-year-old experienced activist, was on a KKK hit list, known to them as "Goatee," "the Jew boy with the beard." Schwerner had been in Mississippi for six months, registering blacks for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was planning to challenge the state's Jim Crow Dixiecrat delegation at the upcoming Democratic Party national convention. Twenty-year-old Andy Goodman was shot and buried alive on his first day in Mississippi; he was unearthened from the dam with a hardened lump of Mississippi clay clutched in his fist. James Chaney, a 21-year-old black Mississippi civil rights organizer, was beaten so bad his bones were pulverized, then shot three times.

The bodies were found when the FBI lined the pockets of a Klansman with \$30,000 for the information and kept him safe from prosecution. A conspiracy of silence reigned in Philadelphia, Mississippi and the reaction of most whites when the bodies were found in an earthen dam was "Who told?" Buford Posey, one white man who spoke out, was run out of town with a Klan death contract on his head. Posey pointed to the sheriff's department from the start, and as he was leaving he threw a brick through the window of the *Neshoba Democrat*, his old nemesis. The paper's editor had hounded Posey since 1946 when he demanded that blacks, who fought this country's wars, be given the right to vote. (Posey, the first white NAACP member in Mississippi, was stripped of his own voting rights for challenging the paper's editor to a duel.)

The murderers were charged with federal "civil rights violations." In the state of Mississippi, the corpses of Schwerner and Chaney couldn't even be buried in the same cemetery. Twenty white men were indicted, including the sheriff and his deputy. Eight were convicted and sentenced to up to ten years—none served more than five. Mississippi never charged the racist killers with any crime.

There was more than a little bitterness for Southern blacks in the fact that the FBI's massive manhunt for two Northern white college students also turned up the corpses of more black men murdered by the Klan/police forces—but these murders were never investigated. Charlie Eddie Moore, a black college student from Alcorn A&M, and his friend Henre Dee, both 19 years old and known to have participated in protest demonstrations, turned up float-



Reed/Black Star

Ku Klux sheriffs who murdered Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner: Deputy Cecil Price (left) and Lawrence Rainey at arraignment. Rainey walked away free; none of the killers served more than five years.

ing in a bayou after being beaten to death. The body of a 14-year-old black male wearing a CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) T-shirt turned up in the Big Black River but was never even identified. Since Reconstruction, no white man has ever been convicted of murdering a black man in Mississippi.

G-Men Ran the Klan

While *Mississippi Burning* depicts an FBI locked in mortal combat with the local sheriff's office, in reality the FBI rode with the Klan. The Klan could hardly take a match to a freedom school or knot a noose without federal agents knowing. As Patsy Sims relates in *The Klan* (1978), "in the midsixties FBI informants held top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups and headed one state organization. At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers." Unlike the agents the government placed in black and left organizations to disrupt and spy on them, the FBI "informers" in the Klan served as loyal dual agents of both organizations. They doubled as the "kleagles" and "kluds" who perpetrated racist terror.

The FBI's most infamous informant in the Klan was Gary Rowe, a leader of a KKK "action squad." Rowe was involved in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963 which took the lives of four little black girls. Rowe organized the May 1961 attack by 1,000 Klansmen which left freedom riders lying in pools of their own blood in Southern bus terminals. In 1965 Rowe was in the car from which civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo was shot to death on a highway outside Selma, Alabama. Subsequently the Liuzzo family brought a \$2 million suit against the FBI in 1983, charging that



FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO program targeted black leaders: "prevent the rise of a 'black messiah'."

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BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are:

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In many areas is strength; a true coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. There might have been such a "messiah," he is the party, is less of all aspire to this position. He is a threat because of his age, his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. He has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, also a goal of our investigative activity; it should counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting and discrediting black nationalist groups and leaders.

policy, directed by the likes of liberal darlings like Bobby Kennedy. As an arm of the capitalist state, the FBI's mission was to disrupt, derail, and "neutralize" black and red organizations because the struggle for black equality represents the social tinder that can blow this country apart. In 1963, then-attorney general Robert Kennedy authorized FBI wiretaps on Martin Luther King, part of a years-long FBI campaign against him which included spreading gossip and innuendo about his personal life in an attempt to drive King to suicide. RFK's Justice Department "observers" were notorious for coolly standing aside and jotting down notes while racist thugs cracked open the skulls of civil rights marchers. Sometimes FBI men openly

were sent to "protect" the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march, they were precipitously withdrawn as the protesters reached Montgomery, leaving the marchers to make the return journey to Selma utterly defenseless in the face of brutal beatings.

The Deep South was not simply a scene of racist terrorization and black fear, but also of heroic black resistance to Jim Crow terror. *Mississippi Burning* portrays blacks as utterly helpless—the one man who does reach for his shotgun in self-defense gets clobbered and then lynched without firing a shot. However there were areas in Mississippi where the absence of racist violence corresponded directly to the practice of black armed self-defense, not only of their own homes and property but organized in defense of freedom schools and community centers. Most black sharecroppers probably had guns—the question was not weapons so much as organization. The example for militant blacks across the region was set as early as 1959 in Monroe, North Carolina by Robert F. Williams, whose courage in organizing self-defense against the Klan earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP which disowned him as the FBI hounded him out of the country. In 1965 the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice organized patrols that protected blacks and civil rights workers. The recognition that the government was the enemy was the beginning of wisdom.

At about the same time, in Gulfport, Mississippi, the black longshoremen's union intervened in an escalating confrontation between civil rights activists and local racists, threatening to shut down the port if the young activists were injured or arrested. From the Virginia Tidewater area to Savannah and New Orleans, black workers organized in ports throughout the South possessed the tremendous social power of their own labor and could shut down the economy. As a Spartacist comrade who



Doug Harris

SNCC-organized Lowndes County (Alabama) Black Panther Party stood for independence from the Democrats and for self-defense against racist terror.

Rowe was in fact the triggerman in that murder.

Different federal agencies competed to get their piece of action in the Klan. This was crystal clear in the 1979 massacre of five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina. An "ex"-FBI agent working for the Greensboro police was present in the Klan/Nazi motorcade. And an "informant" from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in the local Klan/Nazi organization not only knew in advance of the murderous attack, but participated in planning meetings and even advised the killers how to transport weapons to the site! A state police cruiser brought up the rear of the KKK cavalcade as it left the highway, and local police were informed when to get there—late enough to allow the fascist death squad a leisurely departure and in plenty of time to arrest the surviving wounded victims, like Nelson Johnson.

FBI complicity with the KKK is not and was not a matter of aberrant rogues directed by reactionary throwbacks like J. Edgar Hoover. It was government

joined in the beatings or took information from trusting civil rights workers seeking protection and promptly forwarded it to the Klan for action.

The illusions in the federal government propagated by this movie are all the more dangerous because at the time all wings of the civil rights movement appealed to the feds, often with disastrous results. Federal intervention on behalf of blacks was demanded during the 1957 school desegregation struggle at Little Rock Central High, but Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock only after outraged groups of black youth battled and dispersed white racist mobs and fought with cops. Even the most militant section of the civil rights movement, embodied in SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), looked to Washington to defend blacks. Yet when Kennedy deployed federal troops in 1963 in response to the movement in Birmingham it was not to protect blacks but to restore "order" after blacks took up sticks, rocks, knives and bottles to defend themselves in the streets against the racists. When troops

was active in the Gulfport struggle told *Young Spartacus*, "It worked! Not only were we not arrested or beat up, but the restaurant began to serve blacks. It was an impressive demonstration of how the power of labor could be brought to bear."

Scratch a Democrat and Find a Dixiecrat

The civil rights movement aimed to abolish Jim Crow segregation and inequality in the states of the Old Confederacy through mass protests that would force the federal government to intervene and establish equal rights before the law—"Northernizing the South." The Southern system of American apartheid complicated the government's efforts to portray the U.S. as leader of the anti-Soviet "free world." But John F. Kennedy and his "Camelot" courtiers were worried that more than cosmetic changes might be demanded. They feared the movement could escape the control of liberal preachers and bust up their alliance with the Dixiecrats. By the summer of '64 the bitter experiences of many activists led to a radicalization. SNCC activists grew weary of Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism in the face of vicious assaults.

Liberal anti-communists like CIA-connected Allard Lowenstein were employed to try and keep the movement within mainstream Democratic Party protest politics and isolate and rebait the militants. Lowenstein brain-trusted the summer voter registration project which was calculated to restore faith in the system by throwing a national spotlight on racist degradation in Mississippi, bringing hundreds of white student volunteers in to build freedom schools, conduct literacy drives, and register thousands of Mississippi blacks to vote. The students who joined the integrated Southern civil rights movement were privileged, skilled, idealistic, naive, and above all courageous. Experienced black civil rights fighters stressed to the young activists in training sessions that they would be facing risks such as they had never faced—harassment and intimidation, beatings, and perhaps death—risks that Southern blacks faced every day.

The murders of Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner threw a spotlight on Mississippi, all right. But the nation's attention was also riveted on the kick in the teeth the civil rights movement got later that summer, up North in Atlantic City at the Democratic Party National Convention. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had registered over 80,000 black voters and went to the convention, convinced that they represented the true interests of the national Democratic Party, to challenge the Dixiecrats who had disenfranchised blacks. Instead they learned that you can't fight the Dixiecrats from within their own political party.

The entire white delegation was seated and in a deal brokered by liberal Lowenstein the MFDP was offered only two at-large seats. To its credit, the

continued on page 14

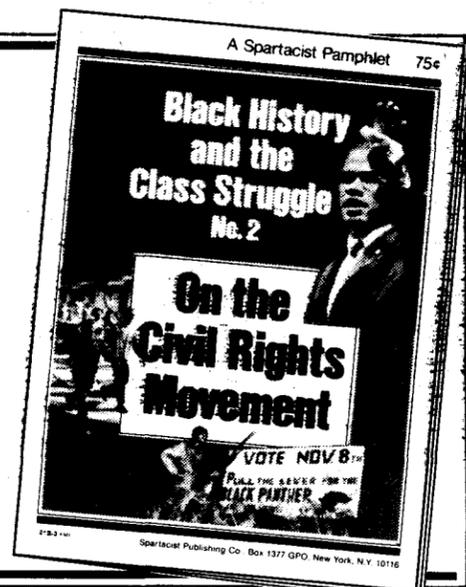
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- Ten Years After Assassination: Bourgeois Celebrates King's Liberal Pacifism
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- SNCC: "Black Power" and the Democrats

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Mississippi Burning...

(continued from page 13)

SNCC leadership didn't go for the rotten deal but took to the street in protest in front of the convention with placards bearing the likenesses of the three recent martyrs. The convention was a watershed for SNCC, leaving no doubts in the minds of militants that the federal government stood by its Dixiecrats. The spectacular failure of the whole liberal strategy of the civil rights movement propelled militants in the direction of independent political action.

Finish the Civil War!

In a powerful eulogy delivered after the funeral of James Chaney, Dave Dennis, a senior black civil rights worker, said:

"As I stand here I not only blame the people who pulled the trigger or did the beating or dug the hole with the shovel. I blame the people in Washington, D.C., and on down in the state of Mississippi for what happened.... I've got vengeance in my heart tonight, and I ask you to feel angry with me.... The white men who murdered James Chaney are never going to be punished. I ask you to be sick and tired of that.... We've got to stand up. The best way we can remember James Chaney is to demand our rights. Don't just look at me and go back and tell folks you've been to a nice service. Your work is just beginning."

What happened to that anger? What happened to those militants who broke with the liberalism of the civil rights movement? Rejecting the liberal strategy of Democratic Party pressure politics, SNCC activists electrified the movement with the "Black Power!"

slogan in 1966. In part the slogan was an escape into the rhetoric of power in response to their own felt powerlessness to achieve full equality. But Black Power also meant organizing independently of the Democrats and championing the need for self-defense. The Lowndes County Black Panther Party, although only one local response, was a case in point.

However, isolated from the social power of the integrated working class, the "Black Power" advocates were unable to make any fundamental changes in the lives of the black masses and increasingly moved toward a reactionary utopian program of nationalist *separatism*, identifying all integrated organizations with the sellout liberals and union bureaucrats who had stabbed them in the back. The nationalists also isolated themselves from the majority of black people, who remain overwhelmingly determined to struggle against all segregationist barriers for full equality. And as the liberal civil rights movement smashed up against the economic foundations of black oppression when it went North, even the Black Panther Party's militant rhetoric, combined with social work programs, could not address the systematic and special oppression of blacks as a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of American capitalism.

"Black Power" never found the bridge to *workers power*. In contrast to the MFDP, the newly founded Spartacist organization called for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party, to break labor from its bondage to the Democrats and link the black struggle to the organized workers movement. We called as well for a massive organizing drive to unionize black labor in the open-shop South. This call was part of our fight for the

program of *revolutionary integrationism*, for black emancipation in an egalitarian socialist society. It was the criminal abstention and tailism from afar of groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) that obstructed the formation of black communist cadre. This was one of the central issues in the fight of the Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor of the Spartacist League) against the degeneration of the SWP in the early '60s.

In an amendment to a 1963 SWP conference resolution, the Revolutionary Tendency argued:

"As regards the South today, we are witnessing from afar a great mass struggle for equality. Our separation from this arena is intolerable. The party should be prepared to expend significant material resources in overcoming our isolation from Southern struggles. In helping to build a revolutionary movement in the South, our forces should work directly with and through the developing left-wing formations in the movement there."

The SWP opposed this perspective, supporting nationalism as an excuse for their own cowardly abstention.

While the SWP called to "bring our boys home from Vietnam" and send the "troops to Mississippi," we fought hard against any illusions in the federal government. *Spartacist* No. 4 (May-June 1965) wrote, "Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression." Our understanding was based on the programmatic documents written by comrade Dick Fraser (see article on page four) who opposed the call for federal troops even before the events in Little Rock.

Various reformists also have noted

that *Mississippi Burning* falsifies the role of the FBI. They know this well, because the axis of their political program at the time was pressuring the Democrats to get the feds to come in—thus fostering the same illusions as the film. Thus the *People's Daily World* (8 December 1988) writes that "the feds finally, begrudgingly, agreed to investigate," only under "popular pressure." The central question then *and now* is to break labor and minorities from the Democratic Party, which is no "lesser evil" but the main institution that shackles the oppressed to their oppressors.

Today Jim Crow is "officially" dead, but blacks are three times as likely as whites to be poor. Over half of black families are headed by single mothers, and the poverty rate for black kids under age 18 is a shocking 67.1 percent. In 1986 only 40 percent of all black men had full-time jobs. This contradiction between formal legal equality and the pervasive social inequality inherent in racist American capitalism is resolved through *systematic police terror against black people*. Last year, the murder of Loyal Garner, Jr. in East Texas stoked memories of 1960s-style racist Southern terror. Picked up on a traffic violation, he was thrown in a jail cell and beaten to death. He thought he had rights—he asked to make a phone call.

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

Black History Month Spartacist 4 Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

NEW YORK

Alternate Saturdays, 3:00 p.m.
Feb. 4, 11, 25
41 Warren Street
(1 block south of Chambers St. between Church and West Broadway)

Alternate Mondays, 8:00 p.m.

Feb. 6, 20
Hamilton Hall, Room 411
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

MADISON

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Feb. 4, 18
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 255-8068

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

CHICAGO

Wednesday, Feb. 1, 6:30 p.m.
Circle Center, Room 713
University of Illinois-Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement: The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wednesday, Feb. 8, 7:30 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room
Howard University
Speaker:
Brian Manning, Spartacist League
For more information: (202) 636-3537

CLEVELAND

Saturday, Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m.
University Center, Room 110
Cleveland State University
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308

Sunday, Feb. 12, 2:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Hiram College
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (216) 781-7500

BERKELEY

Friday, Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.
60 Evans
UC Berkeley
Speaker:
Peter Atkins, SL Central Committee
and an organizer of the recent
Philadelphia and Atlanta
anti-Klan mobilizations
For more information: (415) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Saturday, Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Regency Room
636 South Michigan Ave.
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (312) 663-0715

BOSTON

Friday, Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Harvard University
Speaker:
Brian Manning, Spartacist League
For more information: (617) 492-3928

MADISON

Saturday, Feb. 25, 2:00 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
University of Wisconsin
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (608) 255-8068

SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin (at Geary)
Speaker: Peter Atkins
SL Central Committee and an
organizer of the recent Philadelphia
and Atlanta anti-Klan mobilizations
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Spartacist Video Showings

Black History and the Class Struggle

CHICAGO

Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Video/Discussion Series
February 8, 15, 22
Circle Center
University of Illinois-Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"

MADISON

Wednesday, February 8
7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union"
for room)
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 255-8068

SAN FRANCISCO

Wednesday, February 22
4:30 p.m.
Room B-114, Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Mexico...

(continued from page 3)

interior secretary, Mexico City police chief and police intelligence chief are all former heads of the Federal Security Directorate, infamous for the torture and murder of leftists and connections with drug traffickers. Most notorious is Miguel Nazar Haro, former leader of the Brigada Blanca, a government death squad which killed hundreds of leftists in the '70s. He also faces a 1982 indictment for involvement in an \$8.4 million auto theft ring that smuggled stolen luxury cars into Mexico for sale. Investigation of the case was held up by the U.S. Justice Department as it turned out Nazar Haro was also a top CIA informant. Now he is "director general of intelligence services" in the capital.

To replace the old alliance of PRI machine politicians and corrupt union bureaucrats, Salinas has put together a regime of cutback technocrats and killer cops. Since Day One of his administration there has been a notable increase in repression. Peasant union and Indian community leaders have been gunned

December, a paramilitary police team from Mexico City called the Zorros (foxes) brutally put down a prison riot in the provincial town of Tepic, killing 23 prisoners, many of them after they had surrendered.

Death Agony of Corporatism

In an editorial titled "End of an Alliance," the liberal daily *La Jornada* (11 January) wrote of the La Quina affair:

"There's no doubt that traditional corporatism, i.e., the integration of the unions into the state through the subjection of the workers to the corrupt leadership machines, has entered a crisis phase which is probably definitive. The famous alliance, which was formalized around 1942, has lost efficacy due to the increasing pressure for renovation of the unions which is coming from the ranks."

The answer, say the editorialists, is not a "modernization of corporatism" (Salinas' program) but "its replacement by democracy and union autonomy." But this program for classless "democracy" undermines any resistance by the Mexican working masses against the depredations of the dying semi-corporatist regime. Under this watchword, the reformist left has formed blocs with the PAN (National Action Party), the major right-wing party, which hailed the arrest of La Quina as the opening wedge for a drive against the unions.

Many of the rad-lib intellectuals ask how one can possibly defend this labor kingpin, the embodiment of the corrupt *charro* (cowboy) bureaucrats who have lorded it over the unions for decades, and still claim to be a "democrat." With this same classless methodology, many pseudo-socialists have compared Salinas with Mikhail Gorbachev, talking about *perestroika a la mexicana*. Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, former leader of the Mexican Communist Party which has now become part of the Mexican Socialist Party, was recently quoted:

"Here too there is a structure in which unions are not free, in which the party is not really a party because it is part of the state, and the state is not really a state because it wants to engulf all of society."
—*New York Times*, 5 January

Yet despite the huge state sector of the Mexican economy and the PRI's authoritarian rule, there is a fundamental class difference between the Soviet Union, where capitalism was smashed by proletarian revolution in October 1917, and Mexico, where the frustrated peasant revolution of 1910-17 led to the establishment of a new bourgeois state.

The Trotskyists, who understand the class character of the USSR as a workers state despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, and thus defend it against imperialism, likewise



Mass demonstrations greeted nationalization of oil companies by government of General Lázaro Cárdenas in March 1938.

defend the unions against the bosses despite the sellout bureaucracy which sits atop these repositories of workers power. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, "In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power" (*In Defense of Marxism* [1939]). Those who don't defend the Soviet Union also can't defend the oil workers union in Mexico. Just as when the Kennedy brothers went after Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa in the U.S., "cleaning up the unions" is a pretext for union-busting.

The fight to smash the corporatist labor bureaucracy which shackles Mexico's unions to the capitalist state requires a revolutionary political struggle within the working class to break with all wings of the bourgeoisie, not only the PRI but also the Cardenista popular front. Trotsky stressed in his last, unfinished article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist

Decay" (1940), that "the most important basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally" was government support and control of a layer of the labor bureaucracy. "In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions," he wrote, but noted:

"In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."

The key is the construction of a Mexican Trotskyist vanguard party, part of a reborn Fourth International, to lead the battles of all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the Americas and throughout the world. Hands off the oil workers union! Forward to a workers and peasants government! ■



David Hernández

Jailed chief of Mexican oil workers union, Joaquín Hernández Galicia (La Quina), right.

down and leftist politicians kidnapped. One of the most recent "disappeared" was José Ramón García, a leading member of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexican section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat) and local official of the Cárdenas front in the town of Cuautla, Morelos. In late

Iran Protests...

(continued from page 2)

with Khomeini! Workers to power!"

On January 20 a spirited demonstration of 15 people called by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia protested the Iran executions outside the Iranian Consulate in Milan. Speakers condemned the complicity of the Italian government which had just hosted Iranian prime minister Musavi, the highest-ranking Iranian official to visit a Western country since the mullahs' 1979 seizure of power. While the Italian left boycotted the demonstration, 30 Iranian men showed up with pictures of Khomeini (likely provocateurs from the consulate) to disrupt the protest. However, they were easily drowned out by chants of "Down with the veil! Down with Islamic reaction!" and "Iran, Iraq: Down with the mullahs! Down with the colonels! Workers to power!"

In New York City on January 19 some 85 demonstrators rallied outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations chanting "Stop executions in Iran! Freedom for leftist prisoners!" Called by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the protest was joined by supporters of several Iranian leftist groups including the Communist Party of Iran (Komala), the Left Platform group, Tudeh Party of Iran, Democratic Organization of Iranian Women, and the Association of Iranian Left in New York. A statement was read from the Iranian Student Association in the U.S.,

supporters of the Fedayeen (Minority). Supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party joined the picket line and a speaker from the Freedom Socialist Party addressed the protesters.

Condemning the Reagan/Bush regime's murderous intervention in the Middle East, the demonstrators chanted "U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! Hands off Libya!" And as the withdrawal of Soviet troops threatens to open the door to the imminent extension of the Islamic bloodbath to Afghan leftists and women, Spartacist supporters called out: "Smash CIA's Afghan mullahs! Soviet pullout means bloodbath!"

"Bush, who is being coronated tomorrow, was among the first to applaud the downing of the Iranian Airbus, with over 250 dead," said PDC spokesman Paul Cooperstein at the rally. "Last week Bush promised that human rights would be a focus of his foreign policy—just like Jimmy Carter's 'human rights' in which he armed the shah, trained the SAVAK. Just a few days before Bush's pronouncement, a government spokesman said that the executions in Iran would not hinder a move toward better relations between the two countries."

In concluding the New York rally, Spartacist League speaker Alison Spencer summed up: "What is needed is the construction of an authentically Leninist, Trotskyist vanguard party, armed with the program of permanent revolution, and forged in opposition to their 'own' rulers. It will take a workers revolution to open the prison doors, to free the victims of Islamic reaction, liberate oppressed nationalities and stop the vicious cycle of bloodletting once and for all. Stop the Executions in Iran! Workers to Power!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD



Civil rights activists raised placards of their martyrs (from left to right) Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, in protest against deal seating Dixiecrat delegation at Democratic convention, August 1964. Bob Adelman

How Mississippi Burning Rewrites History

It's Hollywood's first attempt at a blockbuster on the civil rights movement. It's slick enough to make you cry, true enough in depicting the raw racism and terror of the Ku Klux Klan to rip your guts out, and so full of lies that *Mississippi Burning* leaves viewers who know anything about the civil rights movement infuriated. Set in the "Free-

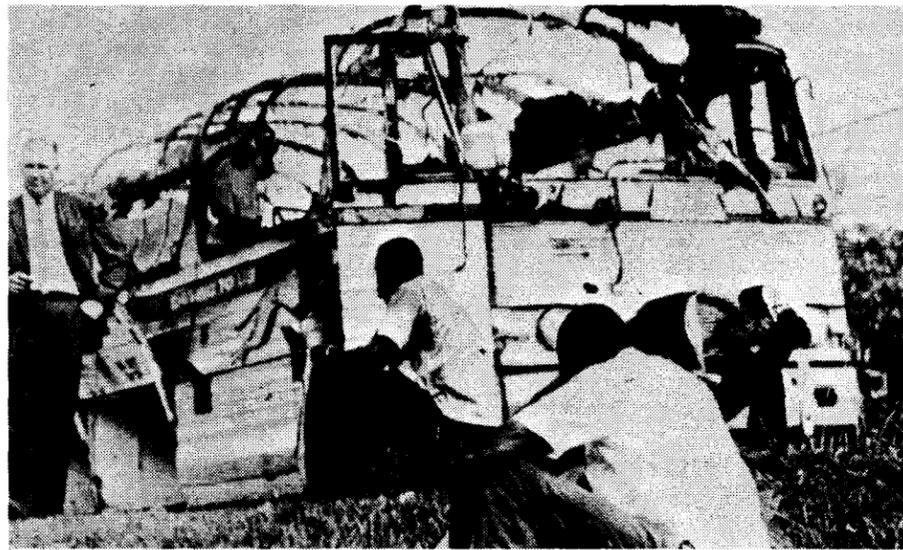
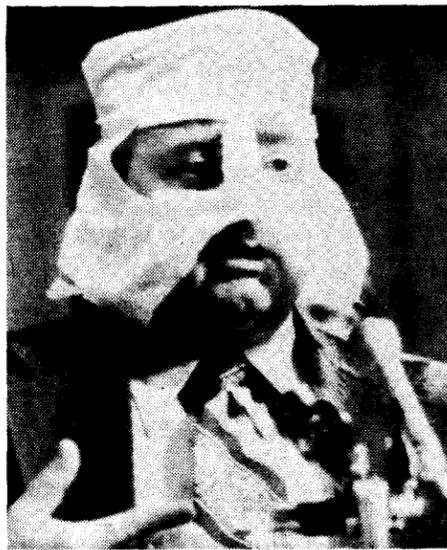
Young Spartacus Film Review

by A. Stevens

dom Summer" of 1964, the movie is an action-packed melodrama based on the true case of three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, murdered by the sheriff's department/Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Director Alan Parker has made a gripping Hollywood film of a lie that's been honed over 25 years—that the U.S. government and its FBI men supposedly stood on the side of the black freedom struggle against violent Southern race-haters.

A fictionalized account of the FBI's 44-day manhunt for the missing bodies, *Mississippi Burning* turns the entire civil rights movement into missing persons. Black people are transformed into a quivering mass backdrop for the heroics of two white FBI agents. Alan Parker admits, "Our heroes are still white. And in truth, the film would probably never have been made if they weren't." Indeed, the paucity of films on the civil rights movement is in itself a damning comment on the racism of American culture. Parker fills the breach with a promotion of the status quo. Black people are disappeared because to show the truth, that it was the masses of blacks, along with anti-racist whites, united in struggle, who smashed Jim Crow segregation, would explode the whole lying

FBI Rode With the Klan



FBI "informant" Gary Rowe organized bloody rampage by 1,000 Klansmen in 1961, beating Freedom Riders and burning the buses. CORE

premise of the film: that federal good guys supposedly busted the balls of reactionary crackers while the oppressed never got off their knees.

If *Mississippi Burning* depicts a certain amount of FBI ineptitude and bungling (there's even a reference to J. Edgar Hoover's obsessive anti-Communism), it's only in order to more effectively obscure the essential truth that the government was and is the deadly enemy of the fight for black liberation. As Ben Chaney, the younger brother of James Chaney, told *Time*, "It is a dangerous movie because it could lead to complacency. Things haven't changed that much."

Things have changed so little that Philadelphia, Miss. has become a *de rigueur* political pit stop for aspiring

presidential candidates to shore up the white racist vote. In 1984, Reagan made a speech there about the inviolability of "States' Rights." Last year, visiting the Neshoba County Fair 24 years to the day since the murders, "liberal" Democrat Dukakis deliberately did not mention the bloody crime that put Philadelphia on the map. White church groups have threatened an economic boycott if the film is shown in the local theater. John Proctor (the real-life Southern FBI agent that Gene Hackman's role is fantasized from) is chummy with the local Klansmen he convicted, and noted of *Mississippi Burning*, "It's going to be about as popular around here as a turd in a punch bowl!" (*People*, 9 January).

This controversial film searingly portrays race relations and the meanness of

life in the rural South. If it weren't for the '60s model car the G-men were driving, you couldn't tell whether the desperate poverty of black sharecropper was a scene from 1870, 1964 or 1989. In fact, the rows of shacks on dirt roads on the black side of town were no movie set but the homes of black families today who were cast in the film. As hundred of FBI agents and Navy reserves searched the swamps and bayous, a white farmer in the film says, "Around here, Negroes have been treated awful bad for a long time." Sitting in the same slop with his pigs, he goes on, "They say we've got to eat together and use the same bathroom as the niggers, and that's awful hard for some Mississippi folks to do. A white lady in the beauty parlor

continued on page 1