

M.L. King Day: Klan Provocations in 8 States

Anti-Racist Protesters Confront KKK



Springfield, Illinois

WV Photo

CHICAGO—Aided, abetted and protected by a massive show of armed police force, the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations in eight state capitals on the Martin Luther King holiday weekend. But despite the cop mobilizations, and major efforts by liberals to “ignore the Klan,” wherever the cowardly night-riders came out into the daylight, they were confronted by outraged anti-fascists. In Austin, Texas, some 2,000 people took to the streets, drowning out the racist filth being spewed by 33 KKKers and delivering the message loud and clear: “Hey Sheethhead, Go Home!” In Denver, Little Rock, Montgomery, Tallahassee, Columbus and Topeka, hundreds came out to oppose the murderous white supremacists.

The focal point of the battle against the Klan provocations became Springfield, Illinois, where uniquely a struggle

was waged to mobilize the social power of organized labor and the black community. This was met by a frenzied response from the government and those who sought to sabotage any effective response to the fascist terrorists, ranging from federal agencies and the highest levels of the state administration to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and so-called “Anti”-Defamation League. The organizing efforts against the Klan provocation had a sharp polarizing effect throughout the labor movement.

On Sunday, January 16, some 500 people braved arctic temperatures and a blinding snowstorm to prevent a provocation against Martin Luther King Day. This significant event was forged by the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. The PDC issued the call, “All Out to Stop

the KKK!” just before New Year’s Day and then waged the political and legal battles necessary to realize it. Late on in the mobilizing effort, the PDC had to wage a battle in the federal courts against Illinois Secretary of State George Ryan’s move to effectively rescind a permit the PDC had already been granted to demonstrate within view of the Klan provocation.

As support for this anti-Klan effort grew wider and deeper, particularly among black workers who fought to bring the unity of the multiracial labor movement to bear against the KKK scabherders and racist terrorists, all the resources of bourgeois state power—the cops, the courts, the bourgeois press (and of course the “lieutenants of capital” in the union movement)—were cranked up to knife this urgent labor/black action. But we had struck a responsive vein of

anger and discontent among wide sectors of the population, from the factories to the ghettos and college campuses. More than 100,000 leaflets building this anti-racist action were distributed. The well-spring of support wouldn’t be stopped, and the mobilization went ahead.

What prevailed in Springfield on January 16 was a labor-centered mobilization in defense of black people and all intended victims of Ku Klux Klan terror. Initiated and organized by the PDC, it was enthusiastically taken up by determined working-class fighters who showed that labor is a formidable force when organized to consciously fight for its own class interests. “Those of us who are here, we are the hard core of the union. We are the hard core of this movement,” said John Hill, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Chicago’s

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Giuliani Gives Green Light NYC Cop Vendetta Against Black Muslims

New York City’s new Reagan Republican mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, and his police chief, William Bratton, wasted no time after taking office to unleash their thugs in blue on black people. On the very day Bratton took over, the NYPD invaded the most prominent mosque in Harlem. Two days later, cops murdered the son of a prominent

black Muslim cleric in Brooklyn. A spokesman for the Islamic Leadership Council of NYC charged, “The mayor has given a signal to the Police Department that it is open season on blacks and Hispanics.”

On Sunday afternoon, January 9, while hundreds were worshipping at the Nation of Islam’s Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, eight white cops with guns drawn attempted to burst into the services. The phone “tip” the cops claimed they received was revealed to be patently bogus, alleging that “a male black, light skin...5 foot 8” was “sticking up the Muhammad’s Mosque...and

he’s also selling crack.” Even the *New York Times* noted that the call was in “police jargon.”

Nation of Islam members defended themselves against the cop assault, and a melee ensued in which a cop’s gun and radio were lost while eight cops claimed injuries (mostly from slipping on the ice). A three-hour standoff ensued as the congregation retreated into the third-floor mosque, and an army of cops sealed off Central Harlem between 125th and 126th streets from Malcolm X Boulevard to Madison Avenue. The Muslim congregants were held hostage in their building as the

NYPD brass debated what they would try next.

After three hours of negotiations, the worshippers finally emerged, with hundreds forced to file past the cops for identification, but no arrests were made. Now Giuliani and Bratton demand that the mosque turn over the “perpetrator” who allegedly disarmed the cops, taking their guns and radio. The Nation of Islam has to date refused.

The NYPD’s first lie—that they didn’t know they were entering a mosque—has vaporized. Mosque No. 7 (where Malcolm X preached) is

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Oakland Cops: Racist Murder Inc.

OAKLAND, California—"It was *Rambo*," said widowed schoolteacher Rashidah Grinage, describing how police assaulted her East Oakland home last December 15. The cops gunned down her son, 21-year-old Luke Grinage, and her husband, Luke's 62-year-old father, Raphael. Luke had been the target of police harassment over a period of months. Raphael Grinage was confined to a wheelchair.

But this wanton cop murder isn't what made the news here. Routinely running roughshod through the ghettos and barrios of Oakland, the police were livid because it was the first time in two years they lost one of their own in their storm-trooper assault on the Grinage home.

It began when an Animal Control squad came to quarantine the Grinages' dog, which had bitten a trespasser on their property. Animal Control maintained that the dog did not have a current rabies vaccination. The family had documents proving that it did. When Luke refused to surrender his dog, police backup was called in.

Neighbors heard Luke shout repeatedly, "You're not getting my dog," as the Oakland cops billy-clubbed him to the floor of the house, dragged him down a wheelchair ramp, maced him and attempted to cuff him. Wrestling his way out of his shirt, Luke managed to escape back into the house. Inside, he apparently grabbed a shotgun to defend himself.

In the ensuing showdown, one of the policemen was shot and fatally wounded. Police then sprayed the front of the house with gunfire, pumping ten shots into Luke's body. They also murdered his wheelchair-bound father with a bullet through the heart. Finally, in a gratuitous act of vengeance, the cops went outside and shot the dog, which was chained in the yard.

While the wounded policeman was quickly whisked away by ambulance to a hospital emergency room, it was two hours before the bodies of Luke and Raphael were removed.

Police arrested Luke's brother Michael just for being there. Then they sealed off the house, confiscating family belongings

for "evidence" and refusing to let the surviving Grinages back in until 2 a.m. the next day. Upon returning home, Mrs. Grinage's eyes immediately seized upon one piece of evidence the cops didn't see fit to take: the receipt for a rabies vaccination, dated October 1991, which was sitting on top of the television in the living room where the shootout took place.

Surrounded by bullet holes in her living room walls, Mrs. Grinage told *WV* about her son and husband. The brutal tragedy, she said, evokes images of "the situation in Waco, Texas." Her husband Raphael was an accomplished jazz bassist. He had played with some of the greats: Billie Holiday, Carmen McRae, Odette and Earl "Fatha" Hines, to name just a few. Having lost both of his legs to diabetes, he was forced into premature semi-retirement. He and Rashidah, an interracial couple, lived in a quiet, racially diverse East Oakland neighborhood where together they raised a family.

Luke Grinage had just turned 21. He had gotten engaged only the day before to marry his girlfriend, Dianna Knockum. He was a student at Merritt College and was busily looking for work. According to his mother, intimidation by the cops had forced Luke into a state of "self-imposed house arrest." He and his friends seldom ventured beyond the driveway in front of his house.

On several occasions since the summer of 1992, police detained Luke Grinage for between 48 and 72 hours, usually without any charges being filed. He was never convicted of any crime. The situation prompted Mrs. Grinage to consult a lawyer and to write a letter to the Oakland Police Office of Internal Affairs on November 11. "This smacks more of South Africa than the United States; it is an outrage," she wrote.

Then, on January 6, the Oakland police scored their first kill of the new year. Backed up by Pleasanton cops, U.S. Secret Service and U.S. Postal Service agents, they put together an invasion force of about 20 cops—half of them decked out in riot gear with shields, bulletproof vests, and semi-automatic weapons—to mount a raid on the Alameda County home of 32-year-old black public school custodian Nathan Cosby.

Cosby's estranged wife, Melinda, was arrested December 26 in Pleasanton, a small town near Hayward, and charged with credit card fraud. (Melinda has since been released and is not facing prosecution.) The cops raided Cosby's home to look for "evidence" to try to implicate him in a "crime ring." When Cosby, who was presumably asleep at the time, did not answer the early morning knock at the door, police used a battering ram to break it down. Cosby grabbed his pistol and opened a bedroom window to escape, apparently (and with good cause) fearing for his safety. One of the police fired a fatal shot into Cosby's head. Later, police also shot Cosby's dog.



Courtesy of Rashidah Grinage
Raphael Grinage

The family of Nathan Cosby held a candlelight vigil in his memory the next week. It was attended by over 200 neighbors, friends and fellow workers from his union, AFSCME Local 257.

Such blatant crimes are what the "New World Order" holds in store for blacks. Clinton's plans for 100,000 more cops and tighter gun control mean racist war on blacks and other oppressed minorities. In this period of capitalist decay, U.S. rulers treat black people increasingly as "surplus population." Along with genocidal welfare "reforms," it's speedup on death row while the cops gun down black youth in the streets, and even families in their homes.

This is readily apparent in the black city of Oakland, where police keep the population in a state of fear through a campaign of racist terror. Last Halloween, cops brutally beat Latino youth. That both the mayor and police chief of Oakland are black doesn't stop the cop onslaught. Last summer, BART police shot unarmed black youth Baraka Hull in the back as he was running away.

The Grinage family has a civil suit pending against the City of Oakland. They deserve every cent they can get after their terrible loss. The power of organized labor must be mobilized in defense of oppressed minorities. Nathan Cosby's AFSCME brothers and sisters could take a real step forward by initiating a call for a labor protest strike against cop terror in Oakland. With the heavily integrated unions of transit and city workers, teachers and machinists, this could send a powerful message that these racist atrocities must stop!

If the trade unions flexed their muscles in defense of the black population, it would have real impact which a thousand speeches by black Democrats or phony "review boards" can never have. The hired guns of this capitalist ruling class can never be reformed. A multiracial workers party is desperately needed to lead the struggle to sweep away this brutal killing machine. The American workers revolution will avenge Luke and Raphael Grinage, Nathan Cosby, and all other victims of police death squad terror. ■



TROTSKY

An Action Program Against the Capitalist Offensive

West Europe is today mired in the worst economic depression of the postwar era, as the capitalists seek to dismantle the social-democratic "welfare state." To divert working-class struggle against increasing immiseration, the ruling classes, abetted by the fascists, are escalating racist attacks on the immigrant communities. Writing on France during the Great Depression and following the victory of Nazism in Germany

in 1933, Trotsky explained that the working people could defeat the offensive of capitalist reaction only through a program and strategy for taking state power.

To try to emerge from the chaos in which it has plunged the country, the French bourgeoisie must first resolve the monetary problem. One section wants to do this by *inflation*, i.e., the issuing of paper money, the depreciation of wages, the raising of the cost of living, the expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie; the other by *deflation*, i.e., retrenchment on the backs of the workers (lowering of salaries and wages), extension of unemployment, ruin of the small peasant producers and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns.

Either alternative means increased misery for the exploited. To choose between these two capitalist methods would be to choose between two instruments with which the exploiters are preparing to cut the throats of the workers.

Brutal deflation is the first step in the plan of the French capitalists. The workers are being deprived of unemployment relief; social insurance is being menaced; wages are being reduced....

Only the laboring masses, taking their future into their own hands, in one powerful revolutionary thrust, can energetically and with iron will create the necessary great power to save society from the capitalist oligarchy that corrupts it and leads it to ruin.

The task is to replace the *capitalist state*, which functions for the profit of the big exploiters, by the workers' and peasants' *proletarian state*. The task is to establish in this country the rule of the working people. To all we declare that it is not a matter of secondary "modification," but rather that the domination of the small minority of the bourgeois class must be replaced by the leadership and power of the immense majority of the laboring people....

The bourgeoisie will never willingly consent to measures that can pull society out of chaos. It wants to perpetuate all its privileges, and in order to protect them it is starting to use fascist gangs.

Our slogan is not the disarming of the fascist gangs of finance capital by finance capital's own police. We refuse to spread the criminal illusion that a capitalist government can actually proceed to the disarming of the capitalist bands. The exploited must defend themselves against the capitalists.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Program of Action for France" (June 1934)



LENIN

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North America,
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**For a Workers
Fight Against
Anti-Immigrant
Racism!**

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San Francisco, September 16—PDC,
Spartacist, and Labor Black League
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office protesting racist war on immigrants.

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Catharine MacKinnon, Apprentice Ayatollah

Feminist Anti-Porn Queen

What do feminist lawyer Catharine MacKinnon and Iran's supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, have in common? Both have declared war on demon porn. MacKinnon's new book, *Only Words*, is one long lunatic scream equating pornographic images and flicks with crimes against women. She wants the government to ban porn. Now the Islamic theocrats in Teheran have enacted the ultimate extension of her program. Legislation passed by the Iranian parliament on December 20 decreed that producers and distributors of pornographic videotapes are "Corrupters on Earth" and can receive the *death penalty*; first offenders get up to five years in jail and \$100,000 in fines.

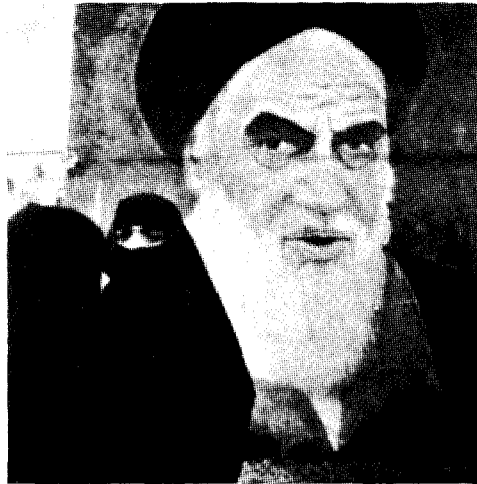
In Islamic fundamentalist Iran, SWAT teams of religious thugs roam around arresting and beating women for violations of the Islamic dress code mandating the barbaric veil. These morals police have no compunctions about treading on civil liberties like freedom of speech: there isn't any. Catharine MacKinnon clearly shares the ayatollahs' contempt: she claims the suffering of women will be alleviated by sex cops confiscating videotapes and locking up porn stars.

Mullah MacKinnon's program is dangerous and reactionary. Her "Minneapolis ordinance" was ruled unconstitu-

tional in the U.S., but its essence was enacted in Canadian law. MacKinnon helped write a decisive brief to the Supreme Court of Canada for the feminist Legal Education and Action Fund against the 1992 appeal of a video store operator; the court duly found that "prohibiting pornography promotes equality." Ironically, the new law's first victim was an erotic U.S. lesbian magazine, *Bad Attitude* (see "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt," *Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994).

More recently, Canada's draconian Child Pornography and Corrupting Morals Amendment, which makes it a crime to own, make, exhibit or sell anything that depicts a sexual act by anyone under 18 (or who *appears to be* under 18), led to the seizure of 40 works of art from the Mercer Union, one of Toronto's most respected artist-run galleries. Ominously, police testified before parliament that they wanted the broad powers provided by the bill so that they could more easily raid the homes of people suspected of having "illegal" sex (*NAMBLA Bulletin*, September 1993).

In the U.S., the stench of McCarthyite anti-sex witchhunting is pervasive. On Capitol Hill 104 Congressmen recently called for more stringent enforcement of



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison



Barrett/L.A. Times

Catharine MacKinnon (right) leads feminist crusade to ban pornography. Iran's anti-woman theocratic government has decreed death to promoters of pornography.

federal laws against "child porn"—including pictures of fully clothed children! Picking up where the Reaganite Moral Majority left off, for those unconvinced by bible scripture (leaving out the racy parts, of course), MacKinnon and her ilk provide the updated, Clintonite cover for state censorship: banning porn supposedly "protects" women, putting guys in jail for having erotic photos of kids is "fighting child abuse." And Clinton's top cop Janet Reno, in the name of "saving the babies," ordered the incineration of 86 people in the multiracial Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas.

But one feminist's porn is somebody's

erotic art—and the state has no right to censor either. Nina Hartley, socialist, champion of sexual freedom and popular X-rated movie star, had MacKinnon's number when she blasted the "sex-negative" scoundrel feminists in "Reflections of a Feminist Porn Star" (*Gauntlet* No. 5, 1993): "The sex-negs' rhetoric of man-as-lustful-animal vs. woman-as-pure-victim is Victorian sexual propaganda dressed up in modern language. It plays right into the hands of reactionary religious fundamentalists.... We cannot—we must not—be drawn into limiting by law what consenting adults do in private." Down with censorship! Government out of the bedroom! ■

Giuliani...

(continued from page 1)

famous throughout Harlem, and has a large identifying sign hanging on the outside of the building. Even in the partial transcript of the 911 call released to the press, the police dispatcher is told *no less than five times* that the alleged "stick up" is at a mosque: "Minister Farrakhan Mosque," "the Muhammad's Mosque," the "Muhammad Mosque Incorporated," the caller repeats.

The cops needed the lie because the police invasion was in violation of the NYPD's own policy of caution about entering "sensitive areas," which specify a number of houses of religious worship and the (now defunct) Black Panther Party headquarters. The policy was instituted after a similar incident in April 1972, when police received a bogus call that a cop was in trouble at Temple No. 7-A, then on 116th and Lenox. That time one cop was shot dead, and the NYPD has been burning for revenge ever since. This was to be the payback.

Then on January 11, police in the Brooklyn neighborhood of East New York shot and killed unarmed Shuaib Latif, the 17-year-old son of the president of the Islamic Leadership Council of New York. Cops stormed his apartment building on the basis of yet another phony phone tip, reporting "a dispute involving a gun." The three cops (one of whom apparently shot himself in the leg), claimed there was a fight with the youth, but two witnesses said Latif was shot while his hands were raised in surrender. Imam Al-Amin Latif, his father, declared, "My son was murdered.... The story that the Police Department is telling is a lie and I don't accept it." The family had a second autopsy performed.

In the uproar over these racist atrocities, Nation of Islam (NOI) officials flew into New York to make peace with Police Commissioner Bratton, reminding him of Farrakhan's and the Nation's pledge to be "the best friend of the police in the black community." As was noted in *New York Newsday* (13 January), "The [NOI's] Fruit of Islam provides security

at demonstrations, cleans streets of drug dealers, even works hand in hand with police to maintain order."

The new police chief, brought in from Boston, snubbed one planned meeting with his "good friend" Don Muhammad, the Boston Black Muslim leader, because he showed up with NYC black cops Al Sharpton and C. Vernon Mason. Meanwhile, Giuliani hardlined it and demanded the arrest of a Nation of Islam member. Vowing his support for the police, Giuliani claimed that the police were "the only victims" in the melee at the mosque. As if the cops would ever invade St. Patrick's Cathedral or Temple Emanu-El during religious services!

Republican Giuliani squeaked into office last fall over incumbent black Democrat David Dinkins by appealing to the white racist vote. In his "law and order" campaign, Giuliani made a point of denouncing Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Giuliani wanted to deny Farrakhan the right to free speech by refusing him a city permit to rent Yankee Stadium for an appearance last fall. We defend the Nation of Islam's right to rent Yankee Stadium, as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Catholic Pope have done, and to defend their house of worship against the cops.

Farrakhan, a notorious anti-Semite who called Hitler a "great man," is a dangerous demagogue. When Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan declared Malcolm was "worthy of death." Farrakhan's black separatism dovetails with white racism; in fact, the KKKers who staged a provocation on Martin Luther King Day in Springfield, Illinois praised him as "a real leader for the Black man" (*Chicago Defender*, 17 January).

However, what we wrote back when then-mayor racist pig Ed Koch and Louis Farrakhan were competing to whip up race war in New York is doubly true of Giuliani: "They are both dangerous racists, but there is a difference. Farrakhan only has his mouth: Koch has 30,000 gun-toting cops who think they have a license to kill—and they use it daily."

The cops' vendetta against the Black Muslims goes back more than 30 years. Now Giuliani, the cops' candidate, is

paying off his murderous, racist friends in blue. It was Giuliani who egged on a drunken, racist mob of 10,000 *armed* cops that stormed City Hall in September 1992. Giuliani also marched for anti-gay bigotry in the St. Patrick's Day parade with Bratton's predecessor, Raymond Kelly.

Of course, Mr. "Law-and-Order" mayor has no intention of carrying out summary executions of cops who deal drugs, tamper with evidence, arrange murders, and falsely arrest and brutalize their victims as part of their standard operating procedure. All of this is well known to blacks, Hispanics and the homeless "squeegee men" of this city that Giuliani wants to lock up. The government's own whitewashing investigation of cop brutality, the Mollen Commission, publicly exposed plenty of examples of police corruption and racist brutality.

Four years ago, in David Dinkins' first month as mayor, NYC cops killed *eight* blacks and Latinos, mainly youth. This

murderous rampage was to let the black mayor know who really runs the streets. This time around, the cops are celebrating the election of their man Giuliani by attacking and killing black Muslims. This is not only a "message" to the 600,000 Muslims in New York, most of whom are black or recent immigrants—but to all minorities in this city.

It was "soft cop" Democrat Dinkins, however, who hired thousands more cops, got the givebacks from the unions, and bulldozed the homeless encampments, paving the way for "hard cop" Giuliani and the Wall Street bosses to ride roughshod over minorities and labor. Now Giuliani announces his intention to lay off tens of thousands of union workers. The big multiethnic unions of New York must break their chains to the capitalist Democratic Party. Galvanizing the masses of the ghettos and barrios, and led by a revolutionary party, the working class has the power to wrest this country out of the hands of its bloodthirsty racist rulers. ■

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"New World Order" Neocolonialism in Africa

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Roll Back Bosses' Offensive! Defend Immigrants Against Racist Attacks!

Workers Struggle Across Europe

Part One of this article appeared in WV No. 591, 7 January.

Across Europe, combative workers have fought in thousands-strong battles against massive layoffs and drastic cut-backs in social services and living conditions. To deal with the highest unemployment levels since the 1930s, the bosses and their reformist henchmen have answered with schemes for "shorter workweeks" for less pay. Meanwhile, the

PART TWO OF TWO

fascists feed off economic crisis and desperation with ever more ominous terror attacks against immigrants. Taking their cue from top politicians who are whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria, such as conservative French interior minister Pasqua, the fascists scapegoat "foreigners" as supposedly responsible for unemployment. The crescendo of xenophobic nationalism is also fueled by (and contributed to) counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union.

As in Hitler's Third Reich, Gypsies (Roma) are being targeted for pogroms, from Romania to Poland. Across West Europe, thousands of immigrants were assaulted last year, attacked by knife-wielding skinheads, thrown from trains, their homes firebombed. The number of racist murders has skyrocketed in recent years—primarily in Germany but also in Britain, Belgium and elsewhere—with at least 75 reported in 1993 alone (London *Independent*, 13 January). The police not only turn a blind eye but are often the perpetrators, as with Joy Gardner, a Jamaican woman strangled in August by London cops who had seized her for deportation. Malian immigrant Makome M'Bowole, shot inside a police station in Paris last April, was one of five victims of racist police murders in France in a matter of months.

Immigrant workers constitute one of the most militant sectors of the West European workers movement. A significant defeat for the fascists on the streets, administered by an integrated workers mobilization, would have a big impact on the course of the class struggle in Europe. Moreover, Kurdish and Turkish workers joining in militant social struggle in Germany would find an echo



Militant Alfa Romeo auto workers take to the streets of Milano last December. Spartaco

among the volatile proletariat of Turkey. And a working-class offensive in France with combative North African workers playing a leading role could decisively alter the axis of political struggle in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists dominate the opposition to a military bonapartist regime.

West Europe is sharply polarizing. Responding to the rise in fascist terror, tens of thousands, particularly youth, have taken to the streets from Rome to London and Berlin. Sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have intervened in the burgeoning anti-fascist protests with a program aimed centrally at mobilizing the power of the working class, including its sizable immigrant component. In France, the Ligue Trotskyste appealed to transport and other workers to block deportation trains leaving Paris and raised the demand for full citizenship

rights for all immigrants.

In Britain, following the near-murder of a Bangladeshi youth by skinheads, tens of thousands turned out last October for mass anti-fascist marches, held in counterposition to diversionary efforts by the Labour Party. The Spartacist League/Britain distributed a special supplement to these militant youth emphasizing the need for independent worker/minority mobilizations and warning that appeals to the capitalist state to act against the fascists are a suicidal dead end. In the aftermath of these protests, many of the radicalized youth who turned out are being channeled back into Labour's fold by left reformists like Militant, who urge them to devote their efforts to winning local council seats for Labour candidates.

In Germany, when the threat of fascist attacks loomed on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking of power last January 30, as bourgeois politicians and refor-

mists held impotent candlelight vigils, the Spartakist Workers Party sought to mobilize the powerful German labor movement. In organizing a defense of an immigrant hostel that night, the Spartakists quoted from Trotsky's appeal to the German workers movement in the early '30s, "For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism" (December 1931).

Trotsky emphasized the need to "elaborate a practical system of measures" against the Nazi gangs, emphasizing: "Every factory must become an anti-fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions." But the social-democratic and Stalinist misleaders of the workers movement feared the spectre of workers revolution more than they did the rampaging fascists, and Hitler was allowed to take power without a shot being fired. The response to the Nazi takeover by the panicked Stalinists was the policy of the "people's front"—class-collaborationist alliances which subordinated the proletariat to a supposed "democratic" bourgeoisie. From the Spanish Civil War of the late '30s to Allende's Chile in the early '70s, the popular front in fact served not to fight fascism but to strangle workers struggles. Warning against this danger, Trotsky wrote in 1938: "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

Today, faced with militant workers struggles, sections of the Italian bourgeoisie look to the ex-Communists of the PDS as their saviors in a new popular front motivated by the growth of the MSI heirs of Mussolini. In France, the discredited Socialists of President Mitterrand are seeking to avert a wave of workers struggles coming off the Air France strike by pushing a new popular front. In particular, this has taken the form of a mobilization "in defense of secular education," culminating in a mammoth march in Paris on January 16 protesting plans by the conservative government of Prime Minister Balladur to subsidize private schools. Yet the capitalist austerity program being implemented by Balladur (as well as its attacks on immigrants) are only a continuation of the policies of the previous social-democratic cabinet. Indeed, the job-slashing head of Air France is a Socialist, and Socialist ministers of education have granted aid to private schools.

Uniquely in the French left, the Ligue Trotskyste consistently opposed a vote to the Mitterrand popular front even before it was elected in 1981, warning that this reformist figurehead for the bourgeoisie would bring Cold War militarism and anti-working-class austerity.

Transitional Program for Proletarian Revolution

The fact that even capitalist spokesmen are talking of a shorter workweek and popular fronts of various kinds is an indication of the seriousness of the crisis facing West Europe. But however sugar-coated, such schemes are at best diversions. After World War I, the German social democrats wrote full employment into the constitution of the Weimar Republic, yet just over a decade later the republic collapsed under the Nazi onslaught as a quarter of the workforce was jobless. In contrast to bourgeois/reformist frauds, Marxists fight for a sliding scale of working hours, to divide



Rostock, Germany, August 1992: Nazi firebombing of refugee hostel sparked outpouring of anti-fascist outrage. Spartakists fought for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop Nazis. Reuters





As France teetered on edge of revolution during May 1968 general strike, mass workers assembly at Paris Renault auto plant voted down sellout deal between Communist Party bureaucrats and de Gaulle government.

the available work among all workers (including the unemployed), with no loss in pay. To ward off the ravages of inflation, we demand a sliding scale of wages.

But these cannot be isolated reform measures. On the contrary: although what's involved here is simply a defense of the elementary right to a job, jobs for all cannot be secured under capitalism. Production for profit requires each capitalist (and the capitalist class of every country) to drive down labor costs in order to successfully compete. Full employment requires a planned economy based on collectivized property. To establish such an economic system, the working class must carry out a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, expropriating the bourgeoisie through the creation of a workers government, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This basic point is driven home in the programmatic statement adopted by the founding conference of Trotsky's Fourth International in 1938, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, usually known as the Transitional Program:

"The strategic task of the next period—a prerevolutionary period of agitation, propaganda and organization—consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard (the confusion and disappointment of the older generation, the inexperience of the younger generation). It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and

unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Such a program must hammer home the "one final conclusion": that the bourgeoisie cannot satisfy the most basic needs of the working people, and therefore its exploitative rule must be overthrown.

Numerous groups claiming to be Trotskyist, in contrast, have attempted to truncate the Transitional Program in an opportunist manner. They take a single demand, water it down, and try to pass it off as a panacea, while talking of an amorphous "transitional method." They want to sell the working class a bridge without the other end, turning a weapon of revolutionary agitation and organization into a grab bag of gimmicks for left-talking business unionists or a utopian plan for radical reform within capitalism. The United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel has made a profession of this kind of gutting of the Trotskyist program, centrally denying the need for an independent proletarian revolutionary vanguard. Currently, in France, the supporters of Mandel's USec, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), are advancing an ultra-reformist "alternative economic program," complete with recommendations for tax policy and import controls. A key plank in this platform is the call for a 35-hour week.

One can see here what might be called a syphilitic chain leading from the top-most bourgeois circles through their labor lieutenants down to their "far-left" camp followers. Thus in early November, the French Senate passed a bill offering compensation to employers who undertake to reduce the workweek by 15 percent. This proposal was dreamt up by one Pierre Larrourou of the prominent Arthur Anderson management consulting firm, who has been propounding a plan of tax breaks and wage cuts to make the "revolution" of work-sharing "cost-neutral" to companies. This plan has long been pushed by the social-democratic-led CFTD union federation, which calls for "reduction of working hours" to 32 hours with a "wages counterpart"—i.e., a pay cut (*Libération*, 26 October 1993). The Communist-led CGT opposes a wage cut, but in the name

of "realism" calls for a 38-hour workweek. CGT leader Viannet declared flatly "there will be no 32-hour week," denouncing the Senate bill because it "awakened tremendous hopes" among jobless youth (*Le Monde*, 9 November 1993).

The next link down the chain is the Mandelite LCR, with its call for a "35-hour working week with no cut in wages, on the way to a 30-hour week" (*International Viewpoint*, May 1993). The LCR's 35-hour week demand is echoed by its former youth group, the JCR, now allied with the Labourite British Militant. Revolutionaries of course would support struggles by mass trade unions for such a demand, for example the strike by the German IG Metall union several years ago. But for a small propaganda group claiming to be Trotskyist to make this a focus of their agitation is another matter. LCR supporters played a prominent role in the recent Air France strike, but they do so from the narrow standpoint of militant trade-unionism and over the years have become deeply embedded in the reformist union bureaucracy.

Far from having anything to do with the Transitional Program's call for jobs for all, the LCR's plan explicitly concedes that this will lead only to a "significant cut in unemployment." And their whole program is presented as policy for a new "left government"—i.e., a popular front—within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. In his March 1935 statement "From the CGT's Plan to the Conquest of Power," Leon Trotsky criticized the social democrats for speaking

the trade-union bureaucracy. The 38-35-32-hour numbers game is a "sliding scale" of bourgeois reformism. The LCR/JCR's bastardization of Trotsky's program could be called, "From the Larrourou Plan to the Popular Front."

The reformist content of the fake-Trotskyists' various "plans" is underscored by their economism. The Transitional Program was written not as a menu of reformist and subreformist demands, but to put forward a strategy for revolutionary struggle against all aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Thus it necessarily raised the need to fight against the oppression of women and youth, against imperialist militarism and colonialism. Trotsky explicitly links economic struggles to the fight against fascism, noting: "Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure." Demands such as the sliding scale of wages and hours must be linked to the fight to defend immigrants through labor/minority mobilizations, defense of abortion rights, and opposition to imperialist wars and colonialist adventures such as against Iraq and Somalia.

Reforge the Fourth International

The bourgeoisie was shaken up last fall when the French government invoked the spectre of a social explosion, the "shadow of May '68," in giving in to the Air France strikers. An article in *Le Monde* (6 November 1993) asked,



Immigrant workers play prominent role in West European labor struggles, as in 1978 occupation of nationalized auto plant in Flins, France.

only of nationalization of credit and key industries. But today, Krivine's LCR takes a line well to the right of the reformist bureaucrats Trotsky was denouncing. The LCR calls for nothing beyond "nationalization of the credit system," and indeed vows: "Our approach is not to limit private property on principle!"

Trotsky also asked pointedly *who* will nationalize the banks, introduce a shorter workweek: "In one word, who will apply the program of the CGT?" He insisted: "It must be said in no uncertain terms: only a revolutionary government of the workers and peasants, prepared for implacable struggle against all the exploiters, can apply the plan, complete it, develop it and go beyond it along the socialist road." But where the social democrats talked vaguely of implementing their program "independently of the political regime," the LCR explicitly calls on the capitalist state. Its appeal for a movement for a shorter workweek focuses on getting parliament to pass "an enabling act setting the legal week at 35 hours" (*Rouge*, 14 October 1993).

The Mandelites' "transitional method" is directly counterposed to Trotsky's Transitional Program. Far from seeking to win the working class to a revolutionary understanding that mass unemployment can be eliminated only through the proletarian conquest of power, the LCR/JCR accept the capitalist "logic" of

"What is there in common between May 1968," when youth took aim at "consumer society," when "dissident ideologies had the wind in their sails," when unemployment was 2.7 percent, and "this somnolent France of 1993, where ideologies no longer have a hold, where recession keeps up unemployment and strikes are at a record low?" The working class is certainly on the defensive, but, hardly asleep, the Air France strike and its reverberations in workers struggles across Europe showed that the fighting mood of the masses can quickly change. Defensive struggles can rapidly go over to a challenge to the capitalists. Today the bourgeoisie proclaims the "death of communism," but in the 1950s they also declared the "end of ideology," and that didn't stop the outbreak of significant social struggles a few years later. What is key is the question of leadership.

The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In the West, this event has had the greatest impact on the reformist (and centrist) left which, having swallowed the bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism," now finds itself at sea. The Stalinist bureaucracy, in justifying its nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," denied the possibility of

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Belgian general strike of 1960-61: *La Gauche*, newspaper of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, called for "structural reforms" of capitalism, a reformist diversion.

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

on the Zócalo, the huge square in front of the presidential palace. Up to 100,000 protesters denounced the Mexican president, chanting "Salinas assassin!" and "Viva Zapata!" recalling the hero of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 who was slain by the northern ranchers who seized power and draped themselves in "revolutionary" rhetoric as they exploited the peasants and workers. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) participated in this and other protests, calling on the workers to defend the insurgents and demand that the army get out of Chiapas.

The dominant political force in the Mexico City protest was the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), the nationalist opposition led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. While calling for dialogue with the EZLN rebels, Cárdenas has gone out of his way to absolve the army of responsibility for the killing. In the face of the mass protest and above all the wide sympathy that the Zapatista rebellion has received in the U.S., Salinas fired his minister of the interior, a notoriously brutal former governor of Chiapas, and called for reconciliation.

Still, the Mexican army continues to carry out sweeps among the Mayan Indian peoples of Chiapas. Despite the massive deployment of troops, the Zapatista rebels managed to retreat in order, briefly seizing a number of towns on the way. But to stop the imperialist rape of Mexico and the brutal oppression of its

worker and peasant masses, it is necessary to mobilize the millions-strong Mexican proletariat and U.S. labor in sharp class struggle against their common capitalist enemies.

The following statement by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, dated 6 January, was published in the Mexico City daily *El Día* on 8 January.

* * *

Twenty-five years after the Tlatelolco Massacre, a barbarous massacre is being carried out in Chiapas against the insurgent Indians and civilians. The bloody repression is being intensified at this moment with massive bombing, recalling scenes from the Yankee invasion of Panama and the "counterinsurgency" war in El Salvador. The Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) demands: Stop the bombing! Stop the massacre! Army out of Chiapas!

The revolt in Chiapas attracted worldwide attention, giving the lie to the carefully groomed image that the whole of the Mexican people welcomed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was rammed through while trying to silence and keep hidden all discussion among the population in the face of this imperialist looting. The stock market fell with the news of the uprising, but rebounded upon reports that the army had shot down groups of insurgents who were retreating from the areas they had occupied. The revolt reflects the rising desperation of the millions of dispossessed Mexicans facing the prospect of more misery and oppression that comes with the NAFTA agree-

ment. While a tiny capitalist elite will be enriched, the treaty will deepen the misery of millions of peasants in danger of losing their small plots of land, of the workers thrown out of their jobs, of the millions who are condemned to destitution, forced to see their children suffer with hunger and drop out of school. To bring down NAFTA, it is urgent to mount an internationalist workers struggle, that will unite the workers of Mexico, the United States and Canada.

Despite all of the declarations that the 1968-style repression is "a thing of the past," in Chiapas the iron fist of the capitalist state is shown once again, whose function is to maintain the exploitation and oppression in the interests of the ruling class. This repression, which has filled streets and fields with the corpses of members of the EZLN (several found shot in the back of the neck, with their hands tied, according to the international press), has been supplemented by threats and racist statements about the "manipulation of the Indians" (as if they were non-thinking beings) by "strange hands," seeking to whip up a witchhunt atmosphere.

The law in Chiapas has for decades been the law of the revolver and the whip, imposed by the *latifundistas*, the big cattle ranchers and loggers who have forced the Indians into a system of racist oppression that isn't very different from apartheid. The brutal repression of their communities, the murder of teacher activists by hired gunmen, the forced exodus of families accused by the *caciques* (rural bosses) of being evangelists, the persecution of immigrants and

the recent series of death squad-style murders of homosexuals: this has been the everyday reality of life in this state.

To terrorize all who dare oppose their plans, the capitalist state sends its helicopters and planes to confront the old rifles and machetes of the insurgents, while seeking to prettify its international image with hollow words about seeking "dialogue." When the Chiapas Indians who decide to let their voice be heard in the face of the stonewalling and contempt of the various authorities are repressed with blood and fire, the parties of the bourgeois "opposition," including the PRD, warn against "excesses," but rush to condemn the victims of military repression, reprimanding them for not understanding the meaning of "democracy" and for "resorting to violence."

As a Marxist revolutionary organization, the GEM emphasizes to those who seek to fight against capitalism and imperialism, that it is the *power of the working class*, and not rural guerrilla warfare, which if organized behind the program of international socialist revolution can defeat NAFTA and mobilize the dispossessed peasants and all the oppressed against the misery and barbarity of the capitalist system. In the face of the repression in Chiapas, it is an urgent duty for the working class to defend the courageous Indian insurgents and all the victims of the bourgeois repression. The GEM, as a part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), denounces this massacre and fights to build the Leninist vanguard party so desperately needed by the toilers of this land. ■

Europe...

(continued from page 5)

workers revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of the West—and did its best to prevent such revolutions. Ultimately the isolation of the Soviet degenerated workers state led to its collapse, under the economic and military pressure of imperialism. Trotsky had repeatedly warned of precisely this possibility, if the bureaucracy was not swept away through proletarian political revolution restoring the original internationalist program of Lenin's October.

The political rearming of the workers movement requires that an authentic communist vanguard be reformed, that the most advanced workers internationally be brought to an understanding of why the Soviet bloc workers states collapsed...and why revolution did not spread to the West. So what about the original May 1968? Sparked by a wave of militant student protests, ten million French workers struck and occupied the plants in a near-revolutionary atmosphere. Immigrant workers from Spain, Algeria, Portugal and elsewhere joined in. Enterprises from the auto factories to the Folies Bergères ground to a halt. The Bank of France could not print its currency. For a period the government was paralyzed; the president, de Gaulle, went to West Germany in search of reliable army units. Across the world, hundreds of thousands saw in the French May events affirmation of the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, dramatically disproving then-fashionable New Left theories that the working class was hopelessly bought off by postwar "affluence."

But from a revolutionary standpoint the May '68 upsurge was defeated. Centrally responsible was the Stalinist Communist Party (PCF), the main party of the French working class. Far from seeking to form soviets (workers councils) and workers militias as the basis for pushing forward to the seizure of power, the PCF called for parliamentary elections and worked overtime to terminate the strike movement by negotiating a series of economic concessions. The Stalinist reformists showed themselves once again as loyal defenders of French capitalism in crisis, and a roadblock to

proletarian revolution. Lacking clear direction, the strike wave receded. The reactionaries were able to regain their footing, organizing a massive middle-class pro-de Gaulle demonstration in Paris. The moment of revolutionary opportunity had passed.

While mouthing some of Trotsky's slogans, Mandel & Co. during this moment of crisis for French capitalism in fact refused to fight for the goal of revolution. Writing in the London magazine *New Left Review* (November-December 1968), Mandel argued:

"As the PCF is not a revolutionary party, and as none of the vanguard groups as yet has at its disposal a sufficient audience in the working class, May 1968 could not terminate in a seizure of power. But a general strike accompanied by factory occupations can and should terminate in the conquest of anti-capitalist structural reforms, in the realization of transitional demands—i.e. in the creation of a dual power, an empirical power of the masses opposed to the legal power of Capital. To realize such a dual power, a mass revolutionary party is not indispensable...."

For Trotsky "the strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow." Mandel, in contrast, argued not for a program leading to the conquest of power by the proletariat but for a series of "structural reforms." And dual power (a contest of strength between a shaken bourgeois state and an insurgent working class) cannot be the programmatic goal—a ball perched on the point of a cone will fall one way or the other, but it will fall. Dual power will either become the "legal power of Labor" (i.e., the armed rule of the proletariat and the suppression of the old exploiting class), or it will usher in counterrevolution.

By truncating the revolutionary program to becoming the "left wing of the possible," Mandel negates the role of the revolutionary party. Earlier, at the height of the mushrooming Belgian general strike which paralyzed the country for three weeks during December 1960-January 1961, Mandel had as the main headline of his paper *La Gauche* the call for "structural reforms." This included some selective nationalizations, public works, planning of the *capitalist* economy, and tax reform, all to be brought before the Belgian parliament by the

Socialist Party. Mandel's plan of 1961 clearly foreshadows Krivine's scheme of '93.

Rather than fight for an independent revolutionary vanguard, Mandel tailed after the left-talking union bureaucrat Renard. On 1 January 1961, *La Gauche* headlined in red, "Organize the March on Brussels." But when Renard turned down this call, Mandel did an abrupt about-face, and six days later *La Gauche* declared: "Any march which aimed to concentrate on one day and go up against [the] concentration of repressive forces would naturally be folly." The next week, he added:

"We are reproached with having put forward the slogan of a march on Brussels.... Since we note that this demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we yield, but we recall that at the moment our announcement of last week appeared, no indications of this were yet known."

Openly admitting that his demands were determined by the bureaucrats, this was a direct declaration of political bankruptcy by Mandel.

The job of revolutionaries is to pose the *objective tasks and needs of the working class*, not to reflect the limitations of the current or spontaneous consciousness of the working class. Only on this basis will the indispensable instrument of the revolutionary party be forged. This is not to say that small revolutionary groups can jump over their own heads, even in revolutionary situations, or make up through will power and healthy lungs for nonexistent roots in the working class. An insurrection cannot be mounted simply because it is posed. But the *programmatic tasks* facing the working class do not change because the instrumentality is lacking or weak. The recent wave of class struggle in West Europe points to the potential for new situations like Belgium 1961 and France 1968. The key is to prepare for this by intervention in the class struggle to forge the revolutionary party.

The workers movement in recent years has clearly been reeling under the hammer blows of a capitalist offensive, leaving in its wake broken strikes, decimated unions and widespread disarray. It was in another period of capitalist crisis and proletarian retreat, in December 1921, that Lenin's Communist International issued an appeal for the workers united

front, noting: "The world economic crisis is growing more acute. Unemployment is increasing. In practically every country international capital has gone over to a systematic offensive against the workers, as shown primarily in the fairly open efforts of the capitalists to reduce wages and to lower the workers' entire standard of life." The theses "On Tactics," approved by the Comintern's Third Congress earlier that year, stated:

"The Communist Parties should be concerned not with the viability and competitive capacity of capitalist industry or the stability of the capitalist economy, but with proletarian poverty, which cannot and must not be endured any longer. If the demands put forward by the Communists correspond to the immediate needs of the broad proletarian masses, and if the masses are convinced that they cannot go on living unless their demands are met, then the struggle around these issues becomes the starting-point of the struggle for power. In place of the minimum programme of the centrists and reformists, the Communist International offers a struggle for the concrete demands of the proletariat which, in their totality, challenge the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat and mark out the different stages of the struggle for its dictatorship."

This was the forerunner of the Fourth International's Transitional Program.

Today there is no mass Leninist international. The central task facing revolutionaries is, through propaganda and intervention in the class struggle, to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Victim of NYPD Shooting

Transit Workers Turn Out to Defend James Frazier



James Frazier speaking to supporters after January 5 court hearing.

On January 5, more than 30 supporters of New York City transit worker James Frazier turned out at the Brooklyn courthouse to fight his continued victimization by the D.A. and the Transit Authority after barely surviving a racist assault by the NYPD. Last fall, Frazier was shot through the head from behind by the police, who then told hospital personnel he was dead!

Two-thirds of the crowd at the court was made up of Local 100 Transit Workers Union brothers and sisters wearing their union jackets and TWU buttons. Among them were members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU. Students from City College and Columbia University came out to show solidarity with Frazier. Frazier's wife and sister were also joined by trade unionists from the CWA, AFSCME DC 37 and the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC has issued a letter to the Kings County District Attorney, demanding the charges against Frazier be dropped.

At Local 100 Track Division and United Motormen's Division meetings last December, the Committee for a Fighting TWU had raised motions which were passed demanding that the D.A. drop all charges against Frazier, that the TA reinstate him with full back pay and

permanent restrictive duty at the same wages, and that the union post official notice to fill the courtroom in a display of support for Frazier, with a press conference to publicize union action on his behalf. The Committee also put out a leaflet in Local 100, demanding "Drop the Charges Against Trackworker James Frazier: Reinstate Brother Frazier Now!" They wrote:

"Our union brother and black trackworker James Frazier was the victim of a deadly attack by NYC's racist cops. Early in the morning of October 24th, the cops shot him in the head (the bullet took out his left eye) and then brutalized him. While he lay in the hospital the cops reported Frazier 'dead on arrival,' assaulted him and spat in his face. To cover their crimes the cops cooked up a list of bogus charges. Most of these charges have been dropped, but Brother Frazier still faces the false charge of 'possessing a stolen weapon.' As if surviving these murderous assaults wasn't enough, Brother Frazier was fired by the TA even though he has a perfect attendance and 100 percent job performance evaluation. Contrary to rumors and an article which appeared in the *Amsterdam News*, Frazier has not been rehired—so the man who nearly lost his life has now lost his livelihood!"

Pointing out the role of the Dinkins administration in hiring cops by the thou-

sands and the repressive policies that are intensifying under Giuliani, the Committee for a Fighting TWU leaflet drove home the racist nature of the deadly assault. The leaflet continued:

"They want to put Brother Frazier away for years because he *survived* the deadly racist attack that happens every day under the brutal police occupation of the ghettos and barrios....

"The attack on Brother Frazier represents a threat to the entire labor movement—his victimization by both the cops and the T.A. is meant as a message to all of us. Our integrated, powerful union must be mobilized to defend James Frazier."

At the court January 5, supporters briefly stood in silence with Frazier when he was summoned by the judge, sending a powerful message to the capitalist courts. The judge in particular noted the presence of transit workers backing their union brother. Afterward,

at a breakfast in a nearby restaurant of people who had come to the hearing, a PDC representative reported on organizing efforts of the labor/black mobilization to stop the Ku Klux Klan provocation in Springfield, Illinois against the Martin Luther King holiday.

The D.A. got the judge to grant a delay until January 19 to further "investigate"; that is, to mount a case against this innocent victim of the trigger-happy cops. Frazier's supporters must continue to make sure their union brother is not a nameless, faceless victim of racist injustice. With the understanding that the labor movement cannot rely on the capitalist courts, the twin capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and the labor bureaucracy which is beholden to them, the union ranks must fight to mobilize the TWU's resources to defeat the attacks on Frazier. ■

SAN FRANCISCO—In this liberal mecca, feeding the poor and homeless will get you put behind bars. The "Food Not Bombs" group has suffered 575 arrests, beginning in the late 1980s under liberal Democratic mayor Art Agnos, for the "crime" of distributing food to the poor. Now, under conservative Democratic mayor (and former police chief) Frank Jordan, there is evidence the city has targeted Food Not Bombs for a vicious "dirty tricks" campaign.

On January 4, activist Keith McHenry was arrested and booked on three felony counts after being assaulted in City Hall by a Jordan administration official who had been tailing him for months! "It was a set-up, pure and simple," McHenry said, after Nick Roomel, an actor who is Jordan's "Film Commissioner," attacked him from behind as he came out of a phone booth (*SF Weekly*, 12 January).

McHenry told WV he had gone to City Hall to check on some records for Food Not Bombs' lawsuit against the city for harassment. He stopped to make a phone call, and as he emerged from the booth Roomel hit him hard on the back of the head, then took off running. As his assailant was going through the metal detectors by the door, McHenry yelled he had been assaulted and demanded the cops stop the man. They did not.

After he recovered, McHenry went upstairs and visited three Board of Supervisors offices seeking information for his suit. Coming back down the rotunda stairs, he was met by four cops and arrested. Frank Jordan's bodyguard, John T. Nevin, was one of the arresting officers. McHenry was charged with robbery of his assailant's beeper and two charges of assault and battery. He spent the night in jail until Food Not Bombs activists could raise his bail. The Partisan Defense

S.F. Mayor, Cops Target "Food Not Bombs" Activist



Demonstration on December 14 outside S.F. City Hall demanding "Stop Operation Matrix!" called by Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee.



Committee contributed to his bail. Thugery, frame-ups and dirty tricks are Jordan's M.O. The city, was up to its neck in the massive ADL spy operation carried out by "ex"-SFPD/FBI/CIA operative Tom Gerard against thousands of Arab Americans, leftists, blacks and anti-apartheid fighters on behalf of the Zionist Israeli state. Food Not Bombs is on Gerard's "'PINKO' Organizations List" in the files seized by the SF District Attorney's office and released in April 1993.

On December 14, the Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration in front of SF City Hall to demand an end to Jordan's "Operation Matrix" war against the homeless and poor. A number of youth were brought by the Spartacus Youth Club. The demonstration of 80 people also demanded "Hands Off Food Not Bombs!"

A number of these advocates for the homeless came to the demonstration,

and spoke of how they have become particular targets of Jordan's vicious campaign of police sweeps and harassment against the homeless. Only a week earlier the cops made arrests for, among other things, holding a bag of bagels! As one SL sign put it: "'Let Them Eat Cake'—Marie Antoinette. 'Let Them Starve'—Frank Jordan." We demand: Stop "Operation Matrix"! Stop the harassment of Food Not Bombs—Drop the charges against Keith McHenry!



Strikes by Greyhound bus drivers (left) in 1990 and Caterpillar workers in '92 sold out by AFL-CIO tops beholden to capitalist Democratic Party. Fight for a workers party!

desperate straits of the Mexican masses. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats' answer to NAFTA was to push racist America-first protectionism and join in blaming immigrants, truly the most powerless sector of the population, for the bankruptcy of the capitalist order. A fighting labor movement must organize on both sides of the border against the bosses and their "free trade" swindle, raising the call for full citizenship rights for immigrants. It must oppose the vicious imperialism which starves the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and today brings closer the menace of trade war and world war.

We say: Labor's gotta play hardball to win! The mass industrial unions of this country were built through hard-fought and "illegal" class struggle in the 1930s: the sitdown strike, mass pickets, "hot carguing" of scab products. But it wasn't simply trade-union militancy. The mass CIO organizing drives had to break down racism and the Jim Crow segregation of blacks in industry. Now the power of the strike, of the mass picket, of factory occupations has been replaced by diversionary and losing "consumer boycott" campaigns. Why? Because the labor bureaucrats play by the bosses' rules and the bosses' laws—and they have a law against every weapon labor needs to defend itself.

During the 1930s, blacks came to identify with the labor movement when the unions fought for them. The forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society has always been a fundamental prop to the rule of American capitalism. Racial divisions are wielded by the bosses and their "labor lieutenants" to retard working-class struggle. Today, the devastation of industry in the North threatens the very existence of the trade unions, as the bosses move their operations to the "open shop" South. To organize the South will require pitched battles with the union-hating Klan, who are up

to their hoods in the scabherding private "security" outfits that violently attack strikers. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight?

This mobilization here today, which brings to bear the power of labor and blacks in struggle against the Klan, heralds the kind of fighting leadership the labor movement needs. The same power that can stop the fascist nightriders in the North can crack open the open shop South, can organize the unorganized and unemployed, can mobilize in defense of the masses in the ghettos and barrios.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, jobs, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership that is necessary to do this—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow to the bosses' laws, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the capitalist rulers, that understands that there will be no victories for labor and no freedom for blacks without integrated class struggle which champions black rights. That is the kind of party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

Communism is not "dead"—it is the program that expresses the class interests of the workers and oppressed, growing out of their aspirations and struggles for a society of genuine equality and social justice. However bureaucratically deformed, the collectivized economies of the former Soviet bloc provided to all their citizens jobs, education, health care, housing—basic rights that have now been wiped out. The forces of racist and nationalist reaction now sweeping these countries are only further testimony to the fact that fascist terror is the product of capitalism.

The destruction of these workers' states is the legacy of the Stalinist bu-

reaucratic rulers who sold out hard-won gains. Like the trade unions in this country, the Soviet Union was the product of class struggle, the most momentous in history—the 1917 October Revolution. But like the labor tops in this country, the program of the Stalinist bureaucracy which hijacked political power from the workers was one of class collaboration, not internationalist class struggle. Ultimately this defeatist program proved a mortal danger to the survival of the Soviet Union itself, just as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is a threat to the existence of the unions as fighting organizations of workers self-defense.

The words of Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin

suggesting that black people have no interest in stopping the Klan.

Yet widespread drug addiction in the inner cities is the direct result of the despair of people thrown on the scrap heap by a society that doesn't care if they live or die. The "war on drugs" is really a war on the black community. Legalization of drugs would take the profit and correspondingly much of the violent crime out of dealing. But the rulers want to keep drugs illegal because it provides the rationale for building up their machinery of death and repression aimed at keeping the working class cowed.

Repression and regimentation is this system's answer to everything. An army of cops and troops occupied Los Angeles, and police ran wild in cities across the country in response to the mass outrage over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. The omnibus crime bill being rammed through Congress is a frontal assault on our liberties: imposing the racist death penalty for scores of crimes, boot camps for jobless youth, instant deportation for unwanted immigrants. Gun control means that only cops, criminals and the Klan will have guns, while black people and the working class are to be left defenseless. The AIDS plague was allowed to ravage the gay community and is now devastating the ghettos. Witchhunts against teen-sexuality, porn and rap music, harassment of smokers, persecution of gays, "English-only" discrimination against Hispanics, "right-to-life" bombings and killings against abortion rights—this is the ugly face of American society today.

How can we break out of this vicious circle? The Spartacist League is a small



Fascists target women's right to abortion. KKK terrorist brandishes coat hanger outside Dallas clinic.

where in the black it is branded," are driven home more brutally than ever in this country. Thirty years have passed since the lunch counter sit-ins swept the South in protest against the exclusion of blacks. It is a measure of today's "leaders" of labor and blacks that it took our small organization of "reds" to launch a coast-to-coast protest campaign against Jim Crow racism practiced by the nationwide Denny's restaurant chain. The national NAACP leadership was more interested in "integrating" Denny's board of directors.

The civil rights movement fought against the legal segregation and discrimination against blacks in the American South. But that movement was shattered in Chicago [in 1966], where it came up against the segregation and discrimination against blacks in the North, who for years had lived with "equality under the law." Tied to the Democratic Party, Martin Luther King Jr. could not fight the root cause of black oppression—the rule of American capitalism.

Today over half of young blacks are unemployed, decrepit inner-city schools are like concentration camps, despair is rampant. But everyone from U.S. Senator Moynihan to Farrakhan blames black youth and the black family for their victimization by this racist system. The racist rhetoric of the capitalist rulers who condemn ghetto youth as an immoral and criminal drain on society, who should pull themselves up by their own (non-existent) "bootstraps," is echoed by the black bourgeois politicians. "We've lost more to dope than we have to the rope," preaches the Rev. Jesse Jackson,

organization, but our program is based on the lessons of the struggles of the past. Our strategy for labor/black mobilizations against Klan terror has met with a broad response and has succeeded in stopping the fascist vermin from staging their provocations in numerous cities, from Chicago and Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988. But such victories can only be temporary so long as capitalism continues to exist and to generate the social decay and racism on which the Klan and Nazis feed. These shock troops of capitalist reaction must be put out of business once and for all by a victorious revolutionary workers government.

It took a second American revolution to smash the chains of chattel slavery, but the promise of black freedom was denied. The forces that have come out today to stop the Klan give a taste of the power that can open the road to a third American revolution which will make it possible for all of us here to have an equal and enhanced chance for a decent life. The Democrats and Republicans represent their class, the bourgeoisie. A workers party, built on an internationalist perspective, is needed to fight for the workers and oppressed, to galvanize the struggles against racism and exploitation and lead them toward the fight for working-class power. That means a socialist revolution, which will break the rule of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies, who will employ the wealth of this country created by their labor for the benefit of the majority of society.

Spartacist League, 16 January 1994



Remnants of U.S. Steel plant in Cleveland. Capitalist decay turned industrialized Midwest into "rust bowl."

Anti-Racist Protesters...

(continued from page 1)

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, which endorsed the demonstration and chartered a bus for ATU members to be there.

Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis took a very forward position in the battle against the Klan and the forces of state repression. At a January 12 press conference in Chicago, Davis motivated the necessity for people to act and join the "All Out to Stop the KKK" mobilization:

"The father of the civil rights movement in this country was Frederick Douglass. Douglass told us that 'He who is whipped the easiest is whipped the most often.'

"If the Klan is marching in Springfield on Sunday, unchecked and unchallenged, they will be in Chicago next Monday. They will be all over America and before we know it we will be back at a point in our history that I'm sure none of us ever want to see again. Let's let the Klan and any Klan sympathizers know that, no, we will not stand back. We will go forward."

This demonstration represented a diverse social and political spectrum united in struggle against the Ku Klux Klan—blacks and unionists from Springfield and as far away as Chicago and St. Louis, contingents of students from Chicago State and the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Jews, Catholics, gays and leftists. Rudy Davenport, president of the Springfield NAACP, brought people out with him in the frigid cold Sunday morning and told the *Chicago Defender* (17 January): "We are here to show the Klan that there is one unified group against racism in the United States of America."

Black residents of Springfield already have direct experience of the fascists, with "former" Klansman Tom Metzger's skinhead "WAR" (White Aryan Resistance) organizing racist thugs in the high schools to attack black youth. On Sunday these Nazi creeps showed up to proclaim that, as opposed to the white supremacists of the Klan, they were "white separatists," in other words that they seek complete genocide of the black people rather than subjugating them to slavery.

For nearly two hours before the Klan showed up, anti-fascist forces gathered on the Northeast side of the Capitol and fired up the frigid air with chants like "KKK—No Way! You Ain't Gonna Ride Today!" The big student contingent from Champaign-Urbana marched in behind their banner. Demonstrators went in shifts to a nearby restaurant to warm up.

Faced with a multiracial crowd determined to stop the race haters, Secretary of State Ryan deployed his special police to sneak the Klan like rats through underground tunnels into the Capitol building and then behind a maze of barricades and hundreds of riot cops in front of the East steps. Ryan's top cop "Jack" Pecoraro said that his "best piece of luck Sunday was simply the weather," with a wind chill of 16 degrees below zero.

After drowning out Kluxers' racist recruitment rally, anti-Klan demonstrators march out.



because otherwise "it could have been a larger crowd." Indeed, much larger.

The despicable and outrageous sight of the Confederate flag of slavery waving from the Statehouse in the "land of Lincoln" was the opening act of the Klan provocation, stage-managed by the police. The 50-odd Klansmen on the East steps of the Capitol gave Hitler salutes and played the "Ride of the Valkyries," by the Nazi *Führer's* favorite composer Wagner. So if you take off the KKK's white sheets, underneath you find some weird would-be Nazis! Anti-Klan demonstrators moved toward the East side of the Capitol and showed their defiant



Cook County Commissioner Danny Davis at January 12 press conference in Chicago.

opposition to the murderous KKK. Riot-equipped cops fired mace into the crowd and tried pushing anti-Klan protesters around. Several people were arrested.

Various left groups—the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its all-purpose front group NWROC, and Progressive Labor Party (PL)—came with small groups of supporters, refusing to act in coordination with each other, much less with us. The PDC had invited—early on, in writing, and again

on site—various anti-Klan forces to join in a unified opposition to the Klan in which the diversity of political views and strategies of all participating groups would be represented.

But sectarianism and arrogant petty-bourgeois opposition to a disciplined working-class mobilization unfortunately was paramount for them. These "left" fakers have no political strategy to mobilize the working class because they don't think it can be done. In place of a revolutionary program they substitute the often losing tactics of individual confrontation, and liberal confidence in the police. Only the day before in Columbus, Ohio, these same groups allowed themselves to be engaged by the police, passing individually through metal detectors, as they had previously done last fall in Columbus and Indianapolis.

In Springfield, the sectarianism of the fake-leftists dovetailed with the cops' desires to fragment the demonstration and facilitated provocations by fascist skinheads. As demonstrators drifted over to the barricades around the East side of the Capitol directly facing the Klan, the leaderless milling crowd was vulnerable to the repeated incursions by cops and violent provocations by skinheads, who kicked one woman in the stomach while shouting anti-Semitic slurs.

Despite the fragmented aspect of the demonstration at this point, the PDC organizers took action to reduce the vulnerability of and danger to the anti-Klan forces on the East lawn by sending union marshals into the crowd. We joined in tossing out some of the *pro-Klan elements* and WAR skinheads that the RWL, PL and ISO were rubbing shoulders (and sometimes knuckles) with while surrounded by the cops. From our podium, a powerful trio of transit workers led by ATU international vice president Jackie Breckenridge, an early endorser and defender of the demonstration, pumped up the volume and led chants of "Smash the Klan, this is the hour! Labor and blacks have got the power!" and "KKK—Nazis in bedsheets!" to drown out the fascists.

Barely 45 minutes into their pathetic performance, the drowned-out Klansmen crawled back into their holes with their cop escorts. The ISO and PL left before the KKK did, and the RWL hit the road as soon as the Klan was gone. The triumphant labor/black mobilization reassembled those hard-core forces that had stuck through the bitter cold and held their ground until the Klan had left town. The labor/black mobilization formed up and marched away from the Capitol chanting, "KKK—No way! We stopped your march today!" and "Springfield—Too hot for the KKK!" Before buses left town, over 200 anti-fascist fighters packed into the restaurant hall where they cheered speakers and engaged in wide-ranging political discussion.

A Labor-Centered Mobilization

With the issuing of the PDC's December 30 call, "No Racist Provocation

Against Martin Luther King Holiday!" supporters of the PDC, the SL and Spartacus Youth Clubs fanned out. Within a few days endorsements began to pour in from across the country—and around the world.

The impressive support shown by organized labor early on showed the appetite for powerful mobilization to stop the Klan. Endorsers included the presidents of heavily black union locals representing tens of thousands of Chicago-area workers, as well as the regional offices of the United Auto Workers (UAW), the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the United Rubber Workers (URW). Significant early endorsements included Robert Clark, head of UE District 11, and Johnnie Jackson, head of the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Unionists in the heart of Illinois labor's "war zone"—centered in Decatur, where Staley, Caterpillar and Electrical workers have been under attack—understood the threat posed by the anti-union Klan. In Springfield, representatives of Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) endorsed and helped build the rally.

The work of Chicago transit workers in Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 was crucial. They brought out integrated rail and bus workers, men and women, who formed the heart of the union marshals, insuring the anti-Klan demonstration was militant, disciplined and democratic from beginning to end.

Frightened that significant ranks of organized labor might actually engage in some class struggle against the racist poison of the KKK, the conservative, job-trusting, mainly white AFL-CIO bureaucracy got busy—knifing the anti-Klan effort. Even earlier, Communist Party supporters began calling trade-union leaders in an attempt to get them to back off their endorsements.

In the week before the Klan provocation the heavy hand of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy came down—*hard*—on union locals and officers who had lent their support to the anti-KKK action. Taking their orders from the Illinois state officials who were violence-baiting and red-baiting the PDC rally, on January 12 Illinois AFL-CIO president Donald Johnson sent out a letter to union locals across the state ordering unionists, "in the interest of good public relations," to "please stay away from the Capitol on Sunday, January 16." Springfield labor federation head Mike Hade held a press conference to declare that "labor" would do nothing to stop this Klan provocation.

Threatened by the way that organized labor in Illinois was getting organized for action, these sellout misleaders followed in the footsteps of longtime AFL-CIO chief George Meany, who boasted of never having walked a picket line. His successor, Lane Kirkland, supports the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin in Russia while knifing labor struggles at home. These partners of

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the bosses and their government, who spread anti-communism and counter-revolution abroad while allowing the destruction of union conditions in the U.S., feed the growth of Klan terror.

Wide sections of the union memberships, including some local officials, deeply resented the attempts by the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to stop the anti-Klan mobilization. Resisting great pressure, some Springfield unionists defied the labor fakers like Johnson and Hade and took their places at the rally. The fight to mobilize the workers in struggle over concrete issues like stopping the Klan by mobilizing the mass labor organizations they belong to is the struggle for revolutionary leadership. The Springfield mobilization, like others in Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Philadelphia and Atlanta initiated and built by the PDC and Spartacist League, give a glimpse of the future workers party that will mobilize and lead the working class and all the oppressed in struggle against their enemies.

Capitalist State Connives with the Klan

As support mushroomed for the mobilization, Secretary of State Ryan stepped up his campaign to abrogate the civil and Constitutional rights of opponents of Klan terror by severely restricting the terms of the permit secured by the PDC on December 30. As PDC spokesman Al Spanfelner said when a lawsuit was filed against Ryan on January 13, "These



Police squads repeatedly swept through demonstration, attempting to provoke incidents.

the taxi meter for! The sinister ADL is far more interested in stopping blacks and "reds" than stopping anti-Semitic fascists who target the Jewish people they claim to speak for.

Also aligned with the KKK and the forces of state repression was the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU... or is that "AKLU" now?). On January 14 the Partisan Defense Committee hand-delivered to the Illinois ACLU chapter a letter which read in part, "Given the ACLU's actions in assuring

Jones denounced Ryan's action, saying "They wouldn't let elected officials in the building, but they escorted and protected the KKK." Even the press complained about the outrageous machinations of the state on behalf of the fascists, which included a five-man press pool with the rest of the reporters penned in like hogs. The editor of the Decatur *Herald & Review* said: "The KKK rally is not the Gulf War and George Ryan is not Norman Schwarzkopf or Colin Powell."

On the morning of January 16 there was a more sinister provocation by the state against the labor/black mobilization. Federal agents from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) were found prowling around our rally site. Dressed in jump suits and ski masks, they claimed to be on site for a "bomb check." Except they had no explosives-sniffing dogs and when closely followed by our union marshals who insured these agents weren't *planting* anything, the BATF agents abruptly ended their "investigation" and left! As a PDC spokesman told demonstrators:

"Forces from the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, known to all as the BATF, have been sent here. These are very vicious and dangerous paramilitary forces. They have been sent here by the Clinton White House to protect the Ku Klux Klan. If you didn't know, now you know that the state and the U.S. government stands with the racist killers of the KKK."

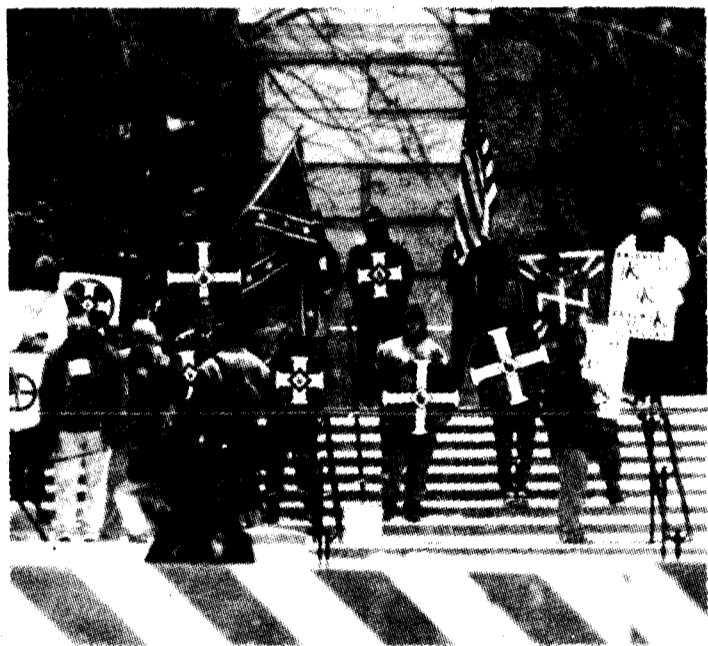
The BATF was up to its eyeballs in the bloody KKK massacre of five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. And we will not forget the massacre of 86 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas by Janet Reno's "Justice" Department and the BATF. While much of the left sneered, we organized protest demonstrations in cities across America.

that the Klan rally proceed unimpeded on the day in question, we would hope that the ACLU will be equally scrupulous in defending our right to protest the Klan presence." These legal eagles for the KKK couldn't even bring themselves to reply.

But eloquent letters of protest poured into Ryan's office from labor unions and civil rights activists all over this country and internationally. David Richardson, a black Democratic member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, wrote to Ryan's office: "Your decision to oppress the Anti-Klan demonstrators by denying them a podium & sound equipment is despicable. Additionally, I am very concerned about the deployment of your police agents, which are serving to advance Klan activity in this Country."

While the state's attempt to repress the anti-Klan forces scared off some, it stiffened the resolve of many to *be there* in Springfield on January 16. For many who recalled the old FBI lie that Martin Luther King Jr. was a "commie dupe," which is echoed by the Klan in opposing a federal holiday in commemoration of him, our chant "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!" rang true.

The state was so intent on sealing Springfield under a white hood that two black women state legislators, Alice Palmer and Lou Jones, who had the courage to stand by their convictions and join the labor/black mobilization on January 16, were denied access to their offices in the State Capitol by riot-equipped police officers. Palmer and



WV Photo

KKK/Nazi thugs on East steps of Capitol, protected by riot cops. State used black prisoners to set up barricades.

police state tactics effectively put the state of Illinois in a bloc with the fascists against the labor and black opponents of the KKK."

The courts in lock step with the police kept us from having our speakers platform where we wanted it to be—in direct sight of the Klan—the better to acquaint them with the social power of the integrated labor movement mobilized in its own defense and on behalf of all the fascists' intended victims. As the PDC explained in a press release issued January 15:

"Secretary of State Ryan's aim from the beginning has been to create a leaderless and chaotic situation—the exact opposite of our intent.... A rally without centrally located sound and leadership is like a car without a steering wheel! The responsibility for any problems that may develop during this demonstration rests squarely with the Secretary of State's Office and his police forces."

Ryan was a public supporter of "Project Lemonade," an obscene initiative by the Zionist ADL to raise money off fascist KKK recruitment rallies and instruct outraged anti-fascists to stay home! Their stated aim was to raise more money, the longer the Klan provocation lasted! The ADL is literally putting price tags on the corpses of victims of fascist terror! This follows in the Zionist tradition of sacrificing poor Jews to the Nazis in the 1930s and '40s in exchange for allowing Jewish capital to flow in to create the future state of Israel. Racist murder and pogroms are the results of KKK/Nazi recruitment rallies that "Project Lemonade" wants to serve as

The meaning of the state's overt and aggressive collusion with the fascists in Springfield is clear and ominous: First Amendment "rights" to free speech and assembly for *anti-Klan* activists can effectively be wiped out in the name of "security" while the KKK gets a green light to insult and terrorize black America on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. As Al Spanfelner told WICS TV in Springfield, "If they're not stopped, next year there will be [Klan rallies in] 16 capitals and then 24 capitals and then you're not going to have Martin Luther King Day, you're going to be talking about KKK day." That is why the mobilization of labor/black power on the streets was so important. Like every other gain that working people and minorities have secured in this country, our democratic rights are precious to us and must be wrested and defended through hard class struggle.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The state's concerted efforts to prevent anti-Klan protests in Springfield and elsewhere are part and parcel of yuppie racist Clinton's America. After the 1988 elections, to woo back the "Reagan Democrats" the right wing of the Democratic Party—led by Arkansas governor Bill Clinton—moved hard to push blacks to the back of the party bus. In the 1992 presidential elections, Jesse Jackson—the most prominent black political spokesman in this country for over a decade—was turned into an invisible man in the Democratic Party. Clinton came to office by deliberately insulting blacks. Since this "new" Democrat entered the White House, black Democratic mayors in the country's two largest cities—New York and Los Angeles—have been replaced by right-wing white Republicans. Over NAFTA, Clinton kicked organized labor in the teeth. Today all the Democrats have to offer blacks is more prisons and boot camps for youth.

Grotesquely conjuring up the memory of Martin Luther King Jr. in a November 13 speech to a black congregation in Memphis, where King was assassinated by a white racist, Clinton pushed the theme that "black people...murder other black people with reckless abandon." This is blaming the victims for their victimization. The outcry over "black on black crime" has been taken up by black liberals like Coretta Scott King and Jesse Jackson, as well as Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Indeed, the theme of official M.L. King Day celebrations was "stop the violence" in the inner cities. In New York, Governor Cuomo called a special session of the state legislature on King Day to consider his new "crime" bill. And in Springfield, the KKK "blamed Blacks for the nation's drug and crime problems" (*Chicago*

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Anti-Racist Protesters...

(continued from page 11)

Defender, 17 January).

Many black Democrats and union officials were shocked that the KKK launched an aggressive campaign to defile Martin Luther King Day, the commemoration of the civil rights movement. But the Democratic Party and AFL-CIO bureaucracy is in large measure responsible for the *political climate* in which these racist terrorists feel they have the wind in their sails. The legal gains of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s came at a time when the American capitalist economy began a long downward slide marked by deindustrialization, union-busting and "give-back" contracts. Today, the National Urban League estimates that 60 percent

of black teenage males and 20 percent of all black men are unemployed. Most of those lucky enough to have jobs are forced to work at poverty-level wages.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has given up the gains won through decades of hard-fought labor battles. Instead of channeling the anger of workers and unemployed youth against the Fortune 500 corporations and Wall Street banks, the union tops are engaging in flag-waving attacks on Japan and recently on Mexico over the NAFTA agreement. Racist protectionism, wrapped in the American flag, feeds into the political climate which favors the Klan and Nazis, who hate Hispanics and Asians just as much as they hate blacks. The racist, chauvinist traitors who now run the American labor movement have to be ousted by the workers and replaced by a leadership committed to militant class struggle.

This fight is international in scope. The growing boldness of the KKK is matched by the rise of fascist terror in Europe. The outpouring of support from trade unionists from as far away as Italy and Japan shows the recognition that the fascist threat is for real. In a solidarity statement to the Springfield rally, the chairman of the German League of Anti-Fascists in Leipzig said "Right-wing terror is on the rise! Here in Germany it is mainly directed against foreigners, especially—but by no means only—against refugees from countries of the Third World, also against leftists, gays and Jews. And, as in your country, the police usually are blind in the right eye." To organize the workers and oppressed in their own class interests requires an international revolutionary party, with the program to defeat the fascists once and for all by destroying the capitalist system which breeds them. ■



WV Photo

Two of the student demonstrators who turned out from a dozen area colleges and universities.

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black mobilization in Springfield: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan January 16'."

List of Endorsers as of 18 January 1994

29th Ward Peoples Assembly, Chicago, IL
Aboriginal Death in Custody Watch Committee, Sydney, Australia
Mumia Abu-Jamal, Huntingdon, PA
Russell Adams, Chair, Howard University Afro-American Studies Dept.,* Washington, DC
African American Forum at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
American Postal Workers Union, Lincoln Land Area Local, Springfield, IL
Association for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Japan
Marcellus Barnes, Vice President, Black Caucus, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
James R. Barrett, Labor Historian; Executive Committee member, Union of Professional Employees, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,* Champaign, IL
Ann Bata, Steward, IBEW Local 165,* Chicago, IL
Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR-North), San Francisco, CA
Tom Beardsley, President, American Postal Workers Union, Oakland Local,* Oakland, CA
Willie Lee Bell, Delegate to Central Labor Council, IAM Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Karen Biber, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
Jacob Blander, member, Iciek Witenberg Study Group,* Caulfield, Australia
Danny Bishop, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Black United Fund of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Carolyn J. Blahofski, Acting President, UAW Local 1235,* Springfield, IL
Linda C. Bowman, Joint Executive Board member, SEIU Local 509,* Dorchester, MA
Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Eva Brück, Spokeswoman, Jewish Women's Group East Berlin,* Berlin, Germany
Campaign for Justice, San Jose, CA
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Local 400, Vancouver, BC
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) Lodi Region, Milano, Italy
Cynthia Chávez, Field Director, Campaign for Justice, San Jose, CA
Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Chicago, IL
Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Robert Clark, President, United Electrical Workers District 11,* Chicago, IL
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Committee for Defense of the Liberties and Rights of Man in France and the World, Paris, France
Communications Workers Union of Australia, Telecommunication & Services, Victorian Branch, Collingwood, Australia
Aurelio Crippa, Secretary, CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) Milano,* Milano, Italy
Joe Damal, Executive Director, Southwest Community Congress,* Chicago, IL
Bill Davis, President, American Postal Workers Union, Lincoln Land Area Local, Springfield, IL
Danny K. Davis, Cook County Commissioner,* Chicago, IL
Mary G. Denson, Candidate for State Representative, 8th District, Chicago, IL
Seth Donnelly, Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty,* Chicago, IL
Emory Douglas, former member, Black Panther Party,* San Francisco, CA
Charles DuBois, Steward, AFSCME Local 444, Berkeley, CA
Diane M. Dujon, Chapter Board member, SEIU Local 509 (UMass/Boston),* Mattapan, MA
Alfred Erdölli, Roma Union e.V.,* Berlin, Germany
Chris Fisher, Treasurer, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Hector M. Flores, Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
James Frazier, member, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
Mrs. James Frazier, Brooklyn, NY
Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
GaMIT (gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and friends at M.I.T.), Cambridge, MA
Mike Garcia, President, SEIU Local 1877; President, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Santa Clara Chapter, San Jose, CA
Roger Gates, President, United Rubber Workers Local 713,* Decatur, IL
Global Committee Commemorating Kingdom Days of Respect, Chicago, IL
William Gordon, President, Triangle Plumbers Club,* Chicago, IL

Don Gunn, New South Wales Assistant Secretary, Media Entertainment & Arts Alliance,* Sydney, Australia
Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, Chicago, IL
Harvard/Radcliffe Asian American Association, Cambridge, MA
Rev. John L. Harvey, Catholic priest, St. Benedict the African Church,* Chicago, IL
Charles A. Hayes, former Congressman, Chicago, IL
Jerome Henderson, Organizer, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL
David Hilliard, Business Representative, United Public Employees Local 790,* Oakland, CA
Baruch Hirson, Co-Editor, *Searchlight South Africa*,* London, England
Alzeldia Hollie, President, Student Government Association at Chicago State University,* Chicago, IL
Johnnie M. Jackson, President, Chicago Chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Joe B. Jasen, President, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
Callie Jones, Vice President, John Hay Homes Residents Council,* Springfield, IL
Lovana Jones, State Representative, 5th District, Illinois State Legislature,* Chicago, IL
Emil Jones, Jr., State Senator and Minority Leader, Illinois State Senate,* Chicago, IL
Katie Jordan, President, Chicago ACTWU,* Chicago, IL
Eugen Kessler, Ehrenvorsitzender, Lagergemeinschaft Dachau (honorary chairman of the community of the Dachau concentration camp),* Neubiberg/München, Germany
Karl Kielhorn, member, presidium of the Dachau concentration camp community,* PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Berlin, Germany
Robert J. Koontz, Treasurer, Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR-North), San Francisco, CA
David P. Kramer, Northern Regional Director, SEIU Local 535,* Oakland, CA
Jürgen Kuczynski, member, Russian Academy of Sciences,* PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Berlin, Germany
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Santa Clara Chapter, San Jose, CA
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, SF Chapter, San Francisco, CA
Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and York Region, Don Mills, Ontario
George Lach, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203,* Baltimore, MD
League of Antifascists, Leipzig, Germany
Lebenshilfe e.V. (Lifehelp organization), Halle, Germany
Christopher James Lee, General Manager, National Indigenous Media Association of Australia,* Brisbane, Australia
Bennie Lenard, Steward, UAW Local 6,* Melrose Park, IL
Mildred F. Leonard, Steward, IBEW Local 134,* Chicago, IL
Gerald E. Lockridge, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Jim Loughheed, 1st Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local,* Vancouver, BC
Frank Martin del Campo, President, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, SF Chapter, San Francisco, CA
Raymond Martinez, Jr., Philadelphia Chapter President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668,* Philadelphia, PA
Fr. John Maxwell, Pastor, St. Andrew's Catholic Church,* Oakland, CA
Richard B. Maye, President, Ministerial Alliance of Springfield,* Springfield, IL
Pat McCombs, President, Executive Sweet,* Chicago, IL
Michael Mezo, President, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Harold Mitchell, President, AFSCME Local 100,* Cleveland, OH
Jim Moran, Director, PHILAPOSH,* Philadelphia, PA
Kinhide Mushakoji, Secretary-General, International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR),* Tokyo, Japan
National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) Arbour Square Branch, London, England
National Railway Workers Union, Shimbashi Branch, Tokyo, Japan
James H. Neil, Co-chief Shop Steward, Harvard Dining Service Workers, H.E.R.E. Local 26,* Cambridge, MA
Satoru Nishioka, Managing Director, Yada Burakumin Liberation Co-op,* Osaka, Japan
Organization of Latin American Students at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Hotsuki Ozaki, Critic, Tokyo, Japan
Partisan Defense Committee
Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (PRC), Lodi Federation, Milano, Italy
PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Germany
William A. Pelz, Director, Social Sciences Program, DePaul University,* Chicago, IL
Allen L. Perdue, President, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1457,* San Francisco, CA
Rev. Michael Pfeleger, Pastor, St. Sabina Church, Chicago, IL
Keith A. Phelps, Business Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1064,* Livonia, MI
Allen Pieper, Business Agent, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL
Raylene Pileggi, Chief Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario

Teresa Polk-Henderson, Senior Health and Safety Field Representative, SEIU Central Regional Office,* Chicago, IL
Rainer Pommrich, Delegate to the 3rd Party Congress, PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), Halle, Germany
James C. Prola, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
Rabbinical Office of the Jewish Community of Milano, Milano, Italy
Rail, Maritime & Transport Union, Finsbury Park branch, London, England
Thomas W. Ramsay, Communications Director, SEIU Local 399,* Los Angeles, CA
Brenda Rayford, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
J.C. Reynolds, President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732,* Atlanta, GA
David W. Richardson, President, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
David P. Richardson, Jr., State Representative, Pennsylvania House of Representatives,* Philadelphia, PA
Bill Richerson, Union Representative, SEIU Local 1877, Oakland, CA
John Rohan, President, AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
Libby Sayre, President, United Professional and Technical Employees, CWA Local 9119,* Berkeley, CA
Schule für Geistigbehinderte I (School for the Mentally Disabled I), Halle, Germany
Corine E. Scott, Vice Chairperson, United Motormen Division of TWU Local 100,* Cambria Heights, NY
SEIU Local 1877, San Jose, CA
Israel Shahak, Civil Rights Advocate, Jerusalem, Israel
Prof. Willi Sitte, Artist, Halle, Germany
Donald A. Smith, Trustee, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Larry G. Solomon, President, UAW Local 751,* Decatur, IL
Southern California District Council ILWU, Los Angeles, CA
Spartacist League of the U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL
Wilford C. Spears, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Steppan Inc./Paris Dance, Chicago, IL
William Stodghill, President, SEIU Local 50,* St. Louis, MO
St. Sabina Church, Chicago, IL
Hitoshi Tanaka, The Research Institution for Bank Employees (Gin-Ro-Ken),* Tokyo, Japan
William H. Taylor, Sr., President, OCAW Local 7-507,* Argo, IL; Chairman, Inter-Union Wet/Dry Corn Milling Council USA and Canada*
Teamsters Local 808, New York, NY
Tempo newspaper at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Ron Teninty, International Representative, Teamsters,* Richmond, CA
Isiah Thomas, President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Alvin E. Thompson, Legislator, Massachusetts House of Representatives,* Boston, MA
Gerald Tittermary, Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1034,* Philadelphia, PA
Chiuyuki Tominari, Communist League (Japan),* Saitama-ken, Japan
Hideo Totsuka, Research Group on the Labor Movement,* Tokyo, Japan
Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Media Association, Queensland, Australia
Ronald A. Tyree, Vice President, CWA Local 1150,* New York, NY
UAW Local 477, Chicago, IL
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers of America District #4, Hillside, IL
UST-CISL (Italian Confederation of Workers Unions, Lodi Region), Milano, Italy
UST-CISL (Italian Confederation of Workers Unions, Milano Region), Milano, Italy
Charles Valenta, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1034,* Philadelphia, PA
Ben Visnick, President, Oakland Education Association/NEA,* Oakland, CA
Jana Wagner, co-initiator of protest rally against violence against disabled people (13 January 1994), Halle, Germany
Ben Watanabe, former President, National Union of General Workers, Tokyo South District,* Tokyo, Japan
David F. Watts, President, UPIU/Allied Industrial Workers Local 837,* Decatur, IL
Allen L. Weiss, President, Teamsters Local 279,* Decatur, IL
Wayne Morris Wharton, General Manager, Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Media Association, Queensland, Australia
Jerry W. Williams, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Lori A. Williams, President, Organization of Latin American Students at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Christopher Wilson, Chair, Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
Lorna L. Wilson, President, African American Forum at Chicago State University, Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee.

"Time to Stop the Klan!"

We reprint here some excerpts from speeches by participants at the January 16 mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield. The remarks printed below, which have been edited for publication, were made at the rally site and at the victory party held later that afternoon. Other speakers were John Hill, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago; Jesse Evans, an alderman from Chicago; Crystal Lovett, a student at University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana; and Jim Barrett, a professor of history there.



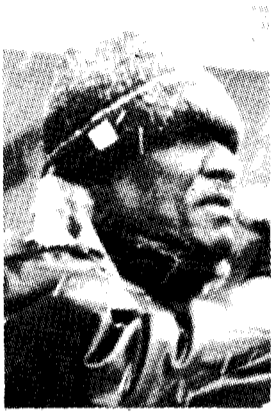
WV Photo

At platform on North steps of Capitol, speakers from a broad spectrum of organizations addressed the crowd.

Jackie Breckenridge

International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union

Stop the Klan! We must do everything possible to put down this regurgitation. Some people want us to ignore it, but we can't. You know what happened in Germany to the Jews when they ignored it, and later it was six million Jews dead. You know what happened after the Civil



WV Photo

Jackie Breckenridge

War when we ignored it; thousands and thousands of black people were murdered.

I was born in Okolona, Mississippi in 1941 and my family stood against the Klan then. My great-great-grandfather was hung by the Klan. In 1964 the Klan put 14 sticks of dynamite in my mother-in-law's home and kidnapped my wife. I was a part of the movement in the early '60s. I was in many marches in most of the Southern states. I became a part of the labor movement in 1966 and I worked very hard in this movement ever since. I've seen a lot of things and I've been a part of a lot of things. I do commend the organizers of this rally today. You've done a good job. Or maybe I should say, we've done a good job. It shows that an individual by themselves can't do one thing, but as a group we can do anything. We can fend off anything and we can change anything.

There's a three-headed dragon that we must kill. That's racism, classism, and sexism. Today we have struck one small blow in injuring that dragon and if we keep the movement going, we will end it, we will stop it, and we will be the victors. The people of the world will become the rulers of the world and not be manipulated by the managers of the world, the people who say they own the land, the people who control the wealth of this world because we allow them to. But it's ours. And it's up to us to go and take what's ours. I'm not saying, ask for it—let's demand it, let's take it. That's what we have to do.

Bill Hampton

Brother of murdered Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton

Here in the State Capitol we can see all the health "reforms," all the homeless people, all the unemployed people and we can see in the so-called "land of Lincoln," Springfield, Illinois, where many blacks escaped the South from slavery to come to a so-called better land, that the State Capitol can be used for Klan activities. Let's denounce it. It is wrong!

Our governor can say, "these people have the right to freedom of speech."

Yes, people have the freedom of speech, but what freedom of speech do people have when thousands of blacks have been lynched by the KKK? This is not freedom of speech. This is freedom of ignorance, freedom of hatred, freedom of racism, and we will not tolerate it. We must fight it! We must band together as a people to let us have freedom of speech. If everybody had the right to freedom of speech then people like Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Dr. King would be with us today.

If we don't fight these people we'll see them marching in every state. It's a disgrace for them to come out on Dr. King's birthday, his holiday, and say that a black American can't have a holiday because the Ku Klux Klan is against them. We will continue to fight this because it is wrong and we as a people are not living in slavery. We are living in 1994 and we will stop this right away.

Jerome Henderson

Organizer, SEIU Local 73, Springfield, Illinois

It's nice to see everybody out here on a such a cold day! This is a sign that lets me know that freedom and justice for all still is alive here in Springfield, Illinois. We thank you all for coming in from Chicago and all over. This Klan



WV Photo

Jerome Henderson

thing is a sign of ignorance. But what we have today is a sign of true solidarity from all labor movements and from all around the country. On behalf of Local 73 I'd like to thank all of you for coming down here. Peace be unto all of you.

Brian Manning

Spartacist League

Who gets the red carpet treatment around here? The KKK! Who does the government try to put into pens? The anti-Klan demonstrators! The same people who said "ignore the Klan" are the people who have run the union movement into the ground. The ones who say we can't fight because we're too weak, the ones who push losing "corporate campaigns" and selective strikes. They're the ones who are in bed with the bosses. They sell out every struggle that comes along, even ones where the workers are winning, like the flight attendants strike at American Airlines. But we aren't weak, we are strong! Look at us! If we, the workers and the oppressed are going to win, we must fight with a leadership that knows who its friends are and who its enemies are.

This government, the Democratic president and all, is not our friend. A lot of people thought that when Clinton got into office the Reagan years would finally end. But what's changed? As long as capitalism, production for profit, remains in power, the capitalists are going to drive down wages and beat down black people and minorities and carry out imperialist policies abroad. As long as capitalism, imperialism, is in power, they won't feed starving babies in Africa. They'll just feed them bullets and bombs. They'll tell you they're bringing "democracy" to Haiti but the embargo means starving the population, and the babies die first. In Mogadishu and Port-au-Prince—the U.S. exports the same "democracy" they brought to Baghdad and Vietnam and Hiroshima and Nagasaki! It's imperialist war and you can't have capitalism without imperialist war.

There is not going to be any black liberation except through socialist revolution. We stand here by the statues of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. Lincoln led the country in a titanic struggle to smash chattel slavery. At the conclusion of the war, 200,000 blacks bore arms and there was a possibility of eliminating the race system in this country. But the promise of black freedom was dashed—it was dashed with the defeat of Reconstruction. And Martin Luther King Jr.—he sought black "empowerment" through working within the system, basically through voting for the Democrats. But his dream was smashed on the streets of Cicero, Illinois in the mid-'60s when he tried to bring the civil rights struggle North. The race-color caste system against blacks is entrenched in the capitalist system and the condition of blacks has gone from bad to worse in the last 30 years.

Blacks and workers need their own political party. A party that brooks no compromise with the system that is out to extract as much profit as it can from us and then destroy us. You almost have to be a communist if you want to fight for a decent life for yourself or your family. When 86 people were incinerated in Waco by Attorney General Janet Reno, who raised a voice of protest? It was us, the Spartacists. And when women and children were murdered in Somalia, who denounced imperialism and demanded justice for the long-oppressed peoples of Africa? It was us, the Spartacists. And when Denny's restaurant was denying blacks equal treatment, who organized nationwide demonstrations? It was us. We are not liberals. We are working-class revolutionaries because we know the working class has the power and self-interest to destroy this capitalist system. So if you've got a sense of humanity and the will to fight for justice for all of the oppressed, then join us. We're fighting and we are going to win!

Danny K. Davis

Cook County Commissioner, Chicago, Illinois

Thank you very much. Let me just say first of all that I greet you in the spirit of Nat Turner, John Brown, Denmark

Vesey, Frederick Douglass, Martin King, and all of those who have struggled for freedom and liberation, not just now but for centuries past. I also greet you in the spirit of all of you, my brothers and sisters, who have braved the cold elements to come and let not just those of us who are here, but to let those across the nation, know that we will not stand idly by and watch the reactionary forces of racism and fascism continue to spew their poisonous venom without going unchecked. I commend you for coming.

I think it's somewhat ironic that we are here on the day when we celebrate the birthday of Martin Luther King. I was thinking as I walked in that there are those forces that did in fact kill King and they're trying to kill and wipe out our spirit and they're trying to make a mockery of those things that we believe in and those things that we fight for. But I can tell you in the words of Claude McKay, who suggested that:

"If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and
hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, Oh let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not
be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though
dead!

Oh, kinsmen! we must meet the
common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show
us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one
death-blow!
What though before us lies the
open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous
cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying,
but fighting back!"

Thank you so very much.

Katie Jordan

President ACTWU, Chicago, Illinois

Do you know what time it is? Time to stop the Klan! I have been in the labor movement for many, many years so I know what it is to fight against the racist regime. I'm a product of the deep South, so I know that the Klan did not just raise their ugly heads. I heard the stories when I was a little girl about the murder and lynching, and the fear and the hiding to keep from being lynched by the Klan. At that time I thought that the Klan was



WV Photo

Katie Jordan

only in the South. Then I came to the North and I found that the Klan is everywhere. But so is the labor movement and those people who are willing to fight and struggle.

We have the power to stop the Klan. We have the power to preserve all of the things that we have fought for. I thought the Klan were only against blacks. Then I found out different, that it's not a matter of the color of the skin but it's a matter of the right of people to be free to work for the things that they want, without the racist society to prevent us from being unified. The Klan is against the labor movement, they are against Catholics, they are against you if you're poor, they are against everyone except those who

continued on page 14

Unions Denounce State Curb on Anti-Klan Protest

We Will Not Ride at the Back of the Bus!

NALC
National Association of Letter Carriers
Branch 2200
* 200 YEARS *
CIVIL RIGHTS / UNIONS / LABOR / AMERICA

1370 N. Oxford Ave.
Pasadena, CA 91104
(610) 790-6122

CLYDE WALTERS
Vice President
NANCY MEYER
Secy-Treasurer
FRANK CONSTANZO
Asst. Secy-Treasurer

LEROY COLLIER
President

PATRICIA WOODRUFF
Health Benefit Rep.
LEON GRUFFITHS
Rep. - 66-68
DAVID FURBER
MIA Representative

12 January 1994.

George H. Ryan
Secretary of State
State of Illinois
213 State House
Springfield, IL 62756

Dear Sir:

On December 30, the Partisan Defense Committee was issued a permit to hold a rally at the Illinois state capitol to stop the KKK provocation scheduled during the Martin Luther King holiday weekend. Now we have heard that the state intends to place restrictions on the anti-Klan protesters which will greatly limit their ability to carry out this urgent mobilization while giving the Klan a free hand. So the Klan rides while the anti-Klan demonstrators are shackled by the actions of the state.

An endorsement of this demonstration, we protest this flagrant attack on our First Amendment rights. These actions pose a potentially dangerous situation for the many citizens—mostly labor and blacks—who intend to be there. We note in particular the denial of a stage or a podium which is essential for giving a focus and direction to those in attendance.

We will not be treated as second class citizens while the Klan gets to ride in the front of the bus! We demand our full democratic rights! Rescind those restrictions!

Sincerely yours,
Leroy Collier, Pres. Don Smith, Trustee

cc:Gov. Jim Edgar
cc:Roland W. Burris, Atty. Gen. JUSTICES
cc:PDC Donald A. Smith Sharon Beims Mary Burkhard

LOCAL 1457
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 29006, Presidio of San Francisco
San Francisco, California 94129
Telephone: 561-4871

January 12, 1994

Honorable George H. Ryan
Secretary of State
State of Illinois
213 State House
Springfield, Illinois 62756

Dear Secretary Ryan:

We do hereby object to and protest any attempt to restrict the rights of the Partisan Defense Committee to conduct a mobilization to stop the KKK from provoking a racist atrocity on the Capitol steps of Springfield. It has come to our attention that you propose to deny the Partisan Defense Committee, and the tens of thousands of supporters access and speaking rights at the Illinois worker's Memorial while attempting to pen them into a restricted area away from the terrorist KKK. Meanwhile the fascists of the Ku Klux Klan are allowed to disgrace the Martin Luther King Memorial and spew their racist poison throughout the State of Illinois.

We workers who maintain the U.S. Army installation at the Presidio of San Francisco, consider any action against the democratic rights of the anti-Klan demonstrators to be an attack on the rights of every decent person in this country and call on you to open the Capitol freely to all who wish to condemn racism and fascism and defend the interest of workers and minorities. The KKK is the enemy of all decent people. Any defense of them is tantamount to treason.

Sincerely,
Allen L. Perdue
President, AFGE Local 1457
Secretary/Treasurer, AFGE Local 1457

CP:
Governor Jim Edgar
Attorney General Roland W. Burris

TO DO FOR ALL THAT WHICH NONE CAN DO FOR HIMSELF

Protests poured in when the State of Illinois threatened to pen up anti-Klan protesters and push us back behind barricades to the Capitol North steps, out of sight of the Klan. In addition to the statements by Pasadena, California Letter Carriers Branch 2200 and San Francisco AFGE Local 1457 (shown here), faxes and phone calls came from Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson and Philadelphia SEIU Local 668 Chapter President Ray Martinez. From Oakland, California, AFSCME and teachers union officials fired off protests, as did postal workers locals in both Toronto and Vancouver, Canada, and many others.

"Time to Stop the Klan" ...

(continued from page 13)

believe like they believe.

I speak as a woman. I will be here as strong as any man to help to fight the Klan. We all marched with Martin Luther King when he fought so diligently. He wasn't afraid to go out and speak and neither are we. He left a legacy for us. He left a dream and we are here to uphold his dignity as well as ours.

We have to change things. I'm president of my local, the first woman ever that has been a president of that particular local, because I saw a need for change in the way that women were being treated in this society and it had to do with the racist regime of what our society is. I'm awful glad that I have been asked to be a part of the things that you are doing because they are things that I have believed in all of my life. Coming up as a young kid in the South, I know about being directly affected by the racist discrimination that tries to make you feel less than human. The Ku Klux Klan is trying to bring that about all over the country, not just in the South.

I will continue to preach the word in the organizations that I belong to because I know the same thing you fight for, they do too. But I still ask the question, "why aren't they here?" We know that there are others that need to be here. We know that when we go back to talk to them, they'll say that they believe in the same thing. But if so, why not be brave about it, defy those who say you shouldn't be here, and come if you believe in this. That's why I am here.

Jeff Higgins

Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, California

The Ku Klux Klan, coming out of its Confederate uniforms yesterday, was a

paramilitary organization from the beginning. And so it is today. No matter in a one-piece hood or a three-piece suit, the Klan, after the Civil War and now, deals in cowardly, racist, dynamite-induced death—not debate.

In 1877 with the defeat of Reconstruction and the pulling of Union troops out of the South, the young American capitalist class made a deal with remnants of the defeated slaveowners, and through it, its paramilitary arm—the Ku Klux Klan. The surging American capitalists, largely responding to a growing, organizing labor movement, were abandoning any perspective for a socially-founded black freedom. The Ku Klux Klan was employed as the primary paramilitary force, the armed battering ram, which forcibly drove the former slaves to the bottom of American industrial capitalist society. It is not status as an oppressed nation, but this condition, determined on the one hand by fundamental integration into America's capitalist economic fabric, while on the other forcibly segregated on its bottom as a race-color caste, which is at the foundation of the sordid, horrible, wretched, agonizing living conditions for Afro-Americans today!

The key to working-class unity, to working-class victory, is independence from all forces linked to the bourgeoisie. Working-class schoolchildren today grow up knowing that the Republican Party has represented big money interests for a long time, that the Reagan-Bush safety net was in fact a hangman's noose. But it must also be learned that the Democrats too are tied to big money going back to the days when the Democratic Party served as the political tool for the slaveowners. Malcolm X was right: a Democrat is nothing but a Dixiecrat.

The capitalist police, many of whom are Klansmen by night, the capitalist courts, and certainly the once-slaveowners' Democratic Party, cannot protect, cannot assist, cannot relieve, cannot make better, cannot mediate the

growing deplorable living circumstances of American workers in black skin or white. Asking the cops and courts to ban the Klan or address black special oppression is indeed like Rodney King asking the L.A. police for protection. The American capitalists coddle the KKK fascist scum. To keep its power, to continue as the sole owners of the basic means of production, the capitalists will unleash these genocidal homophobes to quash militant, integrated, working-class struggle.

This racist KKK fascist provocation on the Martin Luther King holiday,



Jeff Higgins

decent American workers will not tolerate. Although King's pro-Democratic Party civil rights policy could not help but lead the struggle for Afro-American democratic rights into a dead end, the Labor Black Struggle League, as part of the Trotskyist Spartacist League's program to build an integrated revolutionary Trotskyist leadership for the American working class, defends the limited gains of King's civil rights era. Out of militant integrated working-class actions, like today's against the racist, bomb-throwing KKK, we will assist in building this integrated revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. A revolutionary American workers party will keep its feet on these racist killers' necks, their face in the mud, the racist KKK fascist menace, nipped in the bud. Join the Labor Black Struggle League!

Seth Donnelly

Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty

Power to the people! As part of the struggle against the Klan, and the racist system which sustains the Klan to this day, we have to talk about the death penalty. We are in a crisis in Illinois. There are over 150 people under the sentence of death. Over 70 percent of these people are black and Latino. Sixty-three percent of the people on death row are black. This is plain out "legal lynching" as it is in every other state and what we've got to do is take the energy that we developed in the struggle against the Klan and have that be a battering ram against the criminal justice system which puts apartheid in a damn near favorable light. We've got to stop a U.S. apartheid and we've got to struggle against the criminal justice system here.

Jeff Keemer

Howard University
Spartacus Youth Club

This system is in acute decay. Youth today see no future and for ghetto black youth the prospects are even more bleak. Faced with urban rebellion in the 1960s the capitalist class threw money at the problem with affirmative action, increased funding for public education, welfare, Headstart, and on and on. But now this system is bankrupt. All they have to offer us youth is boot camps, poor textbooks, pathetic schools, racist anti-crime hysteria and blaming the victim for their own conditions. They say, "You people need to pull yourselves up by your own bootstraps"! We say, "Bootstraps? We haven't got any boots!"

We seek to build a mass youth movement to add to the power of labor which can stop the Nazis cold in their tracks. The only way out of a future of either jails, crime, service in the imperialist army, poverty, despair and death, is a workers revolution that will finish the Civil War and achieve black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

"U of I-Champaign Students Say: All Out to Stop the KKK!"



Young Spartacus

Champaign-Urbana contingent marches in to join labor/black mobilization in Springfield.

As part of the mobilization to stop the KKK on January 16, members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs worked the campus of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, where they were warmly received. Many students strongly agreed with the need to stand up to the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan. By the end of the week, the campus was abuzz with talk about the mobilization and the SYC. On the eve of the demonstration, students were leaving messages on their answering machines like "Hi, sorry we can't come to the phone, we're out fighting fascists."

Throughout the week, daily organizing meetings were held, during which

the demonstration was discussed. Students were able to view a videotape of the PDC's successful demonstration to stop the KKK in Philadelphia in 1988—a militant, disciplined, labor-centered action against the fascist scum. With generous financial contributions from La Casa Cultural Latina and the Inter-Fraternity Council, two buses were organized to travel to Springfield on the 16th and many more students piled into cars. The outrage and disgust which the students at U of I felt over the Klan's provocation pulled together a very diverse and integrated group to build the mobilization. Many students took stacks of leaflets to distribute and

post up around the campus, sold tickets, and made signs and a banner.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) made a rather pitiful attempt to organize students as well, not to stop the KKK, but to "protest against the KKK." Members of the ISO attended one of the SYC's daily organizing meetings, where they were offered the opportunity to endorse the demonstration initiated by the PDC and to raise their own particular views from the rally's speakers platform as well as in their own propaganda and banners. But when two SYC members attempted to attend the ISO's only organizing meeting during the week to urge united action against the KKK fascists,

they were physically excluded by these social-democratic sectarians, right in front of a reporter from the *Daily Illini*, who wrote a front-page story on the anti-Klan mobilization, mentioning this exclusion.

Despite bitter cold and snow, two busloads of students, along with Professor Jim Barrett, who had endorsed the demonstration, traveled to Springfield. The students named their buses in honor of Frederick Douglass and the black soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, heroes in the struggle against racist oppression and the Confederate slavocracy whose legacy the KKK claims. The students arrived in Springfield and marched to the demonstration site carrying their banner: "U of I-Champaign Students Say—All Out to Stop the KKK!" and signs denouncing racism and the KKK. One sign in particular summed up the mood of the contingent: "Illinois Nazis Suck" (signed "Jake and Elwood").

At the demonstration, the U-I students joined working people and minorities from all over the area who had come together to oppose the terrorist KKK. The January 16 demonstration made those who participated aware of the social power of the labor movement. And here you couldn't miss the racist nature of the state. Students saw first-hand how the cops protected the Klan and repeatedly marched through the demonstration attempting to intimidate and provoke the anti-fascist protesters. As one of the chants put it, "Cops and Klan—Brothers Under the Hood."

Mobilizing for the demonstration to stop the KKK, the SYC brought revolutionary politics to the University of Illinois. The SYC stands for united, militant action like that of January 16 to stop racist terror. We want to win students to a lifetime of commitment to the working-class struggle against the capitalist system which breeds racism and oppression. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Jackson...

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he was infected with the AIDS virus. In a December 22 TV address, Jackson tearfully described the "horrifying nightmare" his life has become, and asserted his complete innocence.

Capitalist Reaction Unleashes Government Snoops

What makes the Jackson scandal such a blockbuster is the explosive mix of homosexuality, race and childhood sexuality with the "child abuse" witchhunt. State-sponsored social reaction has spawned right-wing crusades such as the "right to life" assault on women's right to abortion, "chastity" programs for teens and other outright denials of the sexuality of children and youth, escalating bigotry against homosexuals; the drive to censor pornography and to lock people up for what they read and look at and a generalized assault on the right to privacy. The persecution of the "King of Pop," probably the most successful recording artist of all time, is an ominous widening of the dragnet—somebody's got to be the victim, and who better than a headline-grabbing megastar already known for his eccentricities? Stop the witchhunt against Michael Jackson!

While no one looked askance at the risqué 1930s "baby burlesques" where Shirley Temple wiggled her little behind, today they'd probably qualify as "kiddie porn." Today's "child sex abuse" hysteria got its immediate start in Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign against homosexuals in the late '70s, and the "kiddie porn" scare of the '80s; government vehicles for persecution of alleged violators were established with the passage of the 1974 Mondale Act, which requires by law that professionals report even the most absurd and improbable sex abuse accusations to the cops,

and the 1982 Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation Act.

The ongoing government vendetta against supporters of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which advocates the right of men and boys to consensual sexual relations, represents the intersection of blatant anti-gay bigotry with reactionary "age of consent" laws. These "morality" campaigns are designed to glorify and prop up the repressive prison of the family, the main institution for the oppression of women and children under racist American capitalism.

The most extreme manifestation of the anti-sex witchhunt has been the government-sponsored madness over "ritual child abuse" in day-care centers, where wild, impossible charges have ensnared hundreds, if not thousands, of childcare workers, children and parents in a nightmare of uncontrolled hysteria. Invoking the fearful, intimidating atmosphere of the anti-Communist McCarthyite persecutions of the 1950s and the Salem witch trials of the 1690s, this crusade has nothing to do with protecting children and everything to do with reinforcing traditional "family values," guilt-tripping working moms who need to leave their kids in day care and whipping up hatred and bigotry against "deviants" who do not conform to the bourgeois establishment's dictates of proper behavior.

Last spring, "child abuse" was the battle cry of President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, who supervised the FBI barrage which resulted in the incineration of an entire religious commune (including dozens of children, black and white) near Waco, Texas.

Now a wing of the bourgeois press, government officials and health professionals is moving to curb the worst excesses of the "satanic abuse" mania. But in this deeply puritanical country, interracial sex, cross-generational sex and homosexuality are a threat to social

relations as decreed by our racist, bigoted capitalist rulers and the religious ideology which props up their social order. Witchhunts like the one against Michael Jackson are manipulated for reactionary political ends and serve to reinforce the bourgeoisie's warped and indecent values through fear and intimidation.

Making Examples of the Rich and Famous

Newsweek (6 September 1993) noted that the tabloid TV show "A Current Affair" "changed the emphasis of its coverage in the wake of 1-900 polls that showed overwhelming support for Jackson among the show's viewers." From his start in Gary, Indiana as the child star of the Jackson 5 to the huge success of his first solo album in 1979, Jackson has achieved the greatest "crossover" success in rock 'n roll history. As an asexual teen idol (one of whose hits was a love song to a giant rat!), Jackson achieved a level of popularity with white audiences unheard of for most black performers; when MTV broke its infamous "color bar" in 1984, it was to play Michael Jackson's video "Billie Jean."

At 40 million copies, Jackson's *Thriller* is the biggest-selling album of all time. Public interest in Jackson's quirky habits and increasingly bizarre androgynous and trans-racial appearance runs high: when Oprah Winfrey interviewed him, 62 million people watched. Today it seems every disgruntled former Jackson employee is appearing on *Hard Copy*, while his sister La Toya, the only untalented Jackson, holds "tell all" press conferences.

With their high public profiles and glamorous lives, movie and music stars have for decades been subjected to periodic purges for flouting bourgeois morality or mainstream politics: anti-Communist Hollywood blacklisting destroyed many careers during the 1950s. And the sex cops have been after stray-

ing stars for decades: in the '40s, matinee idol Errol Flynn was prosecuted for dallying with under-age starlets, while Charlie Chaplin (whose socialist sympathies enraged FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover) was prosecuted on "morals" charges and exiled from the U.S. In the 1950s Jerry Lee Lewis, "The Killer," was blacklisted for legally marrying his 14-year-old cousin, while in the late '70s film director Roman Polanski had to flee the country to avoid statutory rape charges for having sex with a sexually experienced, 13-year-old girl. Today, the current vendetta against Jackson follows on the heels of the press massacre of Woody Allen after the revelations of his affair with the 20-year-old adopted daughter of ex-girlfriend Mia Farrow and Farrow's vengeful, frame-up charges of sexual abuse of their seven-year-old daughter.

Michael Jackson denies doing anything but sleeping fully clothed in the same bed with this boy; in any case, none of the allegations even hint that he forced anything on any of the youths. Jackson's personal life is nobody's business but his own. The threatened criminal charges rest on reactionary "age of consent" laws which are used for vindictive and punitive charges like these. These laws outright deny that children and youth can be interested in sex on their own behalf and are designed not to protect children but to impose abstinence, guilt and fear on youth who wish to have sex. Instead, the bottom line in sexual relations should be effective consent, regardless of the ages, sexes or other characteristics of the people involved. While determining such consent can be tricky, particularly when young people are involved with older ones, such relationships are not by definition evidence of abuse or coercion. In Michael Jackson's case, an extremely visible and vulnerable celebrity has been made a scapegoat in a government-sponsored climate of hysteria. Government out of the bedroom! ■

Protests Against Massacre in Mexico



Mexico City



San Francisco



New York

Tens of thousands marched in Mexico City on January 12 to protest bloody repression against Chiapas peasant revolt. Two days earlier in U.S., Spartacist League joined solidarity protests outside Mexican consulates on both coasts.

The peasant rebellion of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, which burst into the open on January 1, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, shot holes in the imperialists' celebration of a "New World Order." The brutal oppression of the Mexican masses was laid bare, and the ensuing bloody massacre by the army showed that death squad repression is not a thing of the past. At the same time, the revolt was dramatic proof that radical social struggle against the capitalist exploiters and their state is far from dead.

Over the following days, there were protests against

the Mexican government repression in U.S. cities from coast to coast, drawing hundreds of demonstrators. Supporters of the Spartacist League participated with signs emphasizing the responsibility of Yankee imperialism for the slaughter in southern Mexico. Indeed, the helicopters which ferried Mexican troops to the killing grounds in Chiapas were supplied by the Pentagon. Calling for joint class struggle on both sides of the border, SL signs called for "Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to Yucatán."

In Mexico City, on January 13 the largest anti-government demonstration in half a decade marched

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WV Photos

Stop the Witchhunt Against Michael Jackson!

Caught in a maelstrom of government and media persecution, the hugely popular black megastar Michael Jackson is the victim of a savage witchhunt over allegations of sexual abuse of a 12-year-old boy. The witchhunt was unleashed last August when an aspiring screenwriter apparently tried to use his son's friendship with Jackson to extort \$20 million and promises of a boost to his Hollywood career. It has since spiraled into an \$8 million civil suit and two potential criminal trials. Swarms of cops have searched Jackson's homes for "evidence," forcing the singer to strip and submit to an unheard-of, humiliating photographing of his genitals. Prissy media busybodies pass judgments on Jackson's longstanding friendships with boys and

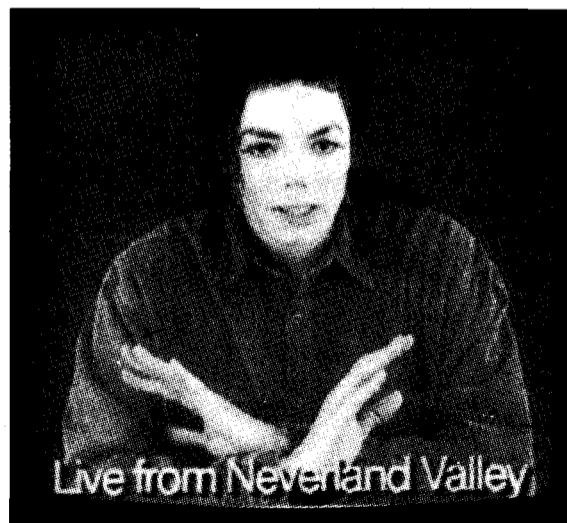
his appearance and lifestyle.

The allegations made by the boy, Jordy Chandler, were initially raised by his father, a dentist who wants out of the tooth business and into the film industry, during threats of an acrimonious child custody case between the divorced parents. Jackson had been friends with the boy for some time, taking him, his mother and sister to Disneyland four times, lavishing them with expensive gifts and reportedly enjoying hanging out with the three, watching TV, eating pizza and sleeping over. One or the other of the boy's parents was present in the house during these slumber parties, as the press has dubbed them. When Jackson refused to be blackmailed, the father rushed his son to a therapist, who complied by

filing an abuse complaint against Jackson.

The witchhunt quickly took on a life of its own. Press reports have focused on the site of the alleged seduction, Jackson's 2,700-acre Neverland Valley Ranch, named in honor of the perpetual child, Peter Pan, a kid's fantasyland, with a zoo, fun rides, movie theater and Indian village. Now two other boys have claimed Jackson molested them, too. Several other boys who are friends of Jackson (including child star Macaulay Culkin) have come to his defense, and Elizabeth Taylor has courageously stood by him.

Whether or not criminal charges are filed, Jackson's music career and his



Reuters

whole life have been shattered. The shy and reclusive singer is rumored to be suicidal and addicted to pain killers, forcing the early cancellation of the "Dangerous" world tour amid the harassment of press photographers, newshounds and sponsors threatening to sue for breach of contract. Corporate sponsors Pepsi and Sony dumped him, just like Nestlé dumped basketball star Magic Johnson when he announced that

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