

Labor, Blacks Stopped KKK in Washington, D.C.



WV Photo

Forward to a Workers State!

Finish the Civil War!

As contingents from the Mid-Atlantic, Northeast and Midwest rolled into the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27, the bus from Norfolk had a sign in the front window reading "Nat Turner Brigade." A trade unionist who organized the contingent commented enthusiastically, "This is history being made.... Something just like Nat Turner's insurrection. I think this is just like when old John Brown marched in 1859 and ignited the Civil War. This

Klan evolved after the Civil War, and we're here to stop them." And we did. Later, as 5,000 anti-KKK demonstrators marched down Constitution and up Pennsylvania Avenues behind Spartacist League (SL) and Labor/Black Mobilization banners, an SL chant caught the spirit of the day: "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State!"

Blacks, workers, all opponents of racist terror scored a victory as we stopped the Klan in its tracks. Coming

after a decade of racist rollback of black gains—from the defeat of busing under the Democrats to Reagan's attack on voting rights—and vicious union-busting, while minorities are suffering from unprecedented Depression-level unemployment, it was a sharp break in the cycle of defeats and sellouts. And this time, thousands were mobilized behind a class-struggle strategy that can lead to victory: no reliance on the capitalist state and Democratic Party phony "friends" of labor and blacks;

militant workers' action to bring down Reagan; build a multi-racial workers party to fight for a workers government.

Many black militants in Washington were veterans of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. Today, school integration is a dead letter, even the limited JFK/LBJ equal rights legislation is under the gun and KKK terror is spreading throughout the country. While some formal political rights have been established, they are buried under the weight of enormous social and economic oppression. Blacks are an oppressed race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of American society. They can sit at integrated lunch counters, but can they afford to eat? The liberal-led civil rights movement held out the promise of black equality, but what it produced was a handful of black mayors who are now busy breaking the strikes of black workers.

During the late 1950s/early 1960s the
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Defend the Soviet Union!

U.S. Plans MX First Strike

"It's toe-to-toe with the Russkies... There'll be some important promotions an' citations when we come through this.

"I'm not saying we wouldn't get our hair mussed. I am saying only ten to twenty million people killed, tops, depending on the breaks."

—Major Kong and General Buck Turgidson in *Dr. Strangelove* (1964)

The "unthinkable" is now official

White House policy: the U.S. is out to obliterate the Soviet Union in a preemptive nuclear first strike.

That's the message of Reagan's recent TV speech urging deployment of 100 MX missiles in "dense-pack" formation—a relatively cheap and easy road to quick deployment of the deadly missiles, eliminating such expensive (and futile) schemes as

former president Carter's plan to move the MX around on a vast network of underground tracks. Since Americans are getting nervous about all the nuclear war talk, Reagan maintains the fiction that the missiles would only "respond" to a Soviet attack and, echoing the newspeak of Orwell's 1984, he calls them "Peacekeepers."

The closely-spaced array ("dense-pack") is advertised as a deployment which would destroy incoming Soviet missiles by "fratricide"—that is, the heat, blast and debris from the first Soviet missile would supposedly render the following ones ineffective, allowing for "retaliation" by still surviving MX missiles. Liberal opponents of the MX have taken up the arguments of weapons experts like MIT's Kosta Tsipis who cry that "this basing mode is vulnerable to a number of different attacks that Moscow could mount" (*New York Times*, 1 December). Why, the Russians could turn all

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Special Supplement Inside:
We Stopped the Klan!
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SL Pickets AIFLD Gala

Carnival of Counterrevolution

SAN FRANCISCO, December 2— Under the slogan "Labor Must Break All Ties With the CIA," some 40 demonstrators including over a dozen unionists from the CWA (phone workers) and the ILWU (longshore and warehousemen) as well as youth from the University of California (Berkeley) and SF State campuses, set up a militant noon-hour picket line Thursday at the downtown San Francisco Hilton. Inside the hotel, a panel of known CIA labor operatives with the blood of workers

director of the African-American Labor Center's South Africa project, despised by black trade unionists in South Africa as a CIA operation to "tame" them; and finally Piotr Naimski, founder of the Warsaw chapter of the counter-revolutionary Polish company union Solidarność.

Jack Henning, California Labor Federation Secretary, introduced the speakers, making his customary vague references to "the possibilities or impossibilities of a labor party." A

and Turkey and loans to South Africa, but they were completely cowed by Irving Brown's blast: "He who does not condemn martial law in Poland has no right to condemn apartheid in South Africa!" Two-bit reformist Steve Zeltzer, whose moribund Bay Area Committee for a Labor Party was known as the John Henning Fan Club, appeared with a leaflet announcing an "educational" AFL-CIO foreign policy conference with Machinists chief William Winpisinger as keynote speaker. Some education! DSA social democrat Winpisinger, who last year stabbed PATCO strikers in the back, is also a member of the AIFLD board.

The real opposition was outside in the street where demonstrators' picket signs demanded "Oust Pro-CIA Labor Bureaucracy: Build a Workers Party!" and "Social Democrats—Front Men for the CIA!" As the conferees exited for lunch, they were met with chants including, "William Doherty: the blood of Salvadoran workers is on your hands!" "Tonia Papke, reform by death!" "Irving Brown, international union-buster for the CIA!" "Nana Mahomo supports apartheid butcher!" and "Solidarność, company union for the CIA and bankers!"

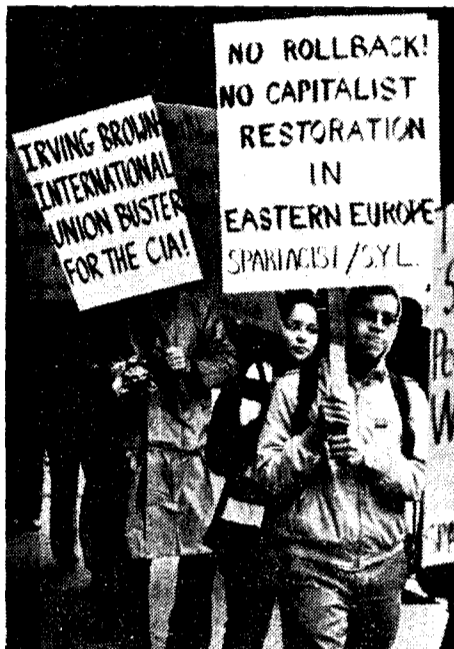
Speaking for the Spartacist League, Diana Coleman told the protesters, "Today the reformists, most notably the supporters of the Communist Party, are in there making motions that the CIA ought to be a little nicer. The difference here is between reform and revolution. We know that capitalism and its killer spy agencies cannot be pressured or reformed. The reformists in there are the same ones telling working people they ought to be supporting the Democratic Party, and all the while they're telling the Big Lie about the Spartacist League, that we're working for the KGB, the FBI and the CIA. But isn't it revealing when the CIA is here in the flesh they're in there making motions and we're out here protesting?"

Kathy Ikegami, an executive board member of CWA Local 9410, addressed the demonstrators about the key role of the national CWA in the AIFLD and denounced officials from her own local in attendance at the conference. The

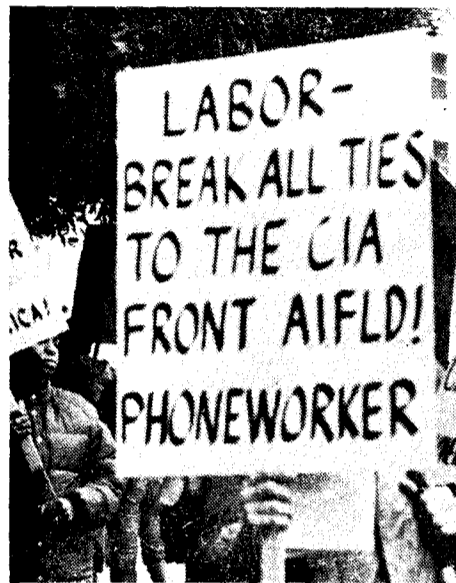
Militant Action Caucus, of which Ikegami is a leader, "has fought for years to break the union from this murderous group that has stained the banner of our union with the blood of thousands of workers and peasants in Latin America. My union leaders are in there because they defend the interests of U.S. imperialism around the world!"

She explained, "The real story of the AIFLD is not to be found in its glossy brochures but in the prisons and torture chambers of the military juntas in Chile and Brazil. The real story of the AIFLD can be seen in the eyes of countless hungry children picking through the garbage heaps in the streets of Santiago and São Paulo, victims of austerity programs of dictatorships which the AIFLD helped to install. All American workers must demand that the CWA and all of labor break from the bloody CIA fronts like the AIFLD and expose it to the world for what it is, a murderous front for the CIA!"

To the demonstrators' applause as the rally ended, Coleman declared, "We need a workers government, and it will take a socialist revolution to get one. . . . Then, like the Bolsheviks did in the USSR, we will see to it that these CIA agents are tried by a jury of their victims and that the blood they have spilled will be avenged." ■



WV Photos



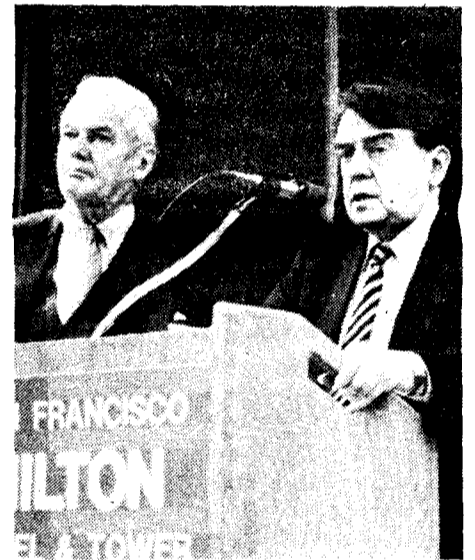
SL says: Oust pro-CIA labor bureaucracy—Build a workers party!

and peasants of four continents on their hands were addressing an International Affairs Conference of the California Labor Federation on the work of the AFL-CIO's various labor fronts for the CIA.

It was a genuine rogues' gallery of counterrevolution. There was "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself, Irving Brown, AFL-CIO International Affairs Director and U.S. spy agencies' operative in Europe for some 40 years; William Doherty, head of the CIA's Latin American labor front, the AIFLD, whose company unions in Chile were instrumental in the bloody Pinochet coup; Tonia Papke, "agriculture consultant" to the CIA/AIFLD's land reform program known in El Salvador as "reform by death"; Nana Mahomo,

consciously counterrevolutionary audience of about 100 union bureaucrats, social democrats and CP supporters, all delegates from their local unions, listened as Irving Brown lectured on the "free trade-union movement" (read: pro-CIA unions) as the "main threat" and "best instrument" against Soviet "totalitarianism" ("Why only the other day I was meeting with representatives of the Afghan resistance. . .").

CPers outside the conference passed out copies of the *People's World* headlined "Irving Brown, Labor's Bag Man for the CIA." But on the inside it was all fawning over "brother Brown" and "brother Doherty." The Stalinists beseeched the conference to back a reformist resolution pressuring the U.S. government to end aid to El Salvador



WV Photo

John "Mr. Labor Party" Henning (left) and Irving "Mr. AFL-CIA" Brown.

Full Citizenship Rights for Undocumented Workers!

Millions of foreign-born workers were on the top of the list of those targeted by the Ku Klux Klan on November 27. Encouraged by the Carter/Reagan drive to rearm American imperialism, the white-hooded fascist killers have increasingly—and literally—turned their guns on undocumented workers. And as they covered behind heavy police protection in Washington, D.C., the Klansmen told reporters they had come to march against the so-called amnesty provisions of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, currently on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which passed the Senate in August with

overwhelming bipartisan support, is being touted as the first major "reform" of U.S. immigration law in 30 years. The bill is in fact a threat to millions of working people in the U.S.—and not just "illegal aliens." If fully enforced it would lead to a South African-style "internal passport" system...if they don't start tattooing Social Security numbers on our wrists. Its provisions include:

- Drastic restrictions on immigration, including in particular for refugees from right-wing terror.
- Strengthening of police powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).
- A national worker identity system

that even right-wing columnist William Safire labels "totalitarian."

- Expansion of the Labor Department's role as a labor contractor for exploitative farm owners and sweatshop operators (the H-2 program).
- Penalties against employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers.

In response to this last clause, employer groups are cringing over the unlikely event that some cockroach capitalist might spend a few months in jail. But Hispanic working people throughout the Southwest know from experience how this law will be enforced: through a big upswing in armed INS factory raids and neighborhood sweeps. And under a recent U.S. Circuit Court ruling, the INS doesn't even need search warrants for such raids. The real victims of this law will be those living in daily and hourly fear of arrest, beating and deportation.

As for the so-called amnesty, this is left totally in the hands of *la migra*, as the detested INS is known in Hispanic communities. Under this vaguely worded provision, applicants must prove to the INS that they entered the country before 1977 and that in the future they won't become "public charges"—an absurd condition espe-

cially in a period of massive layoffs and shop shutdowns! One undocumented shoe factory worker in Los Angeles expressed the common attitude: "A lot of people say the whole thing's a

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 319 10 December 1982

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Communist on Gospel Radio

The following are excerpts from a November 26 radio show on Washington's WUST gospel station. The announcer, Bob Thomas, spoke with Bernard Vance of the Spartacist League about the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK.

Bob Thomas: If the Klan gets a good foothold here in the Washington area, you know the trouble they're going to be bringing. You know this, Chocolate City or no Chocolate City, once they get a foothold, it's just like cancer, it just grows and grows and grows. And you can help stop this cancer, that's right, you can help stop it tomorrow. Be at the rally, 10 a.m., Saturday, tomorrow, First Street NW and Constitution Avenue. I'd like to see about 10,000 to 20,000 people out there. That's a very small amount for the District. So come on out, Capital City, come on out. Don't worry about anything. 'Cause you'll be walking with the Good Lord.

Good morning to you, this is WUST, Washington, D.C. I'm talking today to brother Bernard Vance, he's going to be at that rally tomorrow, to help dissuade the Klan from marching.

Bernard Vance: We want to give the Klan a message that the D.C. area—blacks, whites, Hispanics—do not like them to come to this area, or any area and sow racial divisions. We want to tell them that this area is not fertile ground for Klan recruitment. Because there's decent working people here who want to be left alone, who do not want their houses fire-bombed, crosses burned on their lawn, their children beaten up, and

other kinds of Klan- and Nazi-related acts.

Thomas: Now, like I say, we are saying for you to go out there and dissuade the Ku Klux Klan—we know that it's their right to rally, to have a march, or whatever it is....

Vance: More importantly, it is our right to show opposition to them so that they will know that the people of this area do not want them there, so they will crawl back into their holes. Now, on the question of violence, the Klan has over 100 years of violence. Greensboro was perpetrated by the Klan and Nazi party. The Klan recruits through violence, through actions like Greensboro.

And freedom of speech does not apply. We say no platform for fascists, that the question of democratic rights does not apply here. Genocide is not debatable. Nobody has the right to organize lynch mobs to kill blacks. Now the D.C. police have stated they're going to have three or four for every Klansman that shows up, that they're going to protect the Klan at all costs. It should be understood that many times, someone who wears a blue uniform during the day will often turn that in for a swastika or a white sheet once the sun goes down. They have to protect these people because this government needs people like the Klan, as the case of [FBI informer and KKK killer] Gary Thomas Rowe proves. To keep blacks down, to keep working people down.

Thomas: Now, Washington, you know what the Klan is all about. They've been around for a long, long, long time now, and it's really time for that organization

to be disbanded. We're asking black, white, Hispanic, Greek, Italian, all masses to be out there. Because they're against all masses.

Vance: Well, on the question of banning the Klan. We do not want the government going around banning organizations. So for instance, in the state of Michigan there is a law against wearing hoods, allegedly against the Klan, right? But no, it's never used against the Klan. It was used against Iranian students in this country who protested the shah, and who wore hoods to protect themselves from the Iranian secret police, the SAVAK. So we aren't for giving the government any more laws to ban organizations, because historically they have always been used not against the Klansmen or the Nazis, but they've been used, in fact, Bob, against labor, against leftists, and especially against black organizations in this country.

Thomas: I'm not saying that the government should disband the Klan, by no means. Because really the government probably wouldn't even do it anyway. But if enough of us are out there to show the Klan that we don't want them, hey, there's nothing for them to do but disband.

* * * * *

Thomas: Be there tomorrow, Washington, to rally. Ten o'clock a.m., First Street NW, Constitution Avenue. That's exactly where the Klan says they are going to start their march. You be there en masse, to dissuade the Klan from marching. They do not need to be here in the nation's capital. Brother B,

with you, on a Friday, we're talking to Bernard Vance, member of the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK and a member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, and you know we're all soldiers in the army of the Lord.

What I can't seem to understand is since there are so many protesters against the Klan, how is it that the Klan is flourishing?

Vance: Generally the Klan flourishes out in the hinterlands, more rural, more backward areas. But at certain points, they penetrate the urban areas, and that is exactly the place where we can as anti-fascist fighters stop them.

Thomas: How do they recruit, by marching or being visible? I know most of the time they are invisible.

Vance: But when the sun comes up, you notice a black body hanging from the tree. And we have to prevent that. So when the Klan marches in the urban areas, that is our chance, where we have numbers, where the labor movement is strong. We want to neutralize the possibility of police violence against the anti-Klan demonstrators, by having labor out there in numbers.

Thomas: Bernard, we want to thank you for stopping by, talking to us today, and all of Washington, it's in our hands. Let's get on out there and dissuade the Klan from marching.

Vance: Stop the Klan from marching in the name of all the victims throughout the over 100 years of Klan existence. All the victims, relatives, friends, come up and stop the Klan, so that the Klan will not march in D.C. ■

— Black Press Covers Anti-Klan Victory

The Reporter: NBIPP URGE SELECTIVE Klan Rally Foiled

Journal & Guide: Protestors Force Klan To Change Rally Plans

Michigan Chronicle: DETROITER SLAIN BY LINCOLN PARK COP

Amsterdam News: Black shift to GOP

The Black American: Crisco Balls

The Chicago Metro News: CHARGE U OF CHGO. WITH RACISM

The Klan Was Afraid To Wear Their Sheets

John Brown and Frederick Douglass

Heroes of the Anti-Slavery Struggle

In an old stone quarry outside Chambersberg, Pennsylvania, two men held a secret meeting on August 20, 1859—nearly 20 months before the firing on Fort Sumter which marks the official start of the Civil War. Disguised as a fisherman in a storm-beaten hat, the white man was old and worn, with glaring blue eyes and long silver beard. The black man was younger, larger, with a shock of hair and majestic features. These were two giants of the struggle against slavery: the revolutionary insurrectionist John Brown and the brilliant abolitionist Frederick Douglass, himself an ex-slave.

They were old friends, comrades for more than a decade in the militant wing of the anti-slavery movement. This would be their last meeting. At Chambersberg, Brown declared to Douglass, for the first time, his immediate intention to attack the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia; to hold hostages there while others in his revolutionary band liberated slaves from nearby plantations; to arm the slaves, set up mountain strongholds and begin a guerrilla war against the slavocracy.

The impassioned Brown threw his arms around Douglass and told him: "Come with me Douglass; I will defend you with my life.... When I strike, the bees will swarm and I shall want you to help hive them" (*The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*). Douglass had supported an earlier plan of Brown's to run slaves to freedom through the Alleghenies, but he refused to join the Harpers Ferry raid mainly on tactical grounds. They sat on the stones of Chambersberg and argued for a day and a half. With Brown was his secretary, John Henry Kagi; Douglass had brought his friend Shields Green, another former slave.

Brown did most of the talking. When Douglass argued that the attack on the federal government "would array the whole country against us," Brown welcomed the possibility. Shields Green decided to go with Brown. But Douglass was convinced that Brown "was going into a perfect steel trap, and that once in he would never get out alive."

Whether or not John Brown also knew Harpers Ferry was a "perfect steel trap" remains a matter of conjecture. But on the wet moonless night of October 16, 1859 the man who called himself the Lord's avenging angel against slavery gathered his small army of revolutionary heroes—16 whites including his sons, and five blacks including some slaves—read aloud from



Library of Congress

John Brown, Harpers Ferry martyr.

the Bible, piled the guns and pikes in the wagon and led the way to the Ferry to bring "justice to this slave-cursed land" (Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*).

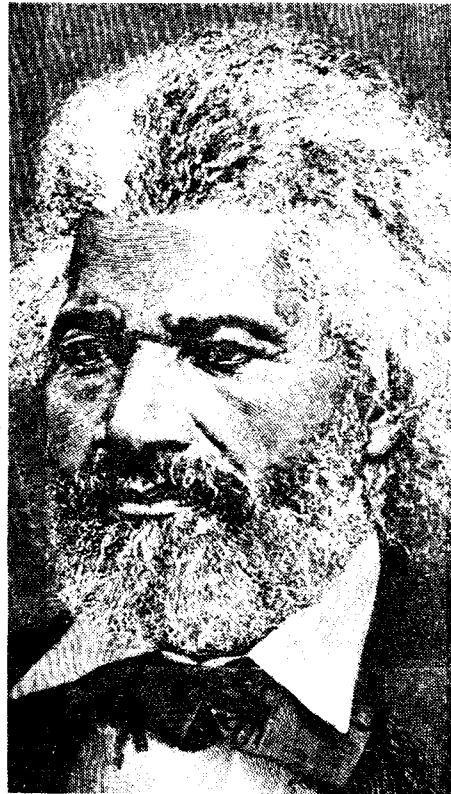
At first it went like clockwork. They cut the telegraph wires on both sides of town. The raiders took their primary military targets including millions of dollars in federal arms, and took as hostages some "leading citizen" planters. A handful of slaves were liberated in the countryside while the armory complex itself, largely unguarded, offered no trouble.

Brown waited for the slaves to swarm like "bees" to his liberated fortress. But it was the militiamen who came from as far away as Baltimore, while a drunken racist mob gathered in the town screaming for the blood of the "slave insurrection." President Buchanan ordered in three artillery companies and the marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee. The marines stormed the engine house where Brown's men were trapped.

Brown and his raiders fought bravely and coolly against impossible odds. But 36 hours after it started, the Harpers Ferry attack was over. Ten of Brown's men were killed including two of his sons. Five were captured, tried and executed, including Brown. Lying bleeding from a serious wound, Brown was interrogated at Harpers Ferry by Virginia's governor. Said Brown: "You may dispose of me very easily—I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled—this negro question I mean; the end of that is not yet...."

Militarily defeated at Harpers Ferry, Brown's political mission to destroy slavery by force of arms continued spectacularly. As W.E.B. DuBois, the black scholar and founder of the Niagara Movement, noted in his 1909 biography of Brown: "From the day John Brown was captured to the day he died, and after, it was the South and slavery that was on trial—not John Brown."

Brown's trial and hanging was an indictment of the system of slavery. From the dock Brown made powerful statements against slavery, and as 3,000 troops marched around the scaffold he declared, "In my death I may do more than in my life." "Let them hang me," he said. His last words written in the shadow of the gallows bear the spirit



Historical Picture Services

Leading black abolitionist Frederick Douglass.

and sword of John Brown's righteous wrath, and his prophetic understanding of the inevitability of the great class war at hand to crush slavery in America: "I, John Brown, am quite certain that the crimes of this land will never be purged away but with blood."

Today's bourgeois historians like to portray John Brown as a madman obsessed with blood-lust. But Brown was quite correct that slavery would be ended in America only by bloody social cataclysm—civil war, the second American Revolution. Harpers Ferry and Brown's death galvanized both sides for war. For the anti-slavery forces Brown was and remains a great hero. For the pro-slavery forces he was the symbol of everything they feared. As he hung by the neck in Virginia, they were firing a hundred-gun salute to his martyrdom in Albany, New York; church bells rang from Kansas to Boston. Abolitionists who the day before were pacifists took the pulpit to proclaim the necessity of a violent end to the slave system. But Abraham Lincoln, the day after Brown's hanging, proclaimed him guilty of "treason." And the Southern planters used Harpers Ferry to claim the Republican Party was plotting an invasion and slave insurrection. They quickly organized a witchhunt in Congress against the financial and political backers of Brown in the "Harpers Ferry conspiracy."

Frederick Douglass was one of those charged in Virginia with "murder, robbery, inciting to servile insurrection." Douglass fled temporarily to Canada knowing that otherwise he would surely hang. He hailed Brown and his mission and deprecated himself: when "tried by the Harpers Ferry insurrection test, I am most miserably deficient in courage" (Philip Foner, editor, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*).

Douglass and Brown shared the conviction that the coming Civil War must crush the slave system and break the chains of black oppression. But for Lincoln and the majority of the Northern ruling class, the point of the Civil War was not to end slavery but to put down the secession of the South and establish their own class rule continent-wide. They had to be dragged kicking and screaming into the war; they ended slavery only when it became clear they could not win the war any other way.

John Brown's heroic raid on Harpers Ferry was one powerful instrument in beginning the war. Only a few years later, soldiers would again march on Harpers Ferry, but this time they were Union soldiers marching to the song, "John Brown's Body."

When Frederick Douglass returned to Harpers Ferry in 1881 to commemorate John Brown, he spoke for all of us for whom the Civil War was a class war against the system of slavery:

"If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places, and men for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia, not Fort Sumter, but Harpers Ferry and the arsenal, not Major Anderson, but John Brown began the war that ended American slavery."

—*Selections from the Writings of Frederick Douglass* (Philip Foner, editor)

Our Heroes of the Second American Revolution

Revolutionary democrats like Douglass and Brown who fought for black liberation are among our heroes of the second American Revolution, called the Civil War. But their aspirations for black America were crushed in the terror and moral cowardice of the political counterrevolution which gutted and then destroyed Reconstruction. The success of the counterrevolution, which robbed blacks of the victory they had fought for on the battlefield, also produced wide acceptance for the white supremacists' view of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement. This is expressed most clearly in the regular and continuing vilification of John Brown. Children today are taught that "Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves" while John Brown is presented as an insane mass murderer. Many books and movies portray Brown as a primitive religious nut thirsty for "white blood" to appease his personal god of violence.

John Brown was certainly fiercely religious. Born in 1800 and raised in strict Calvinist piety, the young Brown was taught that slavery was an abomination in the sight of god. As an Ohio teenager he saw a landlord beat a slave about his own age with an iron fire shovel. It was then that he swore "eternal" war on slavery. And he understood that war would be violent and social. On his bookshelf next to his Bible he kept the biography of the great English revolutionary Puritan, Oliver Cromwell.

Not only John Brown the legend but John Brown the man exerted a powerful force in the abolition movement. His name, Douglass relates, was mentioned "in whispers" of respect. A non-conformist by principle as well as personality, Brown didn't join his local anti-slavery society, but was engaged in running escaping slaves North and to Canada. Unlike John Brown the figure of fanatic irrationality portrayed in reactionary bourgeois myth, the real John Brown fought for armed slave rebellion, and organized armed struggle against the slave system in "Bleeding Kansas" in the 1850s. That his overall strategy made sense and influenced the left wing of the abolition movement is evidenced by his relationship to Douglass, the towering figure among the black abolitionists and perhaps the greatest political American of his time.

Brown and Douglass met for the first time in 1847 at Brown's "plaine style" home in Springfield, Massachusetts. These two exceptional men were of such different temperaments and back-



Life and Times of Frederick Douglass

Engraving depicts Douglass attacked by racist mob.



Bettman Archive

Two hundred thousand black recruits turned the tide for the Union Army.

grounds that it is hard to imagine that their lives would have crossed had they not been pulled together by the power of the issue of slavery.

Douglass was born a slave on the eastern shore of Maryland, probably in 1817, although no records for slaves were kept. He never knew his white father and had little knowledge of his mother as he grew up on Colonel Edward Lloyd's slave plantation. There he competed with the dog for table scraps and passed through what he later described as "the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery." As a child he watched the repeated, brutal whipping of "an old aunt," recalling being "awakened at the dawn of day" by her shrieks. The overseer would tie her up and whip her "till she was literally covered with blood":

"The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped the longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin."

—Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass

The whipping of the old lady was the first in a long series of outrages in which Douglass was witness and victim. At age ten he became a household slave for the Auld family. When Mrs. Auld introduced Douglass to the ABCs, her husband became furious, exclaiming, "If you teach that nigger how to read there would be no keeping him." "From that moment," Douglass wrote, "I understood the path from slavery to freedom."

With determination and ingenuity, Douglass turned his playmates into teachers, the letters on ships into primers, the fence boards into notebooks. When he was lent out to a professional "Negro-breaker," Douglass fought back. "This battle with Mr. Covey," said Douglass, "was the turning point in my career as a slave." He let it be

known "that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me." After being moved to Baltimore where he learned to be a caulker in the shipyards, Douglass escaped to the North in 1838.

Douglass went to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he discovered a copy of *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist paper. In 1830, when most anti-slavery forces sought merely an amelioration of the slaves' conditions or looked to a plan to "colonize" the blacks in the Caribbean or elsewhere, Garrison had declared that he would "not equivocate," calling for the immediate abolition of slavery, and began the radical abolition movement.

Douglass became one of the best-known of the abolitionists, and certainly its most electrifying speaker. Enduring the persecution of white racist mobs, he lectured brilliantly across America and a tour of Europe won him international recognition. But Douglass was not just a great orator as many historians are now willing to recognize. What is most important about Douglass is not so much that he fought his way out of slavery but that he became a political leader, splitting with the policies of the Garrison wing.

Garrison's abolitionism was more grounded in a tradition of Christian benevolence than the radical bourgeois Enlightenment. While radical and agitational on slavery, women's rights and capital punishment, the Garrison wing was part of liberal Protestant revivalism. Individualistic in religious interpretation, they also saw slavery as fundamentally an evil of the individual rather than a social matter for political action. They were explicitly anti-labor and had little use for the fight for black rights in the free states. They were for disunion with the slave South and against the "pro-slave Constitution." They accepted the inequality inherent in the economic relations of developing capitalism. In its first issue the *Liberator* railed against those who would "inflame the minds of our working classes against the more opulent."

With a strong pacifist bias, the Garrisonians declared themselves "non-resistants," therefore relying on "moral suasion" and the force of their ideas to convince the slave system away. They opposed David Walker's 1829 "Appeal" for slave rebellions as well as Nat Turner's revolt of 1831.

As a Garrisonian, Douglass argued against the ex-slave Henry Highland Garnet's stirring call at the 1843 National Convention of Colored Men that slaves should rise up. But Douglass was changing his views on "moral suasion" as he became more involved in the practical politics of opposing the slave system. In 1844 he established his own newspaper, *The North Star* (later changed to *Douglass' Paper*), over the

strong objection of Garrison. An editor and speaker for the more political wing of the abolition movement, Douglass was also a "station master" and "conductor" for the Underground Railroad.

Douglass' 1847 meeting with John Brown was a turning point in his political evolution. Brown and those around him represented the only current in the abolition movement which argued that the slaveowners could be defeated only by force of arms, largely by the slaves themselves. Douglass had learned of Brown through Henry Garnet and took time out from a speaking tour to visit him. Brown explained to Douglass his plan to create a "subterranean Pass Way" through the Allegheny mountains for slaves escaping North, and where a sustained guerrilla war could begin. "These mountains," said Brown, pointing to the map he had placed before Douglass, "were placed here for the emancipation of the negro race." Brown argued that such a plan to periodically liberate slaves would attack the system itself by rendering slave "property" insecure and less valuable. The two men argued, not so much over the tactics of the plan but over the underlying politics. "When I suggested that we might convert the slaveholders," recalled Douglass in *Life and Times*, "he became much excited." Brown told Douglass that "that could never be, he knew their proud hearts and that they would never be induced to give up their slaves, until they felt a big stick about their heads." Brown's Calvinism, and Oliver Cromwell, had taught him that a big stick was best to "convert" evil men.

"moral suasion" line was a refusal to fight slavery politically and to the wall, by all methods. That is the importance of the Douglass-Brown relationship: together they were planning the Civil War. It is a logical line from Brown's house in Springfield to Douglass' active recruitment of black soldiers for the Civil War.

The political fight against slavery focused in the 1850s on the question of Western expansion and "free soil." It was over the issue of whether the Western states would be slave or free that abolitionism gained a mass political base. When the pro-slave Democrats engineered the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Kansas was to decide by plebiscite if it was to be a slave state. The pro-slave "border ruffians" (terror murderers would be a better term) of Missouri swarmed into Kansas for violence and massive intimidation. Four of Brown's sons decided to "go west" to meet the military challenge, observing that the fate of Kansas would be decided "at the cartridge box, not the ballot box." Their father followed.

Brown and his sons, nearly always badly outnumbered, fought bravely in Kansas. It was a military rehearsal for the Civil War. The government was still trying to avoid the question of slavery in the South. Although willing to fight to make Kansas "free soil," the Northerners would not allow blacks to come into Kansas. Douglass observed that "opposing slavery and hating its victims has come to be a very common form of abolitionism." Nonetheless the issue was brought before the North and there was John Brown at the center of it.



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Engraving of John Brown and his dying sons at Harpers Ferry.

Douglass thought the plan for guerrilla war extremely hazardous, but recognized it had "much to commend it." Douglass was becoming convinced that "moral suasion" was hopeless and the fight must be a political one against the whole system of slavery, by armed force including armed black slaves. Douglass had been developing in this direction for some time, but "From this night spent with John Brown in Springfield, Mass., 1847, while I continued to write and speak against slavery, I became all the same less hopeful of its peaceful abolition."

Douglass shocked Garrisonian "non-resistants" when he announced that slavery could only be ended with bloodshed. He supported every kind of slave resistance. And in Boston in 1849 he declared to a packed hall of Garrisonians that "I would welcome the intelligence... that the slaves had risen in the South... [and] were engaged in spreading death and destruction." In 1852 he wrote to the *New York Herald* that "the only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make a half-a-dozen or more dead kidnapers." Upon leaving Brown at Springfield, Douglass wrote to the *North Star* that Brown, "although a white gentleman, is in sympathy, a black man, and as deeply interested in our cause, as though his own soul had been pierced with the iron of slavery."

Douglass' political evolution was not merely from "non-resistance" to self-defense. Contained in the "moral

Douglass told of how Brown "met persecution with persecution, war with war, strategy with strategy, assassination and house-burning with signal and terrible retaliation till even the blood-thirsty propagandists of slavery were compelled to cry for quarter." Douglass met Brown often during this struggle and noted that even in the intensity of the border war, Brown "never lost sight of what he called his greater work—the liberation of all the slaves in the United States."

Finish the Civil War!

The Republican Party was born out of the issue of the expansion of slavery. Douglass joined its radical left wing and tried to drive the reluctant Republicans toward an open fight against the slavocracy. Other militant black spokesmen drew different conclusions from the Fugitive Slave Law, the ban on allowing blacks into Kansas, the denial of political rights to free blacks. Pessimistic about the possibilities of black liberation in America, Martin Delaney,

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard
skips a week in
December.
Our next issue will be
dated December 31.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Don Andrews

Spartacist League Central Committee.

I'm glad to see forces here today that are determined that the KKK and their ruling-class backers are not going to see that 1925 march that they want to repeat on the same exact route. Because that's what they want—40,000 hooded, robed Klansmen walking down these streets to actively terrorize the population of the black people, the working people, the poor here. What we're saying today is that they're not going to ride.

There is a strategy to defeat them. When you mobilize the working class in this country along with other minorities you can defeat these race-hate terrorists. And when you don't do that, when you do other absurd things like call on Reagan to "ban" them—like the Communist Party and others do—then you're putting it in the hands of this very racist capitalist government that's responsible for this set-up today: the heavy police presence that's promised in order to intimidate people, to create an atmosphere of fear, that you shouldn't be out on the streets, that you should be home with your blinds down.

We have to see the enemy in a very clear way because it's not simply the question of the white ruling class in this country, it's also a question of their black bootlickers. Look at what happened when the Klan has attempted to march in cities where you have large black populations, like Detroit. You've got a Democratic Party mayor, a so-called "black power" administration ruled by Coleman Young. When they threatened to march in Detroit right after the Greensboro massacre, he said: "You are just like the Klan and we're going to arrest anti-Klan protesters just like we're going to arrest the Klan." But of course he was willing to let the Klan march in downtown Detroit, a labor/black town. And it was the Spartacist League that went to the factories, like we did here, to the black population and mobilized those forces that were the core of stopping the KKK when they tried to celebrate the massacre in Greensboro.

In so many ways the Klan's racist program is being carried out by both the Democrats and the Republicans: the attack on voting rights, the rollback of busing. The smallest fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed requires mobilizing labor on the road towards fighting for a workers government. And the fight against the Klan

We Stopped the Klan! "The Whole Damn System Has Got to Go"



WV Photos

SL spokesman Bernard Vance defends foreign workers against fascists.

and the Nazis in this country requires the understanding that you have to fight for socialism. A revolutionary program is required not only to fight the KKK and the various protectors that stand behind them, but also a strategy that can lay the basis for international working class revolution. Because American imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities. In El Salvador and South Africa, where they're defeated and weakened through social revolution, we're strengthened. And that's the main message I want to say: the main enemy is at home.

The bosses are telling us that the main enemy is Russia. They play on ignorance of what happened in Russia in 1917. That was the year that the workers and peasants came to power under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, a revolutionary Marxist organization that had for years been fighting for world working-class revolution. And of course the various capitalist armies came in and tried to strangle that young workers republic. In the 1920s, the Russian working class was robbed of political power by a political counter-revolution led by Stalin, so you had a privileged bureaucracy. But what exists in Russia today, and the gains that we must defend and help extend, are the gains of a collectivized property system. The bosses' economic power was broken, the capitalists were destroyed in Russia, and that's why they want to bring it back within the orbit of capitalism.

You see, the fact is that the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow because they got rid of such race-hate terrorists—you know, people who were committing pogroms against the Jews. But as the Klan marches in this country, they are the domestic reflection of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Because the Klan and Reagan and the Democrats all say let's "roll back" Communism, from El Salvador to Poland to the Soviet Union.

The whole question of building a racially integrated party of working-class revolutionaries in this country is

really a matter of life and death. You can see that the Klan and the Nazis are organizing for race war, trying to pit blacks and whites at each other's throats, trying to inflame the racial antagonism in a situation where there are increasingly desperate white working people, just like blacks, that have been thrown out on the streets. We're here to build the multi-racial working-class party that can lead the working class and the oppressed in this country to take power. Labor must show the way—Smash the Nazis and KKK! Black liberation through socialist revolution!



Fred Chavis

National field secretary, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Good morning. I flew up here last night to let you know that we've got to ban the Klan. I feel like Marion Barry should be out here at this rally with us, because in the '60s Marion Barry was a demonstrator—he was up front. We're here this morning giving a message from Atlanta: Dr. Joseph Lowery, my president, supports this anti-Klan rally. If the Klan feels they can march in the nation's capital and nothing be done about it, they can march anywhere else. We're going to stop them, right now. If Reagan, William Reynolds, [D.C. Metropolitan Police chief] Maurice Turner and [Washington mayor] Marion Barry allow this, they ain't no better than the Klan.

I was down in Athens, Georgia, the University of Georgia, about a couple of

months ago and they tried to organize a Klan chapter on the campus. Within eight hours 3,000 students got out and ran 'em right off campus. So I feel like we got to do the same thing here. They are murderers. Everybody out here knows what they've been doing. You've got policemen out here who just ain't wearing masks today. Maybe 150,000 people should be here right now, but we can do it. We're not just going to let them march. We've got to ban the Klan!

You know, I'm non-violent. Sometimes I wonder, though. Boston—they ran them out of town. They should have run them out of town in Cincinnati—last January 15th they had a Klan demonstration on Martin Luther King's birthday in Cincinnati. We should just stop it, and now is the time because the labor unions are backing us, and that's the strongest organization in this country. It's got more numbers than any other organization in the country. And if they can put themselves on the line, any other organization or any other individual should put themselves on the line.



Jackie Brooks

Spartacus Youth League.

Hi, how is everybody? Ready to stop them? [crowd: "yeah!"] All right, come on, louder! Ready to stop them? [crowd roars] Hell, yes! All right, all right! The crowd is increasing more and more—I'm happy to see this. We worked hard as hell to get you people out here and let you know, as opposed to having you stay home and overlook this shit. This is severe and serious, you know. In June we got 3,000 people to come out and stop the Nazis [in Chicago]. They threatened to impose on the Gay Pride parade. We said no, Chicago is not going to stand for this. Chicago has a diverse population, the majority is Nazi haters like us. And we ran them out. Three thousand people—laborers, blacks, unemployed people, unionists—just ran 'em out. They haven't shown up again—we hope they won't try it again. And that's how I got affiliated with the Spartacist League, around their campaign to stop the Nazis on June 27th in Lincoln Park in Chicago, where I'm from.

To think that the Klan would try something like this in a town that's 75 to 80 percent black, right around the corner from your president's house! But he's a Klan-endorsed president anyway, so what do you expect? He gave them their permit to march here today. So what does it say about him? Think he's a Klansman in disguise or what? [Shouts, "he's their leader!"] The Klan can be stopped, and they will be stopped today if they show up. We will stop them. Let them know that we're not just pacifist people that lay back and let them preach this race-hatred, this race-terror, and continue killing and blaming us for everything that's wrong in this country today.

Their race-hatred is poison, poison in your mind to think that you are nothing and you are to blame for what's wrong in this capitalist society. Reagan is what's wrong. These cops out here protecting the Klan are what's wrong, not the fact that we're black and

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\$2.50

Marxist Bulletin 5
Special Edition

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Broskyism vs. Black Nationalism

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington



WV Photo

We Stopped the Klan!

More than 5,000 protesters, overwhelmingly blacks and many unionists, chased the KKK out of Washington, D.C. on November 27. It was a historic victory for labor, blacks, for every decent American. The KKK fascists said they would rally at the Capitol and march in their white sheets to the White House to parade their racist filth. They intended to repeat the spectacle of 1925, when 40,000 Klansmen paraded down the same route. And the Reagan administration was determined to force this provocation down the throats of the black population of D.C. But the call by the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK struck a deep chord among black unionists and others who turned out in mass to stop the hooded racists in their tracks. This was no gabfest for the Democratic Party. You could feel the power of the working class mobilized for action. After a decade of rising race-terror and union-busting attacks, here was the way to win. Workers and blacks know it is desperately necessary to fight. And relying on our own strength, we stopped the Klan!

The Labor/Black Mobilization was initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) after initial discussions with area unionists showed a shared determination to militantly stop the cross-burners and lynchers from marching in the nation's capital. And on November 27 the Ku Kluxers did not rally, did not march, did not even put on their robes. Instead the thousands brought out by the Labor/Black Mobilization blocked off the Klan's starting point. Black youth, unionists and socialists—that was who marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, finally occupying the KKK's proclaimed destination, Lafayette Square. On November 27, we took the streets, and the Klan hit the road!

The Klan boasted that 200 would parade Saturday. Only 28 of the racist

swine turned out. They cowered like sewer rats, ready to crawl into the underground Senate garage, wetting their pants at the thought of the reception that awaited them. The KKK looked nervously down Capitol Hill where thousands of militant and defiant protesters were waiting to get at them. The police later said the Klan march was canceled because of the size and determination of this crowd. It was clear to all that the two dozen fascist creeps would never make it past First and Constitution. In the end the dejected Klansmen, their white sheets stuffed into brown paper bags, were herded by the police into a school bus and sneaked by a back route to Lafayette Park for a

brief token appearance.

As the cops began retreating, demonstrators spontaneously poured into the streets. Trampling the flimsy slat fences, the crowd surged up Capitol Hill. Waving a sea of Labor/Black Mobilization "Stop the KKK" signs, they jubilantly chanted, "We Stopped the Klan! We Stopped the Klan!" At the top of the Hill they now spilled around the cops on the very site where the Klan would have stepped off on its march for genocide.

As rumors spread that the KKK was at Lafayette Park, the demonstrators wheeled around and marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, the very route the Klan was to have marched. The anti-

KKK protesters had taken the streets of Washington, and the police simply looked on as they streamed past. As they marched past the White House hundreds of voices chanted, "Down with Reagan, Build a Workers Party!" They streamed into Lafayette Park chanting, "We Stopped the Klan," claiming for their own the site where the KKK had planned to stage their racist provocation.

The police, held on a tight leash all day, were looking to get back. Right in front of the White House, ringed by hundreds of cops, the racists in blue clubbed and tear-gassed demonstrators who were furious that the police had protected the Klan and escorted them safely out of town. With tear gas canisters popping all around, we held a spirited rally in the square. Al Nelson, a spokesman for the Spartacist League declared, "There are no white sheets here—only the red banner of the working class." At the end of the rally, the disciplined demonstrators dispersed without incident.

Labor/Black Mobilization Shows the Way

Ronald Reagan obviously thinks he's the emperor of all the Americas, while Mrs. Reagan wants to combine the roles of the last tsarina and Marie Antoinette. As blacks in Washington suffer double-digit unemployment, the White House revels in opulence. The day before the announced Klan march, word leaked out of the administration's latest scheme to overcome the depression: take away the minimum wage for child labor, and tax jobless benefits in order to make unemployment "less attractive" to laid-off workers! Attorney General William French Smith gave the Klan march official government sanction. And on Saturday the White House announced a

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November 27: "KKK—You Ain't Gonna March Today!"



Washington Post

"1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War! —

(continued from page 7)

meeting with Botha, premier of racist apartheid South Africa! Reagan is waging a class and race war, and he wants to have the likes of the KKK in reserve. In the meantime, he seems determined to provoke a long hot summer in the dead of winter.

The November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK was just that. More than three-quarters black, the rally had been endorsed by over 50 union officials and a dozen union locals. It was lower level officials in the predominantly black locals of the traditionally conservative AFL unions in the area who gave firm support to the anti-Klan mobilization. International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals in Norfolk, Baltimore and Philadelphia supported and mobilized for the demonstration. ILA International president Thomas Gleason also endorsed. In D.C. itself, Washington Teachers Union president William Simons, APWU (Postal Workers) local president Sidney Brooks, and members of the executive board of the Laborers union were key to mobilizing support from the Washington area labor movement.

Reagan's policy was that the Klan would have its way in D.C. on November 27. Late Friday afternoon, the day before the rally, the cops threatened to

cordon off the demonstration and let no one in or out, turning our rally into a concentration camp. These arrogant police state tactics in the service of the Klan were met with an outpouring of protest from trade-union endorsers and liberal Congressmen. And no doubt memories of what happened in D.C. after the assassination of Martin Luther King helped to sober up the strutting cops. The next morning the Mayor's Task Force came to say they never intended to seal off the demonstration!

Protesters streamed into the Labor/Black Mobilization for two hours. Some had come from all across the country. At the New York City caucus the night before, we chose the somewhat facetious title Yuri Andropov Battalion as a factional jibe at the rather large number of ex-members present. But the naming of the out-of-town buses caught on big. Black shipyard and dock workers from Norfolk, Virginia chose the name Nat Turner Brigade, after the legendary slave revolt leader. From Boston came the Colonel Robert Shaw Brigade, honoring the commander of a gung-ho black Union regiment during the Civil War. Buses bringing auto and steel workers from the Midwest constituted the Ulysses S. Grant Battalion, and from the West Coast came the Big Bill Haywood Commando. But the decisive element was the outpouring of thousands of angry blacks from Washington, D.C., determined that their city would not be turned into a parade ground for the dreaded nightriders. Government, railroad and construction workers joined students from Howard University to stop the Klan. And they did.

A monitors squad of Spartacist League forces and tough, responsible union guys worked to protect the safety of the disciplined, orderly, militant protest. BRAC Local 1906 chairman Vince Benson spoke at an on-site press conference, denouncing Police Chief Turner's call on people not to attend the anti-Klan demonstration.

There were two key issues on the minds of protesters at the anti-Klan rally in Washington: how to stop Klan terror, and how to fight for jobs. A Spartacist League banner at the demonstration proclaimed: "Sit-downs to fight mass layoffs! Break with the Republicans and Democrats—Build a Workers Party!" Other banners at the Labor/Black Mobilization read, "Stop Carter/Reagan Union-Busting—Picket Lines



Mean Don't Cross! Unchain Labor!" "Labor/Black Defense of School Busing—Extend it to the Suburbs—Free Public Higher Education for All!" and "Anti-Soviet War Drive Means Capitalist Slavery for Angolan, Afghani, Polish Masses!"

The crowd cheered Spartacist League speakers and class-struggle unionists who called for militant workers action to smash the KKK and bring down Reagan. SL spokesman Don Andrews pointed out that the Klan marches "are the domestic reflection of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive because the Klan, Reagan and the Democrats all say, 'Let's roll back Communism from El Salvador to Poland to the Soviet Union.'" Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesman Jackie Brooks got a roar of approval when she announced, "The Klan can be stopped, and they will be stopped if they show up today.... Let them know that we're not just pacifist people that lay back and let them preach this race-hatred, this race-terror and continue killing."

As the hour of the scheduled KKK march approached, the crowd moved out to line Constitution Avenue. Even the blocks-long snow fence and hundreds of police would have been unable to prevent the thousands of protesters from surging into the street and giving the KKK a well-deserved lesson. For more than an hour and a half the demonstrators chanted militantly and faced down the phalanx of cops as police officials hesitated. At 12:40 p.m., the Labor/Black Mobilization loud-

speakers boomed out, "We won, everybody! They're pulling out!... It's because thousands of people turned up here... The cops are going to escort their friends in the KKK out of D.C. We say good—hit the road!" This was met by loud cheers, mixed with anger at being cheated of an opportunity to deal with the fascists.

Aside from the Labor/Black Mobilization, several much smaller demonstrations took place on November 27. The largest of these was the rally called by the All Peoples Congress (APC), a front for Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), which attracted perhaps 2,000 at its peak. The APC event, miles away from the mobilization that stopped the Klan, was the usual reformist hoax, intended to exploit resentment against the KKK killers and drain it into votes for the Democrats.

Black youth, taken in by the call to "Demonstrate Against the KKK," grew restless as the Democratic politicians droned on about "rolling back Reaganism" and "focusing on the larger issues." When a rumor spread that the Klan had appeared in Lafayette Park, those who came to stop the Klan set off to do just that. The Marcyites first pleaded with people not to go, then linked arms to stop them. The APC promised anti-Klan action, delivered frustration. Many youth set off on their own and got clubbed and tear-gassed by the cops.

In the aftermath of the demonstration the bourgeois press has focused sensationally on violence and looting. In



WV Photo
Militant black protesters honor memory of Malcolm X, not liberal pacifism of Martin Luther King.

Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C., November 27

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) planned November 27th march in Wash., D.C.—an insult to blacks and most other Americans. Stop the Klan!"

List of Endorsers

Keith Anwar, member, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
 William E. Bancroft, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
 Willie L. Bell, Recording Secretary and Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM-AW Local Lodge 739,* Oakland, CA
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 Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
 Roy R. Bowling, President and Assistant Business Agent, Brewery and Beverage Drivers, Inside Workers, Vending Machine Servicemen and Helpers, Local 67,* Washington and Vicinity
 Sidney L. Brooks, President, American Postal Workers Union, Nation's Capital Area Local,* Washington, D.C.
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 Richard Cavalli, Vice President, ILWU Local 34,* San Francisco, CA
 Jackie Clark, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
 I.P. Cordeiro, Financial Secretary/Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 192,* Oakland, CA
 Department of Black Studies, City College of New York,* and Leonard Jeffries, Jr., Professor
 Nannien Dukes, Steward, AFSCME Local 23,* Detroit, MI
 Robert Edwards, President, ILWU Local 2,* San Francisco, CA
 Executive Board, Building Laborers Local 74,* Washington, D.C.
 Marvin Foreman, Business Rep., Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 23,* Norfolk, VA
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 Georgia Roberts, Executive Secretary, NAACP,* Norfolk, VA
 Rouge Militant Caucus in UAW Local 600,* Dearborn, MI
 Rudy Schneider, Griever, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
 SEIU Local 87, San Francisco, CA
 Agnes Shepperson, Steward, CWA Local 5050,* Chicago, IL
 Ron Simmons, Steward, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
 William H. Simons, President, AFT Local 6,* Washington, D.C.
 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League
 Shelton Tappes, Retired UAW member,* Detroit, MI
 Carter A. Tyler, Steward, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, Local 57,* Portsmouth, VA
 Ronald A. Tyree, Steward, CWA Local 1150,* New York, NY
 UAW Local 595, Linden, NJ
 UAW Local 919, Norfolk, VA and Jimmy Volvia, President and Building Chairman United Motormen Division of TWU Local 100,* meeting (17 Nov.), New York, NY
 USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
 Johnny Vawters, Past President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600,* Dearborn, MI
 L.P. Watson, President, NAACP,* Norfolk, VA
 Ronald Weisen, President, USWA Local 1397,* Homestead, PA
 Alfonso Wells, Chairman of the Retirees, UAW Local 1776,* Willow Run, Ypsilanti, MI
 Shirley A. Whetstone, President, AFSCME Local 2477,* Washington, D.C.
 Robert F. Williams, Editor, Crusader*
 Henry Hank Wilson, President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600,* Dearborn, MI
 Lynn Yeager, Chief Shop Steward, Village Voice, UAW District 65,* New York, NY

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the views expressed by the initiators of this mobilization.

- 5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State!"



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fact there was an absolutely modest amount of disorder, provoked by the police. The word violence itself is a lie deliberately meant to conjure up racist images of marauding black youths murdering whites. *What happened was the KKK was stopped.* Elsewhere, police rioted against frustrated anti-Klan protesters; the "looting" that

racist nightriders. Feelings ran so deep that some black cops began to make gestures of solidarity, accepting leaflets, shaking hands with anti-Klan demonstrators and giving the black power salute; it is even rumored that black clerks from the CIA organized to oppose the Klan. Ground up by unemployment and poverty, subjected to the racist abuse of the Klan's preferred candidate in the White House, black people have had enough. That's why they turned out and that's why our slogan, "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State," was so popular.

The bourgeoisie in Washington is of two minds over the November 27 demonstration. Mayor Marion Barry, an ex-SNCC leader, breathed a sigh of relief: "There was a lot of emotion about the Klan.... It could have been a lot worse." On the other hand, D.C. delegate Fauntroy is viciously violence-baiting the anti-Klan demonstration. Fauntroy, who drew only 100-150 people to his "community unity" diversion, denounced "'Trotskyist radicals' [who] had gone through black neighborhoods in Washington with a sound truck, 'inviting young black youths to go downtown and attack the Klan'" (*Washington Post*, 29 November). The *Post* editorialized on "Saturday's Shame" against "trouble-hungry instigators." Now the Marcyites, cringing at the "violence" lies, link arms with Fauntroy, the *Post* and Ronald Reagan, all of whom want the KKK terrorists to parade unhindered.

We Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are proud to have initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization which brought out thousands of unionists and youth and actually *stopped* the Klan from marching. Far from being "Saturday's Shame," this was seen as black

Washington's victory. In violence-baiting the Trotskyists, labeled "outside agitators" just like the civil rights workers were in the '60s, they are attacking 5,000 of the most militant and politically conscious blacks in Washington, who would not let their city be turned into a parade ground for racist terror.

Build the Vanguard Party!

The main line of the *Washington Post* and the "BEOs" [Black Elected Officials] like Walter Fauntroy is to ignore the Klan. But those two dozen Klansmen that appeared on the Hill are just the tip of the iceberg. The fascists are growing. They can poll hundreds of thousands of votes now. In a depression economy, desperate sections of the white working class and unemployed can be whipped up against scapegoats. The Klan calls for throwing out immigrant workers. We say everybody who has managed to make it into this country has a right to be here. No deportations! Full citizenship and union rights for undocumented workers!

Had the Klan marched in Washington backed by the Reagan government and its enormous police power, it would have given the green light to this murderous outfit to step up their terror against blacks, Jews and foreign workers. It was the intervention of the Spartacist League which made it possible for thousands of blacks to wage a successful struggle against these killers. That is why you need a Marxist vanguard party, like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky—to act as the collective memory of the working class, preserving the lessons of past struggles; as a tribune of the people, fighting on behalf of all the oppressed, and to organize and bring together labor and its allies in struggle against the common enemy, the racist capitalist state.

While the liberals say "ignore the Klan," various reformists call on the capitalist government—on KKK-endorsed Reagan!—"to ban the Klan" and adventurist outfits promote a "strategy" of small-group confrontations with the cops, the SL alone has fought for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists. Washington, November 27, was powerful vindication of the Spartacist League strategy: massive labor/black mobilization stops the Klan.

After the successful Labor/Black Mobilization on Saturday, the SL held a victory party at the Bellevue Hotel which was attended by over 500 participants in the demonstration. Spirits were sky-high as the rooms repeatedly erupted in chants, "We Stopped the Klan!" Topaz DuBois, speaking for the

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Spartacus Youth League, summed up: "We want to see some revolutionaries come out of this room, because the fact that you came to this demonstration means a lot. It means you want to fight, under a program that can win. We've announced our commitment to build a branch in the Washington area. Without a party there would have been no action in Washington against the Klan."

Speaking earlier at the rally, SL spokesman Don Andrews posed the issue: "The question of building a racially integrated party of working-class revolutionaries in this country is a matter of life and death. You can see that the Klan and Nazis are organizing for race war, trying to pit blacks and whites at each other's throats, trying to inflame racial antagonism in a situation where there are increasingly desperate white people, just like blacks, who have been thrown out on the streets. We're here to build the multi-racial workers party that can lead the working class and the oppressed in this country to take power. Labor must show the way—Smash the Nazis and the KKK! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■



WV Photo

Black anti-Klan protesters flay black cops for protecting white racist criminals.

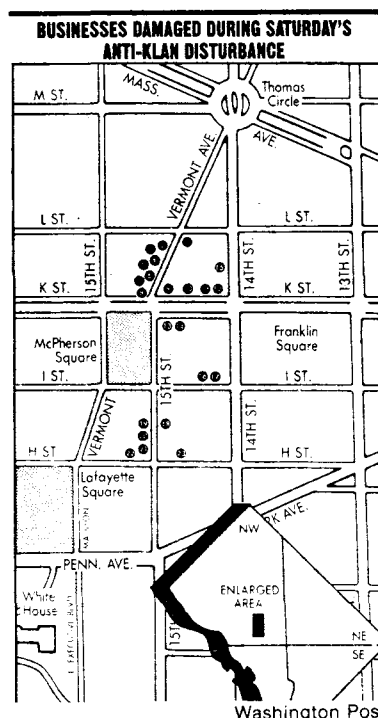
occurred was a police provocation. Watching network TV news one could see the cops clubbing black youth and heaving them through plate glass store windows. Of course, the bicycles in the store later disappeared. Now the gutless Marcyites are squeaking "it wasn't us." We say: the KKK is in the business of terrorist murder! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters!

Washington is not simply a 75 percent black city, it's a *Southern* black city. Many black residents of Washington are from families that have had first-hand experience of the terror of these

All Peoples Congress used Klan issue to build support for Democrats. Some people actually wanted to stop Klan—APC goons linked arms to stop protesters (left). Media screamed "looting" after cops heaved black youth through store windows (right). *Washington Post* "looting" map shows areas around APC rally (center).



WV Photo



AP

Spartacist Public Forums

Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington

"We Stopped the Klan!"

- Eyewitness Accounts
- Video Showing

Ann Arbor

Michigan League, Henderson Rm., Univ. of Michigan
7:30 pm, Monday, December 13
For more information: (313) 662-2339

Boston

Harriet Tubman House, 566 Columbus Ave.
7:30 pm, Friday, December 10
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Chicago

Exeter Room, Hyde Park Hilton, 4900 So. Lake Shore
Drive
7:30 pm, Friday, December 10
For more information: (312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Science and Technology, Rm. 101, Cuyahoga
Community College
1:30 pm, Wednesday, December 8
Wilder, Room 110, Oberlin College, Oberlin
7:30 pm, Wednesday, December 8
For more information: (216) 621-5138

Detroit

St. Andrews Hall, 431 E. Congress
4:30 pm, Sunday, December 12
Student Center Bldg., Rm. 289, Wayne State Univ.
1:00 pm, Monday, December 13
For more information: (313) 961-1680

Los Angeles

Vineyard Recreation Center, 2942 Vineyard Ave.
(between La Brea & Crenshaw, south of Adams)
7:30 pm, Saturday, December 11
For more information: (213) 663-1216

Madison

Memorial Union (see "Today in the Union"),
University of Wisconsin
7:30 pm, Thursday, December 9
For more information: (608) 251-3398

New York City

Manhattan
Harris, Room 103, CCNY, 138th & Convent
12 noon, Thursday, December 9

Brooklyn

YWCA of Brooklyn, 30 Third Ave. (between Atlantic &
State)
8:00 pm, Friday, December 10

Manhattan

Machinists Hall, 7 E. 15th St.
8:00 pm, Sunday, December 12

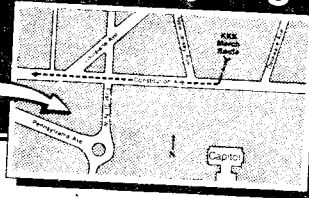


STOP THE KKK!

Washington, D.C., November 27

Be where the Klan says they're going to start their march!

Rally 10 a.m.
Saturday



First St. N.W. &
Constitution Ave.

In D.C. Now and Everywhere, Fight Klan Terror!

The Spartacist League supports the call for Labor/Black
Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C.,
November 27 because we, for one, believe:

IN D.C. NOW AND EVERYWHERE, FIGHT KLAN TERROR!
Mobilize the power of organized labor and minorities
against KKK/Nazi killers!

Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Jobs for all—
30 hours work for 40 hours pay!

Labor/black defense of school busing—extend it to
the suburbs; free public higher education for all!

Break America from Carter's Democrats and Reagan's
Republicans—for a workers party with a strong black
leadership component to:

• Smash the war drive, support revolutionary struggles
of working people abroad!

• Institute a massive social security program—health,
pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages!

• Take American industry away from its incompetent,
corrupt owners—nationalize it under a workers government!
Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror!

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL: (703) 486-0485

Bronx

Workmen's Circle Community House, 3990 Hillman
Avenue
7:30 pm, Friday, December 17
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Oakland

Laney College Forum Building, 900 Fallon
7:00 pm, Thursday, December 9
For more information: (415) 835-1535

Providence, Rhode Island

Wilson, Room 101, Brown University

8:00 pm, Thursday, December 9
For more information: (617) 492-3928

San Francisco

UC Extension, 55 Laguna St.
7:30 pm, Saturday, December 4
(Speakers only)
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Radio Music Hall, 815 V St. NW (9th & V)
8:00 pm, Monday, December 6
For more information: (703) 486-0485

What Is To Be Done Now

On November 27 the Labor/Black
Mobilization dealt a smashing blow to
the racist provocation of the KKK. This
setback for racist terror must be only the
beginning.

If you liked what happened in
Washington November 27, there is

plenty more to do. If you stand for:

- Labor/black mobilizations to smash
the Klan/Nazis!
- Fighting unions—sit-down strikes
against mass layoffs! Jobs for all—30
hours work for 40 hours pay!
- Break labor and blacks from the

Democrats and Republicans!

- Smash the anti-Soviet war drive,
support revolutionary struggles of
working people abroad!
- Take American industry away from
its incompetent corrupt owners—
nationalize it under a workers govern-
ment! Rebuild America on a socialist
planned economy!

Then organize now around the
Workers Vanguard, biweekly newspa-
per of the Spartacist League. Our paper
is a collective organizer—as Lenin said,
the scaffolding around which the work
of the party is constructed. And you can
be part of that work.

Build WV readers circles in the
Washington-Tidewater area and
throughout the country!

Distribute *Workers Vanguard*, start-
ing with this supplement. Contribute
reports and letters to *WV*. Our newspa-
per is your newspaper.

If we are to build a party organization
in the Washington-Tidewater area, we
need your help. To set up a readers
circle, to sponsor a speaker or videotape
showing, contact us at 210 7th St. S.E.,

Urgent! Send Money!

The Labor/Black Mobilization
to Stop the KKK in Washington,
D.C. November 27 has run up some
big expenses: printing costs for
more than 200,000 leaflets and
thousands of posters, buses, sound
system, telephone, even lawyers'
fees. Big victories cost big bucks. So
the Mobilization needs your help,
and fast. Send in a big check. Then
start collecting money among your
friends, at your union and school.
Your ideas, time and energy for
fund-raising are urgently required
now.

Make checks payable to: Labor/
Black Mobilization, 210 7th St.
S.E., Suite E12, Washington, D.C.
20003.

Suite E12, Washington, D.C. 20003—
phone (703) 486-0485. Forward to a
mass workers party with a strong black
leadership component which can stop
the KKK/Nazis once and for all. ■

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Speeches...

(continued from page 6)

unemployed, you know. [Shouts, applause] We're always the ones to suffer, to be dumped on and take the blame because we're black. Look at these people here—are these people that don't care? No, this was built by people who know that we can take power. The Spartacist League organized this demonstration. There are other leagues, but they're not here, they're elsewhere, in McPherson Square. The Klan's not marching in McPherson Square. The Klan said they're going to march here, so that's why we're here, to stop them here!

We will meet them here, because the Spartacist League, which organized this, and the Spartacus Youth League—we have the program to fight this race-hatred and to bring down and smash capitalism. Let the workers and the people that built this country run it the way it should be. Why should we have to bow down to those who don't do anything but dish out the orders and reap in the profits? Why can't we receive the benefits? We built it, it's rightfully ours. We got the people, we got the power, we got the mind, we got the sense, we got the energy—we can do it. Don't you agree? Can we do it? [Shouts of yes!] Can we do it today? Will we stop the Klan today? [Cheers] All right! [Applause]



Charles DuBois

Militant auto worker, Ford River Rouge.

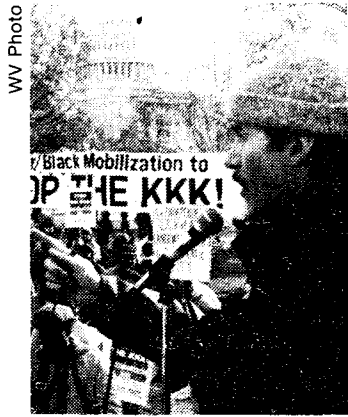
I guess we can call this provocation by the Klan Ronald Reagan's payback to them. They said that he could've written their program for them. And now he has threatened this demonstration with a massive show of police force. His thanks to his junior buddies.

It's very important to understand that it's not just Republicans. The difference being that the Democratic Party, they act like they're our friends, but when it comes down to it, the money's gone anyway and the cops bust you upside the head anyway. The Republicans, they tell you outright: I'm the enemy, I'm going to take your money; I'm going to bust your unions; I'm going to take away your welfare. They just say it outright. That's the only difference. What's needed in this country is labor action to bring down Ronald Reagan. You see, one year ago you had Solidarity Day in Washington. You had a half million people. That's what should have been out here today. But what have we got from our union leaders?

The speaker who was up here from SCLC said we have to pass laws to "ban the Klan." That's a bad situation to get into, because Reagan ain't going to ban the Klan, and Jimmy Carter or Teddy Kennedy or any other Democrat ain't going to ban the Klan. The way we're going to stop the Klan is by relying on our own strength.

We need to organize sit-down strikes, plant occupations. We're not going to take these layoffs. All the begging we've done, from [UAW president] Doug Fraser down to every other union leader that's selling our jobs, ain't got us nothing. They tell us to take concessions because they want us to get so desperate under Ronald Reagan that we'll be so

bent out of shape we'll vote in another Democrat. Well, I've had it with the goddamn Democrats, and I've sure enough had it with the goddamn Republicans. What we need is to get together as working people and our allies. You hear about somebody on strike, you get down to that picket line and support them, because picket lines mean don't cross. That's how the unions were built in this country. What we need again is some old-time class struggle. It's the only thing the capitalists understand.



Al Nelson

Spartacist League Central Committee.

Why is Reagan doing this? You see, he's preparing for war. He wants to take poor people to fight a rich man's war. He's trying to tell you that the working people in other countries are your enemies. But they're not your enemies. He's the enemy, and not just him—this whole system is the enemy. Reagan understands that the system is beginning to crumble. He's given the green light to the Klan because they are his dogs of war. He's saying to his killers, you have the blessing of the United States of America to kill black people, to kill Mexicans, to kill Catholics. Who are the violent ones? It's the Klan. It's Reagan, the Democrats, the Republicans. This [KKK] march today means people are going to be killed.

The *Washington Post* published an editorial two days ago. According to the guy who wrote the editorial, the KKK is nothing but a bunch of good ole boys who just can't quite make it into the country club. There's not one word mentioned about any of the KKK killings, bombings, lynchings, burnings since World War II. Everybody is supposed to forget about those civil rights kids who got beaten to death with chains [Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner]. About the civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, who got blown away by an FBI informer inside the Klan, blew her away with a shotgun. Those poor black children in Birmingham sitting in Sunday school who got blown up by a goddamn KKK bomb; a black telephone worker in Fontana, California—a personal friend of the brother who spoke here, Don Andrews—shot off a telephone pole last year; bombings of houses in Detroit. Every day it's been going on for the last three or four years, and it's getting worse.

You'd better be scared about what is happening, but being scared is not enough. People have to understand that this is a class society, and black people have been put at the bottom ever since the end of slavery. That's when the KKK started to turn back what was won in the Civil War, to turn back Reconstruction. Those fascists represent what Hitler represented in Germany. When the rulers of Germany were no longer able to rule by fooling people, they turned these animals loose on the population, and it wasn't just [against] the Jews. There were also millions of Gypsies, millions of Slavs, anybody these psychotic killers thought were inferior.

What about these black Democrats? This guy [D.C. delegate Walter] Fauntroy, he's the head of the Congressional Black Caucus. Now a month ago speaking for the Congressional Black Caucus, Ron Dellums (he's supposed to be the most liberal of all black Congressmen, right?)—"black faces in high

White House Behind Klan

We reprint below the statement of William H. Simons, president of Local 6, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C. at a Labor/Black Mobilization press conference on November 26.

* * * * *

I'm William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union, and I am here to show my support for the demonstration and rally which will take place on Saturday, November 27. I think that we must all agree that the Ku Klux Klan has no business being in Washington, D.C., really has no business being in our society, anywhere in this nation.

It's very interesting—at the demonstration in Montgomery County [November 6] when the leader of the Ku Klux Klan was asked about what kind of support did he think that he could get from the White House, he said, well, we are on the same target. The president is opposed to busing, and we certainly are opposed to busing. The president is opposed to affirmative action, and



WV Photo

of course we've always been opposed to affirmative action. So, with that kind of impetus, coming from the head of the nation, no wonder that the organization is resurging and making an attempt to spread its terror among those who are least able to withstand the attack.

We are very pleased to join with those efforts being made to demonstrate once and for all that the Ku Klux Klan has no place in American society—the sooner we get rid of it, the better this nation will be.

Klan are "Outside Agitators"

The following statement by Vince Benson, chairman of Local 1906 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Washington, D.C., was made at a press conference on the site of the Labor/Black Mobilization rally on the morning of November 27.

* * * * *

Last evening I was looking at the evening news and I saw the police chief of our city come on and urge



people not to attend the demonstration today, and gave the general impression as if there were going to be a bunch of rabble-rousers out here. I think back to my experience in

the civil rights struggle, and I think to the experience of people in labor today. When we go in and try to, let's say, organize a plant, we're called outside agitators. In the civil rights struggles in the late '60s I remember numerous times trying to go in and organize against the racism that's being displayed here today by the Klan only to find out that I was called an outside agitator.

Today we have a group of "outside agitators" parading around in white sheets trying to inflame fear and intimidation in the District of Columbia. I think it's a sad statement that I heard last evening on the TV to have the police chief personally urge the citizens of the District of Columbia to stay away from this demonstration. I know that I have many friends in the labor movement. We're going to continue to express our outrage, not only in regard to what we see taking place here today with the Klan, but against the decision of the D.C. administration to treat this march today in the manner that it has, to provide the massive police protection that it has provided for the KKK and somehow hold us to be the bad guys and those outside agitators in those white sheets to be the good guys. Thank you.

places") said that "black people are docile to the point of embarrassment." That man should be spat on. That's a black Democrat talking about you! Fauntroy is the man who is docile to the point of embarrassment. He is a traitor to black people. Ron Dellums is a traitor to black people. All they're after is your votes to keep you within the Democratic Party.

They say to you, "ban the Klan." The Klan is not going to be banned, understand that. Reagan—you think he's going to pass a bill to ban the Klan when he's giving his cops the go-ahead to have the Klan march in Washington?! That's crazy! The Klan is going to be stopped one way and one way only, by the labor movement combined with the black working people and white working people in this country. Smash them! But it takes more than just your fists. It takes your brain. It takes organization. It takes the political organization that knows what it's doing. The only way you can take on the powerful ruling class of

this country is by having a new kind of party, a workers party, a revolutionary party.

We're not just talking about cutting up a piece of the pie; we want the whole thing. The working people make everything in this country, they produce all the wealth, and it's only a tiny minority that gets all the riches and benefits. We're going to get that and have our own workers government, our own workers state, and to get that we need a workers party. The unions are powerful, the organized labor movement is powerful. Its leaders leave something to be desired, but they can learn too—and the ones that do not learn will be pushed aside. But understand, the march today endorsed by Reagan, to allow the Klan to march, is a declaration of war on the working people and especially the black people of Washington, D.C. and the whole country. So when the Klan sees us coming down here they're going to know that they are not going to come back to Washington, D.C. ever! ■

Finish the Civil War...

(continued from page 1)

black masses rallied to the civil rights movement in which they saw at long last the hope for a better life in America. The failure of the "Movement" to change the hellish conditions of ghetto life and the sellouts of black establishment leaders like Martin Luther King turned a generation of young black militants to nationalism and separatism. Yet neither the liberal pacifism of King nor the black nationalism of Stokely Carmichael and the Panthers was able to counter the growing white backlash. For each in their own way, the Kings and Carmichaels rejected the program of mobilizing an integrated working class, the one force powerful enough to defeat racist reaction.

The civil rights movement was defeated when it moved north, coming up against the economic root causes of black oppression under American capitalism. The main demands of the Southern struggle—access to public facilities and voting rights—had existed north of the Mason-Dixon line for years. But the desperate poverty and mass unemployment of the ghettos—along with widespread police brutality and racist intimidation of the black population—these could not be solved with a new "civil rights" bill. It would take a *class* struggle, together with the white workers and mobilizing the power of organized labor, to do away with capitalist exploitation (in which minorities are invariably "last hired, first fired") and institute a socialist planned economy to achieve genuine emancipation.

From the Civil Rights Movement...

The Jim Crow system of the Old South could no longer continue as before in post-World War II America. Young black men trained in the use of arms, returning from a war they were told was "against fascism," would not be cowed by KKK terror. At the same time, legal segregation in the South was an embarrassment to American imperialism as it presented itself as the leader of the "free world" against Communism. In this changed political climate the NAACP won a series of legal victories, notably the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision, which ordered school desegregation "with all deliberate speed." But the Southern black populace had a different speed in mind.

When Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man, the mass civil rights movement was born. The year-long Montgomery bus boycott thrust Rev. Martin Luther King to center stage as a national spokesman for pacifist "direct action" for black equality. The resulting Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional local laws requiring segregated seating in public transport must have seemed like total victory for King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). But while he was riding high with his sermons on "soul force" and the black people's "capacity to suffer," local blacks were left politi-



Adelman/Newsweek

Marching from Selma to Montgomery in 1965: Liberal Democrats like King and Andrew Young left blacks defenseless against Bull Connor's racist cops and the KKK.

cally and militarily defenseless as raceterrorists went on a rampage of burning black churches and buses. When angry blacks began to talk about self-defense, King told them to love their enemies.

For the next decade the civil rights struggle shook Southern society and to a large extent dominated the political life of the United States as a whole. Yet this movement demanded nothing more radical than formal, legal equality for blacks, "Northernizing" the South. While it drew on the deep hatred of the black masses for Jim Crow, its main beneficiaries were the relatively narrow black middle class, the so-called "talented tenth." Their political strategy was to seek the support of, and above all to avoid antagonizing, the Northern white liberal establishment. Federal troops, federal courts, federal laws—these were to be the weapons against Southern "states' righters." The tactics were mainly non-violence and moral confrontation.

Increasingly the liberal leadership of the movement around King and his SCLC came into conflict with the aspirations of the black masses to go beyond tokenistic legal reforms and their rejection of turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. This clash threw up a left wing of the civil rights movement, located mainly in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). When Birmingham police chief Bull Connor set loose his storm troopers, police dogs and fire hoses against defenseless civil rights demonstrators, the black population junked King's philosophy of non-violence and responded with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles against attacks by racists in the streets. It was at this moment when blacks started organizing self-defense, and not before, that President John Kennedy sent troops into Alabama and took steps to federalize the National Guard.

With the mass of the black population and many young militants visibly rebelling against King's disastrous liberal pacifism, even a relatively small revolutionary party could have gained significant influence in this movement and thus radically changed the course of American history over the next 20 years. Recognition of this historic but fleeting opportunity was a major factor leading to the formation in the early 1960s of a

left opposition, forerunner of the present Spartacist League, in the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Defining itself as a "white party," the SWP *refused* to involve itself in the civil rights movement while tailing King from the outside. The Revolutionary Tendency demanded that any socialist party worthy of the name *must* intervene in the Southern civil rights struggle and seek to win the leadership of radicalized young blacks.

When our tendency was expelled from the SWP in 1964, we threw our small forces heavily into Southern black struggles. In particular we sought to link the fight for black equality with the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation through the call for a South-wide Freedom/Labor Party. Such a party, breaking with the Democrats of Johnson and Wallace, would have given tremendous impetus to similar action among Northern workers. This would have required the organization of the union ranks to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, its liberal Reuther wing as well as the openly reactionary and racist Meanyites. However the Spartacist tendency's forces at that time were too small and the decisive moment had passed to win masses of young black activists to Trotskyism.

The civil rights movement was killed in the lily-white Chicago suburb of Cicero in 1966. It was here the white backlash won its first major victory. When King announced a march for integrated housing in Cicero, American Nazis led by George Lincoln Rockwell organized "white power" hoodlums to meet the civil rights marchers with a bloody attack. Two days before the scheduled march King signed the Palmer House agreement, backing off the march in exchange for an empty promise on housing. However, 200 young militants led by SNCC's Stokely Carmichael, who had just raised the slogan of "black power," decided to march anyway. They were surrounded by hundreds of Chicago police and thousands of National Guardsmen. They were courageous, but they had lost as the racists outmobilized them in the streets.

Nearly a decade later, busing was defeated in Boston for much the same reason: the labor movement was not brought into the struggle on the side of integration. The same liberal politicians and union bureaucrats who were prepared to support laws against Jim Crow in the South were not willing to support the struggle in the North for black economic equality and social integration. The struggle for black emancipation therefore had to become a fight to break the working masses, black and white, from the Democratic Party and to oust its labor lieutenants—the Meanys, Reuthers and A. Philip Randolphs—from the leadership of the trade unions. But the leadership of the civil rights movement was wedded to the Democrats.

... to Black Nationalism

The frustration especially of the northern black poor, who had been led to believe that the civil rights legislation would really change their lives for the better, exploded in a series of ghetto upheavals in the mid-1960s: Harlem '64, Watts '65, Newark and Detroit '67. These explosions, usually provoked by the police, were elemental, spontaneous outpourings of black anger. And they were a rejection of the civil rights preachers and their empty promises of black freedom while conditions for ghetto blacks were worsening in crucial aspects (jobs, wages, housing, education). In response to the '60s explosions, the black liberals showed whose side they were really on. King was a pacifist only for the black oppressed, not for the police. For the black youth of Watts, King demanded that "as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them."

In anger and disgust, a generation of young black militants turned away from MLK pacifism and his white liberal patrons. The new mood surfaced in 1966 when SNCC under Carmichael adopted the slogan of "black power." On the one hand, this slogan was directed against



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Our call to stop KKK struck a chord in this Southern black city.

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the alliance with the liberal establishment, which especially in the North (but also in the South) was rightly viewed as an alliance with the cops against the black masses. At the same time, these black militants falsely identified multi-racial organizations and integrationism with subservience to liberal power brokers like Hubert Humphrey and Reuther. SNCC activists keenly remembered how the UAW chief had intervened to censor John Lewis' speech to the 1963 March on Washington. Looking at the reactionary job-trusting AFL-CIO bureaucracy, many "black power" radicals viewed organized labor as nothing more than a means of preserving white privileges.

"Black power" was at that moment a contradictory slogan. It could be filled with a class-struggle content (as the SL tried to do at the time), or it could lead to utopian despair and, as it turned out, a reintegration of these black radicals back into the mainstream of bourgeois politics. As we wrote in our 1966 document "Black and Red":

"In short, the 'black power' movement is raising questions whose answers lie outside the framework set up by the capitalist class.

"However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist. It has rejected what it knows as liberalism but is unsure of how to go further. Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized."

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League"

Due in large measure to the abstentionism and tailism of the reformists like the SWP and the Communist Party, the "black power" left wing of the civil rights movement never found the bridge to the program of workers power. Instead many black militants embraced the slogan of "community control," the route through Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs back into Democratic Party ethnic machine politics. In the aftermath of the mid-'60s ghetto explosions, black management of the "inner city" became a profitable career for energetic black hustlers. "Black power" became the rhetoric of aspiring ghetto councilmen, police chief welfare administrators and school principals. This was dramatized by the 1968 NYC teachers strike where almost the entire left lined up behind the Ford Foundation-financed attempt to bust the teachers union.

During the heyday of black nationalism the one black organization which struggled, in a contradictory fashion, to remain independent of the bourgeoisie was the Black Panther Party, which in the late '60s acquired something of a mass base in the northern ghettos. The Panthers were scathing in their attacks on the "pork chop" cultural nationalists, and groped toward a rudimentary class opposition to racist, capitalist America. Identifying with Third World Maoist currents, the Panthers spoke of social revolution. They looked to the best black militants as if they really intended to bring the system down. Yet while calling themselves "Marxist-Leninists," the Panthers rejected the central premise of Marxism: that the organized working class is the gravedigger of capitalism. Instead they saw in the volatile lumpenized ghetto poor the "vanguard" of the American revolution.

Based in the decaying inner cities, the Panthers took as their main immediate enemy the "occupying army," the cops. However, they did not organize the ghetto masses but rather substituted their own militants in a lopsided struggle against police brutality. Seeing themselves as a band of warrior-heroes avenging the historic injustices visited upon the downtrodden black people, the Panthers talked of "revolutionary

suicide." The Black Panther Party was effectively destroyed by a massive campaign of state terror directed by the FBI in league with local police. Practically the entire leading cadre of the Panthers were either murdered (Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, George Jackson in California) or imprisoned on capital charges (Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Geronimo Pratt).

The Panthers had no program of their own to counter the onslaught of state terror against them, and their defense



Office of the Black Panther Party riddled by cops' bullets in the late 1960s.

work soon came under the influence of the reformist Communist Party which directed it toward liberal "popular front" politics. This right shift provoked a violent split in 1970-71 between a reformist wing around Newton and Seale and an adventurist wing around the unsavory Eldridge Cleaver. A few years later Seale ran for mayor of Oakland on the Democratic ticket, while the remnants of the adventurist wing fought their last battles against the cops as the Black Liberation Army. (Cleaver ended up as a front man for the Korean CIA-connected fascist Moonie cult.) Thus the Panthers traveled the same path as their one-time opponents, the "pork chop" cultural nationalists, demonstrating that black nationalism leads back to bourgeois sectoral politics, or "revolutionary suicide."

In Detroit in the late 1960s/early '70s there developed a more proletarian expression of black nationalism, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, concentrated in the auto plants (such as DRUM in Dodge Main). However, since the League wrote off the white working class and existing unions as hopelessly racist, these black nationalists could develop no realistic revolutionary perspective. The League soon fell apart, some of its former activists ending up in the UAW bureaucracy, others (such as lawyer Ken Cockrel) in Coleman Young's Democratic Party machine.

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. The road to black freedom, to finishing the Civil War, requires the establishment of working-class rule. Today, unlike the period of Reconstruction, the material conditions for posing the question of political power in class terms have fully matured. Blacks are still segregated at the bottom of American society, but are integrated into its economy, especially in the strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat. The key to social revolution in this country is the united struggle of black and white workers led by a multi-racial vanguard party. And there is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than through the working-class conquest of power.

The civil rights movement reconquered the black franchise in the South only to have its liberal misleaders sell the black vote to the Democrats. Thus, today George Wallace, once the number one enemy of civil rights, is sold as a "friend" of Alabama's black people. Martin Luther King may have been a traitor to the cause of black emancipation, not least for selling out this struggle to the party of Wallace. But King was assassinated while defending a black sanitation workers strike in Memphis. And the explosion of black

Soviet crusade whose domestic shock troops are the KKK and Nazis.

The Labor/Black Mobilization on November 27 pointed in the direction of an independent working-class struggle for power. An indication of tremendous power of the American labor movement was seen a year earlier, at the huge AFL-CIO Solidarity Day rally in Washington on September 19. Half a million workers poured into the capital to demonstrate their anger at Reagan, who at that very moment was destroying the PATCO air controllers union. It was the largest, most racially integrated demonstration in American history, showing the capacity of the working class to take over the seat of power—if it had a leadership that sought that goal. Instead the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy channeled the ranks' hatred for the racist union-buster into a "vote Democratic in '82" campaign while criminally letting PATCO go down the tubes.

The key to achieving the victory over the KKK in D.C. on November 27 was the intervention and leadership of the Marxist vanguard party. In the tradition of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, the Spartacist League fights for workers power on all fronts, saying "picket lines mean don't cross," demanding full citizenship rights for immigrant workers, organizing labor/black mobilization against racist terror, defending the gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack. For black people in America caught in the vicious circle of liberal integrationism and black separatism, there is a road out—revolutionary integrationism, the emancipation of blacks in the framework of an egalitarian socialist society. That road of class struggle requires the fusion of the fight for black liberation with proletarian revolution. The Trotskyists of the SL are dedicated to the construction of the multi-racial vanguard party of the working class.

Break with the Democrats, black and white—Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Citizenship Rights...

(continued from page 2)

political trick to get us to turn ourselves in so that they can kick us out of the country." Now there's a move afoot in Congress to eliminate the amnesty provisions "in order to get the bill passed this session."

Not surprisingly, the AFL-CIO leadership has lined up with Ronald Reagan in support of this chauvinist anti-working-class legislation. What's involved here is more than a cowardly refusal to wage the hard fights that would be necessary to organize undocumented workers. Lane Kirkland & Co. support U.S. capitalism across the board, from the war drive against the Soviet Union to Reagan's class war against PATCO and the bosses' concessions drive. Rather than fighting for jobs for all, they pit U.S. workers against their foreign-born class brothers, just as for years they've been front men in the campaign for anti-import protectionism, gearing the working class up for inter-imperialist war.

Working-class militants must oppose this attempt to victimize oppressed foreign-born workers. There is no such thing as a "fair" or "non-racist" immigration policy under capitalism. Labor's task is to defend the interests of *all* the working people. Everyone who has made it into the U.S. should have the right to stay here—full citizenship rights for undocumented workers! And deport the Nazi war criminals, Vietnamese generals, Cuban gusanos and other counterrevolutionary scum who have been welcomed with open arms by Republicans and Democrats alike. ■



WV Photo

Washington, D.C., November 27: Black labor the key to American Revolution.

MX First Strike...

(continued from page 1)

of Wyoming into one huge crater. So the MX, say Reagan's critics, will not close the supposed "window of vulnerability"—unless, as rad-lib writer Robert Scheer recently noted, "Reagan means to shoot first."

And that is the whole intention: Reagan is not worried about the Soviet missiles because the MX will be *long gone* before they could arrive. The U.S. silos will be empty because the Pentagon intends to launch a *first strike*. The basing system dispute is a red herring. Reagan wants to deploy the MX because it is a deadly new first-strike weapon: it carries ten warheads (in the new Reaganite jargon, Russell Baker calls them "peaceheads") with pinpoint accuracy. As Air Force chief of staff Lewis Allen stated last May the MX provides a "counter-force first-strike capability."

This first-strike policy is codified in Reagan's National Security Decision Document 13, adopted in late 1981, calling for a "protracted" nuclear war—all chillingly documented in Robert Scheer's new book *With Enough Shovels*. (The title comes from a remark by Pentagon official T.K. Jones, who argued we could all survive a nuclear war by digging holes if "there are enough shovels.") Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger's "Fiscal 1984-88 Defense Guidance" document was only the most notorious of the recent "leaks" which disclose Reagan's plans to "prevail" with nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union.

The Pentagon's policy was stated most clearly by nuclear weapons expert Colin Gray in a now infamous *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1980) article titled "Victory Is Possible":

"American strategic forces do not exist solely for the purpose of deterring a Soviet nuclear threat or attack against the United States itself. Instead, they are intended to support U.S. foreign policy.... Such a function requires American strategic forces that would enable a president to *initiate* strategic nuclear use for coercive, though politically defensive, purposes." [our emphasis]

In keeping with Reagan's policy of Orwellian appointments, Gray is now a top adviser to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency!

The Bipartisan War Drive

While Reagan has escalated the anti-Soviet war drive, he is only carrying forward the fundamental goal of U.S. imperialism, whether under the Democrats or Republicans: to destroy the Soviet Union. The current arsenal of first-strike nuclear weapons, including the MX, Trident and Pershing, was initiated by Reagan's predecessors in the White House—Carter, Ford and Nixon. A recent article in *Science* magazine (7 May) pointed out:

"... the United States has been moving toward the acquisition of a threatening first-strike capability for some time. Reagan's contribution has been to approve of this acquisition, and to accelerate it."

The attempt by the Democratic liberals to pose as a "rational" alternative to Reagan, in the guise of the "nuclear freeze" movement, is the height of hypocrisy. The "movement" is led ideologically by the four horsemen of conventional warfare, who called recently for a renunciation of the "first use" of nuclear weapons (*in Europe*): former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, former National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, former ambassador to the Soviet Union George Kennan and former disarmament negotiator Gerard Smith. Let no one forget that these people had no qualms about "first use" when they were in power. McNamara, for instance, was Secretary of Defense for John Kennedy, who

brought the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust in an attempt to disarm the Cuban Revolution in 1962. And remember McNamara and Bundy are certified Vietnam War criminals. These liberals want a beefed-up conventional war machine to take on the Soviets in Europe—but have no doubt that if that fails, they too will reach for the nuclear trigger.

There is a straight unbroken line from Truman to Reagan in terms of a viciously anti-Soviet policy. Indeed, it was the liberal Democrat Truman who dropped two A-bombs on a country which had no atomic weapons in order to send a message to Moscow. Even the liberal Scheer notices that the leadership of the ultra-militarist Committee on the Present Danger is "drawn mostly from the ranks of aging Truman and Johnson Democrats with several score young disciples." This is not accidental, as the Democratic Party has historically been the party of war for American capitalism—it has the popular base needed for war mobilization, and a more interventionist outlook.

What unites the liberals and conservatives, the Democrats and Republicans, is the desire to "get" the Soviet Union, while they may dispute the methods. In their desperation as a dying class, they are prepared to wipe out humanity to "save" capitalism.

Thus the Soviet Union, the cradle of workers revolution and still a tremendous gain for the world proletariat in spite of its counterrevolutionary leadership, stands mortally threatened. The escalated danger has not been totally lost on the Soviet leadership. As Georgi Arbatov, head of the Soviet Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, commented to *Time* (6 December):

"The MX is regarded here as a first-strike weapon because of its very big number of warheads, their accuracy and their power. If you build something of this kind when you already have 9,000 warheads that can cover all possible targets three or four times, then you must have something in mind."

But typically, the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union continues to beg for détente, and humbly quibbles with Reagan over the legality of the MX under SALT II. In the face of Reagan's provocations, Brezhnev's successor Yuri Andropov still blindly insists, "No, the policy of détente is not a past stage at all. The future belongs to it" (*Moscow News*, 5-12 December).

In fact, détente was only a momentary nod made by U.S. imperialism out of weakness in the losing Vietnam War. Now the American imperialists are out for total "victory." The only effective defense of the Soviet Union is the spread of workers revolution in the capitalist world. But this is clearly not the intention of the Stalinists, who crawl for détente with the U.S. and urge their followers into popular-front alliances with the capitalists—from Mitterrand in France to Kennedy/Mondale in the U.S. The Soviet working class must oust the Stalinist traitors in the name of international proletarian revolution.

It is up to the world proletariat to take power away from the capitalists before it is too late—and time is getting short. Reagan's determination to place 572 Pershing 2s and cruise missiles in Europe next year—only six minutes from the Soviet Union, practically forcing the Kremlin into a "launch on warning" position—puts a definite time crunch on the future of humanity. What is urgently needed is a revolutionary working-class leadership—the treacherous labor bureaucracy must be ousted! (Remember that AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland is also a member of the Committee on the Present Danger—no wonder he spends his time promoting the CIA-backed Solidarność "union" in Poland rather than leading class struggle at home!) What is needed is a Leninist/Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution—and that is the task to which the international Spartacist tendency dedicates itself. ■

Anti-Slavery...

(continued from page 5)

a vigorous black nationalist, proclaimed, "We are slaves in the midst of freedom." And he advocated emigration because "I must admit, that I have no hopes in this country—no confidence in the American people."

Douglass led the fight against the emigrationists, realizing that their plan dovetailed with the revival of the racist American Colonization Society (just as years later, after World War I, Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" movement would get a welcome reception from the Ku Klux Klan). In 1853 at the National Black Convention, Douglass drew up an "address to the people of the United States" demanding that "the doors of the schoolhouse, the work-shop, the church, the college shall be thrown open" to blacks. Douglass stood for the revolutionary integrationism of his time.

With the Civil War, Douglass took up the call to allow black soldiers to fight. He waged a tireless struggle against Lincoln and the Northern majority who refused to arm the blacks just as they refused to issue an emancipation proclamation. The Republican Party was split on these issues, but battle losses in the field gave the revolutionary wing of the party political advantage: "With every reverse to the national arms," declared Douglass in 1863, "with every exulting shout of victory raised by the slaveholding rebels, I have implored the imperiled nation to unchain against her foes, her powerful black hand."

Douglass understood that putting black soldiers in the field was a central task to turn the Civil War from a battle against Southern secession to the class war described by Karl Marx as a "conflict between the system of slavery and the system of free labor." When in 1863 Lincoln was pushed into the Emancipation Proclamation and black enlistment, 200,000 black soldiers entered the fight under white abolitionist officers.

The second American Revolution and Reconstruction following it broke the class power of the slave South. Douglass was active in the Reconstruction governments which saw the most democratic period for blacks in American history. As a radical Republican, Douglass pushed for land distribution to the freedmen and full political rights for blacks. He fought for Negro suffrage and split with the suffragette movement, with which he had worked for many years, because of its refusal to support the Fifteenth Amendment giving blacks the right to vote.

In 1871 Douglass was elected president of the National Colored Labor Union, a sign that black labor recognized its stake in the political process of Reconstruction. But the

hopes of radical Republicans like Douglass and Charles Sumner were beaten back by the Party majority which was interested in the economic advantages of their victory over the Confederacy, not in black rights. After years of Ku Klux Klan terror against Reconstruction, the Northern and Southern capitalists made "peace" over the hard-won gains of blacks. By 1877 the federal government pulled out the last of its troops from the South and Reconstruction was over. Addressing the 1883 Convention of Colored Men Douglass said: "... the Government by whom we were emancipated left us completely in the power of our former owners... it fully explains our present poverty and wretchedness.... The marvel is not that we are poor in such circumstances, but rather that we were not exterminated."

Douglass and Brown had gone as far as they could within the confines of capitalism. (Perhaps Brown went a little farther than he could go.) In a sense they started the Civil War to make black people free. And Douglass tried to complete the war for fundamental economic and political freedom. But that fight is still to come. The Civil War and the subsequent waves of black migration to the cities changed the character of black oppression in the U.S. Black people are now a part of "free labor," and the key to their liberation is in the integrated fight of labor for the smashing of capitalism, its state and its institutions, and the establishing of a workers government.

Like the counterposition in our century between the "non-violence" of Martin Luther King and the more militant wing of the civil rights movement epitomized by the martyred Malcolm X, the counterposition between the Garrisonians and Douglass was an important split. It represented not so much a fight about "violence" as a fight over the roots of black oppression and the necessity of massive and political means, rather than "moral" means, to deal with it. King (who was not a bourgeois radical like Garrison, but a reformist) saw Jim Crow as an immoral aberration; his line was for the oppressed to shame our oppressors by showing them how much we can suffer. We stand in the revolutionary tradition of Frederick Douglass and John Brown. To complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War, we look to the multi-racial American working class. In this period of imperialist decay, there is no longer a radical or "progressive" wing of the capitalist ruling class; the whole system stands squarely counterposed to black freedom. Forward to the third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation in a workers' America! ■

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5,000 Chase KKK Out...

(continued from page 16)

of the White House. The demonstration had the discipline of a general strike.

November 27 was a test of strength and will between anti-Klan demonstrators and the racist capitalist state. Late Friday afternoon, the D.C. cops had gone on a campaign to intimidate the protesters. Metro Police chief Turner went on TV to denounce "outside agitators" and tell Washington residents to stay home. Deputy chief Conners told Labor/Black Mobilization organizers that our demonstration site would be completely cordoned off with fences and riot cops. These Gestapo tactics angered union endorsers, one of whom warned the mayor's emergency task force that an attempt to suppress the protest could lead to an explosion of black Washington. And when thousands turned out at First and Constitution the next morning, the cops were singing a different tune. According to the *Washington Post* (29 November), police said that the KKK march was called off because:

"... resentment was so great among the hundreds of ultra-militant leftist protesters gathered with thousands of other demonstrators at the fringe of the proposed Klan march route that a physical confrontation seemed likely."

In the course of the day, the anti-Klan demonstrators became aware of their power. The cops had originally erected flimsy slat fences to keep protesters from the KKK. But only seconds after the police began to withdraw, the crowd tore them down. Militants marching up Pennsylvania Avenue held aloft a captured ribbon reading, "Police Lines, Don't Cross." As they took over the streets, groups of protesters took on the job of stopping traffic at intersections, holding up "Stop the KKK" placards in front of cars and buses, whose drivers gave the clenched fist salute and honked their approval. And up at the White House, where a chaotic cop riot was in progress against anti-Klan youth, the several thousand marchers from the Labor/Black Mobilization regrouped inside Lafayette Park where we were able to stand our ground and rally.

"Black Faces in High Places"

In the aftermath of November 27, many blacks in Washington and elsewhere asked what had become of the various black elected officials (BEOs). As one speaker at the Labor/Black Mobilization rally said of D.C. mayor (and former SNCC leader) Marion Barry, "He flew away—he went to L.A." Washington's Congressional delegate, Democrat Walter Fauntroy, on the other hand, joined in the capitalist media's hue and cry over "looting" and "rioting," blaming "Trotskyist radicals" for inflaming D.C. Now black front men for the CIA such as columnist Carl Rowan are pushing the company line that "the Klan and the communists both won" on Saturday. But like the cops



"KKK—Hit the road!"

WV Photo

who assaulted anti-Klan demonstrators, this would-be witchhunt reflects the bourgeoisie's frustration at the masses in the street preventing the KKK march. And their red scare is really directed at the black population of Washington, which saw November 27 as its victory over racist terror.

Since the late '60s ghetto eruptions, the American ruling class has found it useful to promote black mayors in many large cities, simply to keep the lid on social struggle. These black front men for the racist capitalist system typically don't even control their own local police. And they are just as vicious as Reagan & Co. in forcing austerity on the black poor or breaking black city workers' strikes. But it is precisely to these "black faces in high places" that various reformist leftists look to lead the fight against the Klan. People Against Racism and the Klan (PARK), a local coalition led by the Communist Workers Party (CWP) appealed to Barry and the D.C. city council to revoke the Klan's permit to march on November 27. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) put out a leaflet calling on the city to "enforce anti-racist laws." And Sam Marcy, guru of the Workers World Party (WWP), waxed eloquent on the leadership potential of the black establishment:

"Some of the Black officialdom thought it might not be such a bad idea if, in the spirit of Martin Luther King, they went arm-in-arm—the mayor, the president of the city council, all the council members, and D.C.'s congressional representative—as the advanced guard in a truly mammoth march to the very edge of the city to confront the Klan, the same way it happened on the bridge during the Selma march...."

"As the administrators of the city, they have the right to instruct the police, including the police chief, and tell them the Klan has no Constitutional right whatsoever...."

—"Lessons of the Anti-Klan Demonstration," *Workers World*, 3 December

The "spirit of Selma"—where Martin Luther King sold out civil rights



The Klan didn't even put on their robes.

WV Photo

demonstrators and appealed for federal troops, who suppressed not the Klan but black attempts at armed self-defense! The Marcyites certainly did their best to prevent independent mass action against the KKK with their All-Peoples Congress (APC) rally at McPherson Square. They chose this site so there would be no direct confrontation with the Klan, and among the endorsers of the APC rally was Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) member, Democrat Ron ("blacks are docile") Dellums. They also tried to work out an arrangement with CBC leader Fauntroy, who moved up his poorly attended "Community Unity" diversion so as not to compete with the McPherson Square rally. The Marcyites even linked arms and appealed on bullhorns to prevent militants from going after the Klan in Lafayette Park.

"Spontaneity" and Bolshevik Leadership

Since "Black officialdom" like Barry and Fauntroy didn't lead the anti-Klan "fightback," says Marcy in his "Lessons," the vanguard turned out to be "the unemployed, the youth, the most disadvantaged." Like the bourgeois media he focuses on the street fighting as the high point of November 27. "McPherson Square became liberated territory in a virtual war zone," crows *Workers World* about its "people's rebellion." But these episodes only testify to the frustration of many at the APC rally who were prevented from getting at the Klan. Marcy claimed that the working class was "immobilized" by its "support" to the D.C. bourgeois establishment. In fact, it was the WWP/APC rally that was immobilized by its strategy of appealing to the bourgeois establishment while hundreds of black unionists were the core of a Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan.

To explain the mass mobilization of thousands of Washington blacks (far away from their rally) the WWP/APC hides behind a line of "spontaneity." Marcy gets downright poetic about the "instinctive and elemental surge forward which was like a spontaneous outpouring in the midst of a minor earthquake." The same lame "explanation" is offered by the other reformists as well. A Progressive Labor (PL) leaflet refers to the "spontaneous, unorganized fightback," while for the SWP "people... came out on their own to tell the Klan to go home" (*Militant*, 10 December). This unanimity is not accidental, for the "spontaneity" theory goes back quite a ways. The Mensheviks used it to explain the February 1917 Revolution that overthrew the tsar. But as Leon Trotsky wrote in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, "The mystic doctrine of spontaneity explains nothing.... To the smug politicians of liberalism and tamed socialism everything that happens among masses is customarily represented as instinctive...."

The reformists are admitting that they didn't organize the thousands who showed up to stop the KKK. And that is certainly true. The Spartacist League and the Labor/Black Mobilization brought out the militant forces that stopped the Klan. And so the embarrassed reformists simply disappear us. The SWP, which didn't build a damn thing on the 27th, doesn't even mention the SL in its account. PL refers to "neo-racist groups like the Spartacist Youth League" (sic) which "tried to take credit for the mass struggle." (PL's mostly white demonstration of 100 stayed on the steps of the Labor Department, and when the crowd surged into the street they headed off in the opposite direction in search of an "action.") And the WWP's only comment was, "Members of the Spartacist League rallied near the Capitol and then marched to Lafayette Park"... along with several thousand others, left unmentioned. The rad-lib *Guardian* (8 December) which can't

Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27

24 November 1982

TO: People Against Racism and the Klan
All Peoples Congress
Coalition for Community Unity, c/o Congressman
Walter E. Fauntroy

Dear Friends:

There are many of us and in a variety of ways who plan to oppose the projected Klan march in Washington, D.C., on 27 November. One must appreciate the diversity of activities against the Klan but an underlying demonstration of common unity is important too.

To assist in showing this unity we, the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, would like to invite a speaker from each of your groups to speak at our rally, which is taking place at First St. N.W. and Constitution Ave. and which is scheduled from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., for some five or ten minutes, explaining your particular purpose in the struggle against the KKK.

In solidarity,
The Reverend J. Walton Senterfitt

enforce its lies with party discipline, was less blatantly dishonest, at least placing the SL and the masses in the right place, though equating us with PL and the tiny, adventurist John Brown Anti-Klan Committee.

Willy-nilly they are left with the explanation that 5,000 militant blacks came together at the corner of First and Constitution to stop the KKK on November 27... by accident or instinct. (Which is more than you can say for the reformists, who were *determined* not to be there, even when offered speaking time from our platform [see accompanying letter].) To further cover up its abstention, *Workers World* (3 December) writes:

"This organization has a suspicious record of focusing its propaganda attacks against left and progressive groups. In the past year, much of its rhetoric has been directed against the All-Peoples Congress, which it absurdly slanders as being secretly a tool of 'Kennedy Democrats'."

In fact, the reason the reformists (and the WWP in the forefront) have resorted to thuggery and even bringing in the capitalist cops against the SL is their desire for an alliance with liberal Democrats like Kennedy, Dellums and Fauntroy. It is in order to seal an anti-Reagan popular front with these capitalist politicians that they seek to exclude our revolutionary demands such as "Military Victory to Leftist Rebels in El Salvador!" "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!"... and "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK!"

But in Washington on November 27, thousands of black unionists, ghetto youth, even middle-class liberals were determined that the Ku Klux Klan would not stage its racist provocation. That is why they responded to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization. There was plenty of spontaneous activity during the day—signs, chants, the march to the White House. But the Spartacist League provided the Bolshevik leadership and organization that made it possible to do what the most politically conscious black militants knew had to be done. The victory party after the demonstration drew over 500 people; cars drove past honking with our "Stop the KKK" placards sticking out the window. A black metal worker, speaking for many, came up to the buses leaving for Boston, New York, Norfolk and points west to say simply, "Without you the Klan would have marched today. There are many other cities that need you, too." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor/Black Mobilization Stops the Klan!

5,000 Chase KKK Out of Washington!

The Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27 brought thousands of anti-Klan demonstrators out to prevent a deadly dangerous provocation intended to embolden race terrorism throughout the country. The white-sheeted KKK nightriders had threatened to rally for racist terror in the capital city. They were given the go-ahead from Reagan's White House, which vowed to protect the Klan come what may. More than 1,000 police were out in force to defend them. But the KKK, standing on top of Capitol Hill, despite massive cop protection were shaking as they contemplated the hot reception awaiting them from more than 5,000 overwhelmingly black demonstrators, led by the Spartacist League (SL), who vowed to stop the cross-burning killers then and there. The Klansmen didn't even put on their robes before being bused out.

What stopped the Ku Klux Klan was not appeals to the capitalist government, whose racist killers in blue as usual protected the fascist killers in white. It wasn't reliance on the Democrats, who tried vainly to bring off various diversions in order to "avoid confrontations," nor was it small-group bashes between isolated leftists and the cops. It was a genuine mobilization of labor and blacks, led by the revolutionary socialists of the Spartacist League. Our Bolshevik program intersected the bitter outrage of the thousands who answered our call to assemble at the KKK's starting point, and of the black masses of Washington.

Smash the Klan— This is the Hour!

As the KKK played a cat-and-mouse game with the reformists during the last



WV Photo

Chanting "We stopped the Klan," protesters surge toward starting point of aborted KKK rally.

couple months over demonstrating in D.C., the Spartacist League insisted it was necessary to win the participation of at least a section of organized labor. The first support came from 200 miles to the south, in Norfolk, Virginia. The predominantly black waterfront unions in the tri-city Tidewater area, the largest working-class concentration in the Southeast, understood that Klan threats to march in Washington represented an immediate danger. Soon endorsements began to come in from Longshore, Machinists, Electrical Workers union officials and locals. This opened the

door in Washington, where key leaders of D.C. labor (AFSCME, Teachers, Postal Workers, Railway Clerks, Laborers) signed on. In the space of little more than a week some 70 union leaders, exec boards and entire locals endorsed the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK.

And that set the stage for bringing out thousands of fighters against Klan terror from among the black and working-class population of the capital region. Altogether, in the course of four days (including Thanksgiving) more than 250,000 leaflets were distributed on the streets of Washington by volunteers for the Labor/Black Mobilization. Supermarket checkout clerks stuffed a leaflet in every bag; store owners eagerly put "Stop the KKK" posters in their windows. During Friday morning rush hour, some 22,000 leaflets were given out to transit riders by drivers from a single bus barn. That afternoon, leafletters at 14th and U practically caused a traffic jam as cars pulled over to get anti-Klan flyers. Sound trucks cruised through black housing projects in Anacostia and downtown shopping areas. And the D.C. black radio stations broadcast repeated appeals to be there to stop the KKK on Saturday, First and Constitution, 10 a.m.

SL supporters and volunteers told numerous stories of people coming forward to build the Labor/Black Mobilization. One black cab driver took a white woman comrade around town

looking for containers to collect donations at the rally, accompanying her into a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet to request several dozen buckets; the buckets were donated, and the fare too. Or on the morning of the 27th, when we were running out of "Stop the KKK" signs: an off-duty cabbie watching the demonstration volunteered his services to pick up signboard, then helped assemble them. When the march took off toward the White House, ambulance drivers, their sirens screaming, transported our huge "Stop the KKK!" banner to Lafayette Park.

Labor and Blacks Have the Power!

More than three-quarters of the participants in the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization were black. There were many ghetto youth and Howard University students, but the core of the demonstration was the hundreds of black trade unionists. In particular, labor militants responded to appeals to join the rally monitors squad, which included several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters and Transit unions, as well as ten waterfront workers from Norfolk and class-struggle union supporters of the SL. As a result of their efforts, there were no serious incidents of provocation during the day, despite an hour-long face-off with the cops at the assembly site and later standing off police charges in front

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WV Photo

On way to Lafayette Park, marchers display police ribbon.