

Young Spartacus

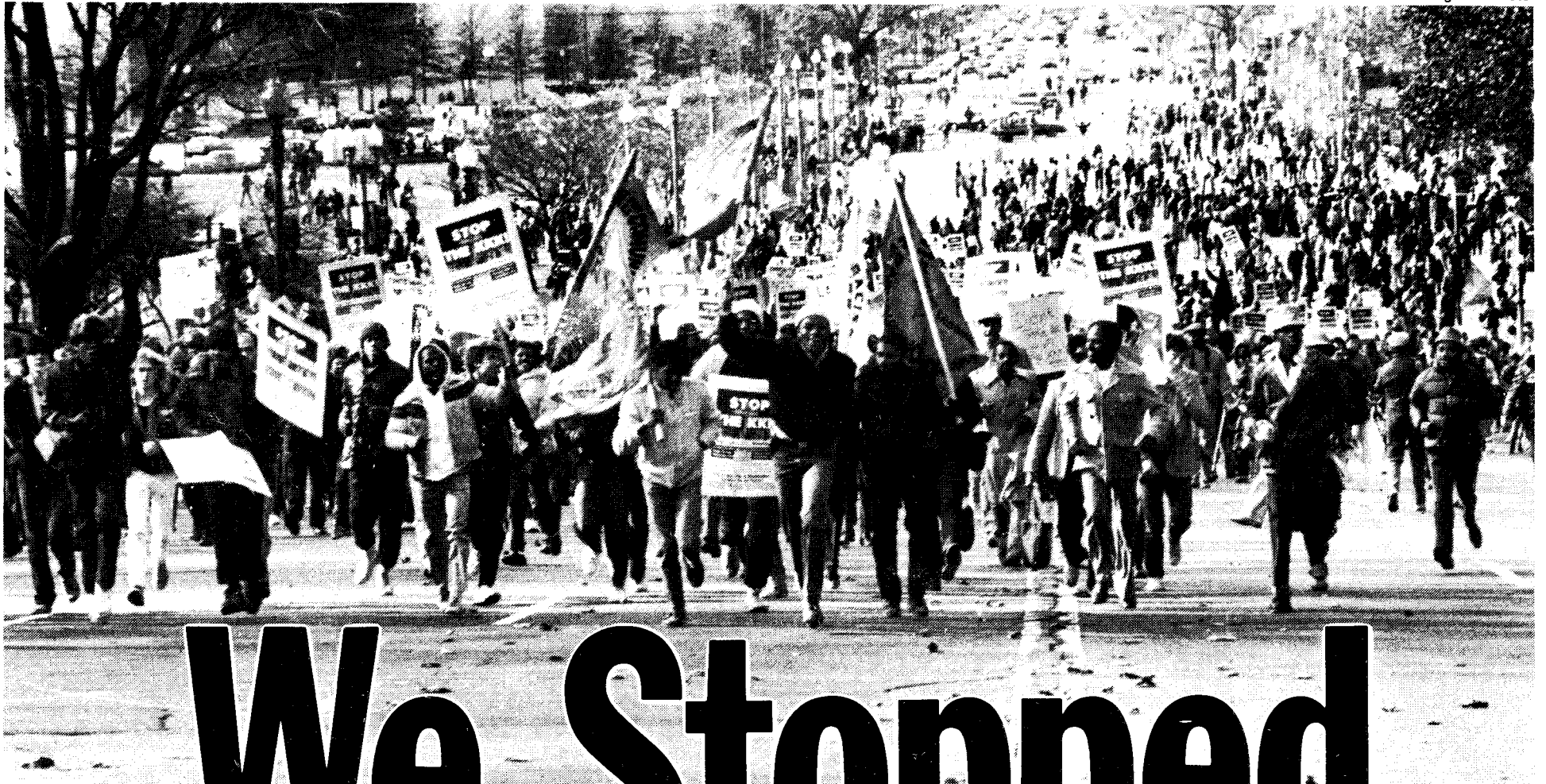
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Workers Vanguard Photo



We Stopped the Klan!

On November 27, black working-class power stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. Testing its strength in Reagan's America, the KKK announced a march from the Capitol to the White House along the same route 40,000 white-hooded racist killers had paraded in 1925. This was the first time in six decades the Klan felt confident enough to try it again. But the Klan did not march, it did not even put on the white sheets; those hated symbols of white racist terror never left the paper bags. Over 5,000 determined protesters met the Klan at its announced starting point and forced the KKK to turn tail. When the cancellation of the KKK march was announced, the hundreds of cops lining Constitution Avenue retreated as the crowd cheered "goodbye!" Militant anti-Klan demonstrators pushed through the flimsy barricades and *marched the route the Klan said it would march*. From the Capitol to the White House, "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" echoed triumphantly through the streets.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) initiated the call for the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington. Our call to action stated:

"If we don't stop them here and now, decent people will continue to pay with their lives. We want a massive counter-demonstration against these terrorists *right where they say they're going to start their march*...."

"What we need in Washington on November 27 is a massive display of defiant power by all the enemies and would-be victims of the KKK—shipyard and dock workers from Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia;

steel workers from Pittsburgh and Baltimore; government and transit workers from Washington, D.C.; blacks, Latins, Jews, Catholics, socialists, the minority youth of Washington who have been sentenced to a life of desperation."

We are proud to report that is exactly what happened. Our communist strate-

gy for the independent mobilization of labor in alliance with the oppressed to smash the fascist threat intersected deep and massive sentiment among the population of black Washington and points south: the KKK would not ride on November 27.

The first labor endorsements came

from black unionists in the Norfolk/Newport News area where the Klan's terrorist acts are all too real a threat. The leaflets calling for a labor/black mobilization hit the streets of Washington on Monday, November 22: All Out to Stop the Klan! Within five days, some 200,000 leaflets and over 4,000 posters had been

distributed to the workplaces, the neighborhoods, the shops, the schools of Washington. The demonstration was correctly viewed as a serious and militant action; here labor endorsements and participation were key. In addition to support from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in Norfolk, Baltimore and Philadelphia, Washington Teachers Union president William Simons, Postal Workers Union local president Sidney Brooks and members of the executive board of the Laborers union were instrumental in mobilizing the support of the Washington area labor movement. In the space of a little more than a week, some 70 union leaders, exec boards and entire locals throughout the country endorsed the Labor/Black Mobilization.

Many SL/SYL comrades were mobilized for the distribution of leaflets and word spread as bus drivers took stacks for distribution to their passengers, black residents took bundles to hand out in the neighborhoods, clerks at 7-Eleven stores piled leaflets on the check-out counters, putting one in every shopping bag. A painter called the demonstration headquarters to donate his services for banner-making, cab drivers shuttled activists around town

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Workers Vanguard Photo

Labor/Black Mobilization November 27, Washington, D.C.

"I Want to be Working With This Organization for the Big One"

S.F. State Women's Center Activists Join SYL

In the wake of the successful Spartacist-initiated anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. November 27, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at San Francisco State University has recruited two activists from the campus Women's Center. Regina Gabrielle and Claire Gulick, the past and present Directors, respectively, of the Women's Center, broke from feminist politics to take up the fight for the liberation of women and all the oppressed through socialist revolution.

Regina went to Washington, D.C. to help mobilize for November 27. "When I got back from Washington I went to my black studies class," Regina told *Young Spartacus*. Her professor invited her to give a presentation on how the Klan was stopped. "I got up before the class and I told them what I saw, what I experienced. I told them it was a true victory for blacks and labor. I talked for about ten minutes and everyone applauded. And I mentioned that it was the Spartacist League and only the Spartacist League that mobilized the 5 to 8,000 people that came out to stop the Klan."

Interest in the November 27 mobilization is widespread at SF State. SYL activists described the anti-Klan action to both campus papers, the *Phoenix* (2 December) and the *Golden Gate* (7 December). Hursey Baker, an SYL member and SF State student who helped to build the November 27 demonstration, told the *Phoenix*, "The demonstrators had a sense of victory, in terms of the Klan not marching in the city. They were cheering. But people were pissed off that the police had prevented them from getting to the Klan."

Below we print excerpts from an interview with Regina Gabrielle and Claire Gulick, in which they explain how they were won away from feminist reformism to the struggle for socialist revolution.

YSp: Why did you join the SYL?

Claire: I joined because I was impressed with the emphasis on action that I found in the SYL. I came out of the women's movement, the lesbian community, and I became increasingly disillusioned with what I saw as excessive introspection in that community. I really got tired of where every time someone stubs their toe we have to have a meeting to process our feelings about it for the next three days.

What was lacking was a feeling of connection to a broader world. We

SYL was a year ago in my "Women and Marxism" class, and at that time I was changing my perspective and my politics. I didn't have a direction or focus, and I was really going crazy because at that time I was Director of the Women's Center and I had something like 18 or 21 units in Women's Studies. I thought that I would take "Women and Marxism" so that I could learn the basics. That's when I first ran into the SYL.

Then this semester I was officially hired and working at *Coming Up!* [a Bay Area gay and lesbian newspaper].

Young Spartacus Photo



SYL supporters at SF State after November 27 anti-Klan demonstration.

didn't attack the root of the problem, which I have only recently begun to see is the capitalist system. What impressed me about the SYL is that its priority is to attack that system, and at the same time it does really emphasize the liberation of women. So I'm not turning my back on women. I feel this is actually a much more effective way to bring about the liberation of women. I see myself as going forward in my analysis of how to bring about women's liberation, which is to attack the root of it. You can't separate it from a broader struggle.

I have a sense of urgency. I'm tired of what I see as reformist activity. I want to commit myself to a struggle that's really going to work, and to a program that will address itself to a struggle on an international level.

Regina: The first time I encountered the

The elections were coming up and these jokers were telling the whole gay community to vote Democratic. I was having fights with people and I felt like something inside me was changing. And then I started meeting people in the SYL and hearing what the SYL was about. It seemed like you could sit around in the women's movement and have all these wonderful theories, but I felt as a black woman I was really disillusioned.

I've heard over and over again that you can't let any racist remarks go by, not one minute of your life, if you do you're not a good feminist. It's obvious that because of the color of my skin that would mean that from the moment I wake up until the moment I hit the sack I would have to be screaming and fighting. There just has to be something else other than telling bus drivers,

"you're fucked."

The so-called leaders of the gay movement are leading us all off a cliff. We can sit around and have support groups, but you can only get supported so much—go out and get a Maidenform bra and sleep with it 24 hours a day and you can be supported. I really wanted to do more.

YSp: Regina, how did your involvement in the anti-Klan demonstration in Washington affect you?

Regina: It had a tremendous effect. I was there about two days and then I realized that this was the only way to do it. I have never been with a group that said we are going to set out to stop the KKK and then do it, really get out there and work. At first I was really timid when they said, "Here are 5,000 flyers, go team go." I thought I could never get rid of these 5,000 flyers. But it was real easy—people were just taking them by the gobs and the reams.

The most exciting thing about the whole trip for me was the day of the demonstration, when they announced the Klan wasn't going to come and they were being escorted away. Those piddling little fences that they put up to keep us in went down like that. The people just dove into the streets and started chanting "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" It was really incredible, people were jumping up and down and screaming and hugging each other. I remember these three black girls that were about 13, 14, 15 came charging at me, hugging me, screaming "We stopped the Klan!" We went up the street arm-in-arm, chanting. If this is what victory feels like then I want to be working with this organization for the big one.

We mobilized 5,000 to 8,000 people to come and stop the Klan. That's really incredible. I couldn't imagine what would happen if we had 5 to 8,000 of us mobilizing this country and mobilizing the working class and women. There would be a revolution. ■

In Wake of Washington Anti-Klan Success...

SYL Thwarts Loop College Witchhunters

CHICAGO—The victory against the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27 by 5,000 labor/black protesters, mobilized by the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL), and endorsed by over 70 trade unionists, shook Washington, D.C. The KKK, backed by Reagan and protected by his racist cops, was unable to march down Constitution Avenue and demonstrate for racist terror. Instead, anti-Klan demonstrators took over their route and chased them out of town.

On the heels of this major success it's no accident that now, after a two month battle against the arrogant witchhunting administration and their petty bureaucratic student government, the SYL is on the verge of winning a smaller but important showdown at Loop College in Chicago. The SYL is winning the right to be an "official" student club at Loop.

The administration harassed and witchhunted the SYL not just because of our revolutionary politics but because we put our program into action—in Chicago on June 27 a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization

including Loop students drove the Nazis out of Lincoln Park. And we did it again when our program to stop the Klan intersected massive determination among black workers and youth in Washington, D.C. on November 27. Hundreds of Loop students signed our petition demanding recognition of the SYL and the ouster of Derek Shelton, the administration's appointed student government lackey. Students helped leaflet and joined in the SYL picket line protests demanding administration hands off student activities and publications, recognition of the Spartacus Youth Club and the ouster of Derek Shelton.

The SYL was not silenced. We fought the witchhunt and brought our politics onto the campus. In the week before the D.C. action, sales of our press, *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard*, increased dramatically, and several students came on the buses to participate in stopping the Klan in Washington on November 27. We won again on a national scale.

The junior Joe McCarthys of the administration, and their handpicked student flunky Derek Shelton, tried

every dirty trick they could come up with to silence the SYL. Shelton threatened to turn in SYL supporters to the killers of Black Panther militants—the FBI! The administration threatened to arrest student supporters and canceled a scheduled anti-Nazi forum and video of the June 27 demonstration. Then they called in campus cops to physically block the room for the forum and manhandle SYLers.

Throughout all this the witchhunters tried to paint the SYL as "outside agitators" and "parasites" who "provoke violence." This vicious redbaiting smear was used against civil rights workers in the '60s and is now being whipped up again by bourgeois politicians and papers in D.C., Chicago and all over the country about the November 27 demonstration. It is in fact the cops in the streets and on campus that use violence to silence militants and revolutionaries and protect fascist Klan and Nazi killers. In D.C. it was the KKK that was stopped and the SL/SYL is proud to have been the initiators of this victory.

The news of the routing of the KKK

is being eagerly received not only at Loop College but all over Chicago. In just four days 11,000 copies of the *Workers Vanguard* special supplement have been distributed! SYLers distributing the supplement and canvassing on the South Side met a young woman who said, "Oh yes, I've heard about this—there's a group of people at my school who organize against the Klan all the time." She's a Loop student and has signed our petition.

The victory in D.C. was a victory that belongs to every decent person all over the country—we took the streets away from the KKK killers. This victory was also a decisive blow against the witchhunt and harassment at Loop College.

The Klan and Nazis can be stopped. We proved it. So can the petty bureaucrats at Loop College. Come hear firsthand accounts of the November 27 demonstration. See the video and learn more about the program of the party that fights the Klan and wins. Join us! Come to the video showing Wednesday, December 15, Room 100, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

Escaping "Back to Africa"

AAPRP to Black People: Don't Fight the Klan!

The answer of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) to the vicious racist oppression in capitalist America is to advise black working and poor people to "go back to Africa." Every year on campuses across the country the AAPRP, a small petty-bourgeois organization of Pan-Africanists, sponsors forums around the slogan "We Must Build a Pan-African Organization," featuring their main spokesman, Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael). And each year we hear the predictable anti-white, anti-Semitic and anti-gay diatribe urging black people to rediscover "African Christianity" by reading the Bible!

The Pan-Africanist AAPRP shares with the black nationalists despair of the possibility of integrated workers struggle for black rights. The rise of black nationalism in the '60s was the product of the frustration of black militants with the liberal misleadership of the civil rights movement. Realizing that significant gains for black people cannot be won through reforming racist American capitalism, and despairing of integrated proletarian struggle for black freedom, the nationalists called for illusory separatism. For many, this meant "community control" of dilapidated inner-city slums, while the Pan-Africanists called for "going on home to Africa." These are all reactionary, utopian strategies for defeat. The Spartacist League (SL) intervened in the civil rights movement to win militants to the perspective of linking the struggle for black rights to the struggle for an integrated revolutionary workers party and the program of socialist revolution.

The "American Dream," now illusory even for middle-class whites, has become a living nightmare for blacks. The pork barrels are empty as the stagnant economy is looted by a military budget aimed directly at the Soviet Union, at stopping worker and peasant uprisings in Central America and supporting counterrevolution in Poland. Unemployment, especially for black workers, is at catastrophic levels. As Reagan openly fosters Jim Crow policies, there has been a sharp increase in cop terror and Klan/Nazi attacks against blacks and Latinos.

Where Was the AAPRP November 27?

In Washington, D.C. November 27 the SL and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL)-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK from carrying out a gross racist provocation. The Klan

had boasted that 200 hooded Klansmen would parade at the Capitol and march in their white sheets to the White House. With the full backing of the Reagan administration and the D.C. police force, they intended to repeat the spectacle of 1925, when 40,000 Klansmen paraded down the same route. But the call by the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK struck a deep chord among black unionists and others, who turned out 5,000-strong and took over the Klan's intended parade route!

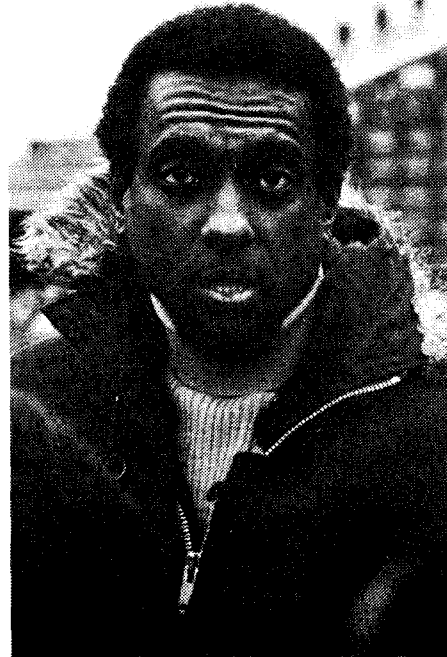
This was an important victory for blacks in D.C. and all other anti-Klan fighters around the country. Had the Klan marched in Washington, this murderous outfit would have had a green light to step up its racist terror against blacks, Jews, organized labor and foreign-born workers. But the AAPRP has never lifted a finger to stop the fascist killers from mobilizing for race-terror against black people!

AAPRP Program in Brief: Do Nothing

The AAPRP's dream of an African homeland serves the same function as the Christian heaven for the oppressed black masses. The Pan-Africanist view also leads to the dangerous notion that blacks should not fight for democratic rights here. For this reason, the KKK sees no threat in Pan-Africanism. Quite the contrary. Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement of the 1920s was hailed by the mass-based Klan of that time. During the busing struggle the racists marched with the slogan "Bus 'em back to Africa." The SL/SYL not only supports inner-city school busing but calls for its extension to the suburban areas and its defense by labor/black mobilizations. We have also participated in numerous protests against cop brutality and murder all across the country. Most importantly, we have initiated numerous anti-Klan/Nazi demonstrations from San Francisco to Washington, D.C.

At a recent AAPRP forum at San Francisco State University (SFSU), Carmichael/Toure repeatedly warned black students of the fruitlessness of fighting police and Klan terror and defending black rights. He spoke out explicitly against protesting the racist stabbing of Doris Collum, a black SFSU student, by one Richard Moss. Said Carmichael, "When you see an individual act of racism... when on this campus, for example, a white student stabs an African sister, don't use your energy to stop it, use your energy to organize the people!" On the issue of fighting racist cop terror, he proclaimed: "Our people make so many campaigns against police brutality and we have no more power against the police now." And as though black people aren't already hungry, he spoke out against economic reforms saying that only "hungry people make revolutions..." "I know my people. If you give them some fried chicken they go to sleep." His solution? "Put the fried chicken behind enemy lines," and then blacks will fight! Carmichael's shameless parroting of white racist stereotypes should revolt any anti-racist militant—not least of all the AAPRP membership. Are those the words of a

Young Spartacus Photo



Stokely Carmichael (aka Kwame Toure) peddles Pan-Africanist pipe dreams, ignores Klan.

leader in the black liberation struggle? No! Carmichael's remarks betray utter contempt for the black masses. Listen up, Carmichael/Toure and the AAPRP: blacks are hungry for revolution and they want to fight right here and now—what they need, however, is revolutionary leadership, not some pipe dream of going back to the "motherland."

Liberation of Black Africa Linked to American Proletarian Revolution

The Pan-Africanist view that black freedom exists in Africa today is a lie. Neo-colonial Africa remains under imperialist domination; its economies are still centered on cheap black labor and the export of raw materials to the advanced capitalist countries. Africa is still an underdeveloped hellhole for the worker and peasant masses. Pan-Africanism never challenged this; in fact, the first Pan-Africanist congresses were explicitly designed to work out with the imperialist powers a peaceful transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism.

Pan-Africanism originated as and continues to be an ideology which serves the native brokers for imperialism in Africa. The AAPRP's hero, Kwame Nkrumah, crushed the 1961 general strike in the name of "African socialism" while he was president of Ghana. In particular, Pan-Africanism has been used to justify the rule of the dominant tribe in nations whose boundaries were determined by the imperialists precisely to divide national and pre-national populations. A fundamental principle of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is to maintain these divisive boundaries. This kind of "African unity" really means unity against minority peoples: the logic of the OAU's position is to support the slaughter of the Biafran Ibos in Nigeria and the oppression of the Eritreans and Somalis by Ethiopia. Pan-Africanism is at bottom hostile to genuine national self-determination in Africa.

The "African socialist" regimes upheld by the AAPRP perpetuate a framework of tribal bloodletting and barbarism best exemplified by Idi Amin

and Bokassa. Perhaps one of the most vicious legacies of the backwardness of tribal existence perpetuated by Africa's neo-colonial rulers is the brutal chattel slavery of women. "Progressive" Kenyan nationalist Jomo Kenyatta, for example, one of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism, was an advocate of female circumcision—a tribal rite in which the female genitals are mutilated and the clitoris removed to ensure marital fidelity. In the words of Kenyatta: "The abolition of irua [circumcision] will destroy the tribal symbol which identifies the age groups, and prevent Gikuyu from perpetuating the spirit of collectivism and national solidarity which they have been able to maintain from time immemorial" (*Facing Mount Kenya*). That Pan-Africanists can defend such brutality speaks volumes about their pretenses to liberate the oppressed masses.

The liberation of Africa requires the revolutionary mobilization of the powerful black proletariat of southern Africa to smash apartheid, imperialist domination and the neo-colonial regimes and is indissolubly linked to proletarian revolution in the U.S. It is no accident that the KKK-planned march for race war in Washington, D.C. November 27 coincided with South African apartheid butcher Prime Minister Botha's visit to the White House. South Africa's Botha will find familiar the Reagan/KKK program for blacks in America. The Washington/Pretoria axis has been strengthened as part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The liberation of Africa from imperialist domination is directly tied to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and to the struggle for proletarian revolution in America. By abandoning the struggle for black freedom in the U.S., the Pan-Africanists also abandon the strategic struggle for the liberation of black Africa as well.

As the Spartacist spokesman succinctly put it in an April 1981 debate with the Communist Workers Party and the AAPRP:

"Nationalism is a reactionary, utopian political ideology.... It stands in opposition to the progressive historical impulses on the part of blacks to be integrated into a socialist, egalitarian society—not a capitalist society, which cannot integrate blacks. Blacks are not a nation dispersed throughout this country in the industrial centers. Blacks are a race-color caste, subjected to lumpenization and intensive unemployment and police terror, particularly in areas like the ghettos....

"While blacks are in general integrated into the lowest sections of the industrial working class, they are strategically located in key positions in this society—for example in steel production, auto production, transportation. This is where the power of black people is key—as part of a racially united proletariat which can overthrow capitalist society, laying the basis for a planned economy within which full emancipation is possible. The black working class must play a key role in the American revolution. This is the perspective of revolutionary integration." ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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Marxist Bulletin 5

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Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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Abandoned Blacks to Nazis June 27

PL "Moral Majority Socialists"

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its front group, "International Committee Against Racism" (InCAR), brag that they're the only real fighters against racism and the fascists. But in Chicago last June 27, PL/InCAR refused to defend black people against the racism of the Nazis, shamefully abstaining from one of the largest anti-fascist mobilizations in decades. Caught in that despicable act, they hid behind vile anti-homosexual bigotry to alibi their betrayal of anti-fascist struggle.

The June 27 Committee Against Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), issued the call to action:

"The Nazis have targeted Gay Pride Day, because they know that homosexuals are the weakest link in their chain of terror. But in the factories, union halls and neighborhoods, Chicagoans know that this attack on gays is only a beginning...."

More than 3,000 people—unionists from steel, auto, the city unions, blacks from the South Side, leftists—came to Lincoln Park on June 27 to mobilize against the fascists. These militants knew they had to stop the Nazis and defend themselves against the ominous rise of racist intimidation and terror. But not PL; they sat home.

PL was caught. To support a Trotskyist-initiated mobilization was apparently unthinkable. But refusing to stand with those blacks and workers was evidently embarrassing to PL's own members, some of whom broke the PL ban to attend organizing rallies and the demonstration itself. So PL felt under enough pressure to open the pages of its newspaper *Challenge* to a rare discussion. (Meanwhile, they also employed their habitual Stalinist gangsterism—one of their Madison supporters, wielding a steel pipe and shouting racist epithets, assaulted our comrades.)

And what a discussion! Swallowing the Nazis' sucker-bait "divide and conquer" tactic, PL thinks it would have been okay to let the Nazis goose-step all over Lincoln Park because it was homosexuals that the fascists were aiming to get that day.

Challenge ended up echoing the fascists' central slogan for June 27! The Nazis' main banner quoted the Bible (Leviticus) that homosexuals "have committed abomination. They shall surely be put to death!" *Challenge's* "Chicago Readers"—i.e., the local PL leadership—wrote that "Old and New Testament opposition against homosexuality was a crude moralistic recognition of the anti-reproductive, anti-family and anti-future nature of homosexuality" (*Challenge*, 4 August). So perhaps PL thinks the Nazis were doing a service for the future?

"We believe that both Nazism and 'gay liberation' are two sides of the same capitalist coin," said PL in its first "Chicago Readers" letter on July 7. Willfully confusing the anti-Nazi demonstration in defense of gays with the

"official" Gay Pride Day march, PL claimed we had brought out those 3,000 people for "defending homosexual rights rather than fighting against racism, KKK-Nazi-cop fascism and approaching imperialist war." Is PL really incapable of grasping what the anti-Nazi demonstrators understood? A Nazi provocation is an attack on all the oppressed, who have a *common interest* in stopping fascist terrorism. The labor movement can and must be won to defending the rights of oppressed groups like homosexuals. That's what June 27 gave a taste of.

PL does more than capitulate to anti-gay backwardness; these Stalinist defenders of bourgeois sexual moralism have a line on "sexual deviants" that rivals the Moral Majority. Individual homosexuals are "welcome to work in our movement, provided they are open to struggle about their deviation," explains the 4 August PL letter: "Defending revolutionary communism would mean that, despite their homosexuality, they are striving towards the fundamental cure for all homosexuality (and other forms of sexual deviation), the communist state." If PL ever got its grotesque vision of a "communist state," gays had better watch out—PL doctors in white coats with long needles are coming to take you away.

And what "other forms" of "deviance" are they going to "cure"? "Chicago Reader" goes on: "We oppose alcoholism, heterosexual promiscuity, hippyishness, and a variety of unstable personal behaviors." A "New Jersey Reader" (4 August) helpfully chimes in: "...we want to win all workers to adopt stable lifestyles with lasting ties to others, including a mate of the opposite sex. This is because communists have a positive view of the future of our class, and that future can only be secured by raising families." As Marxists, we'd always thought the future of the working class could only be secured by making a socialist revolution.

No wonder PL's "research" into "curing" homosexuality draws heavily on the Old Testament. The Chicago PL/InCAR chapters have recently discovered that "a false division exists between Christians and atheists, a division created by the bosses to keep us divided like racism, sexism and anti-communism do." So now they're uniting with church congregations, because after all, as another Chicago Reader pointed out ("P.C., Chicago," 15 September): "a few Christian beliefs seem similar to communist ideas: people are created equally, sharing, working together in a communal way." "Working together" for what?—to persecute homosexuals, perhaps?

PL shares the Moral Majority's commitment to "strong families." And the family is the cornerstone of bourgeois morality, the key institution in the oppression of women. PL's line that the

family is "a fighting unit for socialism" is the classical position of the Stalinist movement. Stalinism—the ideology of the conservative bureaucratic caste which arose in Russia under conditions of economic scarcity, decimation of the proletariat and international isolation of the revolution—represented a political *counterrevolution*. While not destroying the economic basis for socialist society (expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class, nationalization of the means of production, planned economy), Stalin's rise to power over the corpses of the Old Bolsheviks was

otherwise.... But another matter entirely is the utterly retrograde belief that the prejudices and chauvinist practices among workers under capitalism, such as those concerning women and homosexuals, represents a progressive aspect of their consciousness."

—RMC Newsletter No. 7, April 1971

Socialist revolution in this country will be made by the working class—not by a racist, woman-baiting, gay-baiting, anti-communist working class, but by a working class conscious of its own class interests and led by a revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League is

Workers Vanguard Photo



Chicago, June 27: SL/SYL mobilized 3,000 to stop Nazi provocation at Gay Pride march.

accompanied by profound strengthening of the reactionary social attitudes inherited from bourgeois society—every kind of social backwardness from nationalist chauvinism to anti-homosexual puritanism. When the Spartacist League fought against PL's anti-gay backwardness within the radical student group SDS in the early 1970s, we noted that:

"the Bolsheviks (before Stalin) struck all the oppressive laws off the books regarding women and homosexuals. They also rejected the backdoor oppression of 'rehabilitation' of anybody's brand of consenting sexual activity."

—RMC Newsletter No. 7, April 1971.

PL's "Chicago Readers" try to give their line an "honest worker" coloration by arguing that "even homosexual studies show that identifiable homosexuality is primarily a non-proletarian phenomenon" (*Challenge*, 4 August). The key word is "identifiable." There's a good reason why lots of gay people, outside the big-city, liberal, petty-bourgeois enclaves like Greenwich Village or Chicago's New Town, don't "come out"—they're afraid of being victimized by this society's vicious anti-gay attitudes (and vicious anti-gay laws) if they do.

PL's sneering hostility toward gay activists represents a merger of classical Stalinism's ugly bigotry with PL's special brand of unconcern for the defense of democratic rights. We answered PL's stupid false opposition between the "fight for socialism" and the struggle against special oppression under capitalism ten years ago in SDS:

"It is one thing to recognize the Marxist truth that the struggle for social revolution cannot center around issues of special oppression, sexual or

committed to building a working-class vanguard party which serves, in Lenin's phrase, as "the tribune of the people," welding the struggles for liberation of all the oppressed to the drive for proletarian state power. Hiding behind backward consciousness among the workers to alibi their own criminal abstention on June 27, PL has proved their irrelevance to the 3,000 workers, blacks, gays and socialists who understood that democratic rights are indivisible and that all the intended victims of the "White Power" Nazi creeps had a vital stake in stopping the fascist provocation on Gay Pride Day. ■

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523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

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Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.
near Church St.) New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138



Dean Paul/NFL

Nazi scum
in Chicago.
Could anti-gay
PL Stalinists
have endorsed
this banner?

Defend the USSR!

Reagan's Anti-Soviet Cold War Drive Fuels Klan/Nazi Terror!

Printed below is an edited transcript of a talk and summary remarks given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Reuben Samuels on December 10 in Brooklyn, New York. This forum, featuring a video showing of the Washington, D.C. Labor/Black Mobilization, was one of many Spartacist forums held throughout the country to explain the significance of the successful November 27 anti-Klan action and to pose the necessity of constructing a revolutionary workers party to smash the fascist threat permanently through socialist revolution.

* * * * *

On the eve of this mobilization, Reagan announced a two-point program to deal with the mess of the American economy. One, he was going to tax unemployment insurance because that would solve unemployment, it would make it unprofitable. The real reason there are 20 million unemployed in this country is that the benefits are so great on the dole. Second, he was going to cut the minimum wage for children and for young adults, in order to put them to work too. So this, combined with the thing that was mentioned in the video by one of the speakers was indicative—embracing [South African premier] Botha. This is on the very eve of the announcement that the Ku Klux Klan plans to march in Washington, ride in Washington.

It's not only taking back the gains of the civil rights movement and the gains of the rise of the CIO. [This is] the man who wants to take back Social Security, who wants to rip the food out of the mouths of black children in order to feed the anti-Soviet war machine. It's a question here not only of reversing the gains of the civil rights movement but the gains of the Civil War. The program of the Klan for blacks in this country is not all that much different than what Botha has: either put them on the bantustans—if you can't build them here then we'll ship them back there—or genocide. They got a two-point program, Reagan and the Klan. It's anti-Soviet war drive abroad and race war at home. So this was a very important victory for blacks across the country, for immigrant workers who were the ostensible target of the Klan provocation in Washington, for every decent American. And it took the intervention of a Marxist vanguard party with a revolutionary program to give the fear, the anger, the outrage that was widespread throughout Washington, the region and the country against this provocation—to give that outrage organized expression and political leadership. It took the intervention of a Trotskyist party.

You can't fight fascism in this country without dealing with the questions of political power. The road to Reagan was paved by the Democratic Party. Not only by "ethnic purity" Jimmy Carter—remember Greensboro—the Greensboro Massacre happened under Carter. But almost every incident of a Klan atrocity, like the Birmingham bombings or the murder of civil rights workers in the '60s took place with the complicity if not the direct leadership of the bourgeois state administered by the Democratic Party, including the Kennedy brothers—remember who was Minister of Injustice during the Kennedy administration, namely his brother. Around



Greensboro Daily News

Remember Greensboro!

the country today we see the outcome of the fact that the liberal misleadership of the civil rights movement sold out the gains of that movement to the Democratic Party. So you have black faces in high places, black mayors from L.A. to Detroit to Washington, D.C. that are simply the front men for Reaganomics.

It's also a question of labor. Ed [Kartsen, NYC transit militant] referred to the big Solidarity Day demonstration last year in September, in which 500,000 workers demonstrated the social power that could have not only run Washington for a day but made Washington the capital of a workers government in this country. But that demonstration and that labor movement is dominated by a pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy. To unchain the power of labor a new leadership has to be forged, a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. Those chains have to be broken. Quite indicative—not only is it the Democratic Party that fuels the growth of the Klan and Nazis, not only is it the Democratic Party that makes the political climate so that they can feel bold enough to think their hour has arrived, that they can return to Washington, D.C. after 57 years. But so is it with their lieutenants in the labor movement, who back policies like protectionism, who want to blame the foreigners for the mess that American capitalism is in. Just like the Klan, who targeted immigrant workers in their planned provocation on November 27.

So the point is that labor must be unchained to resolve the social question in this country, to put a stop to the Klan and Nazis once and for all. They are the fringe of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. They are the fringe of his movement against blacks, against working people, against every sector of this population that doesn't have a seat on the Fortune 500. And these are policies in which there's a bipartisan agreement with the Democrats, with the parties of capital and with their agents in the labor movement, including the fake lefts, who organized the so-called alternate demonstration miles away from where the Klan announced they were going to rally and start their march, who are basically paving the way for the Democrats, or trying to.

The question is one of political power, the struggle for a working-class revolu-

tion and a working-class society in this country. To finish the Civil War—because racial oppression and racism is integral to the very nature of exploitation in America—is going to require a working-class revolution. What you saw in that demonstration was the fusion of the struggle for proletarian liberation with the program for working-class revolution. The struggle against the Klan and the Nazis, the defense of black rights, the struggle even to defend the economic gains of the workers movement in this period, is intimately linked to the Russian question, to the defense of the gains of the October Revolution—gains which remain intact despite a bureaucratic degeneration. Russia resembles something like an American trade union where the workers have a vested interest in the real gains that have been won by the labor movement. But what sits on top of this is a bureaucratic, fat-assed, conservative, narrow, nationalistic bureaucracy that sabotages these gains and undermines them and must be ousted for the working class to advance to full political power.

This revolution, the October Revolution, is *our* revolution. That's why you see a symbol up there on that banner. Over that symbol is a "4" which stands for the Fourth International of Trotsky. There's the need for the rebirth of the Fourth International based on the program of Trotskyism, the struggle against Stalinism in the Soviet Union, and the tradition of Lenin and the Bolsheviks—linked to, in the United States, the situation of the American workers revolution which is directly linked to the black question, to the racist and racial nature of capitalist exploitation in this country that is integral since its foundation. And that's why we have our recent issue of our paper hail as revolutionary heroes people like John Brown and Frederick Douglass. Because the point is—to go forward to a workers state is the only way in this country to finish the Civil War, to make the American October Revolution.

We are a very small group, both internationally and in the United States. And our aspirations are very great. The question of revolution or death is on the agenda, not just for black people but for the human race on this planet. You have madmen in the White House who have the power to blow this planet up and are

going full-blown in that direction. And in the meantime you've got the Ku Klux Klan on the march, threatening genocide at home as well as smashing the labor movement. Hence the urgency and the difficulty and the enormity of our tasks. But the question is what are you going to do with your life—the question of a commitment to a revolutionary program and to a future as a professional revolutionary. The point is, yes, this one demonstration stopped the Klan in Washington. But we know that they will be back unless Reagan is stopped, unless the Democrats are stopped, unless imperialism is stopped. And that requires a proletarian revolution. And *that* requires a party of people who are dedicated to a socialist future and know that we have no other choice.

We're no more radical than we have to be to get done what needs to be done from the standpoint of the interests of working people both here and internationally. These questions are very old ones. And we just ran an article, as I mentioned in my presentation, about the Abolitionists and the period leading up to and after the Civil War. And these same questions were debated then. There was a line that was essentially embodied in figures like Brown and Douglass of what you might call

Young Spartacus Photo



November 27: protesters chanted "Down with Reagan, Build a Workers Party!"

revolutionary insurrectionism. That is, the recognition that there could be no peaceful end to slavery. There could be no peaceful resolution of the slave question in this country. Now there were a lot of people who advocated other means, who said we've got to find other roads. And it didn't work. The same thing happened in the civil rights movement. [Washington, D.C. mayor] Marion Barry represented a real trend in SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] which was the King wing of non-violence. It was in the inception of the organization—that's why it was in the name—the whole tactic of non-violence, pacifism, trying to apply Gandhi tactics to the United States and the struggle for black rights. This was tested time and again, especially in the South. And it wasn't a question of adventurism—it was a question of what needed to be done to accomplish basic goals of the civil rights movement, which were just the basic gains of the Civil War, fulfilling those Fourteenth, Fifteenth Amendments—the right to vote. It took the right to Southern armed self-defense to deal with race-terror and so we stand in that tradition and with those people. ■

We Stopped the Klan!...

(continued from page 1)

without charge, a Kentucky Fried Chicken store donated buckets to be used for fund-raising. At intersections in black neighborhoods, poster teams would cause traffic jams as car after car pulled over to pick up some leaflets, posters or just to honk the message: we'll be there! The word was out.

On Saturday morning, hundreds and then thousands assembled at First and Constitution for the showdown. Some had come from all across the country: Labor/Black Mobilization buses from New York City were somewhat facetiously dubbed the Yuri Andropov Brigade as a sardonic jibe at the rather large number of ex-SL members heading for D.C. The Norfolk bus of black shipyard and dock workers chose the name Nat Turner Battalion and from Boston came the Colonel Robert Shaw Battalion, honoring the commander of a black Union regiment during the Civil War. Buses bringing auto and steel workers from the Midwest took the name Ulysses S. Grant Division and from the West Coast came the Bill Haywood Commando. Government, railroad and construction workers joined with students from Howard University and other area schools to stop the Klan. Trade unionists volunteered for the security team from the LIU; AFSCME, Teamsters, ATU, SEIU, OCAW, CWA, AFGE, ILA, IBEW, UAW and other unions and worked throughout the day as responsible monitors for the demonstration. Unlike the myriad of smaller anti-Klan actions held in Washington that day, the Labor/Black Mobilization was no gabfest for the Democrats or "ignore the Klan" diversion. It wasn't a pray-in, be-in or some infantile confrontationist stunt pitting a handful of militants against the Washington P.D. It was a hard black- and labor-centered show of



testing the waters in the metropolitan centers. The Klan is the largest American fascist organization, with roots in the American South that go back over 100 years to the Civil War. Now the KKK is the extreme front line in Reagan's war on blacks and workers in this country, on the Soviet Union and all those countries where capitalism has been overthrown or is being challenged abroad. SL Central Committee member Al Nelson explained from the rally podium that Reagan:

"...understands that that system is beginning to crumble. That is why he's given the green light to the Klan, because they are his dogs of war. They are his killers and he's saying to his killers, go ahead and organize."

That the Klan was given permission to march in D.C. indicates the intention of a section of the U.S. rulers to see the fascists' ranks swell. Stopping them is a life and death question for the working-class movement and oppressed of the U.S.

The response on November 27 showed the stirrings of political class consciousness—black and white workers refusing to lay down and die, ready to act given a leadership with the program and courage to organize. This class-struggle potential could only be translated into action by the intervention of a Marxist vanguard, i.e., the Spartacist League program of labor/black action against the Klan/Nazis and unequivocal commitment to the independence of the working class from the capitalist parties and their politicians. Who else stepped forward to organize the successful anti-Klan action? Not the black city administration; Mayor Marion Barry left town that day and after it was all over, remarked to the press that "it could have been a lot worse." Congressional delegate Walter "Community Unity" Fauntroy came out for "answer[ing] the Klan demonstrations for hate and violence on that day with substantive demonstrations of love and reconciliation throughout the Washington area," i.e., free meals at churches. In the House of Representatives, Fauntroy has introduced HR 138 which ludicrously asks Reagan to "submit a written annual report to the Congress detailing the status of steps taken to curtail violent acts against minority groups." As one black protester put it during an interview at the demonstration:

"The other leaders, like I said, were Fauntroy and Marion Barry.... I thought they might be out here making speeches and something, but they weren't out there. If we would have followed them we'd still be at home or up there eating or something, partying while the Klan marched."

The forces of "law and order"—never neutral—mobilized to protect the so-called "rights" of the racist



terrorists, meanwhile threatening to seal off the Labor/Black Mobilization with massive police presence and fences. The *Washington Post* (25 November) carried the story "FBI Told to Help Police During Klan Rally Here" and quoted Attorney General Smith pontificating that "our belief in the right of free expression will overcome our distaste for the messages of hate and bigotry." The FBI's devotion to such "rights," especially where the movement for black rights is concerned, is well documented. Paid FBI informant Gary Rowe was, according to the *New York Times* (17 July 1978) "responsible for most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the Bureau's payroll" including: the May 1961 "bloody Sunday" attack by over 1,000 Klansmen at the Birmingham bus station as civil rights "freedom riders" arrived; the 1963 bombing of a black Baptist church in Birmingham which left four young girls dead, 22 in the congregation injured; the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in 1965. In Chicago, FBI agents set up the murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, shot to death while sleeping. Federal agents were among the Klan/Nazi caravan that rolled into the Morningside Homes neighborhood of Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 and massacred five Communist Workers Party members in broad daylight. Throughout the week of building the November 27 demonstration, surveillance by marked and unmarked cop cars continued. The night before, police chief Turner warned Washington residents to stay home, away from the anti-Klan action, suggesting possible "violence."

Violence! The Ku Klux Klan—lynchers, rapists, cross-burners, sick racist killers—threatened to stage a

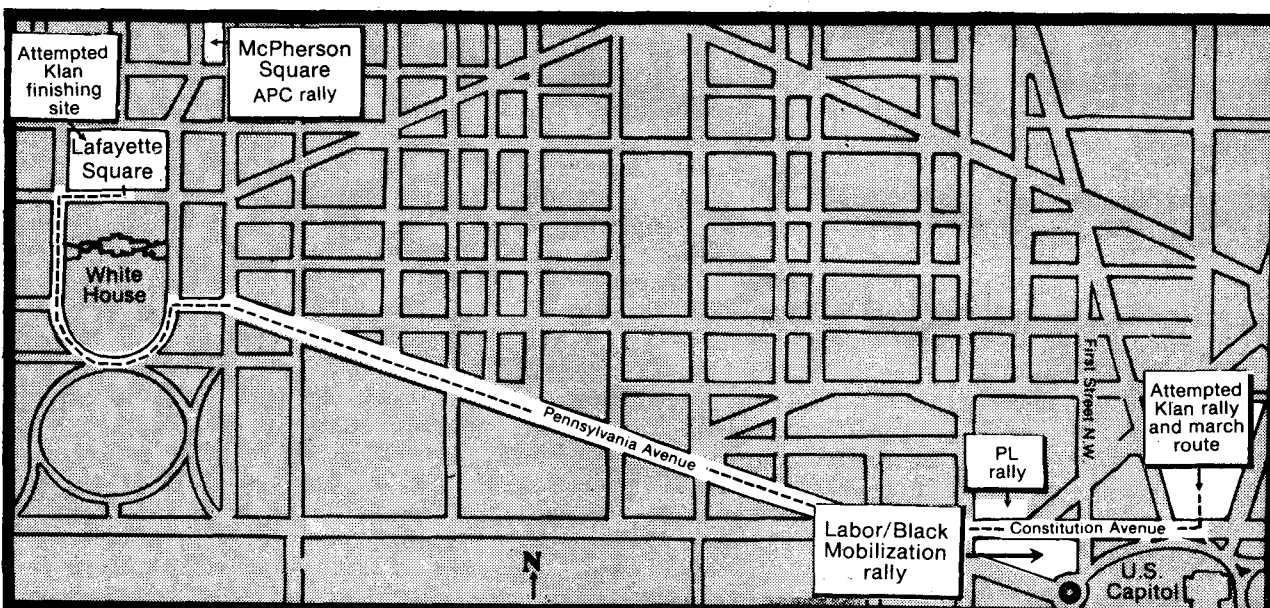


Media cried "looting"—cops heaved black youth through store windows.

power intent on stopping the goddamn Klan and it accomplished what it set out to do. The fascist provocation in the nation's capital was snuffed out by the most important mass action this country has seen in years.

November 27: A Taste of Power

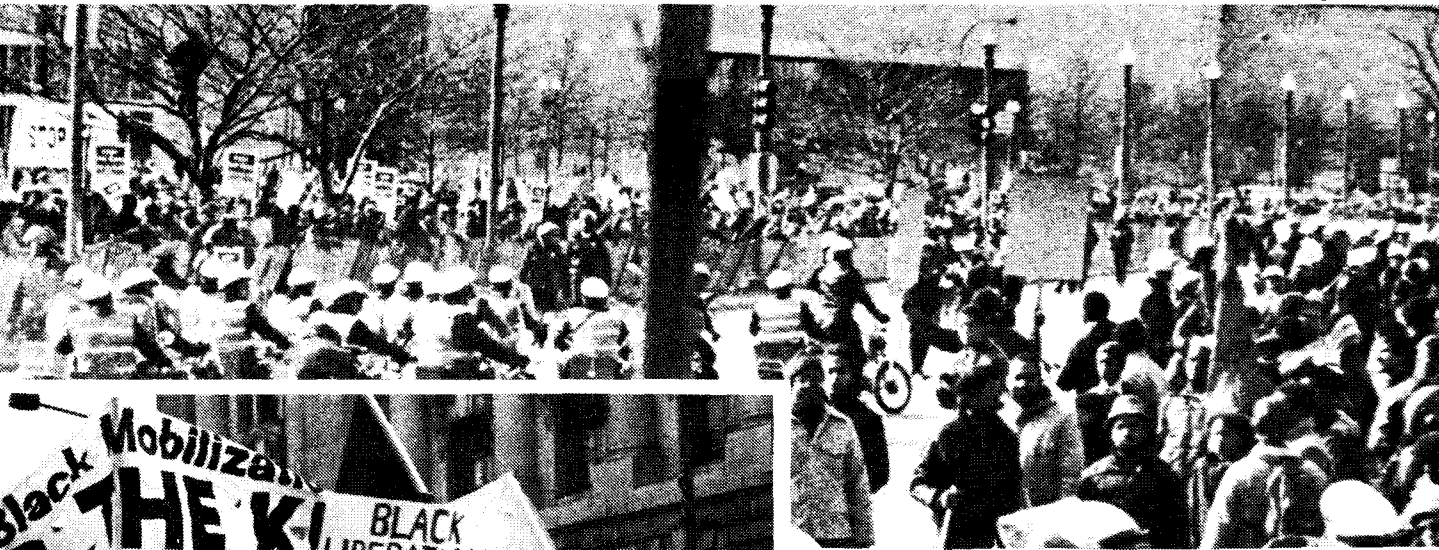
The Klan expected it could parade through the center of black Washington with its murderous "white power" filth. Since the Greensboro acquittal of five Klan/Nazi killers by an all-white jury gave the fascists a license to kill, they've been pushing it, encouraged by the anti-Soviet war drive, feeding off mass unemployment. Klan and Nazi candidates have polled thousands of votes from California to Michigan; they've been



Above, defeated Klansmen slink away. KKK didn't even put on its robes. Map: APC was blocks away from KKK. Labor/Black Mobilization took over Klan's route and rally site. PL took off before demo moved up Constitution Avenue to Lafayette Park.

Workers Vanguard Photo

Workers Vanguard Photos



nor heeding the diversionary calls of the black Democrats, thousands came out to stop the Klan. The *Washington Post* (29 November) reported that police called off the KKK march 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."

Smash the Klan—This is the Hour! Labor and Blacks Have Got the Power!

From 10 a.m. the growing numbers of anti-Klan protesters listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting, favorites being "KKK—Ain't no way! You ain't gonna march today!" and "1,2,3,4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a workers state!" SL and SYL spokesmen put forward the full range of our revolutionary program, from labor/black mobilizations to sit-down strikes against layoffs, jobs for all, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Centrally, the spokesmen stressed the need to build a multi-racial workers party dedicated to the struggle for workers state power. SL Central Committee member Donald Andrews spoke to the urgent necessity to smash the war drive and defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, noting that despite bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution, "the capitalists who are ruining us here were destroyed in Russia.... The

fact is, brothers and sisters, that the Klan don't ride in Moscow."

At 12:40, word reached the rally that the miserable 28 Klansmen were being herded off by the cops; they would not march. For over an hour, Constitution Avenue had been lined by demonstrators face to face with the cops, the chanting had intensified and all eyes were on the hill. *The Klan would not march—we won!* As the police began their retreat, the demonstration spilled out into the street, the barricades went down like toothpicks and clenched fists went high up into the air. "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of the hill and claimed it as our own. Applause greeted the cops' retreat. The showdown at the Capital ended: Labor/Black Mobilization—1; Klan—0.

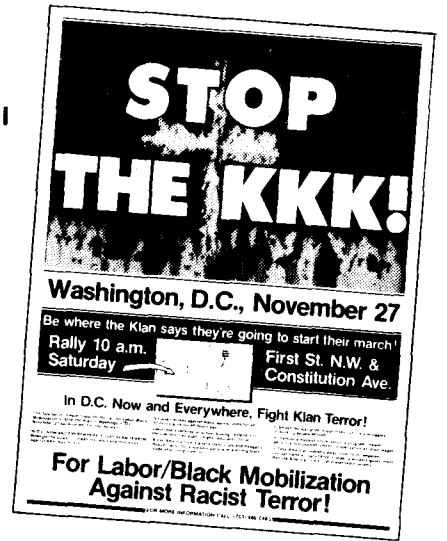
The demonstration wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Avenue when word spread that the Klan was being taken to Lafayette Park, their intended final destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, black youth stopped traffic, exchanging victory salutes with drivers. "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!" As the march passed the White House, hundreds took up the chant "Down with Reagan! Build a workers party!" Upon arrival at Lafayette Park, the Labor/Black Mobilization encountered a cop riot in progress against anti-Klan protesters who

continued on page 8

race-hate march in Washington, D.C. which, if successful, would have recruited to them countless new members and emboldened them to commit countless new acts of terror against black people throughout the country. But that workers would organize for self-defense, that black Washington would not watch this spectacle idly, that justified anger at the brutal, racist Reagan administration was being organized into a show of black and labor power by avowed communists: this had the D.C. establishment shaking.

Undeterred by such scare tactics, not demoralized by

SL/SYL's call mobilized blacks and labor to stop the Klan in D.C.



Rally Speeches

Workers Vanguard Photo



Alison Spencer
Spartacus Youth League.

We stopped the KKK in Boston a month ago, October 16th. We swept that Klan off the streets! [Applause] On *twelve hours notice* 1,500 people filled the Government Center Plaza and taught those hooded genocidal murderers a lesson, that any time they try to march in the streets of our city we're going to *run them out!* [Applause]

Motorcycle police, mounted police, riot police protected the Klan the entire way. Twenty-three Klansmen, shown on national TV, terrified, hiding under their hoods. The police loaded the Klan into paddy wagons—not to arrest them but to protect their buddies and then turn their fire on the crowd. But we stood our ground, and it was a solid anti-racist stand for the first time in years in Boston.

There's a lot of people who learned a lesson in the streets of Boston: that the police and the political bosses who run the police and the Dixiecrat Democratic Party and the Republican Party of Ronald Reagan are no friends of working people or minorities in this country. Working people have to organize themselves behind the power of the labor movement, mobilize minorities behind the power of the labor movement, to take a stand for independent political action of working people against our enemies, to defend ourselves. That's what this rally here is about.

Now likewise in Boston there were a lot of other organizations demonstrating. When the Klan was supposed to show up the All-Peoples Congress said,

"Everybody stay on the picket line." And they put a preacher on to sing hymns. Well, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League broke through that picket line and led people over to get that Klan off the streets! [Applause] The Klan is not going to be stopped with prayers or hymns—they have to get their heads acquainted with the pavement. That's the way to deal with these genocidal murderers! [Applause]

It takes a fight to get what you want! It took a fight to win busing in the courts and in Boston it was attacked in the streets. We need labor/black defense guards to defend busing, to extend it to the suburbs. That's why the Klan thought they could march in Boston. The Klan's recruiting white youth in Boston, in the high schools. The labor movement has the power to change all that.

So when Reagan targets the Soviet Union, people who made a revolution against capitalism, it's simultaneously a war against labor and black people here at home. Who's paying for his war drive? We're getting our social services cut, the working people in this country are getting their union contracts torn up, PATCO got thrown out on the streets. So it's freedom and democracy for the KKK and hell for the rest of us. So we need a workers party to fight for a workers government—a society where there's a planned economy, where there's a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, jobs for all to eliminate unemployment.

And if you're interested in that perspective, which is the only perspective to stop this goddamn KKK and overturn the political bosses who run them in this country, then you have to join an organization that's going to fight for this kind of socialist future. I'm a representative of the Spartacus Youth League. We're involved in winning students and youth over to the side of the working class, to a lifetime of partisanship to their struggles, against the KKK, for union organizing, to defend the rights of black and working people. So you should take a side and join us!

Workers Vanguard Photo



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

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Spartacist Public Forum

Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Eyewitness Accounts • Video Showing

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

NEW YORK CITY

We Stopped the Klan!...

(continued from page 7)

had assembled there earlier that day. In disciplined fashion, forces were regrouped in the Park and despite the cop charges, the cannisters of pepper gas exploding—the banners of workers power were planted at the site the Klan had said it would occupy. After a brief, spirited rally the crowd was dispersed without incident, many hundreds of them marching toward the Bellevue Hotel where the Labor/Black Mobilization celebration would take place.

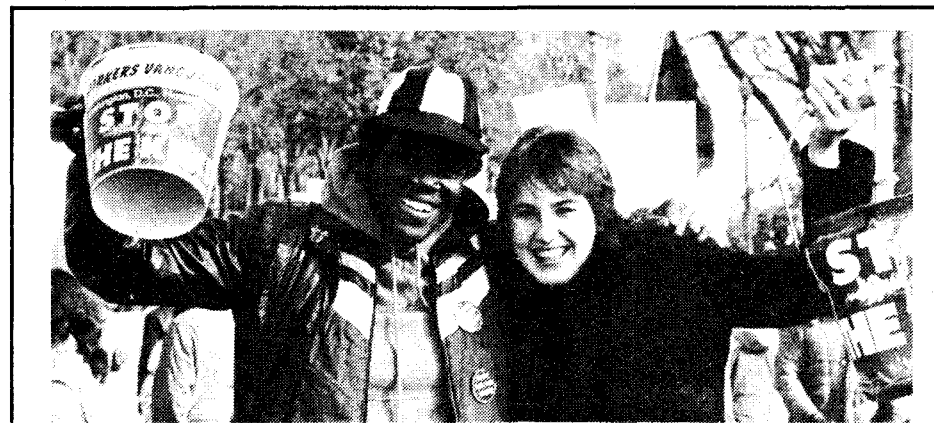
Bourgeois Backlash, Reformist Myopia

The Klan was stopped by a determined united front of labor, blacks, socialists. The bourgeois media has attempted to obscure this fact with a barrage of sensationalist reports on the "violence" and "rioting" which consisted of a police rampage against frustrated anti-Klan youth. The *Washington Post* editorial "Saturday's Shame" (29 November) captured the bourgeoisie's hostility to the successful rout of the KKK: "All it took was a handful of practiced delinquents and trouble-hungry instigators to stir things up.... Prosecution, we expect, will be vigorous." We say: drop all the charges against the anti-Klan militants! The "practiced delinquents" were the police

who clubbed, tear gassed and tossed demonstrators through plate glass windows.

Black newspapers, radio and television stations have had quite a different response, one of overwhelming sympathy for those who stopped the KKK: New York's *Amsterdam News*' headline read "5000 Chase Klansmen," that of the *Cleveland Call and Post*, "Ku Klux Klan Catches 'Hell' in D.C."; "Klan Rally Foiled" headlined the *Reporter* from Akron; Norfolk's *Journal & Guide* read "Protesters Force Klan To Change Rally Plans" and the *Washington Afro-American* "Protesters Stop Klan Rally, Fight Police." The credibility of the white ruling class press is nil—we recall they suffered no qualms in portraying the Klan/Nazi murder in Greensboro as a "shoot-out" between "extremists" of the right and left. It goes without saying that every fight on the part of the oppressed against this violent, racist system must be portrayed as a brawl by the unwashed masses, instigated by trouble-making Reds.

The scared, reformist "left" has, not surprisingly, echoed the bourgeois lies in their respective newspapers. Some of the "disinformation" contained in these articles can be attributed to simple sectarian hatred of the Spartacist League and the necessity to slander or disappear us at all costs. When the reformists can bring themselves to mention the rally which stopped the Klan at First and Constitution, it is generally left to the readers' imagina-



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.



Young Spartacus Photos

"Violence" in D.C.? In repeated attempts to disperse anti-Klan demonstrators in Lafayette Park, cops pepper-gassed themselves too.

tions just how all these people got there. First runner-up in the falsification award is the misnamed *Militant* (aka *Moderate*) of the Socialist Workers Party, an organization dedicated to the preservation of the Klan's "civil liberties" and to the "strategy" of public debate with fascist scum. Its article (10 December) mentions "Several thousand others assembled near the Capitol" and states, "Intimidated by the thousands of

demonstrators nearby, the Klan evidently thought it wise to cancel its march." But who were these thousands, from where did they come? "These young people," explains the *Militant*, "mostly workers, students and unemployed youth from the D.C. area, came out on their own to tell the Klan to go home."

The undisputed winner for lies and downright scabbing on the struggle for class action against the Klan is the newspaper of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP)/Youth Against War and Fascism, *Workers World*. WWP's "All-Peoples Congress" rally on November 27—the largest of the other anti-Klan actions in Washington—placed itself a half step to the left of the black Democrats' "stay home" and "free food" diversions. And for that the Marcyites were bitterly sorry: they wanted nothing so much as a liberal anti-Klan sing-a-long with D.C.'s black city officials. To this end, their "action" was called for noon at McPherson Square, near the end of the proposed Klan march. In advance, they accepted that the Klan would be able to march. When rumor spread that the Klan had arrived in the vicinity of their rally, and black youth who had been subjected to hours of boring speechifying on behalf of "progressive" politicians turned restive and attempted to get at the Klan scum, the APC organizers set up a linked-arm barricade to stop them.

Their defeatism, disappointment and sense of betrayal by the black officialdom of D.C. imbue Marcy's "Lessons of the Anti-Klan Demonstration" (*Workers World*, 3 December). The Marcyite "vision" of "the mayor, the president of the City Council, all the council members and D.C.'s congressional

Rally Speeches...

(continued from page 7)

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 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] ■

NOTICE
The next issue of *Young Spartacus* will be dated February 1983.

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representative—as the advanced guard in a truly mammoth march to the very edge of the city to confront the Klan” did not materialize. In fact, “the officialdom was nowhere around on the day the Klan set foot in Washington.” This being the case, the Marcyites proceed to paint the whole day with gloomy pessimism:

“The bourgeois establishment of the District, like bourgeois establishments everywhere, in the face of the crisis tended to vacillate [!] and become immobilized and thereby also immobilized the most viable section of society, the working class which supports them.”

As if that weren't enough, Marcy continues:

“...the situation had not yet fully matured and...the obstructions from the capitalist establishment and its repressive forces were overwhelming.”

Of course, the working class was far from “immobilized” and the obstructions from the capitalists were far from “overwhelming” for anyone who participated in the Labor/Black Mobilization. This rubbish is not just cynical—it's a slap in the face to every trade unionist and black militant, every student and youth who turned out to stop the Klan on November 27. We long to see *Workers World* peddle this account in the black working-class neighborhoods of D.C., at the work sites of the trade unionists who turned out to stop the KKK. Unable to recognize a class victory from several blocks away, *Workers World* relegates the bulk of its coverage to the scuffle with the cops—“carried out spontaneously by the masses,” of course.

As over El Salvador, the Marcyites offer their services as policemen against

Stop the Witchhunt Against PL! Drop the Charges Against Madison Anti-Moonie Protesters!

The University of Wisconsin (UW)-Madison administration has launched a witchhunt after hundreds of angry UW students shouted down Eldridge Cleaver on October 25 when he tried to give his “God Bless America” diatribe on behalf of the anti-communist Moonie cult. At the protest, campus cops vindictively targeted leftists for physical abuse and arrest. Five supporters of the Progressive Labor Party/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) are now facing trial on misdemeanor charges of disorderly conduct and some may, if convicted, face more serious legal harassment in the future. In addition Ben Masel, a local activist who was brutally manhandled and dragged out of the auditorium by the cops, was charged with the felony of “striking a

police officer.” The “liberal” dean of students, Paul Ginsberg, is now threatening to revoke PL/InCAR's student organization status, and he is setting up a kangaroo court in an effort to suspend two of PL/InCAR's student supporters.

Soon after the protest the Madison Spartacus Youth League (SYL) distributed several thousand leaflets demanding “No Reprisals Against Anti-Moonie Protesters!” (see *Young Spartacus* No. 104, November 1982). The positive response among students shows a felt need to combat the administration witchhunt. Even the “Ad Hoc Coalition to Expose Cleaver and the Moonies” (i.e., the campus reformists who opposed the militant, interventionist anti-Moonie protest from the get-go) felt compelled to

reverse their initial complete indifference toward the arrest of the demonstrators. This was naturally too much for the wretched Democratic Party “socialists” of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), one of the Coalition endorsers. The DSA quickly dissociated itself from any statement defending the protesters against reprisals and joined as “strict civil libertarians” the hypocritical administration clamor about Moonie “free speech.”

The idiot sectarians of PL/InCAR have done nothing, of course, to mobilize in their own defense. PL's idea of fighting fascism (that is, when they aren't calling on the racist U.S. government to “outlaw” the KKK) is to throw small groups of their supporters up against the cops who defend the Klan. They sure looked ridiculous picketing on the other side of the street from the Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington on November 27! Well, if PL/InCAR is crippled by sectarian stupidity, Stalinist reformism and political cowardice, the revolutionary Trotskyist SYL certainly isn't. Hands off PL/InCAR! Drop all charges against the anti-Moonie protesters! No administration reprisals!

any militant struggle threatening to go beyond Democratic Party cheerleading. On May 3, 1981 and March 27, 1982, Marcyite goons attempted similar “human chains” to seal off revolutionists calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists in the civil war. On November 27, the APC sealed off its own rally to keep anti-Klan protesters from smashing the fascists. Both in the struggle against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive abroad and against its domestic reflection at home, the Marcyites have played a role fundamentally no different from that of the cops. Their “daisy chains” function as a catalyst for police intervention—either the WWP goons contain leftists and militants or the cops come in and do it for them, as was the case last March. If the Democrats paved the way for Reagan reaction, it is also the case that the reformist WWP is—in the concrete—paving the way for the Democratic Party of war and racism.

The rad-lib *Guardian* felt compelled to report that the SL-organized Labor/Black Mobilization occupied the site where the Klan was stopped. It goes on, however, to lump us with the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and John Brown Anti-Klan group in one big “confrontational” front. PL and John Brown did place themselves in proximity to the Labor/Black Mobilization. However, these organizations share with Marcy the fundamental defeatist perspective toward mobilizing labor; rather than aim for the “officialdom” for whom the Marcyites mourn, PL et al. simply throw

their own small forces against the KKK and assorted police departments. PL does occasionally manage to level a few good punches at the Klan and Nazis, but more often than not they accomplish little beyond adding to their members' arrest records and hospital bills. Furthermore, PL's program panders to the backwardness and bigotry of the working class. For instance, it shares the KKK/Moral Majority's virulent anti-homosexuality. Thus, it abstained completely from the labor/black mobilization organized by the SL in Chicago last June which brought out 3,000 to stop the Nazis' threatened provocation on Gay Pride Day. Since PL has Reagan's line on the Soviet Union—i.e., they don't defend it as a workers state—they are ultimately ineffectual in rallying the working class against the domestic reflections of the Cold War drive.

The Party, the Party and Once Again the Party

November 27 was a vindication of our program of labor/black mobilizations

to smash KKK/Nazi terror. But more than that, it showed the way for similar class-struggle action which needs to be taken in the struggle for the needs and interests of the working class—from jobs to education to the necessity of a workers party to fight for a workers state. Our ability as a Bolshevik organization to tap the sentiment, the power, the skill of the black and white working class made possible the anti-Klan victory. It has also opened for us critical roads into the black Southern proletariat and student population. Immediately following the demonstration, we announced plans to build a party organization in the D.C. area and SL/SYL teams are now working throughout the South to get the word out about the November 27 demonstration. For too long the black masses have been left leaderless in the face of increasing racist terror and economic genocide. We aim to change that, by building a revolutionary party with a strong black component to smash this sick capitalist system once and for all. ■

Workers Vanguard Photo



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

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

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Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 663-1216 or 1217

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 251-3398

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

Norfolk: P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501, or call (804) 485-1964

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.: 210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (703) 486-0485

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

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SL/SYL Protests Butcher Begin in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Over 1,200 demonstrators gathered in front of the Bonaventure Hotel in downtown Los Angeles on Saturday, November 13 to protest the scheduled appearance of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The butcher of Shatila and Sabra was coming to address wealthy American Zionists and raise funds for his massacres. However, he didn't show—his wife of 40 years and fellow member of the terrorist Irgun had just croaked. Anti-Begin protesters, among them many Palestinians, braved threats of violence from the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the gun-nuts of the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO), as well as a massive mobilization by the LAPD, to express their outrage over the genocidal Zionist atrocities in West Beirut.

The Spartacus Youth League had attended a kind of warm-up anti-Begin demonstration at UCLA the previous Thursday which provided a little taste of both the rally organizers' rotten politics and the threat presented by the JDL/JDO. These Zionist thugs had predictably mobilized to attack the demonstration—an obvious possibility for which the rally organizers had taken absolutely no security precautions. We call on all defenders of Palestinian rights to join in stopping such Zionist thuggery—as during September SYL-organized campus protests when Arab students at City College of New York joined and helped defend our picket line from a potential JDL attack.

When the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL)

contingent of some 30 people marched into the Saturday demonstration bearing a banner proclaiming "Defend the Palestinians! Israeli/Imperialist Troops Out of Lebanon!" we were greeted with a burst of cheers and applause by the crowd. We were, in fact, the only organized left presence there. The goons of the Stalinist U.S. Anti-Imperialist League (USAIL), the demo's main organizers, were beside themselves with sectarian rage at both our presence and our reception—particularly when the crowd took up our chant "Reagan, Begin—Blood Is on Your Hands!" There was little they could do about it however, and the other rally security squad, made up of young blacks, pointedly refused to join in with USAIL's harassment of the SL/SYL contingent.

There was a long list of nauseating speakers at the rally: Stalinists, social democrats, folksinger-activists and "progressive" clergymen, all of whom tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leadership. The speakers' "solutions" to imperialist genocide ranged from getting rid of Reagan (and putting the Democrats in the White House) to advising *Begin* to negotiate with the PLO! One guy actually wanted us to take down one of our signs which read "Down With the Hashemites!" referring to the Jordanian monarchy, whose King Hussein expelled the PLO and murdered more than 10,000 Palestinians during Black September in 1970.

Many Palestinians have been disillusioned with Arafat's diplomatic maneu-



SL/SYL contingent put forward revolutionary program, opposed imperialist "peacekeepers" at November 13 anti-Begin demo in L.A.

verings in the face of Begin's onslaught. They are angry that Arafat allowed the PLO to be disarmed while under the Israelis' and Phalangists' guns and are sickened by his groveling before the imperialists who set up the massacres in Beirut. The SL/SYL contingent sold 78 pieces of literature at the demonstration, mainly to militant Palestinians and other Arab youth.

Both the petty-bourgeois nationalist

PLO leadership and its fake-leftist cheerleaders here see the only solution in pressuring the imperialists to secure rights for the oppressed. Yasir Arafat's "deal" with Reagan disarmed and dispersed the PLO fighters, leaving the Palestinian population defenseless in West Beirut; when the tanks rolled in, Arafat was in the Vatican. And to those supporters of the FDR in El Salvador still screaming for a "negotiated settlement," take a good look at West Beirut. The hideous massacres at Shatila and Sabra are the fruit of Arafat's "negotiated settlement," his "political solution."

Only the SL/SYL has consistently defended the Palestinians, warning from the beginning against the sending of imperialist "peacekeeping" forces to Lebanon. The Beirut massacres proved in blood that the U.S. Marines and their French and Italian cohorts did not come to "safeguard" the Palestinians, but rather to strengthen Israel's hold on Lebanon and establish a strategic beachhead in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. And only the SL/SYL puts forward a solution for the genuine national liberation of the Palestinian people. We stand against the imperialist Pax Americana: Defend the Palestinians Against Zionist Genocide! Israeli and Imperialist Troops Out of Lebanon! Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! Smash Zionism—Break with PLO Nationalism! For an Arab/Hebrew Trotskyist Party! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

Harvard: Epps Backs Off

On December 2, 1982 the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) Club wrested an important victory from the widely-despised dean of students, Archie Epps, by restoring full rights for the Club as a registered student organization at Harvard. In a meeting with the dean, ten students and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League insisted on the right of Harvard students to participate in leftist politics and the right of the SYL to organize on the campus.

Back in October, Dean Epps revoked the charter of the Friends of the SYL Club and in a display of imperial arrogance charged that it was run by "the public," by "outside agitators" and insinuated that any students who were involved must have been duped. But Epps—who rules the campus like a grotesque, if comical, hybrid of "Baby Doc" Duvalier and the Queen Mother—was clearly startled when the victims of his administrative trampling fought back. Harvard students formed the Friends of the Rights of the Friends of the SYL Club—whose sole purpose was to restore status to the Friends of the SYL—whose purpose is to sponsor the SYL!

Despite repeated interruptions and rude interjections by the dean, Harvard freshman and SYLer Tom Crean got right to the point:

"... things have gotten to a point on this campus that students have to form an organization to defend the rights of another organization. We demand that you re-register the Friends of the SYL. We are outraged by the political harassment that you have perpetrated against a student organization that has been at Harvard for ten years. You do not want Harvard students to have the opportunity to find out about how the Klan was stopped in Washington, D.C. this past Saturday by a labor/

black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League."

As Epps continued to blather about the "autonomy clause" other students laughed in his face and noted that these regulations are never used to restrict the activities of Epps' buddies in the Republican Club, who certainly don't determine which reactionary they will run for president, or the dangerous right-wing gang known as the Conservative Club whose activities Epps participates in and supports.

In November of 1981 Epps went to court on behalf of a sinister alliance of Moonies, Conservative Club members, a Kennedy School employee and others who had unsuccessfully attempted to bust up an SYL forum, "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" and then brought phony assault charges against an SYL member (which were dropped). Last March when the SYL organized a spirited demonstration against Marine recruiters and in solidarity with the victims of the bloody Marines from Vietnam to Central America, Epps stood across the street with "his boys" in the Conservative Club, flanked by the Stars and Stripes of Yankee imperialism and obscene placards like "We Love You Marines—We Remember Iwo Jima!" Epps' tattered trump card—"Outside Agitators!"—is simply the time-worn battlecry of racist sheriffs in the South defending Jim Crow against Northern civil rights workers; of company goons against union organizers; of Klan apologists against the Spartacist League for mobilizing over 5,000 blacks and trade unionists to stop the KKK in Washington on November 27.

Epps places the Spartacus Youth League number one on his hit list because at Harvard we are his class

enemy. Harvard is the major bourgeois school in America whose task is to train the future imperialist warmakers and strikebreakers, the future braintrusters of future Bays of Pigs, of Vietnam carpetbombing, of U.S.-sponsored genocide from El Salvador to West Beirut—and if they have their way, Moscow. While Harvard Cold Warriors like Pipes and Kissinger do it the world over, Epps sabre-rattles to keep his own Yard "safe for democracy." For U.S. imperialism and its pet think tank Harvard, "democracy" is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie where communists, blacks, gays and other minorities are expendable non-people with no rights.

The political offensive taken by the SYL and its student supporters forced Epps to back down. He gave us a room for a video showing of the November 27 anti-Klan rally and thousands of special *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the Labor/Black Mobilization have been distributed on the campus. Commenting on the SYL's victory at Harvard, Tom Crean said:

"Democratic rights is not an abstract question. We had to mobilize and fight for the right of socialists to express their views here and fight for the right of students to participate in leftist politics. This doesn't mean that Harvard is now a mecca of free speech and political debate like a university should be—it will likely take a socialist revolution to nationalize Harvard and strike down the race, sex and class barriers at this institution. So we will remain vigilant and continue to fight for our rights and those of any other organization which champions the struggles of the oppressed. For us, that means to continue our work as a socialist youth organization, recruiting in the tradition of John Reed (Class of '10), who despised the inbred brotherhood of ruling-class prigs at Harvard. Join us in the fight for a socialist future!"

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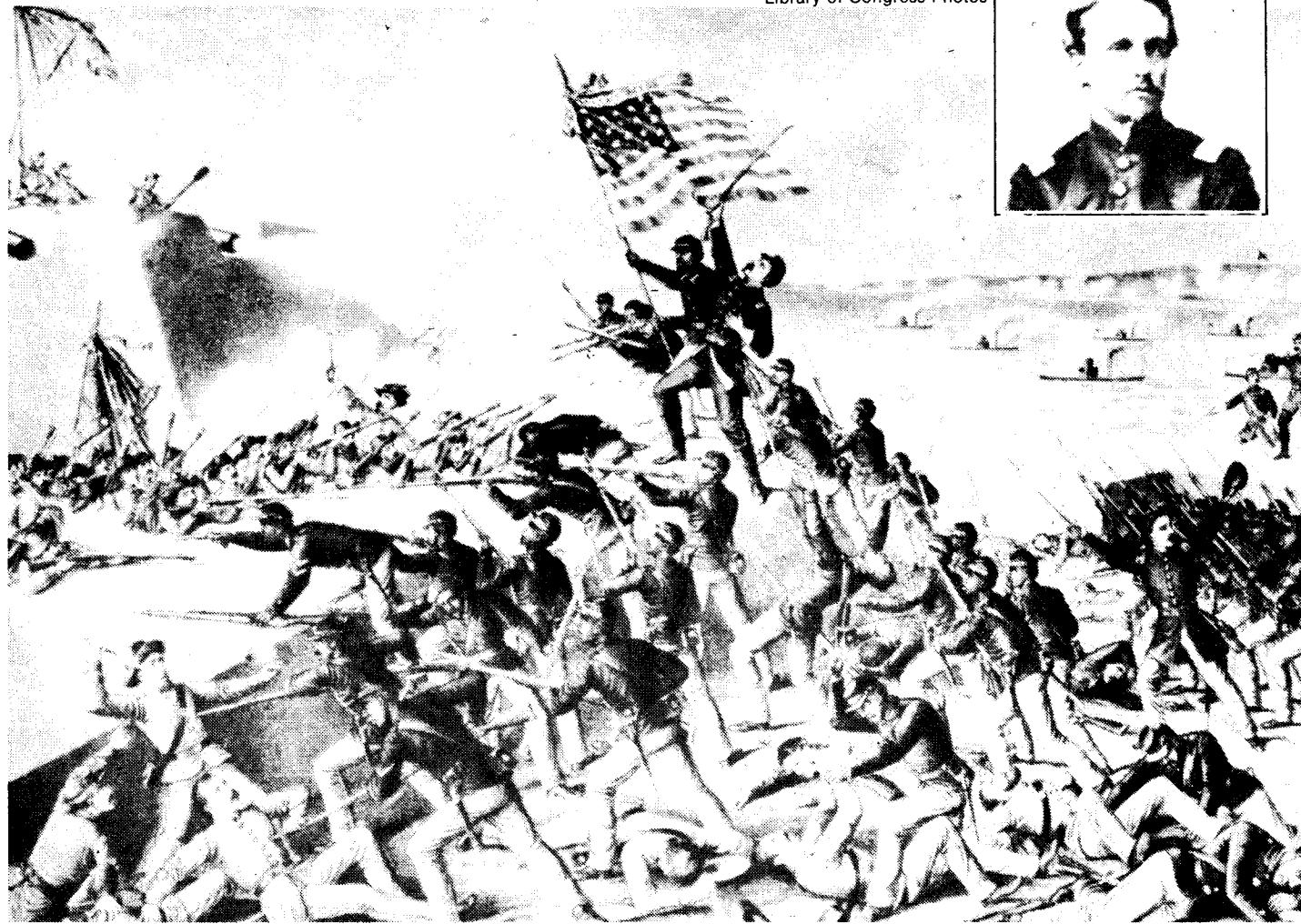
(continued from page 12)

troops: an intended insult—a real honor.

Reconstruction

In April 1866, Marx wrote to Engels, "After the Civil War phase, the United States really is only now entering the revolutionary phase..." The American ruling class denounces the Reconstruction period of 1866-77 as un-American precisely because a real social revolution was posed in that era. The black Reconstruction governments are the only radical-democratic governments that this country has ever experienced. After the military victory of the North there were throughout the South masses of homeless and destitute blacks. There was only one program which would have given blacks the social basis to protect their legal rights: expropriation of the ex-slaveholders and the redistribution of the land to the freedmen. Sherman, on his march to the sea, had in fact given 40 acres each to the masses of freedmen who followed his army so as not to be faced with the problem of feeding them. The program of land to the freedmen was championed in particular by the Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens. But this was defeated in Congress before the passage of the Reconstruction Act. The expropriation of private property cut too close to home for the Northern bourgeoisie: they had fought the Civil War to preserve a continent-wide state and to expand and make profits, not to liberate blacks.

While Radical Republicans were able to gain passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, granting blacks democratic rights, Reconstruction was a highly unstable period in which the ex-slaveholders retained in the plantation tenant-farmer system the economic basis of their power, while being denied political power. The Reconstruction governments in general had large black components and were able at least to establish the first public school systems in the South. But with the disarming of the demobilized black troops and the gradual withdrawal of the Union troops, the only military



Heroic Massachusetts 54th, first black regiment in the Civil War, charging Fort Wagner, July 1863. Frederick Douglass' sons Charles and Lewis served with this unit. Its commander, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw (inset), died in action and was buried with his troops by Confederates as an "insult."



Library of Congress Photos

power behind Reconstruction was the Union Leagues and small black militias. The Ku Klux Klan was formed in 1866 by ex-Confederate officers as the terrorist arm of the ex-slaveholders against the Reconstruction governments. Combining bloody counterrevolutionary terror with economic terror (i.e., expulsion from the land of any sharecropper who voted Republican), the slaveholders were able to regain political ascendancy. The Compromise of 1877, when the Republican Hayes bought his election by agreeing to remove the last Union troops from the South, was the final betrayal.

Blacks and the Early Labor Movement

The abolition of slavery was a precondition for the development of the

labor movement in the United States. The American labor movement grew up following the Civil War. As Marx wrote in a letter to Lafargue in 1866, "The workers of the North have finally understood very well: labor in white skin cannot emancipate itself where the black skin is branded..."

The National Labor Union (NLU) was founded in August 1866, the culmination of agitation for the eight-hour day which began after the Civil War. At that time there were masses of skilled black tradesmen, trained because of the segregation of the black working population enforced under slavery. This was especially true in the South, where at the time of emancipation there were five times as many black mechanics as white. Most of the leaders of the pre-war slave revolts were black skilled tradesmen, as were most of the leading black abolitionists. Many of the black abolitionists threw in their lot with the early trade-union movement, and black workers should have played a powerful, leading role in the development of an independent class-conscious workers movement in the United States.

But the leaders of the early American labor movement failed to identify their interests with the revolutionary potential of Reconstruction. The majority of the NLU refused to support the bourgeois Republican Party and called for the dismantling of the often corrupt machinery of Reconstruction without posing any alternative for the masses of freedmen. The Colored National Labor Union (CNLU) was formed as a split from the NLU in 1869: they saw no alternative for blacks but to support the Republican Reconstruction. The CNLU tried, with some success, to organize across race lines. The NLU often organized Jim Crow unions, and in so doing they paved the way for the eventual triumph of the racist Gompersite AFL bureaucracy, which purged blacks from the ranks of the union movement and the skilled trades.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The defeat of Reconstruction and the purge of blacks from the skilled trades determined the continued oppression of black people in the United States. But the nature of that oppression has changed since 1877. Reconstruction posed the question of social liberation in a largely agrarian framework: 40 acres

and a mule. The mass migration of blacks to the northern industrial centers during the two world wars has made the question of black liberation a real proletarian question. The defeat of Reconstruction left blacks as a largely, though not exclusively, agrarian race-color caste in the United States; the industrialization of a section of the black population integrated blacks into the proletariat, at the bottom. Black oppression today is rooted in the concentration of blacks in the lowest strata of the working class and in the industrial reserve army of labor: the last hired and first fired. In this sense black oppression is the product of capitalism in imperialist decay.

The social liberation of the mass of the black population, posed by the Civil War, awaits its resolution in future revolutionary struggle. But this struggle can only be the struggle of the proletariat, black and white. The third American Revolution will be led by an integrated revolutionary party in which black cadre play a key leadership role, as black leaders played key roles, fighting alongside white revolutionaries, in the struggles of the Civil War and Reconstruction. **FINISH THE CIVIL WAR! FORWARD TO THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**



AP



Racist terror: Above, burned-out Freedom Ride bus attacked by racist mobs. Left, Birmingham church after KKK bomb killed four black girls, 1963

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Young Spartacus

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Finish the Civil War!

Our chant "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War!—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State!" rang out loud, clear and often from the crowd who came to the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on November 27. This slogan captured the mood and imagination of the thousands of black workers who mobilized to stop the bloody KKK terrorists. Black liberation is the key to the American proletarian revolution: "Finish the Civil War" points the path forward to the American socialist revolution in a concrete, historical way. The military defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War posed the possibility of real social liberation for black people, and that liberation was defeated in bloody counterrevolution against Reconstruction. After the betrayals of the federal government, it was the terrorist Ku Klux Klan which crushed the black Reconstruction governments in blood, laying the basis for black oppression in the U.S. as it exists today. The reversal of this historic defeat awaits the future revolutionary struggle of the now-integrated American proletariat.

Washington, D.C.,
November 27:
SL/SYL-initiated
Labor/Black
Mobilization
stopped
KKK from
marching.



Washington Post

The Radical Abolitionists

The American War of Independence was a bourgeois-democratic revolution against the monarchical tyranny of Britain, but it was *not* a social revolution against the existing ruling class. The interests of the wealthy were never even remotely threatened: the essential conservatism of the U.S. "founding fathers" is clear from the legitimization of black chattel slavery in the Constitution with no significant opposition. The radical abolitionists like John Brown, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman are the only figures in American history before the emergence of a class-conscious workers movement whose commitment to democratic principles

posed any threat at all to bourgeois order. We claim their radical-democratic tradition as an antecedent to our own. John Brown, hanged by the Southern "gentleman" Robert E. Lee after Harpers Ferry, is today vilified by the U.S. ruling class as an "extremist." The victorious American socialist revolution will give to the martyrs of Harpers Ferry the honor that is their historic right.

The Civil War

In an 1860 letter to Frederick Engels, Karl Marx wrote that one of the "biggest things now happening in the world [is] the American slave movement, started by the death of [John]

Brown...." Marx followed the course of the Civil War closely from the beginning. He propagandized in Europe against the bourgeois press, which tried to play down the issue of slavery in order to justify support to the South. Despite the protestations of Lincoln and the Northern bourgeoisie, Marx saw that "The present struggle between the South and the North is...nothing but a conflict between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle broke out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can end only with victory of one system or the other."

The American Civil War is, in fact, one of the few clearly revolutionary

wars in history. Revolutionaries of the era flocked to fight in the Union army, and of these, German revolutionary emigrés from the 1848 Revolution formed the largest contingent. Friedrich Anneke, Friedrich Franz Hecker, Marx's close friend Joseph Weydemeyer, were all colonels in the Union army. Marx personally knew Union generals and German revolutionaries August Willich, Louis Blenker, Alexander Schimmelfennig and Carl Schurz. Gustave Paul Cluseret, later a Paris Commune and comrade of Marx, gained experience as a Union general in the Civil War.

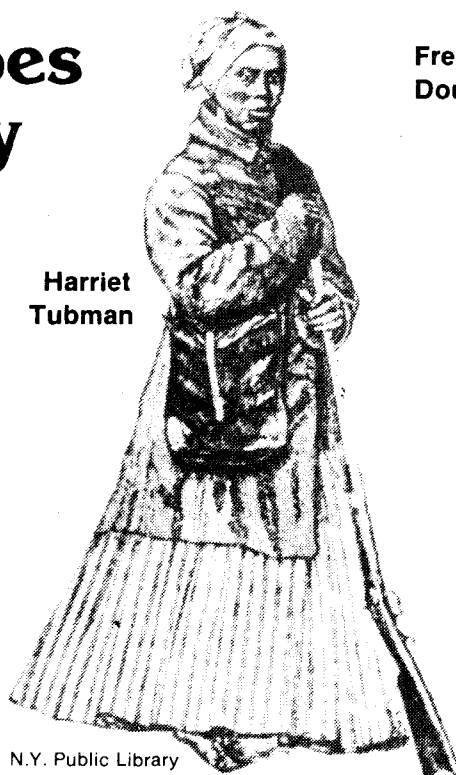
The mass of emigré military experience was sorely needed by the Union army, and played a real role in its victory. But it was the heroic black soldiery that played the decisive role in the Civil War. Lincoln tried every other means but emancipation and the arming of blacks to win the war. But by the end of 1862 it was apparent that the slave base of the South had to be smashed if the war was to be won. Hence the Emancipation Proclamation, and the enlistment of black soldiers.

By the end of the Civil War 200,000 blacks, a larger number in proportion to population than whites, had served in the Union army. This was fully one fifth of the entire army. 70,000 black soldiers died to see slavery smashed. Black soldiers were paid less than whites, not allowed to serve as commanding officers and subject to particularly brutal treatment if captured by the Confederates: 300 were savagely massacred after surrendering at Fort Pillow in 1864. Black regiments were often commanded by white abolitionists. We honor in particular Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, commander of the first black regiment, the Massachusetts 54th, who died with his troops at Fort Wagner in 1863. He was buried by the Confederates with his

continued on page 11

Class-War Heroes Against Slavery

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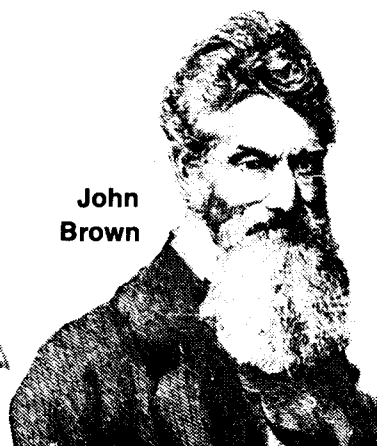
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