

Democrats Lose Dirty Race for Racist Vote

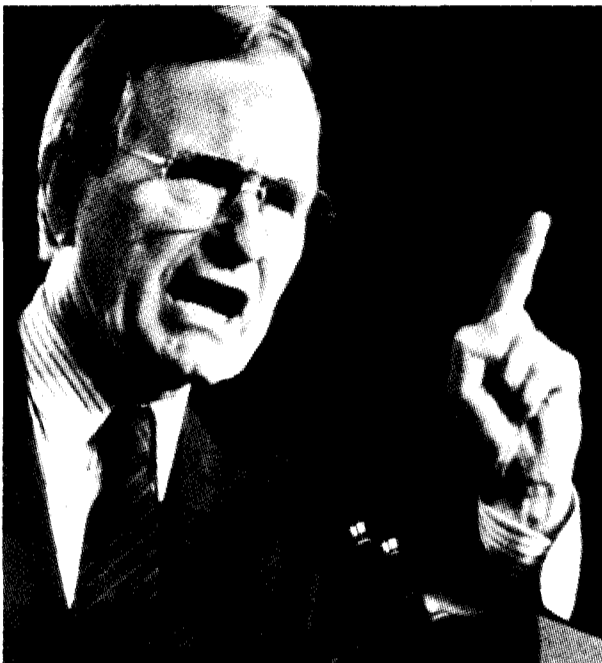
CIA's Man in the White House

Disgusting. Boring. Dirty. Negative. Stage-managed. Empty. These were the terms commonly used to describe the 1988 presidential elections. A majority of Americans voted against both candidates by staying home. It was the lowest voter turnout in 64 years. Blacks, in particular, were disgusted with the campaign since the Democrats as well as Republicans were so obviously catering to the white racist electorate. Washington, D.C., an overwhelmingly black city, had the lowest turnout in the nation, only 37 percent. Younger people, too, saw no future in either Bush or Dukakis: the percentage of voters under 30 was significantly lower than in previous elections.

Most people didn't want either presidential candidate to win this year, and didn't think it mattered who did. Both parties ran on a platform of more government for the working class, laissez-faire for the rich. There were no promises of reform, just strengthened repression, and "workfare not welfare." What's next—indentured servants and debtors' prisons? But it is not enough to see through the capitalist two-party shell game. Working people and oppressed minorities have to oppose the puppet parties which rule racist, capitalist America and build their own party, a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Despite popular disdain for both can-

Bust Bipartisan Reaction with Hard Class Struggle



Downing/Newsweek

Contra-in-chief George Herbert Walker Bush now leads war against workers and blacks on the home front.



WV Photo

didates, George Herbert Walker Bush is to be president of the United States, commander in chief of its armed forces with his finger on the nuclear button. Bush has been generally viewed as a

pampered Ivy League yes man for Reagan...a wimp. In reality, he was the CIA's man in the White House, top boss of the mass-murdering secret police of U.S. imperialism, who was

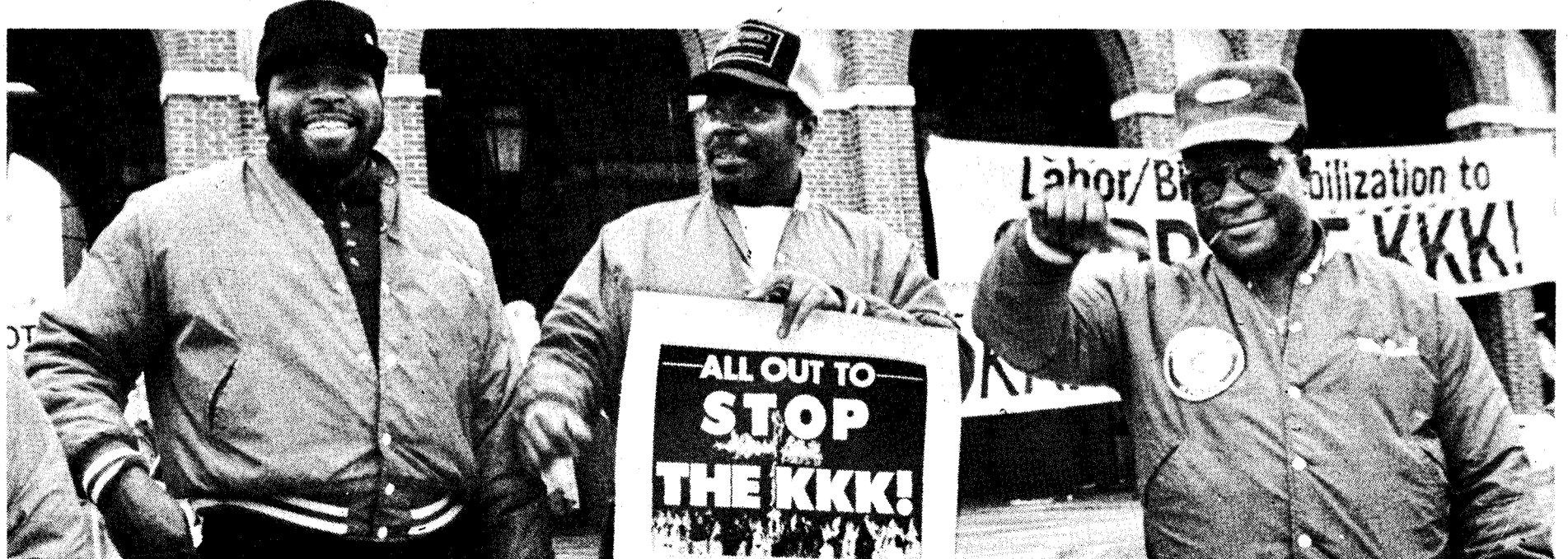
briefed every day by "the Company." His CIA "assets," which included Panama dictator Manuel Noriega, are the biggest drug runners in the world.

continued on page 13

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Philadelphia, November 5

Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!



WV Photo

SEE PAGES 5-12

Shielding Anti-Semitic Terrorists

ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith is a Jewish organization which was founded in 1913 to oppose anti-Semitism. The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are diehard anti-Semitic terrorists. Yet, when thousands of trade unionists, leftists, blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Catholics—all the intended victims of the fascists—joined forces to make sure the KKK/Nazis would not be allowed to terrorize the people of Philadelphia, the ADL wanted no part of it and tried to destroy it. In fact, the "Anti"-Defamation League spearheaded the bourgeoisie's defaming of those who came out to keep Philly safe from fascist terror.

The ADL orchestrated a campaign of blitzing the Philadelphia media to violence-bait the anti-Klan mobilization. On November 5, regional ADL director Barry Morrison went on TV to say that "The Klan has to be fought, yes, but it has to be fought in legitimate ways." A week earlier he told Philadelphians "to pay no attention" and let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do." What the fascists do is lynch, murder, maim and terrorize. But it was the anti-fascists whom Morrison accused of violence: "In 1982 in Washington where

there was a similar mobilization and some 5,000 people assembled to stop the Klan, they did stop the Klan but they also were responsible for bringing about a great amount of violence and damage."

This deadly slander is lifted straight from the sinister ultrarightist Moonie cult's *Washington Times*, which was forced to retract it in print when confronted with a libel suit by the Spartacist League. The head of the FBI, William Webster, admitted to a Senate committee that the violence charges against the SL were groundless. But Morrison grotesquely equates the genocidal fascist killers with their opponents, claiming that the class-struggle Partisan Defense Committee which initiated the Philadelphia anti-Klan mobilization is "as much a threat to our democratic fabric as the Klan" (*Jewish Exponent*, 28 October).

This is shameful, positively obscene. Six million Jews were murdered in Hitler's gas chambers, and here an organization claiming to speak on behalf of the Jewish people seeks to stop opponents of today's Hitlerites! The ADL should rightly be called a *Defamation League*. For years, the ADL/B'nai

B'rith and other Zionist organizations have sought to ingratiate themselves with the centrally white Christian ruling class in this country, placing themselves in the service of racist American reaction in order to further the interests of Israeli reaction.

If in America the Zionists turn a blind eye to the threat and reality of racist terror, in Israel they are the perpetrators. The Zionist overlords of the Occupied Territories emulate the Nazis in their racist barbarity toward the Arab Palestinian people and adopt the Nazi racist creed of *Lebensraum* in their expansionist drive of conquest. In the past year, as the Palestinians exploded in anger and revolt, the Israelis have gunned down hundreds of unarmed people, many of them women and children, and imprisoned and tortured thousands more.

Having strongly come down against blacks, partly through class instinct and partly through confusing ghetto anger with the Palestinian "Intifada," the Zionist organizations see integrated, militant labor action as a big threat to their aspirations to simultaneously propagandize for and fund the Israeli state while acting as privileged bloodhounds for the American ruling class. Hypocritically holding up the memory of the Holocaust as their credentials to speak for the Jewish people, they act as front men for the worst enemies of Jews and all minorities.

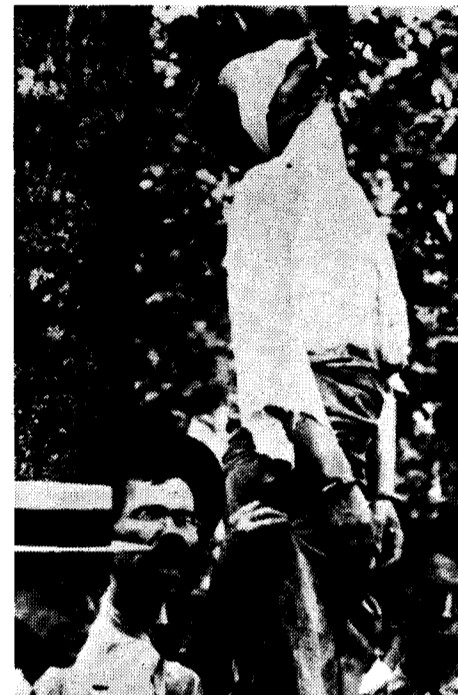
In trying to knife militant anti-fascist struggle now—when the fascist presence in the urban centers is small and can be crushed in the egg—the Zionist ADL is serving the purposes of those who would unleash another Holocaust. The reason they choose to target the Spartacist League with their vile defamation is because, unlike practically all the left, with their impressionistic tailing after nationalism, we are the living refutation of their self-serving lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. We defend the Palestinian people against the terror of the Israeli state, which is in the process of working up to trying genocide, and we oppose the Arab nationalist calls to "drive the Jews into the sea." The Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution offers a future to the Jewish peo-

ple; Zionism has never offered anything but a deathtrap.

Remember Leo Frank, Victim of KKK Terror

It is ironic that the ADL which today shields the KKK was founded in 1913 in direct response to the revival of Klan terror, signaled by the frame-up and subsequent lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman in Georgia falsely accused of the rape/murder of a young white girl. The ADL's parent organization, B'nai B'rith, began in 1843 as a fraternal order for Jews of German origin. Many of its early members were "Red '48ers," radical democrats who fled the repression following the defeat of the German Revolution of 1848 and fought valiantly on the side of the Union in the war against slavery.

But by the turn of the century, people like *New York Times* publisher Adolph Ochs, who served on the ADL's first



Georgia Department of Archives and History
Anti-Semitic terror which led to birth of the ADL: lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank by KKK in Georgia, 1915.

executive committee, had made it under American capitalism. They despised the millions of Jewish immigrants from East Europe (contemptuously referred to as *Ostjuden*) for their poverty, their plebeian origins and, above all, for the radical socialist and internationalist outlook they brought with them. And in the face of Hitler's rise to power and the genocidal threat posed to European Jewry, the role of B'nai B'rith was nothing short of despicable.

In 1933, a spokesman for B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, Max Kohler, testified before a Congressional committee against the call for opening the borders to refugees from Nazi terror. And following the Hitlerites' Kristallnacht pogrom, B'nai B'rith continued on page 14



Fight Fascism and Anti-Semitism!

As the shock of Hitler's rise to power in 1933 spread throughout the world, some American Jewish organizations proposed simply ignoring the Nazis, others called for a stillborn and impotent imperialist trade boycott of Germany. Leon Trotsky called instead on Jewish workers to help mobilize the American working class in fighting the fascist threat.



LENIN

How, you ask, can the American workers help the struggle of the German proletariat against fascism? The greatest help can and should be to fight fascism in America itself. Germans constitute a significant part of the U.S. population. Hitler would like to convert them into a yeast for American fascism. The working masses of America should follow this process with the greatest attention. Every American worker should say to himself: We won't let the fascists raise their heads! And saying it is not enough—it has to be acted on. Every seat of fascist infection should be surrounded by a ring of defensive combat organizations. Every attempt by the fascists to take over the streets, destroy a newspaper, or break up a meeting should be mercilessly nipped in the bud.

National Socialism is inseparably linked to anti-Semitism and its pogroms. For the Jewish part of the population in the United States the question of the growth of fascism in America is thus of vital importance. To rely on the American "constitution" as a guarantee in itself against fascism would be pure childishness. The example of Italy, and especially Germany, should certainly teach something to mature people! Only a mass struggle against fascism is capable of checking its growth. In this sense the Jewish working population of America can hope for an effective defense only from a mighty growth of the workers' movement in the United States.

—Leon Trotsky, "Answers to Questions From New York" (November 1933)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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No. 465

18 November 1988

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Young Spartacus

Students Build Anti-Klan Mobilization

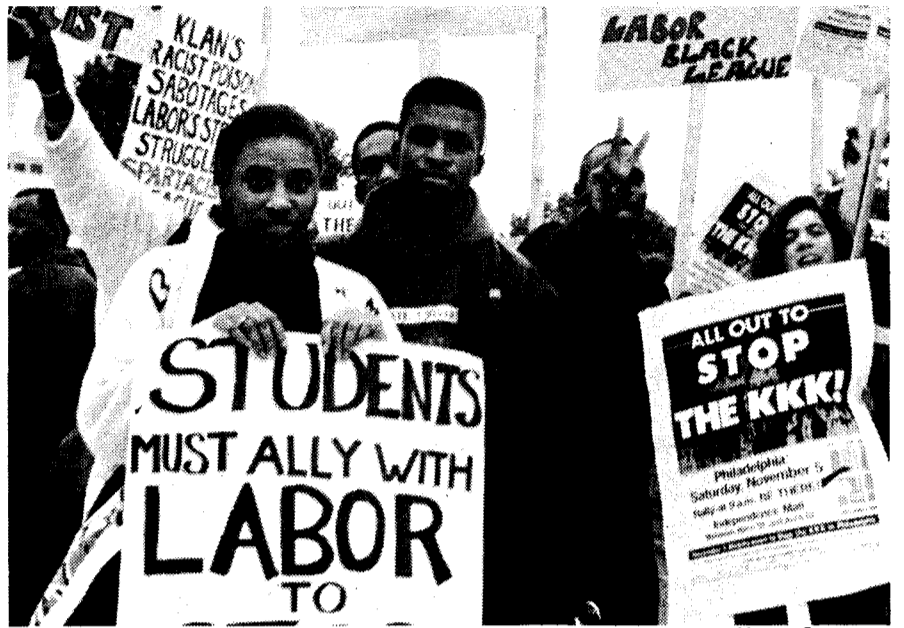
Coast to Coast

The Partisan Defense Committee's call "All Out to Stop the KKK!" in Philadelphia on November 5 struck a real chord with students on campuses from coast to coast. A lot of students are fed up with the racist crap that's surfaced on the nation's colleges and universities in the last few years. Swastikas carved on the doors of minority students' dorms in the dead of night. Black students terrorized and beaten. Reaganite racists taking sledgehammers to anti-apartheid shanties. Stickers reading "Stop AIDS: Castrate Gays." Hundreds of students have mobilized in protests on their campuses against the bigoted punks and racist ignoramuses. But the PDC's call to stop the Klan was the first real opportunity for a nation-

wide student protest against racist terror.

Repulsive racist incidents on America's campuses are incitements to deadly violence against minority students, gays and others. They won't be stopped by appeals to the administration or "awareness" sessions. On November 5 students were mobilized behind organized labor—the power that can eliminate the injustice, racism and violence endemic to this decaying capitalist society. As a fact sheet prepared by the New York Spartacus Youth Club, titled "KKK: A Century of Racist Terror," pointed out: "A vital part of education is action.... On November 5, an aroused labor movement will feel its own strength mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed in defense against the KKK/Nazi/skinhead spearhead of racist reaction. Getting that taste of labor's real social power can profoundly challenge ideas of

continued on page 4



United behind power of labor, students helped stop the KKK in Philadelphia, November 5.

Fraternity Stages Racist "Slave Auction"

Madison: Drive Out Racist Frat Rats!

It's Time to Finish the Civil War!

Black students are under attack at the University of Wisconsin, and determined action by anti-racist students and the integrated labor movement is urgently needed to drive out frat-rat and Klan-style racists who are on the offensive in this "liberal" mecca. As a first step the Spartacus Youth Club is calling on all student groups, community and labor organizations, particularly the thousands-strong AFSCME locals in Madison, to join us on Friday, November 18 at 12:00 noon at Memorial Union for a united-front demonstration around the call to "Stop the Racist Attacks!"

Outrage has swept the campus in the wake of a racist "slave auction" in blackface and "Afro wigs" staged on October 20 by the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity. The frat rats also staged a degrading "impersonation" of the Jackson Five and a mock beating of black talk-show host Oprah Winfrey. That night, acting out racist stereotypes, members of the frat also harassed women in the residence hall where the "slave auction" was held. Yet on November 14 the student government announced it would take no action against the ZBT racists!

These vile racist provocations are only the latest in a series perpetrated by UW-Madison frats—last April members of the Acacia fraternity invaded and disrupted African studies classes,



University of Wisconsin students protest racist fraternity "slave auction," November 7.

and the Fiji frat held a "Fiji Islands Party" in blackface which featured a repulsive racist caricature. Another frat held a racist party ridiculing Martin Luther King. Every decent person in Madison has to be revolted by this filth, and it keeps coming back. We say: Drive the racist frat rats off campus!

After the "slave auction" by ZBT, a Jewish fraternity, posters for the November 5 anti-KKK mobilization in Philadelphia were defaced with Nazi swastikas and the slogan "Death to Marxists." A grotesque fascist leaflet

appeared on campus bulletin boards featuring a picture of an angry black man on one side and a monkey on the other, captioned "What's the difference?" Posters for "ex"-Klansman David Duke's "presidential campaign" also appeared, and a Nazi skinhead organizer active in Milwaukee is now reportedly organizing in Madison as well. The SYC calls on students to unite with labor to smash these fascist vermin!

Madison students have mobilized in angry protest against these latest racist attacks. On October 24 eight UW stu-

dents held a protest outside the ZBT frat house, where one freshman chained himself to a bench. The Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout with an open microphone on November 2, and joined a 200-strong demonstration on November 7 called by a coalition of campus groups. While the thrust of the demonstration was an appeal to Chancellor Donna Shalala to oppose racism, our call for "No reliance on the racist administration!" was enthusiastically supported by many of the protesters. Following a sit-in outside Shalala's office the next day, students dispersed to rip down the David Duke-KKK posters and cover racist graffiti with paint.

At the November 7 protest some campus politicians as well as members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) attempted to censor discussion of "politics" and "socialism." The ISO insisted that "we're willing to not talk about socialism here because it's not the issue." The claim that racism is an individual moral question and that the struggle against it is "not political" is in fact the line of the administration, which is supporting a diversionary "demonstration" scheduled for November 17 by a student-government-backed group calling itself "Majority Students Against Racism." The ISO's whining anti-communist justification for political censorship is merely a variant of the student government's complaint that the anti-racist protests have been "scaring white people" (*Badger Herald*, 11 November).

We say that the struggle for black equality means a fight for socialist revolution—the promise of black liberation was betrayed by the Northern bourgeoisie after the Civil War and today can only be realized through workers revolution which rips the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of its owners and eliminates the subjugation of black people which is inherent in American capitalism. At the same time we stand ready to unite with all opponents of racism, whatever their particular political viewpoint, to take action against the racists and fascists who are a deadly threat to black people and all minorities in Madison today. Demonstrate November 18! Stop the racist attacks! ■

Students Build...

(continued from page 3)

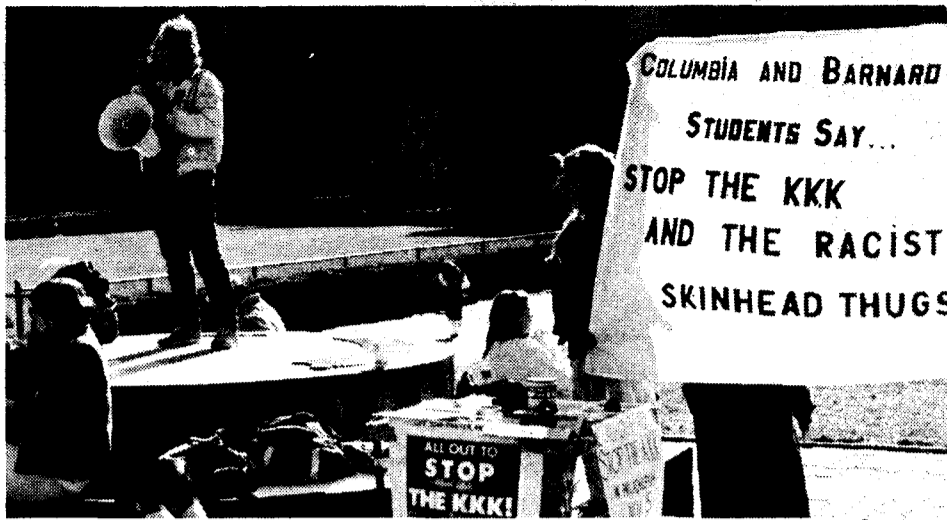
what is 'possible' and what is necessary to win liberation."

At Temple University in Philadelphia members of the African American Student Union stood with clenched fists raised when they endorsed the November 5 Mobilization. Beaver College in Pennsylvania was covered with posters for the rally by students who put them up in six hours, overnight. When SYC members hit the dorms at Columbia University to organize buses and build for the rally one student came running into the hallway with her checkbook in hand shouting, "They're here! The people who want to stop the Klan are here!" At Hunter College in New York the student government endorsed the rally call and the campus radio on their own initiative began announcing the demonstration hourly. At Hunter and at City College in New York, Spartacus Youth Club members did radio interviews to build for the demonstration and broadcast a stirring message from Mumia Abu-Jamal, an ex-Black Panther and MOVE supporter who voiced his support for the Mobilization from his cell on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison.

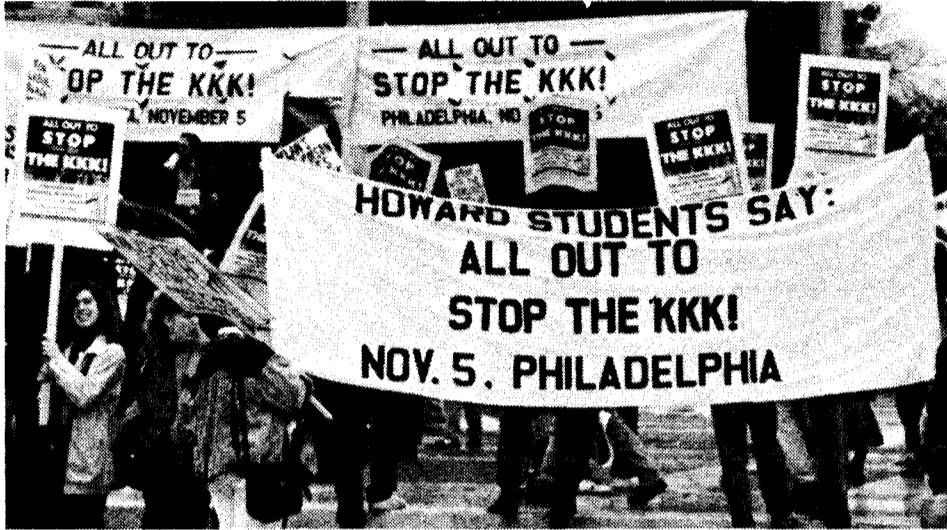
More than 2,000 leaflets were distributed at Howard University's homecoming game and another 4,000 at the Norfolk State homecoming. A visiting professor at Oberlin College who had witnessed terror attacks by skinheads in Germany took leaflets to make announcements for the rally in his classes. The Mobilization phone lines were buzzing with calls from campuses—students at Vassar who were organizing a caravan of cars to Philly; the "Paul Robeson" section of a dorm at Rutgers in New Jersey was coming down in a van; gay and lesbian students at Hunter bought a block of bus tickets for their club members.

On the West Coast over 250 students from San Francisco State and UC Berkeley signed a pledge reading, "We the undersigned students stand in solidarity with the working people, unionists, minorities and youth who are right now working to stop the KKK lynchers and their skinhead brethren from staging their deadly provocation at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia on November 5th. As a heartfelt measure of our support we have each donated what we could to this important effort." On October 26, 75 SF State students came out to a Spartacus Youth Club soapbox rally to build support for the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. The following day at Berkeley, campus members of the California Nurses Association protesting the miserable wages paid by the University Health Center cheered SYC soapboxers who were building for the Philly demo and calling for solidarity with the nurses.

From the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where a despicable fraternity "slave auction" provoked an outpouring of student protest (see page 3), a busload of 41 students made the 19-hour



Young Spartacus
Spartacus Youth Club militants counter Columbia Spectator's lies, build support for Philly anti-Klan rally.



Young Spartacus
Fed up with racist attacks, campus contingents came to Philly from all over East Coast and Midwest.

trip to Philly to make sure the Klan wouldn't ride. Haverford, Columbia and Howard students were there with banners. Students came out from Bryn Mawr, Vassar and Cornell. Rob Robinson, head of the Brooklyn NAACP youth, got on board a Hunter College bus and spoke at the rally. Young workers from the powerful New York City Transit Workers Union, Local 100 proudly held a banner calling "For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Terror!"

The November 5 Mobilization was also built in struggle against those who worked actively to keep students away. Three days before the rally the *Columbia Spectator* ran a front-page article announcing that the Columbia College Student Council had revoked its endorsement of the November 5 Mobilization and claiming that the rally had been canceled. The previous Friday, the *Spectator* had run an article labeling the anti-Klan demonstration a "KKK Protest." Some "mistakes"! We suspect there was more at work here than simply the idiocy of the progeny of an inbred ruling class. Under capitalism, the universities are supposed to be the training ground for the new technocrats, administrators and political managers of this decrepit system of poverty, immiseration, racism and war—not for rebellion against it.

Tied by the purse strings of administration funding to the powers that be in this society, student governments and newspapers are supposed to uphold the racist status quo. Yet in New York

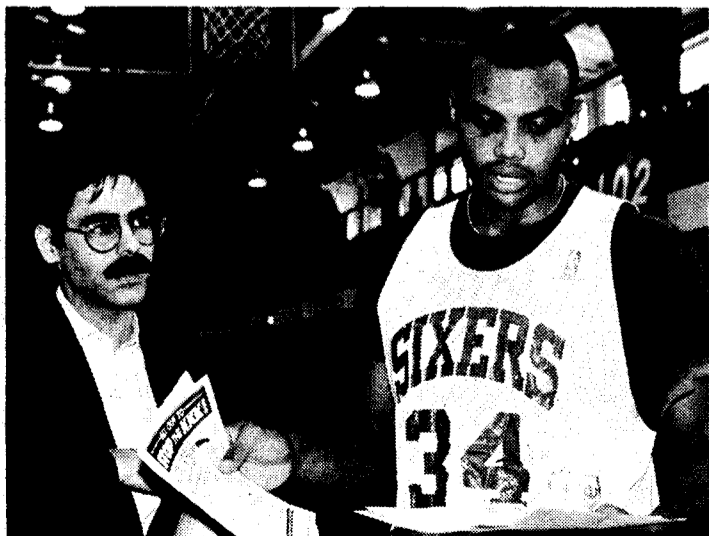
the Barnard, City College and Hunter College student governments instead helped to build the anti-Klan mobilization. At Columbia too the student council initially went "against the rules" by taking a stand against fascist violence. The main spokesman for getting the Columbia council to revoke its endorsement was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, student council chair Jared Goldstein, who argued: "We were taking a side politically. That is not in the bounds of the council" (*Spectator*, 2 November). What kind of "socialists" refuse to take a side against the most violent, racist expression of this degenerate system? As Trotsky once commented, social democrats are the

junior stockholders in imperialism.

In response to the "*Spectator*" article the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club demanded a front-page correction by the would-be cub reporters who hadn't even bothered to check the facts with rally organizers before going to press. The arrogant editors refused, in the spirit of fatcat Columbia trustee and *New York Times* honcho Arthur "Punch" Sulzberger whose maxim is "All the news the ruling class sees fit to print." The *Spectator* proved more responsive to action than moral suasion. Many Columbia and Barnard student supporters of the November 5 Mobilization phoned the paper. Overnight the campus was leafletted and plastered with posters reading "The *Spectator* Lies! The Rally Is On for November 5!" A lively soapbox rally was held on campus the next day. On November 4, the *Spectator* finally ran an article which got the facts straight: "Anti-KKK protesters garner support for tomorrow's rally." Two buses left the campus gates the next day at 6 a.m.

The PDC-initiated mobilization in Philadelphia on November 5 intersected a real polarization on campuses and among youth who recoil in fear and loathing against the culture of nihilism that has produced the wantonly vicious, insanely cruel and violent racist skinheads. A group calling themselves "Skinheads Against Racism" came out to the November 5 rally carrying an American flag and distributing a leaflet asking people not to tar them as fascists. Why then identify themselves in the style and regalia that is identified with the most brutal racist violence in this country? What kind of anti-fascists would show up at an anti-Nazi rally in the '30s in brown shirts and jackboots? As one union marshal suggested, these skins should consider tattooing "anti-racist" on their shaved heads—if they want to avoid "confusion" with their fascist look-alikes.

At the party after the rally where at every table unionists and students, blacks and whites, talked politics and celebrated their victory, the SYC speaker (see page 10) called on students to dedicate their skills, their energy, their education to a lifetime of partisanship with the working people in the struggle for the only future—socialist revolution. ■



Charles Barkley, star forward of Philadelphia '76ers, endorses call: "All Out to Stop the KKK!"

Spartacist 4 Educationals

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Sun. 10 a.m.

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"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"

Video of the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated November 5 Mobilization "All Out to Stop the KKK!"

Registration fee is \$5. For more information, call the SL/SYC local nearest you.

Philadelphia, November 5

Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!



As the Malcolm X contingent pulled up at Philadelphia's Independence Mall after a 19-hour bus ride from Madison, Wisconsin, they formed up and marched in together with the two Chicago busloads, chanting, "Stop the Klan, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have got the power!" On this rain-soaked day, they joined with over 1,000 determined anti-Klan protesters on the site where the KKK and Nazi skinheads had said they would stage their "white pride" provocation. On November 5 there were no fascist killers in Judge Lewis Quadrangle—only a victorious celebration of black, white, Hispanic working people and students who were there to ensure the Klan won't ride in Philly.

Defending the rally against fascist intrusion was a disciplined and effective workers defense guard of union members, many in union caps and jackets, from the Philadelphia area and up and down the Eastern seaboard. This was a taste of the labor and black power that had forced the Klan and Nazi skinheads to back down. When the KKK lynchers and skinhead thugs threatened to strut into the heart of Philadelphia, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call for a mass mobilization under the banner, "All Out to Stop the Klan!" In



Over one thousand trade unionists, black activists, students and leftists united to make sure Klan didn't ride in Philly.

response, hundreds of people from Philly joined 13 busloads from the East Coast and Midwest to be there at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Many came in contingents named for heroes of the struggle against slavery: the Nat Turner Brigade from Norfolk, Frederick Douglass (Baltimore/Washington), John Brown (Cleveland), Harriet Tubman (Toronto/Cornell), General William Tecumseh Sherman (New York) and the Massachusetts 54th from Boston. Other contingents hon-

ored slain Chicago Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; Nicaraguan Sandinista Nora Astorga; Jewish Soviet general David Dragunsky, a World War II hero; and Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper, head of the "Red Orchestra" network which operated inside Nazi-occupied Europe. The *November 5 Mobilization Notes* reported that: "Upon learning the driver of their bus belonged to the same union local as Ray Phillips, the Greyhound striker murdered by a scab driver five years ago, Chicago trade unionists

named their bus the Ray Phillips Brigade."

Philadelphia was the city where the Reagan White House and its black overseers engraved their racist signature in the blood of black people. On 13 May 1985 the government dropped a bomb on the MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people, including five children, turning a black neighborhood to ashes. On 5 November 1988, this was the city where the KKK was stopped. At the rally, the speakers platform became a tribune for those who have resisted state terror to speak of their pain, their anger and determination. Nelson Johnson, survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, Beverly Africa on behalf of MOVE, leaders of Philadelphia unions, black and gay organizations, socialist groups including the Spartacist League—these were among those who reaffirmed the common goal of this united front to stop the Klan, and presented their own particular points of view.

This victory against the fascists came on the eve of American capitalism's election "contest" to pick which millionaire would head up the ruling-class war on the working people, the poor and minorities. After a decade of Carter/Reagan reaction, and a

continued on page 6

Labor/Black Power...

(continued from page 5)

campaign between Republican plutocrats and the Democrats' technocrat/Dixiecrat ticket, many saw in the November 5 Mobilization a way to fight back. Altogether, over 100 union locals and officials, as well as numerous civil rights and gay organizations, student groups, endorsed and contributed their efforts. The appeals from labor (see page 9) are a testimony to the deep chord struck by the mobilization.

There was a real outpouring of community and labor volunteers in Philly. A quarter million leaflets were passed out on the streets, thousands of posters snapped up. Literature depots were set up at a union hall and local universities. Sound trucks cruised the streets. On campuses across the country, where minorities have been under siege, the November 5 Mobilization became an opportunity for the first nationwide protest against racist attacks. While the newspapers and TV tried to black out the anti-Klan protest, following the party line of the Main Line bourgeoisie, radio spots announcing the demonstration were played on black radio, Hispanic radio, sports radio, news radio, campus radio.

The anti-Klan protesters came out on a cold, rainy Saturday morning to make a defiant statement. A week earlier, in a "pact" with the KKK, federal authorities praised the Klan for its "straightforward" negotiations and "orderly" intentions as the fascists backed down in the face of the mounting mobilization. Two-bit KKK "grand dragon" John Weiss whined on Tom Metzger's "WAR" ("White Aryan Resistance") phone tape: "We had to stop and postpone it because of the opposition who are socialists who came out with literature covering from New York to God knows where."

Weiss and Metzger had threatened to bring hundreds of white supremacists into Philly. The November 5 Mobilization stopped a major incursion of the KKK/skinheads into a multiracial Northern city. In the days before the demonstration, there were vicious reminders of the fascist threat. In New York a gang of skinheads assaulted a New Jersey family who objected to their Hitlerite epithets. Temple Shalom in Philadelphia was defaced with swastikas. Skinhead Jon Metzger was invited to spew his filth on the NBC Geraldo Rivera show. Just how fascists "debate" was shown when the skinhead thugs initiated a brawl on national TV, assaulting black reactionary Roy Innis and breaking Rivera's nose. *As we go to press, in Portland, Oregon on November 13 an Ethiopian man, Mulugeta Seraw, was beaten to death with baseball bats by a gang of white supremacist skinheads.*

A handful of skinheads from Baltimore appeared at the rally, not know-

A Victory Against the Klan!

Partisan Defense Committee Press Release

11 p.m., October 26

In the face of the massive outpouring of opposition to the terroristic KKK from groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of union members, civil rights activists, community groups, students and others, the Klan's threat to invade the city of Philadelphia November 5 has reportedly been "put on hold."

This is a victory against the Klan. The All Out to Stop the KKK mobilization will be at Independence Mall at 9 a.m., November 5 with a mass labor-centered

demonstration of thousands to honor the working people who built this country, and to guarantee that the Klan does not ride in Philly.

An agreement between the National Park Service and the Ku Klux Klan is no assurance that the decent people of Philadelphia are safe from the Klan's racist terror. The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder. Even when they appear in small numbers they feed upon and into every kind of racial fear—they are poison to

any useful integrated action, like winning strikes.

We vehemently protest the accusation that violence would be engendered by our demonstration, which will be militant, orderly and democratic. We repeat: the KKK and skinheads are killers. If the labor movement in Germany had stopped the Nazis when they were small, there never would have been the Holocaust. Violence-baiting and red-baiting those who want to stop the Klan only serves to encourage violent attacks by the Klan on the people of Philadelphia. We are determined that the horror perpetrated by Nazi Germany must not happen here.

—Statement of the Partisan Defense Committee, initiator of the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

ing that Weiss had turned tail and canceled out. They sported Confederate flags and Nazi swastikas on their black jackets and gave stiff-arm "Heil Hitler" salutes for the TV cameras. The cops tried to escort five Nazis into the rally in an attempt to provoke trouble. But they were met by black, white and Hispanic workers defense guards lining Market Street in solid formation who quickly closed ranks and repelled the skinhead scum. The squad of trade-union marshals was one of the most impressive parts of the anti-Klan demonstration. They came from AFSCME District Council 33 and a hefty contingent from the Laborers' union in Philly, from black shipyard workers in the Virginia Tidewater area, transit workers from New York and Chicago, phone workers from NYC, and dozens of other unionists who came to insure a safe, orderly and democratic demonstration.

"Partisan on the Side of the Working Class"

The Partisan Defense Committee, which issued the call for the mass labor-centered mobilization to stop the KKK, is a class-struggle non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Charles Brover, co-chairman of the PDC, told demonstrators that the PDC is based on the heritage of the International Labor Defense, headed by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism: "We're partisan on the side of the working class," he said:

"The first lesson of common struggle is that an injury to one is an injury to all. That means we are non-sectarian. We defend cases irrespective of people's political views. That means we defend people with whom we disagree, sometimes people who wouldn't defend us if the tables were turned. We rely on the independent power of the working class and not at all on the courts."

The November 5 Mobilization was a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist strategy for combatting fascism with mass united-front action. This revolutionary strategy contrasts sharply with the reformists and nationalists who ended up as irrelevant sideshows to the November 5 Mobilization. The "African People's Socialist Party" postured

been given was for "blacks only," she crumpled it up and threw it back. Across the street from the quad, the All Peoples Congress front group of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a picket line of a couple hundred, then marched to City Hall. The APC never intended to mobilize the social power of labor and were too sectarian to join



WV Photo

Mayor Goode's mounted cossacks: hundreds of city, state and federal cops were deployed at November 5 Stop the Klan protest.

with stopping the Klan—"by any means necessary," but their only real activity was to petition "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to protect black Philadelphia!

In a grotesque display of the twisted "logic" of black nationalism, the APSP leaflet demanded blacks not rally with the "Ku Klux Communists." When a black woman worker getting off the Boston bus was told the leaflet she had

those who did. They were also cut off from their usual Democratic Party allies, who were too busy violence-baiting the November 5 Mobilization.

Battle of Class Forces

From the moment the Partisan Defense Committee issued the call "All Out to Stop the KKK," it touched off a battle of opposing class forces in Philadelphia. Mayor Goode, backed up by anti-communist outfits like the misnamed "Fellowship Commission" and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, immediately went on the warpath, slandering our demonstration as prone to "violence" in order to keep people away. There's something obscene about the black mayor, who ordered the bomb dropped on MOVE, slandering the people who organize to stop racist terror as a "danger." There's something shameful about the ADL, which purports to defend Jewish people, slandering those who would prevent another Holocaust as "violent."

Within the labor movement, the union bureaucrats who have rolled over in front of Reagan reaction hardlined it against the November 5 Mobilization. In the face of strong support for the demonstration from key city unions, the Central Labor Council pressured a few endorsers to withdraw as speakers. "Progressive" union tops like Trans-



WV Photo

Cops protect Nazi skinheads at November 5 rally. National Park Service's Hobart Cawood (right) praised KKK leader John Weiss in joint press conference, October 27.



Smith/Daily News



WV Photo

Solid line of union marshals from Philadelphia and East Coast defend November 5 rally from skinhead provocations.

port Workers local head Roger Tauss and Hospital Workers chief Henry Nicholas refused to endorse, just as they stood silent when Goode bombed MOVE. Instead, they were lining up their union members as voting cattle for Dukakis. The Democrats campaigned desperately in Philly in the final week—in one of their rare joint appearances, Jesse Jackson joined Dukakis and Wilson Goode at a rally in Germantown.

In the interests of the Philly establishment, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* tried to do in the anti-Klan demonstration, first by blacking it out, and then toying with a little yellow journalism rebaiting smear. *Inquirer* staff writer Murray Dubin probed for a “background” job on the Mobilization: instead of listening to the speakers he crawled into the medical tent to ask the doctors if they were out-of-towners! A unionist in Michigan told the PDC that Dubin had called him up, fishing for whether his endorsement was legit, implying he was “duped” by the PDC. The unionist strongly stood by the PDC and its meticulous practices.

The city's campaign of lies and intimidation continued right through the demonstration. On the eve of the rally, Park Service police split the rally site with steel barricades, hoping to fence in the anti-Klan protesters. An 11 p.m. protest by the PDC got them taken down. One New Jersey black family who drove over an hour to attend the demonstration was blocked from entering Independence Mall by Philly cops who told them, “It's not a rally against the Klan, it's a rally against the police.” The cops are used to having free rein and were enraged at the integrated labor power protecting the rally.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Driven inside by the rain after two and a half hours, the rally continued at the Blue Horizon Auditorium in North Philly, where over 600 packed the hall.

For many the party was the first integrated social event they had ever attended. White college students from Madison celebrated with black shipyard workers and longshoremen from the South. The mobilization was a living refutation of the old “New Left” program of “sectoralism,” in which each oppressed group is supposed to struggle separately for its own liberation. At the close, when the Nat Turner Brigade filed out to the bus for the long trip back home, the auditorium rang with applause and cheers for the black worker militants. As each of the other contingents filed out, the hall was filled with thundering chants of “We Stopped the Klan!”

Our victory came in a reactionary social and political climate where abortion clinic bombers are followed by the “god squads” of the Moral Majority terrorizing women, where racist attacks mount on the campuses and on the streets of white enclaves, where AIDS victims are witchhunted, and homeless people left abandoned on the streets of this vastly rich country. The November 5 Mobilization showed that the working people of America are ready to fight to defend the interests of their class, if given the chance. The key is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist party with the program and determination to lead the coming class battles and champion the defense of all the oppressed.

The Greensboro Massacre by a KKK/Nazi death squad in November 1979 gave the go-ahead to racist terrorists in America. But from Detroit to San Francisco to Chicago and Washington, D.C., labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League successfully interdicted the Klan in the Northern cities of America in the first years of Reagan reaction. The SL, although a relatively small communist organization, provided the leadership, and our revolutionary program expressed the felt desire of thousands who came out to *stop the Klan*. In each case, the mass mobilizations were built *against* the Democratic Party mayors and the so-called leftists who tailed after them. In each case, it was *black and red* together, getting a taste of the social power that the struggle for socialist revolution will unleash.

November 5 was a signal defeat for the Klan and skinheads, and a victory for the working people and minorities across America. The racist terrorists must be stopped from staging their deadly provocations like they did in Chicago's Marquette Park last August. Welding the power of the working class to the oppressed minorities, November 5 shows the way forward against the racists and the capitalist state which breeds them. The integrated union marshals who stood shoulder to shoulder in defense against the KKK represent the promise of the workers party which must be built in this country—a multi-racial workers party to lead the fight for workers revolution. ■



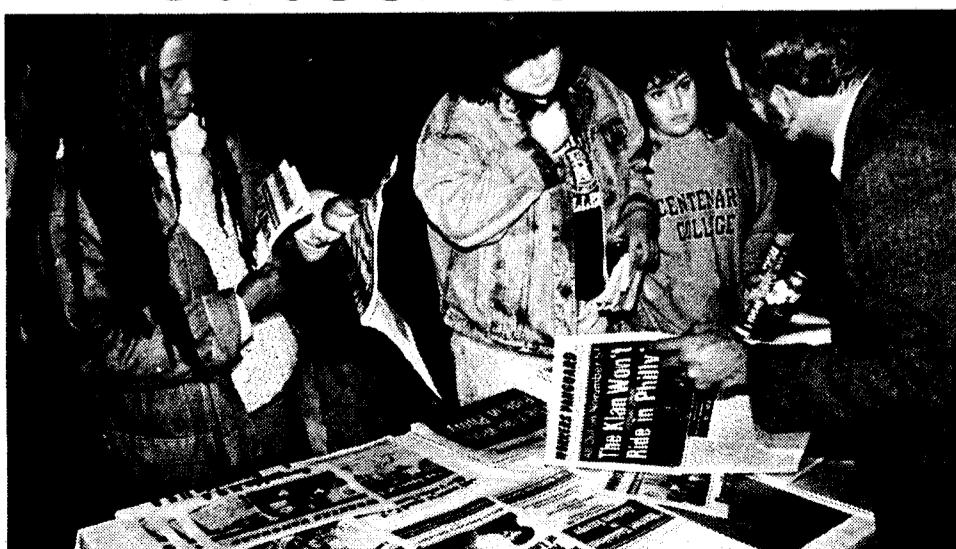
WV Photos

Members of the Committee for Dignity & Justice to the Homeless (inset) joined hundreds in celebrating victory over Klan at the Blue Horizon Auditorium.

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Stop the Klan, This Is the Hour—

We print below excerpts from the speeches at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Don Andrews

Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense

I'd like to welcome everyone to this victory rally over the Ku Klux Klan lynchers and skinhead stormtroopers. Because these fascists have been circling around this area; they made their first big attempt to penetrate Philadelphia, and we stopped them! We're also here to honor the working people who are denied the fruits of their labor in this deeply racist capitalist society. You can't isolate the fight against fascism from the fight against capitalism. It's going to take a workers revolution to sweep these fascists away once and for all!

Gene Herson

An organizer of November 5 Mobilization and long-time member of the National Maritime Union

We are meeting on the very spot and at the same time that the fascist Ku Klux Klan and skinheads wanted to be and rally today. They are not here, and we are! They were defeated by the organized and integrated power of the union movement, leading civil rights organizations and other decent people from across the country. All of the unions and union officials and other organizations and individuals which endorsed this demonstration and especially those who have come here today have written a great page in the history of class struggle, testifying to the power of labor.

Ray Martinez

Vice President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668

I must admit that when the item was first brought up at our chapter board meeting, I was kind of middle-of-the-line. I'm one of those who wasn't sure whether we would be giving the Klan, the scum that they are, the attention that we don't want to give them. And I'm very happy to admit that I was wrong. I'm thrilled with what's going on here, and we did succeed. We have to keep this in mind for the future, and rather



Ray Martinez

than keep away, I think we need to do exactly what we've done today. We will continue to keep them away from Philadelphia and wherever they try to march and preach their hatred, their filth.

Fred McMullen

Temple Lambda Alliance

I look around the square and I see before me an amazing group of people—blacks and Jews, Hispanics, Asians, lesbian women and gay men alongside of labor people. According to the KKK, blacks and Jews, lesbians and gays and other minorities have no right to exist. We will not allow these hate-mongers and terrorists to walk unchallenged through the streets of the city in which freedom and liberty were born in this country over 200 years ago. And while you may say that the real world does not afford freedom and equality for everyone, that we are not without hatred and violence, the fact that we are here together today as one shows that we are well on our way to making that a reality for everyone.

Beverly Africa

On behalf of MOVE

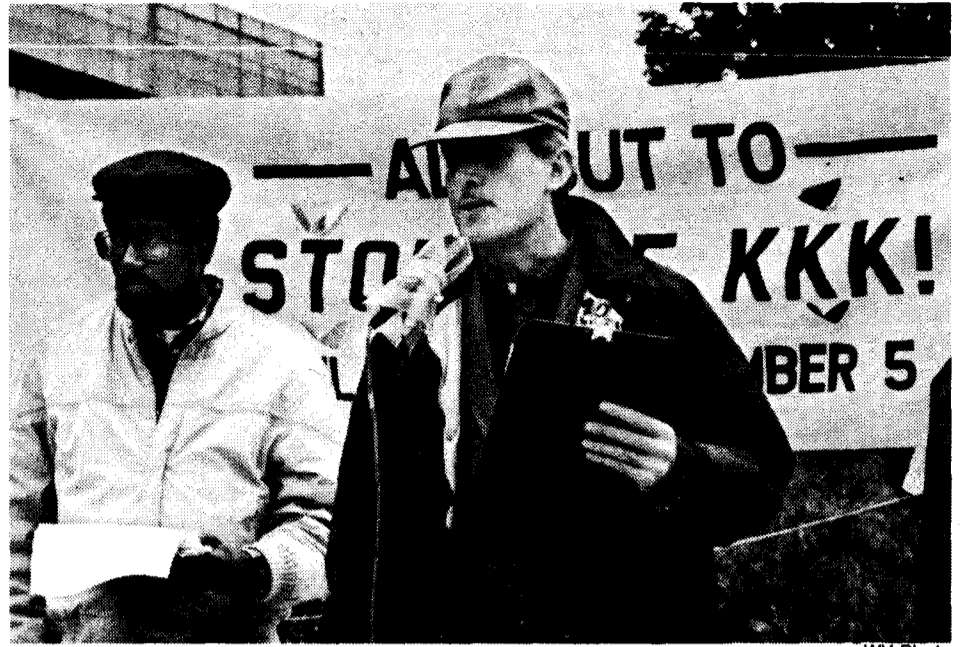
On the MOVE! I'm here on behalf of MOVE people to let everybody here



Beverly Africa

know about the injustice that's still going on with MOVE people. Behind the May 13 bombing, the 1978 confrontation with the police, is an on-going persecution. What really makes us so bitter is that nine innocent MOVE people are in prison for 100 years, each for a murder that nobody saw them commit, a murder that nobody can prove they committed, because they didn't commit it. At the same time, the whole world saw system officials drop their bomb on us, killing eleven innocent MOVE people. And these officials are still walking the streets, still employed by this system. On top of this criminal arrogance, these political thugs ain't got no justification for locking up nobody for murder, like they're against murder, like they're offended by murder, when their hands are drenched with MOVE people's blood.

My sister Sue Africa was sentenced to 6 to 12 years, and she's been in prison a



Co-chairmen Don Andrews and Al Nelson open victory rally: "KKK no way! You ain't gonna march today!"

total of seven years. My sister Alberta Africa was sentenced to 22 months to 7 years, and she's been imprisoned six and a half years already. When this system's officials come at MOVE people, they are talking of one thing, stopping the MOVE organization, stopping John Africa. But they will never stop John Africa, they will never stop MOVE from moving on this rotten murderous system.

Nelson Johnson

President of the Theologue Fellowship, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, and a survivor of the Greensboro Massacre

Nine years and two days ago, in Greensboro, North Carolina, five trade-union and community organizers lay dead or dying in the streets. Nine other persons were wounded and the black community, the Morningside community of that city, was thrown into a state of terror. And this tragic incident resulted in the immediate sense from a savage attack by a joint party of Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

And though I was wounded on that day, I spent November 3, 1979 in a jail cell unavailable for bond. And while in jail that night, my whole being was gripped by the reality that five of the best people in the world, dedicated trade unionists and community organizers, had been slain in the street by Klan and Nazis and I was in jail. One of the persons killed that day was a beautiful black woman from Piedmont, South Carolina. Her name was Sandy Smith. So, with the memory of Sandy Smith, Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Bill Sampson and Michael Nathan still fresh in my mind, I am here today to salute you and to stand in solidarity with you.

It's rather ironic that on the day that we were having the trial at which the Klan and Nazis were acquitted, we learned of the tragic bombing of the MOVE headquarters. I commend in particular the Partisan Defense Committee and all of those individuals who in spite of differences have come together to say to each other, and to say to Philadelphia, and to say to the nation, that we will resist with creative determination the spread of racism and racist violence and human degradation wherever we find it.

There has been a massive growth in what the sociologists call the urban underclass. This terminology is just a fancy term to label and to dismiss millions of black people, men, women and children who are living on the edge of existence, and who are locked in permanent cages of poverty. Thousands will freeze to death this winter because they have no homes. And still millions of others live from job to job and are

paid nearly nothing for their labor. The problem of which I speak is created by the structure flowing from this system and the policies promoted by the greed and the domination of a few at the expense of the many.

When I speak of statistics, when I talk of people living on the edge, I see faces. I see faces that I grew up with gnarled and marred by many years of suffering and



Nelson Johnson

pain. The victims of historical discrimination ought not to be dismissed as the "urban underclass" and put in some category and forgot about. They are God's children and they are my brothers and sisters. And we have to stand today and fight against everything that would deny their existence. This occasion is an opportunity to take charge of America and to remake America.

My courageous brothers and sisters, I bring you greetings once again from the Theologue Fellowship of Virginia Union University, and from the Greensboro Justice Fund of which I am the chairman. God bless you, peace, power and liberation!

Charles Valenta

President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034

As an American trade unionist, we learned a long time ago about division and disunity. The employer would often—and still does—pit one worker against another. He would use differences in nationality, differences in religion, and differences in race. And he all



Charles Valenta

Telegram from Guadeloupe

When the French fascist leader Le Pen tried to make an election campaign trip to France's Caribbean colonies last December, militant unionists in Guadeloupe surrounded the plane and refused to let him disembark. Hotel workers in Martinique threatened to go on strike if Le Pen stayed there. This example of workers action against the fascist threat underlines the importance of the following telegram from Ernest Moutoussamy, deputy to the French parliament from Guadeloupe, which was read to the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

4 November 1988

I salute your fight against the KKK, racism and injustice. These scourges are terrible dangers for the working class, blacks, the popular masses and for humanity that must be fought with the greatest resolve. In solidarity with your opportune initiative, I stand at the side of the working class of your country and its vanguard in their struggle against capitalism, and its deformities. I wish your demonstration a huge success.

Labor, Blacks Have Got the Power!



WV Photo

Workers defense guard in front of speakers platform. The united-front rally served as a tribune of protest against fascist and state terror. Remember Greensboro! Free Ramona Africa! Save Mumia!

too often succeeded. One worker or another would fall for the divide-and-conquer routine of the boss. A house divided must fall. We cannot allow that to happen. The KKK and the skinheads, the supremacist groups, their success depends upon us being divided. We came here in unity today. We came here in solidarity. Together we will stamp out the KKK and all of the violent supremacist groups. We will do that through unity of action, such as this demonstration today.

Ed Kartsen

Spartacist League

The Klan are sadistic killers, whether they're wearing their white sheets or not. They are not a debating society. They are not just a bunch of kooks who have some backward notions and anti-scientific conceptions about human development. They are murderers. Their idea of freedom of expression is what the government did to MOVE—burning eleven people alive including five small children.

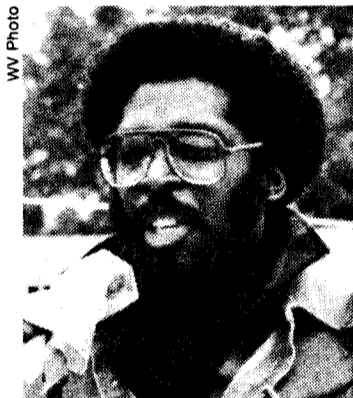
We remember Carole Robertson, Annie May Collins, Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley—these were children that were attending the 16th Street Baptist Church in 1963 in Birmingham, when 15 sticks of dynamite went off, killing all of them. That was the work of the Klan, according to Gary Rowe, who was an FBI informer who testified that he helped the Klan carry out this hideous act of terror. The Ku Klux Klan and skinheads are organized lynchers, bombers and murderers! We stand for mobilizing all the intended victims of these killers to stop them before they do to the human race what Hitler did.

The rulers of this country have gone flat out to build up a military capacity to destroy the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. Both the Democrats and the Republicans have turned their backs on the working people of this country, those who created the wealth of this country. They're depriving the working people of the wealth in order to build this anti-Soviet war machine. The skinheads and the Klan are the shock troops of this policy. Everyone here knows that whether we have four more years of Bush or Dukakis, that this policy will continue, this policy to destroy the working and poor people of this country.

We must start to re-establish the fact that the wealth of this country must be placed in the hands of those who produced it. We need real job training programs, not this fake "workfare," which simply puts welfare mothers in a position of abandoning their children in favor of nonexistent jobs. Welfare mothers should be protected, rather than made scapegoats. Free quality day

care should be provided for children, a living income, meaningful education, job skills training.

The courts and prisons are the dumping ground for those the ruling class of this country have turned their backs on. Millions of potentially productive peo-



Ed Kartsen

ple are being jammed into the prisons. We think it's time to defend all victims of racist terror, all victims of capitalist justice, so-called justice. Free ex-Black Panther Geronimo Pratt! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal from Death Row! Free the Kentucky Miners sentenced to life imprisonment! Abolish the Jim Crow death penalty!

It's time to play hardball. We need to oust the sellout bureaucrats who'd rather see the unions destroyed than fight the bosses and their cops and courts. We need to break with the Democrats and Republicans, who are partners in racist American capitalism.

Workers of this country need a party, the kind of party that Lenin led in making the first successful workers revolu-

tion in history. The Black Hundreds were the version of the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads in Russia. These dangerous Russian reactionaries have re-emerged under the label of Pamyat. The Soviet revolution succeeded by smashing the Russian fascists. America's Red October can only go forward, a socialist America can only be possible by defeating the skinheads and the KKK.

A workers party can swing millions of workers into action—black, white, Hispanic and Asian—in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and skinheads. Blacks must be joined with Jews in opposition to Kahane and Farrakhan. The Spartacist League is the core of a workers party of the Bolshevik type. Join us in building a party that will bring about workers power. Join us in the fight to build a socialist future. Stop the skinheads! Stop the Klan! For workers power! For a workers government!

Chakwi Irving

All-African People's Revolutionary Party

Just before I came up, I was looking around, and I saw this particular slogan, and I asked the man that was carrying it if I could bring this up on the stage with me. The reason being, I think that this slogan actually is the essence of the whole struggle, that "Capitalism Breeds Racism" and that we need to struggle and "Fight for Socialism."

As a conscious African born in this racist capitalist society of North America, I have come to understand absolutely and clearly why organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan are allowed

and encouraged to exist. We need to drive them into the ground. And never will a disorganized mass put an end to the Ku Klux Klan once and for all. We have to understand the need to be permanently organized and politically conscious to see clearly the purpose that "racism"—"racism" in quotes, national oppression, national chauvinism—serves in a class-divided society. If you're not in an organization on a permanent basis, in an organization that's trying to struggle to do something for the people, you're not serious about smashing the Ku Klux Klan.

Haskell Berman

Retired member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and member of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency

Thank you, brothers and sisters, for coming here on this miserable wet day, to make a statement and to show your real concern about what's going on in this city, in this country, and around the world. The skinheads, the Nazis, the "White Pride" people, the Klan, they're anti-labor, they're racist, they're for segregation, they're for inequality, they're for violence. Their heroes are Hitler and the fascist dictators.

We're here to stop racism in its tracks, and to stop those who will tomorrow transform racist rhetoric into genocide, violence, who will burn books and promote inequality and brutality and murder, and who in the name of patriotism will send our brothers and sisters to war. It is no accident that when this rally was called, that the powers in this city sought to label our protest as "violent" and urged us and the public media not to attend or support the rally. Our rally is in defense of the rights of all of us—blacks and whites, workers and youth, trade unionists, all races, religions and creeds. Can you believe that a black mayor who dropped a bomb on 60 black families portrayed our demonstration as "violence-prone" and urged people not to demonstrate?

The people who hold economic and political power keep the fascists and racists on a leash, like mad dogs. They covertly feed them, and ultimately will unleash them when the working class defends its own interest.

Irving Jones

New Alliance Party

Only through constant struggle can we hope to eradicate the Klan and the neo-Nazi groups that infest the communities in these United States. I'd like for you to join with me and the New

continued on page 10

"Let the KKK Know How Strong We Are"

We print below excerpts from labor statements of support to the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

AFSCME Local 2586, Philadelphia

Our Local #2586 are asking all our members to come out on this day and help us let the KKK know that we are against [their] demonstration in Philadelphia. Wear your AFSCME hats, jackets, signs, let them know how strong we are and we don't want them here.

Maxine McCleary, President AFSCME Local 2586, Philadelphia

When I hear anything about the KKK I right away think about the Birmingham church bombing and the murder of those children and also the civil rights workers that were murdered. Our union is in support of and endorses the

demonstration to stop the KKK on November 5.

Hugh Tague, Business Manager OPEIU Local 14, Philadelphia

Union people should not forget the union-busting, strike-breaking role that the Klan has played for many years. When we organized Minute Maid in Florida into the United Farm Workers in 1972, the Klan burnt crosses throughout the state on the night that this first farm labor contract was signed. The American people need to know the danger that the Klan represents to working people in this country.

Charles Spencer, President ILA Local 1408, Jacksonville

A powerful union presence will ensure a real victory for the labor movement. Labor must take a stand now, and

not allow the treatment of unjust and unhumane to continue against the very principle of our country. We must let the elected officials of every level, federal, state, and city, know that we oppose and that we are all out to stop the Ku Klux Klan on November 5!

Alan Perdue, President AFGE Local 1457, San Francisco

Our union passed a motion against the Klan and the Skinheads, calling on the integrated Bay Area labor movement to use its power to stop the racist attacks of these labor-haters. We urge working people and minorities in Philadelphia on Nov. 5th to rally and stand together against the Klan/Skinheads and make sure that Philly is a safe place for all of the decent hard working people. ■

November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Philadelphia: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan November 5'."

List of Endorsers, 5 November 1988

Mumia Abu-Jamal, Huntingdon, PA
 Ralph Acosta, State Representative, Philadelphia, PA
 Activist Studies Forum, Hunter College, New York, NY
 ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), New York, NY
 Russell L. Adams, Associate Professor, Afro-American Studies Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 African American Student Union, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Council 67, Baltimore, MD
 AFSCME District Council 33, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Highways Local 403, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Local 12, University of Iowa Employees Union, Iowa City, IA
 AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
 AFSCME Local 2019, Oakland, CA
 AFSCME Local 2412, Madison, WI
 AFSCME Local 2586, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Local 2587, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Local 2607, Philadelphia, PA
 AFSCME Local 3210, Oakland, CA
 AFSCME Wisconsin State Employees Union Local 1, Madison, WI
 All African People's Revolutionary Party
 Naomi Allen, Shop Steward, TWU Local 100, Brooklyn, NY
 Alpha Delta Chapter, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, City College of New York, New York, NY
 Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL
 Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
 American Federation of Government Employees Local 1457, San Francisco, CA
 American Federation of Teachers Local 1474 Executive Board, Berkeley, CA
 Gary Andersen, Vice Chairman, Conductor/Tower Division of TWU Local 100, Bronx, NY
 Anti-Apartheid Committee, AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, GA
 Anthony Appiah, Associate Professor of Philosophy/Africana Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
 Ascension Poetry Reading Series, Washington, D.C.
 Asian American Alliance, Oberlin, OH
 Asian Pacific Coalition, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA
 Leora Auslander, Assistant Professor, History Department, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
 Martez V. Byrd Baker, President, AFSCME Local 2477, Washington, D.C.
 Charles Barkley, Forward, Philadelphia 76ers, Philadelphia, PA
 Bernard Organization of Black Women, Barnard College, New York, NY
 Donald L. Barnett, President, NALC Branch 24, Los Angeles, CA
 James R. Barrett, Executive Board and Past President, USWA Local 8751, Hyde Park, MA
 Haskell Berman, retired member, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Philadelphia, PA
 Paul Bigman, International Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, Chicago, IL
 Black & White Men Together, Chicago, IL
 Black & White Men Together, Philadelphia, PA
 Black Student Alliance, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA
 Wanda J. Black, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL
 Bolshevik Tendency
 Frank Boone, Vice Chairman, United Motormen Division of TWU Local 100, New York, NY
 Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
 Louis J. Brady, Director, Department of Civil Rights, International Union of Operating Engineers, Washington, D.C.
 Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union, Chicago, IL
 Nehemiah M. Brown, Jr., President, Federal Public Service Employees Local 649, Norfolk, VA
 Preston Browning, Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
 Cadena de Solidaridad con Chile, Bronx, NY
 Michael L. Callen, founding member, People with AIDS Coalition, New York, NY
 Campaign Against Apartheid, University of California, Berkeley, CA
 Sadie Campbell, Business Agent, CWA Local 1150, Bronx, NY
 Caribbean Students Association, City College of New York, New York, NY
 Caribbean Student Union, Hunter College, New York, NY
 Caribbean Students Union, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, NY
 Gerald J. Cavanaugh, Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley, CA
 Chris Carlis, Public Affairs Director, WRTI 90.1 FM, Philadelphia, PA
 Alicia L. Carroll, Secretary, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Philadelphia, PA
 Brenda L. Carroll, Steward, Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
 Jerry Carter, Financial Secretary, USWA Local 436, Atlanta, GA
 John H. Carter, Council Administrator, AFSCME Council 67, Baltimore, MD
 Centro Pedro Claver, Philadelphia, PA
 Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA

Gall P. Chauncey, Special Projects Editor, *The Spartan Echo*, Norfolk State University, Chesapeake, VA
 Gabi Christov, member, Women Strike for Peace, Washington Peace Center, Washington, D.C.
 State Representative David Clarenbach, Wisconsin State Assembly, Madison, WI
 Rev. J.W. Clemons, Hampton Road Minister's Conference, Chesapeake, VA
 Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Philadelphia, PA
 David Cohen, Councilmember-at-Large, Philadelphia City Council, Philadelphia, PA
 Leroy Collier, Branch President, NALC Branch 2200, Pasadena, CA
 Victor Collins, Director, Minority Student Service at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA
 Comité por la No Intervención en Centroamérica, San Francisco, CA
 Thomas Paine Cronin, President, AFSCME District Council 47, Philadelphia, PA
 William E. Cross, Associate Professor, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
 CWA Local 1150, New York, NY
 Danny K. Davis, Alderman, 29th Ward, Chicago, IL
 Richard Davis, Madison, WI
 Day Session Student Government, Hunter College, New York, NY
 Day Student Government, City College of New York, New York, NY
 Ronald V. DeHams, Member of Congress, Oakland, CA
 Tracey T. Devlin, Test Lab Shop Steward, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
 John J. DiPaola, Vice President, IAM Local 1018, Flushing, NY
 Andrew Douglas, President, Graphic Communications International Union Local 14-M, Philadelphia, PA
 Ernest Downing, Chairperson, East New York Shop, TWU Local 100, Queens, NY
 Steve Downs, member, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
 William Easterling, Retired President and Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268, Cleveland Heights, OH
 Herbert Edwards, President, ACTWU Local 170, Philadelphia, PA
 Rev. Graylan Scott Ellis-Hagler, Minister, Church of the United Community, Roxbury, MA
 Henry English, President/CEO, Illinois Black United Fund, Inc., Chicago, IL
 Bruce Evans, Advocate and member, Philadelphia Unemployment Project, Philadelphia, PA
 Jesse S. Everett, Shop Steward, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
 15th & York St. Small Businessperson Association, Philadelphia, PA
 Lesley Finch, Trustee, UAW Local 2300, Ithaca, NY
 James C. Finkel, Recording Secretary, United Motormen Division of TWU Local 100, Brooklyn, NY
 Stanley Fischer, Vice President, OCAW District 8 Council, Brick, NJ
 Eric Foner, Professor of History, Columbia University, New York, NY
 Marvin Foreman, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees Local 23, Norfolk, VA
 Benny Foster, Vice Chairman, Power Division of TWU Local 100, Brooklyn, NY
 Fourth Internationalist Tendency
 Sara C. Franco, President, Confederation of Latin American Students at the University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
 Richard S. Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist, Los Angeles, CA
 Freedom Socialist Party
 Rabbi Allen I. Freehling, Los Angeles, CA
 Peter H. Freeman, Delegate, Social Service Employees Union Local 371, New York, NY
 Henry Fuqua, Steward, SEIU Local 73, Chicago, IL
 A. James Gaetaniello, President, IAM Local 1018, Flushing, NY
 Gay and Lesbian Alliance, San Francisco City College, San Francisco, CA
 Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Alliance, University of California, Berkeley, CA
 Gay Men's Alliance of Hunter College, New York, NY
 Gay People's Union, Hunter College, New York, NY
 Jeremy Genovese, Executive Board member at large, CWA Local 4309, Cleveland Heights, OH
 Louis Giannetti, Professor of English and Film, Department of English, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH
 John Glasel, President, American Federation of Musicians Local 802, New York, NY
 Neil Gleason, President, AFSCME Local 144, Madison, WI
 Michael Goldfield, Professor of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
 Vaughn Goodwin, President, NAACP Temple Chapter-SCORE, Philadelphia, PA
 Gilbert Gordon, Attorney, Chicago, IL
 Samuel Green, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
 James Grimes, New York City transit worker (retired), Riverdale, GA
 Frank Grinnon, Business Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
 Haitian Student Association, City College of New York, New York, NY
 Jerry Hall, President, SEIU Local 535, Los Angeles County Chapter, Los Angeles, CA
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Chris Hanson-Sánchez, President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Philadelphia Chapter, Philadelphia, PA
 Berkeley Harmon III, Vice President, Kappa Alpha Psi, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA
 Alexander Harrington, member, Democratic Socialists of America, New York, NY
 Leon Harris, Secretary/Treasurer, ILWU Local 6, San Francisco, CA
 Willie F. Harris, Staff Representative, SEIU Local 25, Chicago, IL
 Harvard-Radcliffe Gay & Lesbian Students Association, Cambridge, MA
 Herbert Harvey, Steward/Delegate, AFSCME District Council 33, Philadelphia, PA
 Charles Hayes, Member of Congress, Chicago, IL
 Calvin Hernton, Professor of Black Studies, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH
 Mary B. Hester, Secretary, CWA Local 4309, Cleveland, OH
 Gene Hoffman, General Chairman, IAM, Lynbrook, NY
 John Holmes, Chairman, Daily Review Chapel, Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21, Oakland, CA
 Linda Kaye Holmes, Recording Secretary and Chair of Civil Rights Committee, SEIU Local 82, Washington, D.C.
 Homelands Against Shutdowns, Brick, NJ
 Perry L. Husted, Sergeant at Arms, UAW Local 2300, Ithaca, NY
 James Hunter, President, AFSCME Local 2799, Detroit, MI
 Linda Hunter, Associate Professor, Department of African Language and Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI
 IAM Local 1111, Hawthorne, CA
 IAM Local 1894, South Ozone Park, NY
 ILA Local 1408, Jacksonville, FL
 ILA Local 1458, Freighthandlers, Norfolk, VA
 ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
 Yves A. Isidor, Professor, Roxbury Community College, and Officer of the Committee of Solidarity with Haiti, Cambridge, MA
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 Ronald W. Jackson, Sr., President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268, Cleveland, OH
 Harold L. Jamison, Journalist, *New York Amsterdam News*, New York, NY
 Willie Jenkins, ex-Business Manager, Laborer's International Union Local 334, Detroit, MI
 E. Roy John, Director, Brain Research Laboratory and Professor, Department of Psychiatry, NYU Medical Center, New York, NY
 Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
 Cynthia Johnson, Assistant Director, Legislative Office, Women Strike for Peace, Washington, D.C.
 Nelson N. Johnson, President, Theologian Fellowship, Virginia Union University, Richmond, VA
 Roscoe D. Johnson, President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668, Philadelphia Chapter, Philadelphia, PA
 Harile Jones, member, Grass Roots Congress, Cleveland, OH
 Journal and Guide, Norfolk, VA
 Michio Kaku, Professor, Physics Department, City College of New York, New York, NY
 Rabbi Joanna Katz, Philadelphia, PA
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 Peter J. Kott, Professor, Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York, New York, NY
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 William Kunstler, Attorney, New York, NY
 Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
 Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
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 Frank Laraque, Associate Professor, Black Studies Department, City College of New York, New York, NY
 League for the Revolutionary Party
 James Leehan, Director, University Christian Movement, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH
 Melvin Leiman, Professor of Economics, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY
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 Lesbian/Gay Alliance, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA
 Lesbians Rising Collective of Hunter College, New York, NY
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 Paris Lewis, Organizer, Howard University Progressive Student Movement, Washington, D.C.
 Richard Lewontin, Professor of Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
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 Walter Lippmann, Secretary, SEIU Local 535, Los Angeles Social Services Chapter, Los Angeles, CA
 Sheldon B. Liss, Professor of Latin American History and Government, University of Akron, Akron, OH
 Conrad Lynn, Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel, NAACP, Nanuet, NY

Speeches...

(continued from page 9)

Alliance Party in hoping that you will join in a revolutionary struggle to stop the Ku Klux Klan and fascist oppression. On November 8, Lenora B. Fulani will be the first black woman to run on the ballot in all 50 states. Stomp on the Democratic and Republican parties—stomp on the capitalist politicians, and stand up for your freedom! Stop the KKK!

Al Nelson Partisan Defense Committee

This is a historic day in Philadelphia. The Ku Klux Klan and skinheads said they were going to be here, and they're not here. What this represents is direct action by the labor movement and the decent people of Philadelphia, who came out, organized behind a program to stop the KKK and the skinheads. That basic conception—the labor movement organized behind a program, its revolutionary party—is what is necessary to return the power to the people who built this country.

Some people say, well, ignore the Klan. No! You ignore the Klan and you get violence, you get churches being bombed, you get black people being driven out of integrated neighborhoods, you get interracial couples being beaten up on the street by fascist skinhead punks. You ignore the Klan, and they grow. They grow with violence, and they

spread their racist poison into the labor movement.

Labor has been taking a beating for a number of years, everybody knows that. But the labor movement is the strongest social force in this country. So it's important that the racist poison represented by the KKK and its filthy ideology not be permitted to polarize the powerful labor movement along racial lines, thereby weakening their ability to defend themselves against the attack of the rich, the union-busting bosses, the Trumps, the Reagans, the two-party system called the "property party."

Mary Jo Marino New York transit worker

I want to say something in particular to the brothers and the sisters that are in the unions here, and came out to this. You know, you can't play by the rules that the people we're struggling against have laid down. We can't let them be the dealer, or you find out that they're holding all the aces and slipping us the deuces. They've got power, they've got state power, and they've got a law against everything that we need to do to defend ourselves and protect our interests.

We've got to have some hard class struggle. And the fight to rebuild unionism in this country needs a hard fight for black rights. It was Karl Marx who once said that labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin, while in the black it is branded. And that's true today. What built the unions in this country was not simply militant tactics

like factory occupations, sit-down strikes, mass picket lines. No, they also had to tackle and tear down the Jim Crow system in industry.

We can't talk about leading united class struggle against the givebacks in industry unless we talk about fighting also to keep the racists-in-blue off the backs of our brothers. All they want to do is use and abuse black and working people. So we say: enough of these takeback Democrats and giveback bureaucrats. We built this country, we keep this country going, we can run this country. We have no choice, we have to build a workers party. So check out the Spartacist League.

Mohan Nair Spartacus Youth Clubs

The Spartacus Youth Club is the youth group of the Spartacist League. And since the PDC initiated the call for this demonstration, the SYCs across the country have swung into full gear to throw our full weight behind this effort to mobilize to stop the KKK in Philadelphia. And we stood side by side with these militants, at distributions of leaflets, at the factory gates, and at the bus barns. And the response from the campuses here was tremendous. We've got contingents here today from local campuses like Bryn Mawr and Haverford, and from far away like Wesleyan in Connecticut and Hunter and Columbia in New York and UW-Madison and Cornell.

We're a socialist political organization. We're bright red. We're commu-

nists in training. We defend the Soviet Union, the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. And we defend them concretely. When Reagan was trying to target Nicaragua, the partial gains of that revolution, to roll them back on his way to rolling back Cuba and Moscow, we said no way. And we raised money all over this country—\$30,000—and gave it right to the Nicaraguan government and said, here, crush those contra scum! That's the way forward too! Youth in this country are not going to have a future without workers revolution. And that's what we fight for! ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

sole assignment is to protect the Klan if they were to appear. It is fitting that one agency of the state, the cops, are assigned to protect another agent, the Klan. For make no mistake, the KKK serves the interests of the ruling class who must divide to rule. The Klan gets protection as they are a tool of the system: MOVE gets bombed by the system as they are against the system.

So, what weapon can best defeat this hooded menace? The answer lies in defeating their underhanded but clear objective. The answer is unity. Unity across the broadest possible base, not just against the Klan but unity against

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Pi Alpha Chapter, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc., Middletown, CT
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Poder Popular de Chile, Bronx, NY
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Janice Poyer, Shop Steward, AFSCME District Council 37 Local 1549, Brooklyn, NY
Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Tamal, CA
("Quack") Magazine, Hunter College, New York, NY
Radical Women
Homer Reed, Second Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL
Larry Regan, President, USWA Local 1014, Gary, IN
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034, Philadelphia, PA
Dale Maurice Riepe, Emeritus Professor and Art Dealer, Ars Asiatica, Olympia, WA
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Malcolm Smith, volunteer/member, Health Care Committee, Philadelphia Unemployment Project, Philadelphia, PA
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Student Government Association, Norfolk State University, Norfolk, VA
Student Government of Barnard College, New York, NY
Student Health Society of Hunter College, New York, NY
Students for Non-Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, City College of New York, New York, NY
The Subterranean Review, Harvard College, Cambridge, MA
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Ron Teninty, President, Teamsters Local 315, Martinez, CA
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Gerald Tittermayer, Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034, Philadelphia, PA
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Anti-Fascist Organization, Coburg, West Germany
The Black Community Council of Quebec, Inc., Montreal, Quebec
Gianni Bombacci, Secretary, CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor), Milan, Italy
Dr. Peter Brandt, Historian, West Berlin, Germany
Giovanni Campari, Deputy Editor, *Interstampa*, Milan, Italy
Françoise Corbin, Secretary, SGPEN-CGT (General Union of National Education Personnel-General Confederation of Workers), Elbeuf, France
Democrazia Proletaria, Italy
Byron Dickens, Vice President, Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459, Etobicoke, Ontario
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Baruch Hirson, Editor, *Searchlight South Africa*, London, England
Stewart Istanffy, Secretary of the Board, La Ligue des Droits et Libertés, Montreal, Quebec
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Trotskyist League of Canada
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD)
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USWA Local 6500, Sudbury, Ontario
Charlie van Gelderen, Socialist Outlook, Cambridge, England
Eteban Volkov, Curator, Leon Trotsky Museum, Coyoacán, Mexico
VVN, Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime, West Berlin, Germany
Glenroy B. Watson, Organizer, Southern Africa and Apartheid Information, National Union of Railwaymen, London, England

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by the Partisan Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others.

their master for whom they are fronting, the ruling class. The racist message drooling out of the mouth of the coneheads of the Klan offers no solution to the state of crisis gripping America. It's but a shell game to buy time for a system enmeshed in ecological and social disaster.

If America could face tomorrow morning with no Africans, Jews, Spanish, Vietnamese and other so-called foreigners on the horizon, would the seas be free of toxic wastes? Would the ozone layer renew itself? Would the so-called greenhouse effect, which threatens to transform vast grain fields into shifting dust bowls, erase itself? In truth the Klan is but a diversion. For far more deadly racists sit in black robes, send blacks, Hispanics and poor into prisons where the state plays slavemaster. These are the courts' solutions to the problems facing the people. John Africa teaches, "The courts are the tools of industrial plague granting big business privilege to poison our earth."

Meanwhile, millionaire politicians mutter inanities about saluting the flag while the poor rummage in garbage cans for a meal and sleep in the streets of the richest nation on earth. Downtown Philadelphia, its towers of green, glittering opulence are a stark contrast to the dispirited denizens who inhabit the streets by night—hungry, homeless, hopeless. City streets take on the gritty, grimy sheen of a Calcutta while Bush rambles on about a thousand points of light.

The Klan can be stopped. The prisoners can be freed. The hungry can be fed and the homeless housed. But it will take the energies of the many; for the few, the rich ruling class, simply don't give a damn. Above all it takes unity, to confront and defeat the Klansmen—not just those at the Liberty Bell—but those in City Hall, those in Harrisburg and those in Washington, D.C. It takes committed people's unity to stop the Klans-

men, not just those wearing white robes and hoods, but those in black robes, those in uniform, those with three-piece suits. It takes determination to acknowledge and resist the ruling class, the super-rich who back the Klan in its objective of division. It's high time folks looked around themselves—there at Independence Mall—and for once, forever, declare themselves truly independent of the system that steals their

labor, steals their tomorrows, only to produce a legacy of a world choking in poison, in hatred, in division, in death.

Down with the Klan! And down with this rotten system! Freedom for MOVE! Freedom for Mona Africa! Freedom for Sue, Consuewella, Carlos and Moe Africa! Freedom for all political prisoners!

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal. ■

Support the November 5 Mobilization

It took a lot of \$\$\$ to make sure the Klan didn't ride in Philly. We couldn't have done it without active help and generous financial support from organizations and individuals in Philadelphia and across the country. But more is needed to pay the bills. The November 5 Mobilization printed over 420,000 leaflets in English and Spanish to get the word out. We printed thousands of posters, placed ads, sent out press releases and photos, organized buses. We still have big bills to pay for telephones, xeroxing, rally equipment rental, and much more. If you couldn't be there on November 5, if you or your organization hasn't already made a financial contribution, show your support for stopping the Klan by sending a contribution now to:

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ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

Philadelphia: Saturday, November 5

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

This taped message from Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner on death row in Huntingdon, Pa., was sent to the November 5 anti-Klan rally. As a Philadelphia black radio journalist, Jamal was well known as the voice of the voiceless and downtrodden. A former Black Panther, Jamal courageously defended MOVE from state repression, and himself became a target of the Philly cops' vendetta. Pennsylvania governor Casey refused the demand of the Partisan Defense Committee to release Jamal on parole to speak at the November 5 Mobilization. The PDC has launched a nationwide campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from the racist death penalty.

Folk singer Richie Havens' frenetic strumming and his ragged rippling tenor immortalized the KKK in a moving, mournful dark ballad in which Havens intones: "He who rides with the Klan is a devil and not a man." But much as his music touches psychic chords, he is wrong. They are men. Men with an unholy objective: to pit white against black, Anglo against Hispanic, Christian against Jew, and indeed Protestant against Catholic in the ruling class interests. Despite the Klan's hooded image, blacks just hours out of slavery knew well that they were not demons from some sulfuric underworld, just vile, vicious men who hid their identities merely to mask and further the Southern states' political objective to strangle the babe of black political gains of Reconstruction. It would not have been fitting for the agents of the Southern white ruling class—the lawyer, the

Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, "voice of the voiceless."



judge, or the sheriff, all supportive of the landed aristocracy—to raid black shacks, to lynch and assail black life in the light of day. Thus nightriders and hoods came into play: the origins of the KKK.

The Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1866 in Tennessee, was born hot on the heels of the Emancipation Proclamation. A century later hooded goons assemble at the Liberty Bell in the name of the KKK calling for white Christian men to join them in a crusade of hatred against "nig-

gers, spics and kikes." How ironic that the ideological sons of slavers heap abuse on sons of Africa who alone among America's people were brought here enchained against their will. How cruel that the racists can attempt to slander the Spanish peoples as "un-American" when America was molded in large part by theft of ancestral lands that were once Mexico, and where Spanish and Indian languages were used for centuries. How silly that the KKK's hatred of Jews is "justified," so-called,

by a faith founded by a Jew.

It's time folk de-hood the Klan and take a close look at what's beneath. In its historical role, the Klan's vicious wave of violence against blacks was driven not so much by hatred as by fear. Fear that black numbers of freedmen in the Black Belt South would dominate political life via the vote. Also a target of Klan terror, the Southern populist movement, where black and white poor in the 1800s attempted to unite against the common foe: the nation's true minority, the ruling class. That is the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can more easily exploit the many.

No doubt, by now, you will have heard leading Philadelphia citizens proclaim that the Constitution protects all Americans, yea, even the Klan. Don't buy it! Where were these same leading citizens when other agents of the state rained fiery death on MOVE, May 13, 1985? What of the Constitutional protection for urban holocaust survivor Ramona Africa, who at this very hour sits in a cell at Muncy Women's Prison well past her minimum sentence only because she refuses to renounce her religion, the teachings of John Africa, and refuses to abide by a draconian condition of parole that demands she pledge to stay away from her very family and not speak out on her family's behalf to media, nor attend any court session involving any Africa.

Around the Klan demonstration no doubt stand the squadron of cops whose

continued on page 10

In Memory of the Greensboro Martyrs

Partisan Defense Committee Statement

On 3 November 1979, a death squad of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi killers gunned down five leftist union organizers and civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina. At the Philadelphia anti-Klan mobilization this November 5, the following greetings by the Partisan Defense Committee to a graveside memorial meeting for the Greensboro martyrs were read:

From the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Philadelphia to Greensboro, North Carolina: Thousands strong are with you as you commemorate the ninth anniversary of the bloodiest fascist attack of our generation—the Greensboro Massacre.

You will be heartened to know that the KKK and their skinhead allies called off their planned provocation here when they glimpsed the power of labor and blacks mobilizing on the streets. Today in Philadelphia we do not see their white hoods, burning crosses, Nazi regalia and racist terror; instead, unionists, blacks, civil rights activists, leftists, gays and minorities have won the day. It is your day too.

We remember Greensboro and share your outrage. "Greensboro!" The very name cries out for justice, for vengeance. In more than a century of racist lynchings, Greensboro stands out as the contemporary signature of the fascist killers. We remember Greensboro where the murderers, abetted by government agents, shot down five union organizers and anti-Klan activists in broad daylight before a stunned TV audience. We remember Greensboro where government cover-up



Nelson Johnson with comrade murdered by KKK/Nazis, November 1979.

and acquittal of the cold-blooded racist murderers by an all-white jury showed that we faced not only the fringe groups of crazed killers, but also the capitalist state which backs them up, clears the way, directs traffic, and maintains a culture where the Klan and Nazis can grow and prosper, where they have a license

to kill. When the fascists say they just want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro. When the apologists and the naive tell us to just ignore the fascists, we remember Greensboro. Today as we celebrate a defeat for the Klan and their skinheads, we remember Greensboro—and we remember that we are here to prevent racist murder.

It is a simple but necessary thing we do today. In Philadelphia: to respond to the immediate threat of racist terror; in Greensboro: to honor fallen comrades and rededicate the fight against fascism for which they died. These things are political instinct, a reflex action that is part of the heritage of class struggle and decency. Yet these days, it is too often the simple things which are left undone. What are we if we don't remember our dead? What are we if we don't respond to deadly fascist threat? So when the Nazis said they were coming to black Detroit in 1979 to celebrate the Greensboro Massacre and Hitler's birthday, we responded with a labor/black mobilization to stop them. The success of this strategy led to a series of such mobilizations of labor and black power in San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and today in Philadelphia.

It is our heritage to organize even as we mourn. Labor's martyrs call upon us to carry on the struggle. That is how we remember. And even memory must be organized. That too is part of the struggle. Thus today our gatherings are linked. The fascist guns which took the lives of your comrades were aimed at all of us; and just as an injury to one is an injury to all, this victory today belongs to us all. In the name of all our class martyrs: **WE WILL NOT FORGET GREENSBORO—ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!**

CIA's Man...

(continued from page 1)

Bush personally directed the contra terror war against the Nicaraguan Revolution.

When the financing of this operation blew up with the Iran/Contragate scandal, Bush pretended he was deaf, dumb and blind. With the Reagan regime discredited, the Democrats saw an excellent opportunity to regain the White House. In 1984 Walter Mondale had suffered a resounding defeat with only blacks voting for him in bloc. This time around the Democratic Party bosses were determined to win back the "Reagan Democrats" (read white racists) by cutting the party's ties to "special interests" (read labor and blacks).

So this year they selected a yuppie technocrat from Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, who acted like he was running for CEO of a computer company. Dukakis picked as his running mate a wealthy Texas Dixiecrat, Lloyd Bentsen, an ardent contra supporter with a voting record in Congress indistinguishable from Reaganite Republicans. Dukakis/Bentsen campaigned as more efficient managers for corporate America. They shunned labor and blacks. Jesse Jackson, the leading black Democrat, was turned into the invisible man of the campaign except for the last couple of weeks when Dukakis became desperate for votes.

While Dukakis acted like blacks simply didn't exist, Bush ran a slicker version of a KKK campaign, attacking the Massachusetts Democrat, as a shamefaced liberal who was "soft on crime." A key figure in the Bush campaign became one Willie Horton, a black man convicted of murder in Massachusetts, who escaped prison while on furlough and later raped a white woman. Racist and dirty, and it served Bush's purpose well. He won almost two-thirds of the white male vote.

The elections were marked by an outpouring of reactionary bigotry on all fronts. Three states passed anti-abortion referendums. Arizona, Colorado and Florida, all with large Hispanic populations, passed chauvinist propositions declaring English their *only* official language. Maryland upheld a ban on cheap handguns ("Saturday night specials"). The rich can go armed but not the poor, like Europe under feudalism.

The Democrats' Morning After

The overall election results were by no means a disaster for the Democratic Party. It retained and even slightly increased its majority in Congress. Bush and his Houston country club pal James

Baker have indicated willingness to cooperate with Democratic Congressional leaders such as fellow Texans Bentsen in the Senate and House Speaker Jim Wright. Rather than a Republican administration, we may be now governed by a bipartisan millionaire Texas mafia.

From 1932 to 1968 the Democrats controlled the White House for all but eight years. Since 1968 the Republicans have taken the presidency in every election save one. In 1984 Mondale tried to put back together the old New Deal coalition of labor, the minorities and liberal intellectuals. Black Democratic



Black Democratic frontmen Jesse Jackson and Wilson "Mayor of Murder" Goode rally for Dukakis, who campaigned to regain white racist vote.

politicos, like Jesse Jackson, effectively brought out the ghetto vote, but the labor bureaucracy could not deliver its ranks. Pandering to racism, flag-waving anti-Communism and protectionism while forcing giveback contracts down their members' throats, the AFL-CIO officialdom no longer commands the political loyalty of anyone.

In 1988 Dukakis and Bentsen ran after the "Reagan Democrats," and they still lost. Losing the presidential race yet again will certainly intensify the divisions within the Democratic Party, possibly even leading to splits. Washington-based political analyst Linda Williams predicts: "Truly, the Democrats and blacks are heading for a collision." The Jackson people are blaming the defeat on Dukakis being too little and too late in taking up a "populist message." Meanwhile, even before election day right-wing Democrats, especially Dixiecrats, were blaming the anticipated loss on the supposed influence and prominence of the Jackson people. Alabama Democratic chairman John Baker asserted: "The Rev. Jackson has an agenda of his own that is far too liberal and will not be accepted by the American people" (*Wall Street*

Journal, 27 October).

The party's right wing insists that if the Democrats are to regain the White House they must decisively shed any identification with black interests and welfare-state liberalism. A major step in that direction was the Democrats' active support for the "workfare" bill, which is to throw poor black and Hispanic women and their children off the welfare rolls, letting them die of starvation, cold and disease in the inner-city hellholes (see "Genocide U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October).

But mounting bipartisan attacks on the poor is not a winning electoralist rec-

ipe for the Democrats either. If the Democratic leadership moves even further to the right, collaborating closely with the Bush White House, we may well see black Democratic politicians flirting with independent "rainbow coalition" movements, especially on the local level.

However, black anger cannot be easily contained in an electoralist framework. The killing cutbacks could well produce a social explosion in the ghettos. And we may also see a revolt in the trade unions against giveback contracts, two-tier wage systems and the sellout bureaucrats. On a small scale the potential for labor/black action, independent of the Democratic Party, was demonstrated by the November 5 Mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads from rallying in Philadelphia.

No New "New Deal," But a Fighting Workers Party!

For years liberal Democrats have talked about rebuilding the old New Deal coalition of labor, blacks and other minorities with Southern Dixiecrat racists. Jesse Jackson and his hangers-on call it the "Rainbow Coalition." However, the Rooseveltian coalition of the 1930s was not the result of some slick public relations operation. The New Deal was an effective effort to head off the mass radicalization of the American working class, channeling it into capitalist "reform" politics.

The impact of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism in Europe produced a genuine leftward motion within the American working class. In 1934 there were three citywide general strikes in this country, all led by left-wing parties—in Minneapolis by the Trotskyists, in Toledo, Ohio by A.J. Muste's American Workers Party and in San Francisco by the Stalinist Communist Party. The next few years saw the giant class battles which built the CIO industrial unions.

Key to the formation of militant industrial unionism was overcoming the deep racial and other ethnic divisions within the American working class. The CIO unions were built by young black and white workers who had fought together against the cops and company goons in the Flint sitdown, the Little Steel strikes and countless other organizing battles.

No less important, the more radical

workers and also intellectuals, both black and white, flocked into the left-wing parties, especially the Communist Party, which was falsely identified with Russian Bolshevism and red revolution. But by the '30s, the international Communist movement had become a tool of the Soviet bureaucracy. On orders from Joseph Stalin to build a "popular front," the American Communist Party became the most ardent supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Stalinists provided much of the glue binding together militant, left-wing trade unionists and black activists with the racist Dixiecrats and Ku Klux Klan.

Today, another deep economic crisis is looming and conditions in this country are ripe—indeed, overripe—for a new wave of working-class and black radicalization. Over the past decade and a half the United States has seen its industrial capacity gutted, its infrastructure crumble and its social services cut to the bone. Workers have faced a union-busting, giveback offensive by the bosses, while the black and Hispanic poor face starvation and disease in the inner-city ghettos.

Under Reagan, the U.S. government cut taxes for the rich while paying for the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union by borrowing from Japanese and German bankers. Within just a few years the U.S. went from the world's biggest creditor nation to the world's biggest debtor. Conditions are set for a financial collapse dwarfing last year's stock market crash. In fact, Bush's election was greeted by a fall of the dollar to a near-record low against the Japanese yen and a sharp downward slide in stock prices. One Wall Street trader quipped: "This was briefest Presidential honeymoon ever. The guy isn't even in office yet." Bourgeois radical writer Gore Vidal predicts for Bush the fate of Herbert Hoover.

This time around, a labor-centered radicalization must not again be channeled into the Democratic Party of "liberal" American imperialism. Roosevelt's New Deal led the United States into the second imperialist world war, ending with the A-bombing of Japan ordered by liberal Democrat Harry Truman. Ever since, the American ruling class, Democrats and Republicans alike, have been preparing for nuclear war against the Soviet Union. A few years ago Bush told liberal journalist Robert Scheer that a nuclear war was winnable. During the election campaign Dukakis came out for a first-strike strategy, letting slip what has always been the real war program of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time, the insane drive of the U.S. rulers to destroy the remaining achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution has bankrupted the American economy. Thus the struggle of workers against union-busting and of blacks against cutback racism is directly linked to the struggle against a nuclear Third World War. To be victorious these struggles demand a multiracial revolutionary workers party which alone can bring down this rotting, war-driven capitalist system and establish in its place a global socialist order of peace, prosperity and equality. ■

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ADL...

(continued from page 2)

Magazine "had nothing whatever to say" about a limp 1938 Congressional bill for temporarily raising immigration quotas from East Europe. Jewish bourgeois organizations claimed that large-scale Jewish immigration at a time of mass unemployment would inflame anti-Semitism (Abraham Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America* [1969]).

Moreover, B'nai B'rith explicitly opposed mass protests in the U.S. against the Nazi Kristallnacht, arguing "that there should be no parades, public demonstrations, or protests by Jews" (*Kristallnacht 1938-1988*, Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York, 1988). Nor did they do anything to sound the alarm even when the mass extermination began. In fact, when they finally appealed to Roosevelt in late 1942, Rabbi Stephen Wise wrote of the reports of the Nazis' mass slaughter that he and other Jewish leaders had "succeed[ed]" in "keeping them out of the press" (quoted in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* [1983]).

They shared FDR and Churchill's desire to keep European Jews out of America and England. What turned these upper-crust Jewish leaders into Zionists at the end of the war was the desire that the survivors of the Holocaust should go *somewhere else*: "Zionism resolved the dilemma of American Jewry; it provided a home for the remnants of European Jewry without incurring an immigrant exodus to the United States" (*The Jewish Experience in America*). Over the years, the ADL and its fellow "mainstream" Jewish organizations increasingly came to act as American branch offices of the

tol around *Commentary* subsequently became the vanguard of Reaganite "neo-conservatism." In his autobiographical *Making It* (1967), Podhoretz explained that one of the reasons *Commentary* began publishing virulently anti-Communist and anti-Soviet material in the 1950s was as "part of a secret program to demonstrate that not all Jews were Communists—even though, as all the world knew but as *Commentary* would have folded before admitting, Jews were disproportionately represented in the American Communist Party." So who are the "self-haters"?

The Broken Alliance

This trajectory was to push the traditionally liberal Jewish organizations increasingly to the right. The 1967 Arab-Israeli war demonstrated that Israel had become the Goliath of the Near East. As Israeli tanks rolled into the Sinai, West Bank and Golan Heights, a wave of virulent Zionist chauvinism inundated American Jewry. The American ruling class didn't give a damn about a "Jewish homeland," but it now saw in Israel a capable regional gendarme against "Soviet surrogates" like Nasser's Egypt and Ba'athist Syria. Washington became chief quartermaster for the Israeli war machine.

The American Zionists became the leading edge for anti-Soviet hawks in the Democratic Party. Podhoretz and his gang organized outfits like the Committee on the Present Danger to argue for a nuclear first strike against the Russians. On the domestic front, Podhoretz prefigured the virulent anti-black racism which spread through the Jewish community. In his 1963 *Commentary* essay, "My Negro Problem—and Ours," he denounces "all the white liberals who permit Negroes to blackmail

active action and open admissions, blacks demanded their place in the public colleges which had provided the avenue for Jewish "upward mobility." Not coincidentally one of the first strongholds of the racist Jewish Defense League was at Brooklyn College.

Many American Jews began to think, as the title of Podhoretz' book had it, that they were now "making it" in white racist America. We explained the dangerous character of such illusions more than a decade ago:

"Given the intense black-white polarization in late-1960's America, many Jews believed that they were now part of the dominant majority, safe in the U.S. from reactionary anti-Semitism. This was a major factor in the American Jewish community's rightward political motion in the past decade. However, the notion of a 'white community' was always a fiction. Anti-Jewish prejudice remains significant in American society. For the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant section of the ruling class, Jews are a good deal less than white. The attitude toward Jews in the dormitories of West Point (the training ground for the trigger-men of the American ruling class) is not much more liberal than it was in the military academies of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany."

—"How Jewish Backlash Aided U.S. Neo-Nazis," *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978

Indeed, available evidence argues that a case can be made that pre-World War I Germany was in crucial ways *less* anti-Semitic than the current social outlook of sectors of the American ruling class. Bismarckian Germany had a strong bias toward secularization; national unification required an attack on the entrenched status of the church which was a holdover from medieval society. It is no accident that German Jews were the most assimilationist in Europe. In contrast, a significant wing of American rulers favor "fundamentalist Christianity," which leaves little room for other Christians and apparently none for non-Christians.

While churning out reams of diatribes against *black* anti-Semites like Farrakhan, the Zionists work hand in glove with the far more dangerous anti-Semites who wield state power. Podhoretz and his ilk may gloat that the likes of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell are strongly pro-Israel. But when Robertson rants that Christians feel more strongly about "patriotism" and "love of country" than other Americans, he's making it clear that in his America there will be no place even for reactionary, anti-Communist, Zionist Jews. The Bush campaign harbored a nest of Nazis; Nixon, who called his own secretary of state Henry Kissinger a "Jew-boy," ran an anti-Semitic witch-hunt in his administration against a "Jewish cabal." Yet ADL spokesman Arthur H. Foxman dismisses this all as a 17-year-old peccadillo!

The ADL devotes its energies to acting as American thought police for the Israeli regime's war on "PLO terrorists," hypocritically seizing on the fake-left's adulation of Arab nationalism and its amnesty of nationalist anti-Semitism as evidence to equate all anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. But they run into a big problem with the Spartacist League, because we denounce the "left" cheerleaders for nationalism *and* the apologists for Israeli state terror, from the standpoint of *internationalism*. The SL is pretty much the only left organization that hasn't caved in to some kind of Arab nationalism under the guise of "anti-imperialism."

The Zionists hate our guts because we have their number: they do nothing to defend Jews against racist terror here and they cheer on racist terror against Palestinians in Israel. The Trotskyists' simultaneous opposition to the destruction of the Jews in Israel and to Zionism is a greater crime in their eyes than pan-Arab nationalism or anti-Semitism.

The Israeli garrison-state, erected on the corpse of the Palestinian people, increasingly dominated by religious fundamentalism, offers no future for the Jewish people. As long as the Near East

is riven by nationalist fratricide, three million Jews cannot ultimately prevail against 100 million Arabs. We have always defended the right to self-determination of *both* the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples in the Near East, which can only be achieved by transcending their respective bourgeois nationalist leaderships in a struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East which will be able to accommodate just national needs. We forthrightly combat all manifestations of anti-Semitism while defending victims of Israeli state repression like Mordechai Vanunu.

Judenrat for Reagan

Tragically, post-World War II history and the successive military victories of the state of Israel have given Zionists a virtually absolute monopoly as the voice of American Jewry. *But these Zionists do not represent the interests of the Jewish people.* The ADL certainly does not speak for the 2,500 Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, who drove Nazis off the streets of Evanston, Illinois in October 1980. B'nai B'rith opposed this demonstration while the Spartacist League played a prominent and active role in stopping the fascist terrorists.

In 1982 when the SL initiated a mass mobilization against a threatened Nazi provocation in Chicago, the Janusz Korczak chapter of B'nai B'rith sent out a notice to its members: "We as Holocaust Survivors have a moral obligation to protest any Nazi rally." Many of these survivors remember with undying hatred that in the ghettos of Nazi-occupied East Europe there were those who chose to betray their people and collaborate with the Hitlerites, agreeing to serve as Nazi tools in the *Judenräte* ("Councils of Jewish Elders") and in the ghetto police which dragged Jews off to the cattle cars. Today Podhoretz, the ADL and the rest of this wretched Zionist lot are striving to be *Judenräte* for Reagan.

These defamation experts seek to be the "authoritative" intelligence source against the left. In pretrial discovery proceedings in the trial of a Spartacist campus activist in California, we obtained a copy of a 12 February 1985 letter from an ADL official to the university cops stating: "I hope we will be able to continue working on the Spartacus [sic] Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus."

What was true on the eve of the Holocaust—that ultimate grotesque expression of nationalist racism—is equally true today: the only salvation for the Jewish people lies in international socialist revolution. In the '30s it was the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party who agitated for opening American borders to refugees from Nazi terror. While Yitzhak Shamir hailed Mussolini and tried to cut a deal with Hitler, while "Labor" Zionist Rudolph Kasztner collaborated with Eichmann in sending 800,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, *hundreds of thousands* of Jews did fight to the death against the Nazi terror—in ghetto uprisings, in concentration camp revolts, in partisan units and above all in the Soviet Red Army—and they fought and died under the banner of socialism.

The future for American Jews lies not in ignoring virulently anti-black and also anti-Semitic white Christian racists but in forging an alliance with black people and all minorities behind the social power of the integrated labor movement. Only by making common cause with the exploited and all the oppressed in this America which is a new prison house of peoples, rigidly ranked by color and religion and firmly locked into class positions, can Jews and other minorities find a common and successful outcome amid the dangers and vicissitudes of this imperialist capitalist system in decline. The Zionists stand as an obstacle squarely in the middle of this road. ■



WV Photo

Spartacists join with Jewish protesters, many of them concentration camp survivors, in driving Nazis out of Evanston, Illinois in 1980.

viciously racist, expansionist Israeli state.

But this outlook was far from unanimous. Many ADL members in the early '50s were disturbed by arguments "that anyone who is anti-Israel is also anti-Jewish." Those Jews, particularly socialists, who chose not to identify with Israel were denounced as "self-haters." The ADL leadership had to beat back arguments that it was becoming "an adjunct of the Israeli embassy, an agency of a foreign power" by arguing that American and Israeli interests could never conflict (Deborah Dash Moore, *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership* [1981]).

Over the years, the key to equating support to Israel with American interests has been anti-Sovietism. At the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, as Jewish leftists in particular were being crucified and the Rosenbergs were electrocuted amid an anti-Communist and anti-Semitic frenzy, the ADL ostentatiously volunteered its files and cooperation to McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee (Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* [1979]).

Anti-Communist social-democrats like Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kris-

them into adopting a double standard of moral judgement," and sneers about "cunning and contemptuous exploitation by Negroes they employ or try to befriend."

The traditional liberal alignment of Jews and blacks broke down with the crisis of the civil rights movement. In the early '60s many of the young white activists who went South to fight against Jim Crow segregation were Jewish. But when the civil rights movement moved North, liberalism hit a brick wall. While the leaders of the NAACP and other black establishment organizations were pro-Israel, young black activists who raised the call for "black power" identified with the Third World, particularly the Palestinian people, against the Zionist state and, too often, against Jews in general.

In the ghetto upheavals, the immediate targets of black anger were often Jewish slumlords and even mom-and-pop store owners. With the struggle limited to getting a larger slice of the capitalist pie, those who were one step up from the ghetto were most fearful. By and large these were the lower middle-class Jews who lived in the next neighborhood over. With calls for affirm-

Kristallnacht...

(continued from page 16)

crushed the Nazi terror. Hitler's genocide was the supreme expression of nationalist chauvinism, directed against all those who were defined by the Nazis as being outside the "people's community." It is well known that Hitler's first act after seizing power in January 1933 was to smash the trade unions and atomize the working class. But "learning lessons from history" means fighting for the program to mobilize the proletariat, including its powerful immigrant component, against German capital's economic "Drang nach Osten" (drive to the East), which is part and parcel of NATO's anti-Soviet war drive. What was needed to crush fascism before it wreaked its havoc on the earth was a program of *internationalism*, the program of world socialist revolution.

Pogrom Against the Jews: Hitler Mobilizes

On 28 October 1938, the Gestapo began rounding up the 18,000 Polish Jews living in the Third Reich. Expelled penniless to the Polish border, they were barred from entering Poland and virtually imprisoned, many to die a miserable death, in a no man's land between the two countries. On November 6, a young man living in Paris, Herschl Grynszpan, distraught over the deportation of his family which had lived in Hannover since 1911, took a pistol and shot Ernst vom Rath, a minor Nazi official at the German Embassy. When vom Rath died three days later, the Nazis had made extensive preparations to exploit the incident to the hilt.

November 9 was a propitious date for the fascists' purposes. It was the anniversary of the abortive 1923 Munich putsch (coup). It was also the day the Nazis vowed to avenge, when in 1918 insurrectionary workers and soldiers forced the Kaiser to abdicate and the Weimar Republic was proclaimed. The head of the Gestapo, Müller, telegraphed detailed instructions for the pogrom, which was to begin that evening, to all police stations.

For 24 hours terror reigned. SA thugs dragged hundreds out into the streets or shot them in cold blood in their homes. They were beaten to death, stabbed, drowned. The population was intimidated and incited by the uniformed pogromists to take part. In many cases onlookers were forced to jeer and spit on the victims. Bonfires consumed the contents of synagogues and libraries all over Germany: 191 synagogues were destroyed; those that could not be burned without danger to "non-Jewish" buildings were smashed to rubble.

The 30,000 Jews who were arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen, Dachau and Buchenwald got a foretaste of what the Nazis' Holocaust was to mean with its gas chambers and ovens. The *London News Chronicle* reported on November 23 what happened at Sachsenhausen:

"The arrested men had reached the camp gates under police escort from Berlin. At the gates, the police were made to hand them over to an SS unit. The sixty-two Jews were then forced to run a gauntlet of spades, clubs and whips. According to an eye-witness, 'the police, unable to bear their cries, turned their backs.' As the Jews were beaten, they fell. As they fell they were beaten further. This 'orgy' of beating lasted half an hour. When it was over, 'twelve of the sixty-two were dead, their skulls smashed. The others were all unconscious. The eyes of some had been knocked out, their faces flattened and shapeless.'"

—quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986)

Hundreds died, 244 in the first month alone in Buchenwald.

The aim of the Kristallnacht pogrom was to whip up the German masses for war. Hitler told the Nazi press on November 10 he intended to "strengthen the self-confidence of the German people, step by step." For as William Shirer, then a correspondent in Berlin, noted,

the population had openly displayed its unwillingness to go to war over the Sudetenland in September 1938. As Trotsky wrote in "What Is National Socialism?" (June 1933), for the fascists "The pogrom becomes the supreme evidence of racial superiority."

After the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin Hitler drew up his "Four Year Plan" to mobilize the German economy for war and to finance rearmament through the "Aryanization" of Jewish property. Göring was put in charge of the plan. Two days after the Kristallnacht pogrom, Hitler's economic czar convened a meeting of the Nazi leadership to draw up a balance sheet. Regretting the damage to property (which he intended to seize) Göring fulminated that it would have been better to kill 200 Jews. Indeed, by referring to the pogrom as "Kristallnacht," the Nazis reduce it to the broken glass their thugs smashed that night—equivalent to an entire year of German glass production. As "com-

of the Austrian workers movement, Viktor Adler. Rosa Luxemburg—alongside Karl Liebknecht the greatest leader of the German workers movement—was not only Jewish, but a woman and a Pole. Beginning with Bismarck's empire, and with far more virulence in Franz Josef's Austria (where Hitler was politically schooled), political anti-Semitism was used by bourgeois reaction to mobilize the petty-bourgeois masses against the revolutionary workers movement, culminating in the Nazi victory in 1933.

The destruction of the workers movement by the totalitarian Nazi regime was in turn the *precondition* for the genocide of the Jews. Even so, atomized and terrorized, German workers continued to resist the pogroms and Holocaust. After the Kristallnacht pogrom, among the Hamburg proletariat:

"Condemnation and curses were to be heard, especially among the dock and shipyard workers. In some companies,



Pathfinder Press

November 1938—American Trotskyists protest Kristallnacht and demand "Unrestricted Entry to Nazi Victims."

pensation," this meeting decided that the state would seize the insurance payments due Jews for the destruction of their property. In addition, a collective fine of one billion marks would be imposed on Jews. And that afternoon Göring issued the decree "Eliminating the Jews From Economic Life."

But it wasn't just the Nazi rabble. The German bourgeoisie as a whole had united around exploiting anti-Semitism to revive Germany from its defeat in World War I. General Werner von Fritsch, a reactionary of the old school whom Hitler replaced as commander in chief of the army in 1938, wrote:

"Soon after the war I came to the conclusion that we should have to be victorious in three battles if Germany were to become powerful again:

- "1. The battle against the working class—Hitler has won this.
- "2. Against the Catholic Church....
- "3. Against the Jews."

—quoted in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1959)

Nazism, as German ultranationalism, had always gone after Jews, Catholics and Communists, because their history and ties extend beyond national borders, and, in the case of the Communists, they were open *internationalists*.

Anti-Semitism was not a specifically German phenomenon. It was far more pervasive in France, as demonstrated by the Dreyfus affair. It was used in both countries to deflect petty-bourgeois economic discontent against highly visible Jewish capitalists like the Rothschilds and Walter Rathenau. But in Central Europe it was integral to bourgeois reaction. This was due to the leading role that Jews played in everything progressive, particularly the workers movement. Two of the three founding fathers of the German workers movement were Jewish, Marx and Lassalle—as was the founding leader

collections were taken up for the dispossessed and hard-hit Jews. In Eimsbüttel, workers in one factory took the stolen goods away from the Nazi plunderers and returned them to their owners."

—Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer, eds., *Alltag der Entrechteten*

Once-red Berlin, home of half the Jews who remained in the Reich after the November pogrom, became the center for courageous defiance against the Nazis' hunt for the Jews. Several thousand went underground in the capital and during the war 1,400 successfully escaped deportation to the death camps. As Leonard Gross writes in *The Last Jews in Berlin* (1982), this was often due to their own ingenuity and intelligence. But they "were sequestered in rooms, apartments, homes, shacks, offices and even stores—most often by the grace of Gentile friends and even strangers."

The Fight Against Fascism

The German workers movement was powerful enough and willing in its great majority to prevent Hitler from taking power, if necessary by civil war. But it was the criminal capitulation of its leadership, Stalinist (KPD) as well as Social Democratic (SPD), which permitted the triumph of Nazism. As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program* (1938): "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." In the end it was the Soviet workers and the Red Army who *despite Stalin* crushed the Nazi regime and freed Europe from the nightmare of fascism.

The blindness of the SPD tops was but the continuation of their counter-revolutionary policies since 1914. Indeed, the Nazis were the successors of the Freikorps that Scheidemann and Noske had used to drown the German

Revolution in blood in 1919. But the responsibility of the KPD was greater to the extent that they misled the revolutionary-minded workers. They went from competing with the Nazis in nationalist rhetoric to calling the SPD "social fascists" and demanding that the SPD ranks simply come over to the Communists in a "united front from below." Their boast, "After Hitler, us" reflected their actual defeatism—they had despaired of barring the path to a fascist seizure of power.

In the face of Hitler's victory, defeatism was turned into social patriotism. Under the rubric of the "people's front," Stalin's Third International adopted the class-collaborationist policies of the Second. It played a no less counterrevolutionary role in the Spanish Civil War than the party of Noske and Scheidemann played in 1919. Franco's victory in turn emboldened Hitler's war preparations, including the anti-Semitic terror of 9 November 1938.

In contrast, the Trotskyists fought for a program to smash the Nazis before they took power. Trotsky called for a "workers united front": "March separately, strike together." This was to be no parliamentary bloc, no political non-aggression pact (as advocated by Heinrich Brandler's KPO and the centrist SAP). And it was no "popular front" with the mythical "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie, as later advocated by the Stalinists. Instead, it meant organizing the working class against the bourgeoisie, achieving *unity in struggle* between the Communist and Social Democratic workers in order to defend the workers organizations against the stormtroopers while at the same time exposing in action the hesitations, vacillation and abhorrence of social revolution on the part of the Social Democratic leaders. Examples show what could have been achieved if the Trotskyists had won leadership of the Communist workers: thus a workers self-defense group under Trotskyist leadership in Oranienburg opened fire on and routed the Brown-shirts when they entered a working-class neighborhood on 30 January 1933.

Today, as Bonn together with its NATO allies rearm and train for a new thermonuclear, anti-Soviet "Operation Barbarossa" (Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the USSR); as skinhead terror, protected by the state, strikes at leftists, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and other minorities; and as skinhead gangs are now obscenely appearing in East Germany, the *lessons of history* are embodied in the *program* of proletarian internationalism which alone can save humanity from a new holocaust.

The anti-NPD protest in Frankfurt recently showed that even a hint of the power of the organized workers movement was sufficient to drive these vermin from the streets (see "West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis," *WV* No. 464, 4 November). To unchain the enormous social power of the West German working class with its decisive component of immigrant workers so that it can fight for its historic class interests, the key is building a revolutionary party. Our model is the party of Lenin and Trotsky, which, acting as a tribune of the people, unites all the oppressed under the banner of the proletariat.

Germany plays a leading role in deciding Europe's road—toward socialism or barbarism. As we wrote in the declaration of the international Spartacist tendency on Reagan's 1982 European tour:

"Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat. Any attempt to deny the unity and centrality of the German proletariat... represents an attack on the socialist future of Europe. For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!"

—"The Main Enemy Is At Home!" *WV* No. 307, 11 June 1982 ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Victims of the Holocaust!

Kristallnacht: Reign of Nazi Terror

The following article was adapted from Spartakist No. 59, November/December 1988, the newspaper of the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands.

November 9, 1988 is the 50th anniversary of the Nazis' *Kristallnacht*, the anti-Semitic pogrom which was the first bloody *state massacre* against the Jewish people, in every city, town and village in the German Reich. This date lives in infamy as the decisive turning point, when Hitler's Third Reich initiated the Holocaust. There followed six and a half years of sadism and mass slaughter unprecedented in human history, in which six million European Jews were exterminated: eleven million members of minorities, Gypsies, Communists, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, old people, children, countless others. And 20 million Soviet citizens were killed in the war. In 1935 the Nazis had passed the "Nuremberg race laws" which robbed Jews of all civil rights. But Hitler's 1938 *Reichspogromnacht*, as it is known in Germany today, was the open declaration to the world that the genocidal program of *Mein Kampf* was to be carried out. It would not just be discrimination under the Nuremberg laws, but terror and mass murder.

Today the Kohl gang orchestrates hypocritical commemorations of the victims of the *Kristallnacht* pogrom, even issuing a postage stamp bearing a picture of the burning synagogue in Baden-Baden. But the West German state is, and even proclaims itself to be, the successor state to the Third Reich. This state is the "executive committee" for the Deutsche Bank, the Daimler military-industrial complex, the Bayer, Hoechst and BASF chemical companies. They are today swimming in profits made from the exploitation of



10 November 1938—Nazis turn Baden-Baden synagogue into flaming inferno. Throughout Germany over 30,000 Jews were rounded up and sent to concentration camps.



LBI News

Turkish and other immigrant *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"). Led by the likes of convicted war criminal Abs, the Krupps and Thyssens, 50 years ago the same banks were raking in millions squeezed out of forced labor in the Nazis' concentration camps. And just as IG Farben in the Third Reich made Zyklon B to gas the Jews, today their successor companies in the Fourth Reich sell the same stuff to Iraqi colonels to gas the Kurds.

Hitler vowed to wipe out "Jew Bol-

shevism," which he equated with the organized proletariat, international Communism and the Soviet degenerated workers state. In 1948 the imperialist Allies created the West German state, largely with the same human material that had administered the Third Reich, as an anti-Communist bulwark in Central Europe. When Kohl and Reagan saluted Hitler's SS killer elite in Bitburg on 5 May 1985, they renewed their pledge to continue the Nazi drive to crush the workers movement and the USSR.

Caught up in the resurgent nationalism generated by the growing military and economic strength of West German imperialism, the entire West German left refused to protest Bitburg. Together with the Greens they decided to divert attention and demonstrated against the economic summit in Bonn. The protests were left to a few aging survivors of the Holocaust, their children and grandchildren. But the West German cops made sure Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen were "judenrein" (cleansed of Jews) for the imperialist warmongers, dragging off Jewish protesters as the Jews had been dragged out of their homes on 9 November 1938.

This ruling class has whipped up fascist activity across the country, from skinhead gangs beating up Turkish youth in Hannover to Nazi Republikaner rallies in West Berlin and NPD (German National Party) threats to march through Frankfurt. As shown by the

anti-fascist high school student movement in West Berlin and other cities, a new political generation not only looks to the past to know what happened. They want to know *why*, and what can be done to stop today's would-be Hitlers.

The VVN (Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime), founded by survivors of Hitler's concentration camps, reflected this clamor in its declaration on the 50th anniversary of the *Kristallnacht* pogrom. But to "Draw Lessons From Our History" does not mean calling on the West German capitalist state—which acquitted the murderer of Communist Party leader Ernst Thälmann and killed anti-fascist demonstrator Günter Sare—to "ban" the fascists it solicitously protects.

As Abram Leon, the Belgian Trotskyist leader who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1942, wrote in his incisive analysis, *The Jewish Question*, "Racism is... the ideological disguise of modern imperialism. The 'race struggling for its living space' [*Lebensraum*] is nothing but the reflection of the permanent necessity for expansion which characterizes finance or monopoly capitalism." Nazism was the German bourgeoisie's last desperate recourse to rescue its own class rule before the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat.

The German proletariat was the enemy and the first victim of Nazism. The proletariat, and it alone, could have

continued on page 15



German Trotskyists say: "Smash the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!" "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"