

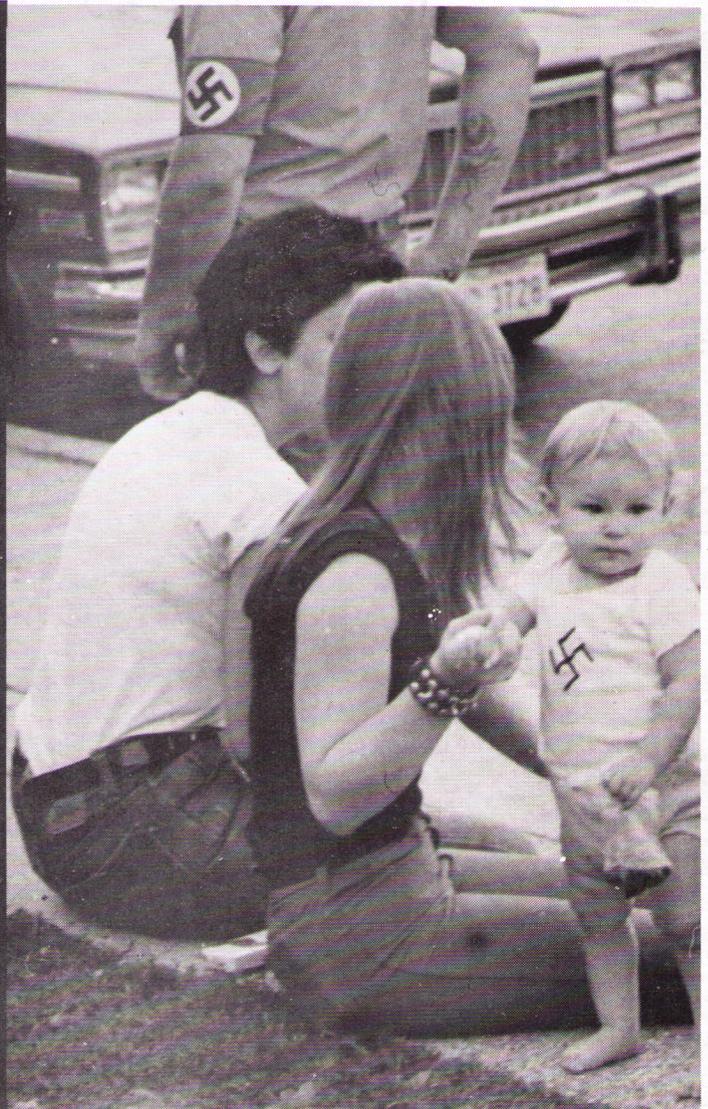
The New Face of Fascism and the Klan

URGENT TASKS

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Nyack and the Grand Jury

Sojourner Truth Organization

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SPEECHES TO THE NATIONAL ANTI-KLAN NETWORK
NATIONAL CONFERENCE, Atlanta, June 19, 1982

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Klan (Klanwatch)**

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. . . not to serve the working class at each of its stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence.

V.I. Lenin, *The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement*

Speeches to the National Anti-Klan Network Conference, Atlanta, June 19, 1982

THE INTERNATIONAL FACE OF FASCISM

by David Edgar

Let me start by saying how happy I am to be here, how honored I am to be invited and to bring greetings of *Searchlight* magazine, of the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, and the whole British anti-racist movement to you here today. I'd like to add to that how envious I am of your success in organizing this conference.

I say that because despite the considerable successes of the anti-fascist and anti-racist movement in Britain which I will talk about later, at the present that movement is fractured and uncertain in this particularly alarming time when last summer's riots in British cities combined with the military success of the Falklands venture to create a milieu of national chauvinism edging close to racism which I believe to be extremely dangerous to Black and Asian people in Britain, and I'll go into that more later.

But I was asked to talk about the international face of fascism with particular reference to the British National Front. I suppose it would be helpful to talk about European fascist groups as well and if I can fit it in as well, mention a little about the American fascist right, and that in France and all of this first thing on a Saturday morning in a short session shared with another very distinguished speaker.

I'm reminded of the story of a judge who's sentencing a criminal who committed a vast series of crimes, and he told the man his various sentences would add up to a total of nine hundred years. And the criminal said, "I'm terribly sorry, your honor, I can't possibly do all that." And the judge leaned down rather benignly and sympathetically and said, "I know, but try and do as much as you can."

So I'll try and do as much as I can, but I think I'd better start by giving a short summary of the history of British fascism in the post-Second World War period, a history so absurdly potted I'll probably give the impression I've been smoking it.

The central project of the National Socialist, the Nazi right in Britain since the war, has been the seemingly impossible one of making Nazi ideas popular in a country which fought longer than any other against German fascism in the forties. The method by which

British Nazis attempted to gain support for this ideology has twisted and turned over the years, but until very recently the basic strategy was that summed up in a secret letter written in 1967 by leading British fascist John Tyndall to a man you may know, the American Nazi William Pierce.

Tyndall's letter made it clear that there was in his view no way that an openly Nazi movement with jack-boots and swastikas could succeed in Britain. Tactics would have to be covert, therefore. Supporters would have to be recruited to seemingly respectable front organizations on the basis of single issues, and only then gradually indoctrinated into a comprehensively Nazi view.

The main issue on which the British Nazis sought to recruit was and is, of course, Black and Asian immigration to Britain, which began in the 1950s, encouraged, I may say, by the then Conservative government, keen to recruit low-paid labor and which peaked in the early- to mid-seventies.

The utility of the race question for the fascists went beyond the exploitation of simple racial hostility; immigration connected neatly to other issues.

The first was the decline and fall of the British Empire, viewed by the fascists as a deliberate act of national suicide inspired by liberal intelligentsia, of which the presence of the former colonial peoples in the mother country from the Indian sub-continent and Caribbean was a mocking reminder.

But even more important, the fascists were still totally committed to the anti-Semitic conspiracy theory of history and were able to blame both the end of the empire and Black immigration on the deliberate, secret plot by international Jews to destroy the British race — a plot masterminded by Wall Street and super-rich Jewish bankers who are also involved in the United Nations, NATO, IMF, Common Market, and indeed, the Communist Bloc. It was and is, as you know, a central tenet of Nazism that New York Jewish bankers directly financed, promoted, and organized the Russian revolution.

As I said, however, the central strategy of recruiting support on the basis of simple, primitive racism, and only then indoctrinating these supporters into the full Nazi ideology, went through a number of

variations. First, in the 1950s British fascists were largely organized in a strangely old-world, upper-class Conservative Party pressure group called the League of Empire Loyalists.

By the early sixties, however, racial tension in Britain had mounted sufficiently for the Young Turks of the League of Empire Loyalists to break away to form something a bit bolder which would be openly named National Socialist Movement, founded on the anniversary of Hitler's birthday in 1962 at a party whose high point was a trans-Atlantic telephone call to your own late Lincoln Rockwell, who obviously wasn't late at the time and indeed in the summer of the same year came over to Britain to co-found with the British Nazi movement the grandiosely named World Union of National Socialists which, of course, still exists today.

But it soon became clear that an openly Nazi movement in Britain was a non-starter. At first it was laughed at, and many of its leaders were arrested and jailed for organizing a private army. By the end of the sixties, the time of the letter to William Pierce, the main line of strategy was formulated and the British National Front was established as a pseudo-respectable liberal electoral front organization which campaigned publicly on the issue of Black immigration and only privately to develop Nazi ideas.

As if to confirm the potential of this strategy, in April 1968 the Conservative Party's defense spokesman, Enoch Powell, made a famous anti-immigration speech named "The Rivers of Blood" speech, by far the most extreme racist speech to be

made by a leading British politician. The reaction in the opinion polls and in elections made clear to the Nazis and National Front how potent this issue could be.

Throughout the seventies, then, the National Front concentrated on building up its organization, recruiting favors and supporters and fighting national labor elections. Gradually its votes grew in fits and starts from a derisory two or three percent towards ten percent in some areas and as high as fifteen or twenty percent in its most solid districts of working-class neighborhoods in large cities in which Black immigration had been proportionally the highest.

By 1976 the National Front was calling itself Britain's third party on the basis of having defeated the Liberal Party, which has been traditionally regarded as Britain's third party, on a number of occasions. A general election happened to be called sometime in 1979. It seemed clear that the National Front had the potential to achieve, even if it didn't get anyone elected, a significant proportion of the votes and a permanent presence on the British political scene.

Well, it didn't actually happen. In May 1979, at the general election which returned the Thatcher government, the National Front put up candidates in half the parliamentary districts who averaged 633 votes each, just over three percent of the votes in the districts where they stood. Even in their heartlands of support, the vote declined dramatically.

There are many reasons for this decline but the main one, in my view, was the quite extraordinary



mass movement of the opposition to them which successfully exposed their strategy. It made clear through inventive and widespread propaganda that the leaders of the National Front were and always had been dedicated National Socialists and that their commitment to the electoral process was as shallow and hypocritical as Hitler's had been in Germany in the 1930s.

I want to develop that point but first talk a little about how the NF responded to the catastrophe of the '79 elections.

After a series of bruising internal conflicts, the Party had split into four warring factions within a year. The new line had emerged in an internal members-only bulletin dated July 1980, a document which somehow or other happened to fall into our hands. The key passage was, in the bulletin, as follows:

If it is true that the National Front has no hope of gaining power under conditions of stability, economically, socially, or politically, we should not be preoccupied with making ourselves more respectable under present conditions. We must appreciate that the image we have been given by the media, which may well lose us some potential support today, will be a positive asset when the streets are beset by riots, unemployment soars, and when inflation gets even beyond the present degree of minimal control.

Clearly, it is a small step from that argument that the National Front today is growing in conditions of social unrest to the conclusion that the National Front should be busily engaged in bringing that social unrest about. Three things very quickly started to happen that continue to happen until the present day.

The first was that in the National Front's propaganda (in saying National Front, I also mean the various parties that split from it), all pretenses of not being a Nazi organization were discarded. Open anti-Semitism ruled in the propaganda. Classic anti-Semitic texts like the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* appeared in the booklets and were quoted approvingly. The phrase "National Socialist" was used with pride. In its propaganda, then, the Nazi right stood proudly unveiled as just that.

The second development was an open espousal of racial violence. Since 1979 there has, in England, been a growing epidemic of organized racial attacks on Black and Asian people in their homes and on the streets which has now a level, according to the British Indian Workers Association, of 1,000 separate racial attacks a month.

Organized bands of skin-heads, which is a white working-class youth subculture, are openly proclaiming their affiliation with the National Front or its off-shoots. They're terrorizing individuals and families in racially mixed areas. Weapons have been found on National Front premises and plans to buy or import further arms have been revealed. In its public



persona, then, the National Front has changed from a pseudo-respectable disciplined group of campaigners to a disorderly, overwhelmingly young, rabble of thugs devoted to Nazi regalia and indiscriminate street violence.

Behind the scenes, however, an even more sinister development was taking place.

The British fascist movement had from the sixties cultivated international links, particularly with American organizations like the Nazi Party itself but also specifically the National States Rights Party of J. B. Stoner and Edward Fields, both of whom visited Britain frequently during the mid-to-late seventies, addressing National Front meetings.

National Front leader John Tyndall twice returned the visits, speaking indeed here in Georgia during the same period. Tyndall was described glowingly by the *Thunderbolt* as the dynamic orator whose message of white race survival has inspired a nation. Edward Fields described one of his visits to Britain in the *Thunderbolt* of July 1977 as follows:

The thundering cheers from the throng. . . . I told the patriots that the Jews are the common enemy of all white nations in Europe. I explained that the developing European Parliament posed a grave threat to the liberty and freedom of all European nations. I also warned that the colored immigration of foreign workers threatened to pollute and destroy all the white countries in Europe.

In addition, both David Duke and Bill Wilkinson visited Britain too, again in the late seventies, and held secret meetings with the National Front and other fascist groups. But the key organization with international linkage was, in fact, not the National Front itself, but a shadowy British body called the League of St. George — St. George being Britain's

patron saint — which has never made any secret of its Nazi affiliations, which has many members who are also members of larger, public extreme-right groups.

In 1975 Edwards Fields' visit to Britain was hosted by the League, and in 1977 we were able to reveal that the League's international officer, also a National Front member, was the international representative of the journal *Christian Vanguard*, the violently anti-Semitic paper of James K. Waller's New Christian Crusade Church, who was formerly David Duke's number two. In the summary of the American extreme right in October 1977, the League of St. George's journal listed the NSWPP (National Socialist White People's Party), the Duke Klan, the NSRP, and the New Christian Crusade Church as the leadership that would save white America from the effects of darkness.

But the League has not restricted its international activities to the States. Most of Edward Fields' and Stoner's visits to Britain have been either en route to or from an annual Nazi jamboree — which is held in Diksmuide, Belgium, ostensibly to commemorate the Belgian war dead but in fact to celebrate the memory of Hitler's SS — which provides, when the police allow it to happen, a forum for the international Nazi movement to plan its strategy.

In July 1980 at Diksmuide, a secret meeting was held of top European Nazis, including representatives of the British League of St. George, with top American Nazis. Sadly, we weren't invited, so we can't confirm quite who was there, but it is almost certain that one of them was from the NSRP. A number of schemes were discussed including the export of guns from America to Europe and a plan to spring J. B. Stoner from jail.

The next month 82 people died in the Nazi bombing at the railway station in Bologna in North Italy, the worst terrorist outrage of the post-war period. A month after that, 14 people died in another Nazi bombing in Munich, Germany, and a month after that, French fascists bombed the rue Copernic synagogue in Paris.

We have established since that in all cases the bombers or their close associates have had intimate connections with the British Nazi right, particularly through the League of St. George and, in the case of the Italian group responsible for Bologna, several members have been provided sanctuary in Britain by League of St. George members. Indeed, the same service was provided for members of the Turkish Grey Wolves, the group responsible for the attempted assassination of the Pope, a couple of years ago.

It is clear beyond doubt that the British extreme right has performed a key support role for the growing European fascist international by providing safe houses and the like. There is mounting evidence of British arms stockpiling, indicating that fascist terrorism on the model of Bologna, Munich, and Paris

could be being planned in Britain.

The picture I've built up is one, then, of a now overt Nazi movement which has spurned the road of gaining popular support in elections in favor of street violence and intimidation. In other words, I'm talking about the significant and unpleasant and dangerous, but nonetheless in many ways marginal, group that has been forced into marginality by successful anti-racist campaigns.

I know that you've had the same kind of argument here that we've had in Britain as to whether the racists on the streets are maybe unofficial arms of the racist state, as to whether indeed the state was already fascist and that the activities of actual proclaimed fascists was no more than guarding the bolted stable door. The situation of the National Front in the aftermath of '79 seemed finally to prove, if proof is necessary, that practically, politically, and sociologically the fascist right was an exclusive, excluded phenomenon, that it had to be considered and fought separately from the racist machine of the state.

I still think this is broadly the case. And yet, over the last twelve months or so, more precisely since riots broke out in Brixton and London in April 1981 and particularly since further riots broke out in the summer in Liverpool and Manchester, there has been a strange and alarming change in British politics which results partly from the manifest failure of Thatchernomics — we got that first — with growth in the Conservative Party of a kind of right-wing authoritarianism which has hitherto been confined to the tiniest and craziest of the Party's fringes.

The components of this authoritarianism will be familiar to you. A critique of social explanations of crime, the scapegoating of Blacks as a criminal class, calls for tough law-and-order measures, militant anti-feminism, calls for reassertion of traditional sexual, family, and educational values, and militarism. But what's been particularly striking is the way the idea of nationhood and national pride is increasingly expressed by the idea of race and racial pride, which have been common factors in comments first on the riots and then on the Falklands venture.

As it were, the British people, the white British people, have stood up against the alien enemy without and reasserted their national pride and identity. Now one can draw the implication that they might well consider standing up against the enemy within, the alien hordes that, so runs the rhetoric, were admitted by the liberal elite against the wishes of the vast majority of the British people — the rhetoric of a once-great nation, buffeted by the liberal intelligentsia but finally reasserting its own tenets on racial community that were already familiar to us from the writings of our fascist right and are familiar to you from the writings of your fascist right and are certainly familiar to anyone who has read anything about the propaganda of the German Nazi Party in the '20s

and '30s.

This does not mean that the Conservative Party is developing a fascist wing, although there have been significant organizational links forged between right-wing conservatives and those older British fascists alarmed by the lumpen thuggery of the present fascist movement. What it does mean is hierarchical, elitist, and authoritarian ideas, ideas with inherent racial differences between nations, and inherent differences in intelligence, talent, and competence within nations, biological determinist ideas, in other words, are becoming at least slowly but surely part of the common sense of the age.

You can see it in the growth of the French New Right, which argues for the inevitable genetic differences between and within peoples. You can see it in the increased popularity of the pseudo-science of socio-biology, an American phenomenon. As Anne Braden, I think, hinted yesterday, you can see it also in a rather different form in the ideology of your own neo-conservatives, whose lurch to the right began, you will recall, with the repealing of the Black gains of the 1960s and indeed the general democratic gains of the sixties which had gone "much too far" and that what America needed was a reassertion of tradition and authority.

None of this, let me repeat, is to say that National Socialist ideas are rife within the conservative movement on either side of the Atlantic. There is, however, one increasingly respectable movement which is National Socialist, is growing, and is dangerous, which is the campaign to revise the history of the Second World War to deny the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews.

As I'm sure most of you know, this campaign was the province of the tiniest of fascist fringes until Arthur Butz of Northwestern University in Chicago produced a book called *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* which quickly shot to the top of the Nazi bestseller lists, to be followed by a number of well-produced, well-financed glossy pamphlets and books exploring the same theme, one of which was written by William Grimstad, a former editor of *White Power* and more recently an employee of David Duke.

Between those two pressing engagements it is almost certain that Grimstad recruited the director of the Institute of Historical Review, a Liberty Lobby front which began holding prestigious pseudo-academic conferences on what they call the "Holocaust myth" in California in 1979. The director of the institute, although he called himself Lewis Brandon, was in fact a British fascist called Dave McCalden who left the National Front during internal squabbles in the mid-seventies.

The purpose of the "revisionist" campaign, as it's called, was made crystal clear by Brandon/McCalden in an interview with *Los Angeles* magazine when he stated,



It is ideologically useful to show that the whole concept of an ethnic political campaign is not the big bogey man it is generally thought to be. If you say anything about Blacks or Jews, they say you want another Holocaust. If we can take the Holocaust propaganda and put it away, then there will be an open, frank, and true discussion on ethnic matters.

In other words, the racists and fascists want to deny their most notorious historical crime for the express purpose of reviving their gruesome ideology. It is my view, therefore, that in the British context (and I am not, I hope, arrogant enough to apply those confusions to your context — I have come here to learn about that) the fight against racism and fascism can no longer be compartmentalized, because racist, elitist ideas themselves have, since the late seventies, infiltrated and informed all kinds of other issues from law and order to the family, from education to foreign policy.

I am firmly convinced that the Conservative Party, its economic policy in ruins, will go to the electorate sometime next year on a social authoritarian platform which will combine evocations of the Falk-lands victory with a much tougher line on law and order, the repeal of equal rights legislation for Blacks and women, and probably some scheme of so-called voluntary repatriation for Britain's Black population.

The task for British anti-racists, therefore, is to

take a program and platform of anti-racism from the anti-racist committees into the Labour Party, into the trade unions, into the women's and gay movements, and into the peace movement to see to it that opposition to racist attacks from fascists and the state is as central a plank in the next electoral contest as disarmament and economic strategy.

I shouldn't finish, however, and I must finish soon, without saying a word or two about the antifascist mass movement of the late 1970s, which was single-issue, which was compartmentalized, because, although I no longer think its politics are appropriate, they were extraordinarily appropriate at the time, and I think we can still learn from them.

In 1976 the National Front vote was increasing alarmingly. It mounted a successful campaign to recruit unemployed white youth, and it appeared that within that subculture there was a danger that the exposure of the National Front as a Nazi front in our magazine *Searchlight*, indeed, and elsewhere, was not getting through to the wider public.

A British left political party, the Socialist Workers Party, in a remarkable initiative set up an organization called the Anti-Nazi League in order, first, to unite liberal and left opinion around the slogans of anti-fascism, to combat the prevalent view that the National Front was an insignificant organization and if it was ignored it would wither away.

The second concept with which I gather you are familiar gave wide publicity to the Nazi nature of the National Front and further provided an alternative organizational focus for the energies of disenchanted and alienated white youth facing increased unemployment and social decay in the inner cities.

On the first, the Anti-Nazi League produced a statement of opposition to the growth of neo-fascism which was signed by an impressive number of academics, journalists, church leaders, writers, actors, sports personalities, and politicians. It managed in meetings and other propaganda activities to unite not only a surprisingly wide spectrum of left groups (I say surprising because sectarianism is as un-strange to us as it is to you) with branches of the Labour and Liberal parties and representatives of the churches.

Even more important, I think, it brought together in special conferences groups of people, notably journalists and teachers, but others as well, to discuss in a highly detailed and non-rhetorical way how to combat racism in day-to-day life, on the grounds, in the newsroom, in the classroom, very much in the manner and spirit of the conference you all are holding here.

On the second question, the League produced extremely professional propaganda in the form of leaflets, posters, buttons, t-shirts, and so on which hammered the message that the National Front was indeed a Nazi front and gave chapter and verse on the openly Nazi pasts of the National Front leaders. I

should say in passing that for the first time a British left campaign managed successfully to employ the kind of high-quality, well-thought-out marketing techniques that you people developed many years ago.

On the third question, the League conceived the idea, and I think it was actually thought up in someone's bath, of holding not quite a demonstration and not quite a rally and not yet quite a rock festival but a bit of all three, which ended up being called a carnival and was held in April 1978, that brought together the predictable left groups but also an extraordinary number of Black and white working-class kids who marched together through London to a free rock concert. They symbolized to the country and, even more important, I think, to themselves, that Black and white youth were united by more than they were separated by, but that anti-racism could be as much fun, indeed more fun than racism. Indeed, one of my favorite slogans from that whole campaign was "Nazis are no fun."

I am convinced that the Anti-Nazi League and its



carnival achieved three major successes. One was to convince the country that the National Front was really a fascist organization. Second, to pare down the National Front vote to the absolute hard core of its racist supporters in the general election. And third, it prevented, if only for a while, the Nazis from making significant inroads into working-class white youth.

I think the campaign ran out of steam, that the attitudes of the organization which founded it were perhaps rather over-hastily transferred elsewhere. There is an urgent need for a new initiative on the lines that I described a few moments ago. And I think it's good for us all to remember successes as we remembered the success in Chattanooga a moment ago. And I think the Anti-Nazi League carnival was a peculiar, symbolic one.

I mentioned that the British National Socialist movement was founded on Hitler's birthday, April 20, 1962. I think I forgot to mention that by strange coincidence Enoch Powell's notorious anti-immigration "Rivers of Blood" speech of 1968 was also made on that highly evocative date. It was thus peculiarly appropriate that again, as it happens by complete coincidence, that the Anti-Nazi League carnival should be held on the 30th of April 1970, because that's the anniversary of the death of Adolf Hitler in his bunker. [Applause]

That was, of course, appropriate because the message of that carnival, as the message of this conference, was and is that Adolf Hitler and Adolf Hitlerism should stay that way.



A VICTORY IN CHATTANOOGA AND A CHALLENGE TO WHITE ORGANIZERS

by **Randolph Scott-McLaughlin**

Good morning. Before I begin to discuss the legal case of Chattanooga, I'd like to give you a little background on how the case began and the type of law we used to win that case. As many of you know and some of you may not know, the National Anti-Klan Network had its beginnings back in May of 1979 when a Klan group in Decatur, Alabama, decided that Blacks were not going to march in that city any longer, and viciously, violently, openly and in broad daylight, with police assistance, shot into and attacked a peaceful SCLC demonstration protesting the jailing of a young black man named Tommy Lee Hines.

A call was sent out by SCLC for organizers and those concerned about human rights to come to De-

catuur, and to show the Klan that this was not 1879, it was 1979. A month later some two to three thousand individuals came from across the South and the North and we determined that it was time to not respond to the Klan in an ad hoc fashion, that that was very dangerous; it was time for us to plan an organized, consistent response combining a variety of techniques. The technique that I became involved in was the legal technique.

Now, some may say, "What role can a lawyer play in the anti-Klan movement?" We did feel we did have a role to play, and toward that end we organized a legal task force of some one hundred lawyers from across the nation who were interested in this type of work and helped to form certain strategies. The lawyers for the anti-Klan movement, as we indicated

earlier assisted in the February 2 Greensboro mobilization of 1980, filing lawsuits on behalf of demonstrators. In other cases we assisted when anti-Klan activists had been arrested and charged with criminal violations because they had defended themselves against Klan terrorists.

Let's make no mistake about it: there's all this talk about "terrorism" and currently I'm defending two men in New York who are 'accused of being terrorists, but the real terrorists are those who have state power and use it to inflict terror on others and those who don't have state power and use the power they have to inflict terror on the masses of Black people. We have to use that word "terrorist" in its proper context. [Applause]

And finally we decided in the anti-Klan movement that there was another place that we needed to provide with legal support, and that was the area of victims of Klan violence. Toward that end we researched some of the early laws and found that, indeed, there were laws on the books as early as the 1870s designed specifically to deal with the problem of Klan violence.

The Klan first reared its ugly head in the state of Tennessee in a city called Pulaski. It was formed by a man named Nathan Bedford Forrest, who was an old Confederate general. Reconstruction was an interesting period in American history, especially for Black Americans, inasmuch as it was the first time — and probably the last time until the 1960s — that we were actually accorded the equal protection of the law, and laws were enacted to benefit our people as human beings and citizens. We ran Southern governments, we established the first public school system in the South, we had more Blacks in the halls of Congress than we have today, we ran the state legislatures of South Carolina and Mississippi, two states that were long steeped in the oppression of Black people. Yes, we ran those states.

The general and the Southern Confederates could not let this pass them by as they slept in their sheets and decided it was time for them to organize another response, which was to put on white robes, dressing in the dead of night, and riding with shotguns at their sides they bludgeoned Black people back into slavery. They whipped, castrated, mutilated, bombed churches, oppressed black people, and tried to intimidate, if not kill them, to prevent them from exercising the rights they had recently won. Congress, which was controlled at that time by people called the Radical Republicans — I guess they were radical for their time, but they never brought that forty acres and a mule which we're still waiting for — nevertheless they passed laws which were designed to benefit us, and those laws were collectively called the Ku Klux Klan Acts.

The first law prohibited conspiracies aimed at violating Black people's civil rights. If you have a

Klan group, and they're conspiring, which they always do — "conspiring" is a very simple word; it means a meeting of the minds, and discussion, and agreement — if they conspire to do certain things for the purpose of violating civil rights, you have the right to file a lawsuit to prevent that action or to seek monetary relief — damages, dollars — if they carry out their evil deeds.

Another statute, again passed during that time, is just as important. That statute says that if I know of a conspiracy involving a violation of civil rights and I don't do anything to stop it, I'm just as liable — even if I went home and slept in my bed that night while the Klansmen went downtown to burn crosses — as an aider and abettor, if I did nothing to stop it. And finally, there was a statute passed which was essentially designed to get at state officials, like sheriffs in Wrightsville, Georgia, who assist Klansmen and others in the violation of civil rights.

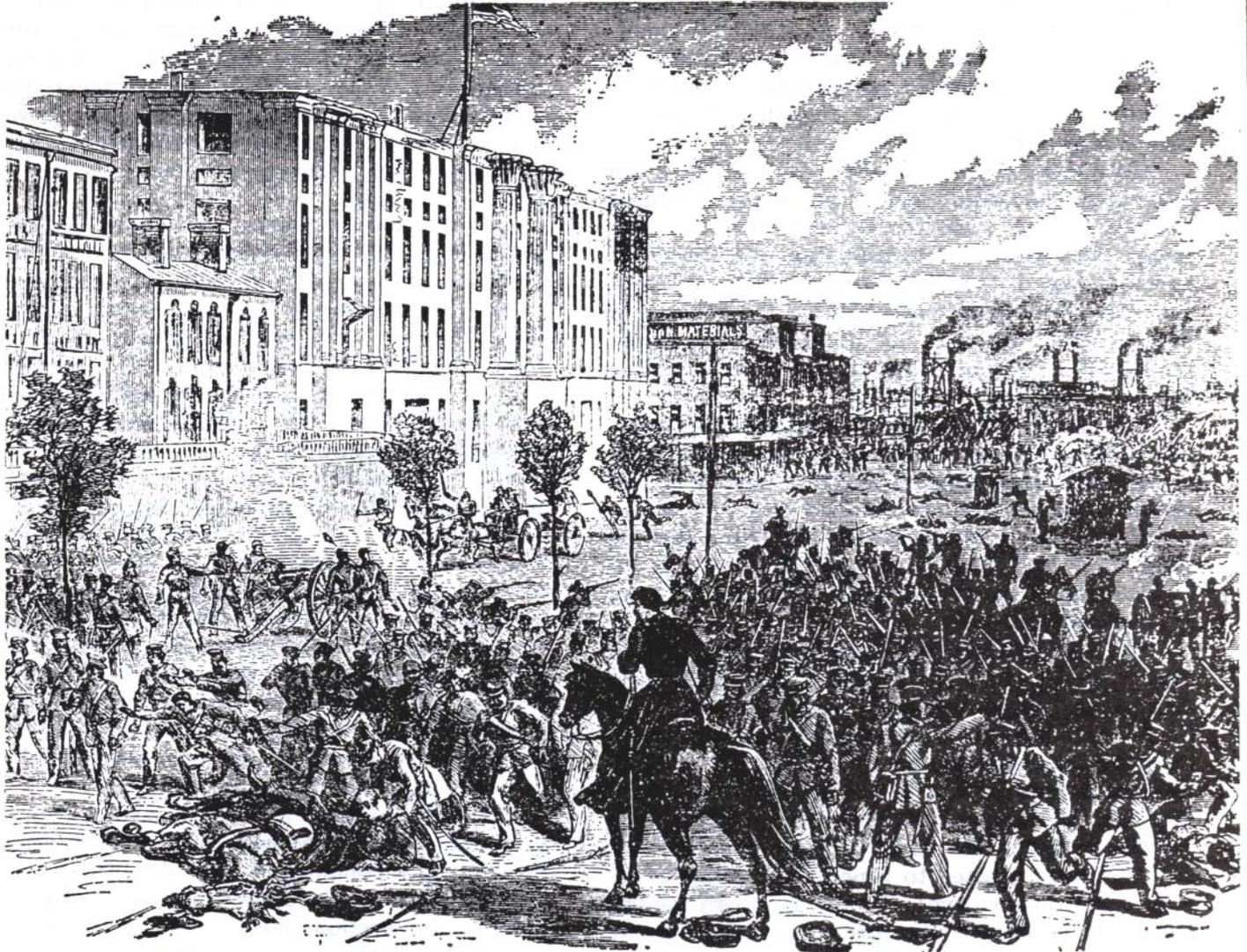
Well, those are very nice laws, and they were on the books in the 1870s, but any good lawyer will tell you that a law is meaningless unless it's being used. And any good lawyer will also tell you that if the courts are controlled by ex-Confederates as they were in the 1870s, there are very few victories you will win through the law. During that time, Blacks were not permitted to practice the law, and I would say that unless you have your own people protecting you, very likely you will not be protected.

In 1876 something very interesting happened. Two men ran for president, Hayes and Tilden, and they set up a compromise with the former Confederates, and the compromise was that Mr. Hayes, in order to win election, decided to allow the South to handle the "Negro problem." He promised the removal of federal troops from the South, to allow the Southerners to do what they would with their Blacks. That was the deal; we were sold out not for the last time, and the Klan again shed the blood of Black people who were trying to achieve a modicum of freedom in this country.

In 1898, apartheid was legalized in the United States of America. In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, they said that separate was equal. And there was much separateness but very little equality from that time until 1954, though I would argue there's still very little equality here.

These laws that I just discussed were utilized by the NAKN legal task force. These laws were still on the books, and they should be used — they were designed to be used — against Klan terrorists, and that was our objective. Well, it wasn't too long before we were given an opportunity to use those statutes.

Chattanooga is a small town in the east part of Tennessee, stuck between two large mountains which were the scene of Civil War violence. One summer night in April of 1981, a small Klan group led by a man named Lyndon Church decided that they were



THE BATTLE OF LIBERTY PLACE: On September 14, 1874, several hundred members of the White League routed a strong force of mostly Black metropolitan police at Liberty Place on Canal Street in New Orleans. Sixteen Whites were killed and perhaps three times as many Blacks in a brief but violent struggle during which both sides employed artillery as well as small arms. The Incident was provoked by the

intransigence of Louisiana's Radical governor, William Kellogg, who had attempted to prevent the unloading of a cargo of arms purchased legally by New Orleans Whites. Although the troops of the White League captured the statehouse the next day, the intervention of Federal troops at the order of President Grant deferred for two more years Louisiana's return to White rule.

The above drawing and the caption under it are reprinted without change from the August 1979 issue of the *National Vanguard*, a U.S. fascist publication.

going to go on a spree. They gathered eight-foot wooden crosses and drove to the heart of the Black community and set those crosses up in a very prominent location in that community so that all could see them.

They drove back around and with their double-barreled shotguns filled with buckshot, they drove slowly, saw five Black women walking on the street and aimed their shotguns at these women and deliberately emptied them into their bodies. Not content with that piece of violence, they drove on, reloaded their weapons and opened fire again, this time striking the windows of a parked car. The glass shattered, striking Fannie Crumsey's neck. On her house there are still markings where the shotgun pellets pene-

trated the walls. Had she been standing erect, she would not be here with us today.

The Klansmen were captured and a criminal trial ensued. They were charged with assault with intent to commit murder. The Klansmen's defense was that they were drunk and had no intention of murder. The key word in that statute was "intent," and unfortunately the prosecutor could not prove that intent. He neglected to charge them with night riding, cross burning, assault with a deadly weapon, going armed, firing weapons. In short, there were a number of other statutes the state prosecutor could have used, but didn't. You have a problem when your fate is placed in the hands of officials you had very little role in electing.

We also had a letter that the head of the Klan there, Bill Church, had written to Bill Wilkinson [head of the Invisible Empire KKK]. And in the letter he said, you know, Bill, I look to you as a model, a great Klan leader, and I want to be more like you. He said, you know, I hate seeing those "nigger-white babies." I can't stand seeing "niggers" and whites dating each other. I "visited" a few of them, and they don't date any more. This is in his letter. This man is a black belt in karate, about six feet five and three hundred pounds. The letter went on to discuss how they were preparing for a race war and a number of other violent actions.

If that letter didn't clearly show the intent of this man to commit murder, nothing else would. The letter was in the hands of the prosecutor and was never introduced as evidence. Strangely. The chief Klansmen, the head of the Klan, Bill Church and his cohort were acquitted of all charges. The other individuals who had been involved in the shooting were found guilty of minor assault. They served six months of a nine-month sentence and were fined fifty dollars. Black folks' lives aren't worth too much in Chattanooga.

Well, we didn't agree with that. By "we," I mean the Center for Constitutional Rights, and we were invited into Chattanooga to file a civil rights suit on behalf of the ladies. We filed two lawsuits in one legal document. The first part of the lawsuit was filed on behalf of the five Black women. In that lawsuit we sought monetary damages for the physical injuries they sustained on April 19, as well as punitive damages.

In addition, we filed a suit as a class action which sought an injunction, on behalf of all the Black citizens of Chattanooga. We said the Klan was a conspiracy to violate the rights of all the citizens of Chattanooga who were Black, that they had conducted certain activities to carry out that purpose, and that the Klan should be enjoined from engaging in certain actions. The injunction we sought was patterned after one the Department of Justice had itself obtained some twenty years earlier in Bogalusa, Louisiana, against a Klan group. They said they had jurisdiction in that case, but they had not taken a single Klan case since then.

During the trial, after some two years of pre-trial investigation and motions, we had learned something very interesting. The National Jury Project, which had assisted in the investigation, had done a survey for us. And that survey found a very interesting occurrence among the whites of Chattanooga. The survey found that whites in Chattanooga had a very different view of what the Klan was all about. They didn't look on the Klan as a terroristic organization. They saw the Klan as an organization that was dedicated to cleaning up their communities, an organization that enforced public morals, preventing

"looseness," drinking, running away from your family. And indeed, if you read some of the books about the Klan, particularly the one by Dr. Chalmers, who is here with us today and who wrote an excellent book called *Hooded Americanism*, you will see that the Klan did do that in white communities.

What the white respondents failed to note is that the way the Klan did that was the way they operated in our communities, using terror, violence and murder. That's how they enforced public morals. We also found that an overwhelming number of the white respondents felt that Black lawyers, out-of-town lawyers, civil rights lawyers had no business taking this kind of case in their city.

Now, as we had an all-Black legal team, all out-of-town and all civil rights lawyers, we knew that much about it. When we began to do our jury selection, the survey was brought out in every detail. Jurors got on the stand and when we asked them what they knew about the Klan, they said it was a good organization that protected white people. They were struck from the jury for cause. However, some individuals remained on the jury who feared the Klan, who feared the violence it involved.

A real conflict emerged with the Legal Services lawyers, who were defending the Klansmen in that case. Let me highlight that: Southeast Tennessee Legal Services, paid out of your and my tax dollars, defended Bill Church, the head of the Ku Klux Klan. When a Black woman came to the stand to be selected as a juror, they maintained that no Blacks should sit on that jury. Their position was that, because Blacks were involved in the suit, they should not sit on the jury, and they tried to strike every Black person from that jury for cause. For an organization like Legal Services, that came into existence from the struggles of Black and other poor people, to argue that Blacks can't sit on a jury. . . . The judge didn't agree with that. After a long battle, one Black woman sat on that jury of six.

We began our proof. We showed through the testimony of the five ladies the violence that had been done to them. Then we showed what the Klan was about, through Dr. Chalmers' testimony. And he testified that the Klan had four basic components. One is what he called "one hundred percent Americanism." The Klan is as old as apple pie in the United States, and has always been what they called in the old days a "native American party." I'm not speaking of Native Americans as we ordinarily think of them but of the pre-Klan formation known as the "Know Nothing" Party, because they didn't know nothing. They still don't know anything. Their notion was that no one but whites from Northern Europe should be here on these shores. The Klan is a continuation of that ideology.

A second component is moral conformity, which I spoke of earlier. Third, the notion of fraternity, of

brotherhood. And finally, and most important to us at any rate, is the notion of violent action. They do something about the problems.

It is interesting for us who deal with the Klan to understand what their attraction is. Most of the rank-and-file Klansmen, at least the ones I encountered in Chattanooga, were poor, uneducated, working-class whites. And the Klan gave them something to be proud of; it gave them a perspective, a purpose. And that's the attraction the Klan has for white, working-class America. And unless you all can develop some other method, or some other means of expression, you won't be able to defeat the Klan. When I say "you all," I mean that very specifically.

I mean "you all," not us, because Black folks can't organize against the Klan. We can organize our own community, but can't organize the white workers, because they won't listen to us. So it is incumbent upon white America to organize its own brothers and sisters and to teach them the evils of racism. That's your job. All too few of you — and I'm not criticizing anybody today — but all too few of the organizers I've had contact with do that job. And I love all the anti-Klan demonstrations, but until that job is done, I'm still going to have that problem. We're still going to have that problem. I feel very strongly about that.

The most important part of the case was to show the racist animus, to show not merely that the Klan had engaged in all these sorts of activities but that they had done it because of the race of these Black women. None of the Klansmen was willing to say, yeah, I hate niggers. We had to find a way to get them on this. And the way we did that was two-fold. One, we subpoenaed Church's ex-girlfriend. She was also about six foot three and weighed three hundred pounds. She was a tough mama, yes, she was. The night of the incident, he had beaten her senseless, because she was allegedly hanging out with a detective, beat her, bruised her and raped her and then stole her car, and that was the car with the Klan.

She got on the stand and testified about Church, that his favorite saying about Black people was, the only good nigger is a dead nigger. He had planned and conspired to kill the president of the NAACP in Chattanooga. He had also threatened her life on a number of occasions, for instance on one occasion she was driving along in her car and a Black man drove alongside her in another car and she glanced over at him, and this man, Church, with his huge hands, smacked her senseless for merely looking at a Black man.

Before the trial Church held a press conference — before his Legal Services lawyers told him to keep his mouth shut. At that conference, which we played for the judge, he said that his Klan group was going to reform in Chattanooga, they weren't going to wear Klan robes any more, because you can't do

much in a robe and it can be seen from miles away. They were going to wear combat uniforms, green fatigues, which were a lot more efficient for military action. He said that para-military training camps were being conducted in the hills surrounding Chattanooga, that people were being trained in weapons and automatic rifles and bombing techniques. And then a pressman asked him, Bill, I hear you talking about this stuff, but isn't it true that the Klan has a new image of non-violence? Bill answered, son, don't believe a word of it. No matter what they tell you, the Klan is still about violence, castrations and killing.

The jury was out on that case for four hours, and they came back, much to our surprise, and awarded the five Black women a half million dollars in damages. [Applause] Afterwards, a federal judge, who was a patrician type, handed down an injunction against the Klan, and that was the exact injunction we were seeking in our lawsuit, prohibiting the Klan from engaging in violence, terror, coming into the Black community. What's the benefit of that injunction? The benefit is that if a Klansman engages in that kind of action in Chattanooga again, the Black community does not have to rely on some non-interested white prosecutor to think about how it wants to handle the case. We, the Black lawyers, can bring that Klansman into the courtroom, have him jailed for contempt of court and given a prison term. Essentially, it avoids having to go through the whole trial again. You can have an immediate hearing and throw the sucker in jail as quickly as I just said it.

We're pleased about the victory in Chattanooga. It's important that the Klan can no longer function aboveboard in a legal way; they have to scurry around in the dark of night and get jobs and take pennies under the table. We also ran the head of the Klan out of Chattanooga — he now lives in Virginia and has not joined the Klan since the suit was filed. But we're also realistic and we understand that the legal route is not the only route and indeed may not be the best route for defeating the Klan.

Here in Georgia, Anne Braden described the Klan in the counties surrounding Atlanta as a lynch rope around the city of Atlanta. I think it's important for organizers to remember that lawyers have a role to play in aiding the movement, but that's all we can do is aid the movement. There has to be a movement. And you have the responsibility of building that movement, both in the Black community as well as in the white community. You see, the Klan rarely comes into my community to organize. It comes into yours. And it's important for you to speak out against that when they do come in, and to organize, as Malcolm would say, by any means necessary, to defeat the real terrorists in America. [Applause]

THE KU KLUX KLAN AND FASCISM

by Ken Lawrence

Our movement has done a good job of surveying the history of 115 years of Ku Klux Klan racist terror — seeing how it developed and how it was stopped in the past. We have fairly well internalized most of those lessons and put them into practice in many ways, out if we are going to achieve a truly successful strategy to counter the Klan we have to understand not only how the Klan is the same organization of racist terror that it has been for 115 years, but also what is distinctive about it today that it wasn't 115 years ago.

Today the Ku Klux Klan is probably (I say probably because there are some qualifiers to this, but I think we can generally agree it is) the main face of militant fascism in the United States. That is such a commonplace for us to say that we almost don't think about it when we say it. so I ask you to think about it for a minute . . . because the Klan was not always a fascist organization. Yes, it was always a racist terrorist organization, but it was not always a fascist organization. The Ku Klux Klan was born in 1866. Fascism was not born until the ruins of World War I darkened Europe. The Klan was around for a half century before fascism existed in the world, and the Klan actually taught the fascists a great deal in their early years.

So when we think about it that way, let's compare what were the Klan's politics in its different resurgent periods of the past with what are its politics and its aims and strategies today.

In the 1860s the Klan, as Randy Scott-McLaughlin reminded us 'in his excellent presentation earlier, was led by the notorious General Nathan Bedford Forrest of the Confederacy. Forrest's military strategy, as every Southerner knows, was to be "fustest with the mostest" — he wasn't known as a military genius. It seems sometimes like a third of the counties in the South are named for him. Streets are named for him, housing projects are named for him, parks are named for him. He is known everywhere. Well, who was General Forrest? Before the Civil War he was the largest slave trader in Memphis, and during the war he was its greatest war criminal when he ordered the massacre of the garrison that was guarding Fort Pillow, the Black troops who surrendered to his much larger force. Rather than accept their surrender he ordered them slain to the last man, then gloated to his diary how the blood of the dead soldiers, dyed the Mississippi River red. That's who General Forrest was. When he took over leadership of the Klan in 1867, it represented the guerrilla con-

tinuation of the war he had tried to fight as a Confederate General. In essence he exchanged his Confederate grey for a white sheet. The earliest Klan, then, was a restorationist movement of the Confederacy.

The Invisible Empire was something quite different when it arose in the 1920s. It was essentially a bourgeois, nativist movement. As the Southern Poverty Law Center film documents so well, in fact, the KKK had the potential to go further than it actually did, because the truth is not only that in many places you had to be a Klansman to be elected to office, and you certainly at least had to have the active endorsement of the Klan, but the Klan came very close to capturing, on separate occasions, the national Democratic and Republican Parties. That's what kind of a movement it was. It was a right wing, white supremacist, but essentially mainstream bourgeois movement. That is, it intended to control, through the traditional political legal apparatus, the politics of the United States government and as many state and local governments as possible.

When the Klan was resurgent in the 1960s, it was essentially a backward-looking movement attempting to preserve what was most reactionary and most peculiar of the institutions of the segregated white South. It was under that banner, represented everywhere by the battle flag of the Confederacy, that it went out and did its beatings, bombings, lynchings, mutilations, and castrations.

It is something quite different today.

Today, it is as likely to fight under the banner of the twisted cross, the Nazi swastika, as under the banner of the Confederacy. In fact, it is the genius of the Klan leaders today that they have managed to merge those two movements into a single whole, and to create a coherent ideology out of those two divergent strains.

The fascist movement has a somewhat different history in this country. There is no way I can cover it in a brief talk, but some highlights are essential if we are to understand this, particularly since I think two extremes of this organization have somewhat misread the history — the history of the 1930s especially.

The fascist movement got its real insurgent birth in the United States from Henry Ford through his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*. And the fascists today, by which I mean the Nazis and the Klan, consider his book, *The International Jew*, to be one of their bibles. Yet Henry Ford, as every school child knows, is a hero of the United States and someone whose image we are offered as a model. The truth is that *Ford* built his automobile empire as close as he could to the New Order fascist dictatorship to which



Nazis and Klansmen in North Carolina jointly celebrate the birthday of Adolf Hitler and have formed a "united racist front."
Kenneth Englede

he aspired for society as a whole. He even established, for example, an entirely segregated two-city system, one for whites and one for Blacks. Inkster was the Black suburb of Dearborn, the white center for what was then the largest factory in the world, the River Rouge Ford plant. That little fascist mini-state was not broken until the CIO organized it in the 1940s, the last of the automobile empires to fall.

Built on the movement that Henry Ford founded, the fascists, but *not* the Klan, flourished in the 1930s. It is well to remember that one of the largest mass movements in the United States, and one of the few outside the mainstream political parties that was capable of packing Madison Square Garden in those years, was Father Coughlin's Christian Front. Huey Long built a similar movement in the state of Louisiana which was led by the notorious anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith, who became one of the most important figures first in the reconstitution of the fascist movement in the 1950s and gradually bringing it into concert with the Ku Klux Klan over a period of time.

So we need to understand not only the Klan history, but also the quite independent fascist history, which have merged to become a single movement with an ideology that is quite different from the ideology of the Confederacy of Nathan Bedford Forrest, or the nativism of David C. Stephenson, the Klan leader of the 1920s who was the main political figure in that rebirth, or even of Sam Bowers and Robert Shelton of the 1960s. Today many of those key figures of the sixties have accommodated themselves quite well to this new ideology of fascism which they did not previously profess in their earlier guise. Thus we see the rise in North Carolina of the United Racist Front which carried out the Greensboro massacre and which represents, I think, the peak of their ability to fuse these two movements.

The Ku Klux Klan did not become fascist overnight, and the development was uneven.

Naturally racists, even when divided by important points of ideology, have considerable political agreement of which they are conscious. So it is no accident that one of the leading fascist organizers of the thirties, Gerald L. K. Smith, also was a close kin to the Klans of the fifties and sixties, and that most of the Klans borrowed heavily from his journal, *The Cross and the Flag*.

The earliest attempt at merging the two movements was in 1940 at Camp Nordland, New Jersey, when the German American Bund and the Ku Klux Klan met, 3,500 strong, on a Bund platform beneath a fiery cross. Anti-Semite Edward James Smythe presided, having spent three years working to consummate such a coming together. Arthur H. Bell, the KKK's Grand Giant, shook hands with August Klapprott, the Bund's vice president, and Klapprott declared, "The principles of the Bund and the Klan are the same."

But that merger was not to be. A storm of unfavorable publicity forced the Klan's Imperial Wizard, James Colescott, who had originally authorized participation in the meeting, to recant, and to repudiate the Nazis. Eventually Colescott's literature listed fascism among the foreign "isms" the Klan officially opposed, and Smythe's dream was stillborn.

But from that time on, some of the most committed Nazis viewed the KKK as their most likely road to power. Among these was J. B. Stoner, who was a~ Klan Kleagle (organizer) in Tennessee during World War Two, but was also organizing a "national anti-Jewish political party" and distributing the *Protocols*. In 1958 the National States Rights Party was founded by Edward Fields, who had worked with Stoner in the forties, and Matthias Koehl. (Koehl later succeeded George Lincoln Rockwell as head of the American Nazi Party.)

Stoner's Nazi sympathies were never veiled — he told the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1946 that Hitler had been too moderate and that his party wanted "to make being a Jew a crime, punishable by death." But he also practiced law jointly with KKK leader James Venable of Atlanta. During the early years of the NSRP, Stoner's role was low-profile (the 1958 Birmingham church bombing for which he's been found guilty was committed during this period), but he eventually emerged as its national chairman and main spokesman.

The United Racist Front, a Klan/Nazi umbrella organization formed in September 1979 in North Carolina, carried out the Greensboro massacre in November of that year, and NSRP leaders Stoner and Fields saw the opportunity to hasten the fascist development of the whole movement. Fields organized the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, combining the two movements in the name. Though

considered by Klan-watchers such as the Anti-Defamation League as a relatively insignificant splinter, this was actually a shrewd tactic.

The New Order Klan simultaneously projected its politics (by organizing a union, then calling a strike to protest the hiring of Mexican workers at the Zartic Frozen Foods plant in Cedartown, Georgia) and promoted "Klan unity" (by inviting leaders of the various Klan factions to a meeting to "honor" two of the Greensboro killers). These moves paid off handsomely as one local Klan leader after another has aligned himself with Stoner and Fields.

What is the difference then between this new guise of the Klan and the past that I have talked about? One difference, and this is one thing I've learned from the writings of David Edgar*, is that the role of racism and the role of anti-Semitism and the role of scapegoating in general is quite different ideologically for a fascist movement from that of a right-wing conservative movement or a traditional Klan-type movement. That is, it is *not* to put people in their place. It is *not* to make a sub-class out of them and to exploit, or super-exploit, their labor. It is *genocidal*. It is *exterminationist*.

I urge everyone, despite its horror, to acquire the manual of the current Klan/Nazi strategy, and to understand what that strategy is. That book is the novel *The Turner Diaries*, written by William Pierce of the National Alliance under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald. It is a stirring call to power. To cast it in literary terms, it is the flip side of *The Iron Heel*. Where Jack London projected a look back at the revolution of the future to see its horrors, William Pierce uses that device to show how the revolution that creates the New Order comes into being.

Upon reading this book you will find that the strategy described is very similar to the strategy of the Nazis in Europe, which ideologically is summed up by the person responsible for creating it, a French fascist, Michel Faci, who uses the *nom de guerre* LeLoup. He calls it the *Strategy of Tension*. The Bologna and other bombings are attempts at social destabilization which have as their assumption that the fascist movement has reached its peak "respectable" strength and that now is the time to polarize society and build on the fears, the tensions, and the disarray that can be created by disrupting the fabric of politics as usual. That's the politics of *The Turner Diaries*.

The book begins, for example, after a period of difficulty and repression of the right, with bombing the FBI building in Washington. It goes from there onward to a situation of nuclear war which is launched, not by the government, but by the fascists who seize control of the nuclear weapons. Let me read you just a couple of passages.

Pierce has many dialogues where he differentiates between the politics of his movement and the conser-

vatives. He always personifies these political views, as any good novelist does:

he didn't understand that one of the major purposes of political terror, always and everywhere, is to force the authorities to take reprisals and to become more repressive, thus alienating a portion of the population and generating sympathy for the terrorists. And the other purpose is, to create unrest by destroying the population's sense of security and their belief in the invincibility of the government.

Other passages in here indicate a similar desire to destabilize society and view that period of destabilization very much as the secret National Front document quoted by David Edgar described the situation they anticipate arising in England.

The culmination of this he describes as follows:

August 1, 1993. Today has been the Day of the Rope — a grim and bloody day, but an unavoidable one. Tonight, for the first time in weeks, it is quiet and totally peaceful throughout all of southern California. But the night is filled with silent horrors; from tens of thousands of lampposts, power poles, and trees throughout this vast metropolitan area the grisly forms hang.

In the lighted areas one sees them everywhere. Even the street signs at intersections have been pressed into service, and at practically every street corner I passed this evening on my way to HQ there was a dangling corpse, four at every intersection. Hanging from a single overpass only about a mile from here is a group of about 30, each with an identical placard around its neck bearing the printed legend, "I betrayed my race." Two or three of that group had been decked out in academic robes before they were strung up, and the whole batch are apparently faculty members from the nearby UCLA campus.

He describes how they did this:

Squads of our troops with synchronized watches suddenly appeared in a thousand blocks at once, in fifty different residential neighborhoods, and every squad leader had a long list of names and addresses. The blaring music suddenly stopped and was replaced by the sound of thousands of doors splintering, as booted feet kicked them open....

One of two things happened to those the troops dragged out onto the streets. If they were non-Whites — and that included all the Jews and everyone who even looked like he had a bit of non-White ancestry — they were shoved into hastily formed columns and started on their no-return march to the canyon in the foothills north of the city. The slight-

*"Racism, Fascism, and the Politics of the National Front," a *Race and Class* pamphlet, available for 50 cents plus postage from Institute of Race Relations, 247 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NG, England.

est resistance, any attempt at back talk, or any lagging brought a swift bullet.

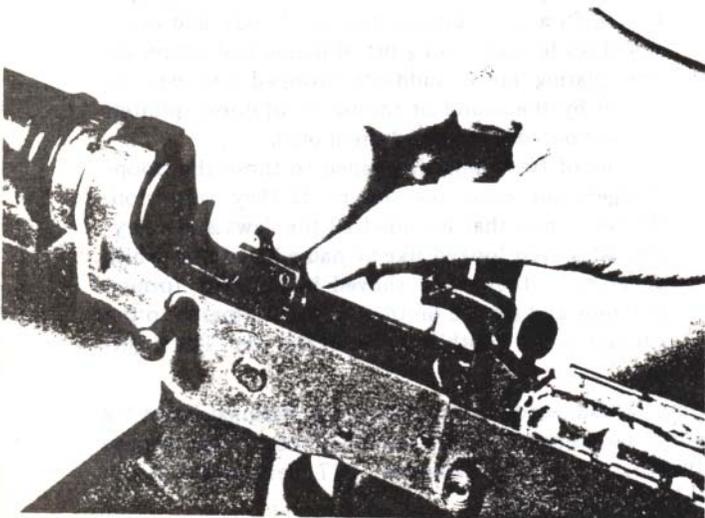
The Whites, on the other hand, were, in nearly all cases, hanged on the spot. One of the two types of pre-printed placards was hung on the victim's chest, his hands were quickly taped behind his back, a rope was thrown over a convenient limb or signpost with the other end knotted around his neck, and he was then hauled clear of the ground with no further ado and left dancing on air while the soldiers went to the next name on their list.

The hangings and the formation of the death columns went on for about 10 hours without interruption. When the troops finished their grim work early this afternoon and began returning to their barracks, the Los Angeles area was utterly and completely pacified. The residents of neighborhoods in which we could venture safely only in a tank yesterday were trembling behind closed doors today, afraid even to be seen peering through the crack in drawn drapes. Throughout the morning there was no organized or large-scale opposition to our troops, and by this afternoon even the desire for opposition had evaporated.

That's a little bit more than you probably wanted to hear; it's more than I want even to consider, but I think it's important to understand what that strategy is. It's very different from bombing a church here, lynching a civil rights worker there, in order to keep people in their place. It is actually a vision of seizing control of the entire society, exterminating minorities and Jews and creating something quite different.

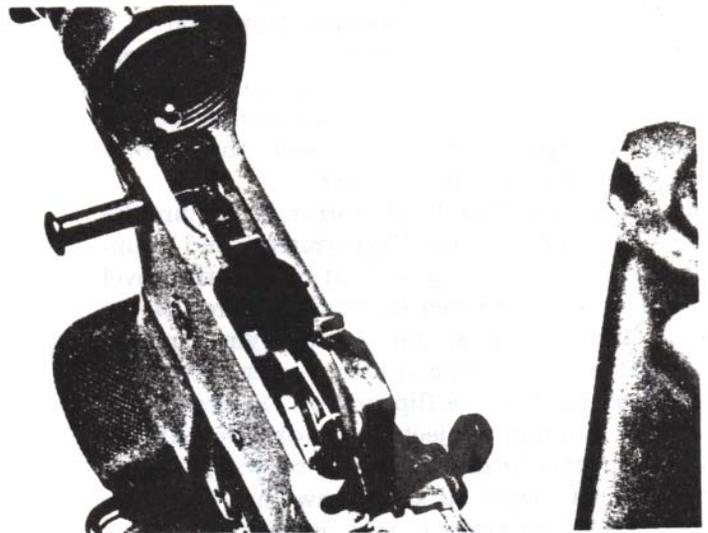
To accomplish that strategy, which they are deadly serious about, something quite different from their previous approaches to organization and mass political action are necessary — and are in effect now. One area of that work that I've followed carefully has been the gun shows throughout the South and how they recruit through them.

I want to show you two documents, both popular pamphlets I've bought recently at gun shows. One is a



manual that shows how to convert semi-automatic weapons to fully automatic machine guns with parts that are commonly available for sale without any records being kept at these gun shows. The other is a book entitled *Elementary Field Interrogation*, which is a torture manual, literally. It is written, according to a publicity blurb put out by the publisher, by a former Phoenix program interrogator for the CIA during the Vietnam War who has now dedicated his services to the fascist movement. There are plenty of illustrations of these tortures in case you can't figure it out for yourself from reading the text. They are sufficiently horrifying, more so even than some passages from *The Turner Diaries*, that I won't read them to you. But I urge you to familiarize yourself with this grizzly stuff anyway.

The night riders and lynch mobs of the past had



no need for torture manuals or machine guns. But the fascist paramilitaries who train in the Klan, Nazi, and "survivalist" camps in preparation for what they call "the coming race war" do need them. These are significant differences from the KKK's previous incarnations, and we need to understand them.

Then of course, the other thrust, the ideological thrust that David Edgar told us about, is the so-called Historical Revisionist movement. This is the latest copy of their journal, which looks quite scholarly and impressive — the *Journal of Historical Review*. The envelope in which it arrived bears a non-profit organization postmark from Torrance, California — Liberty Lobby's West Coast headquarters of Willis Carto — which means they have a 501(c)(3) tax exemption. Pierce's National Alliance does not have such a tax exemption right now, but the ACLU has a case in Federal District Court in Washington suing to get him one, so he will probably have one soon.

Now, the traditional Klan did not need this kind of document — a torture manual. It did not need this kind of document — a document about creating fully automatic weapons to build an army with. It did not



need to deny the Nazi Holocaust. And it did not have books like *The Turner Diaries*, which all of the resurgent Klans, every one of them from Edward Fields to Don Black to Bill Wilkinson, use as their manual. In fact, they all have bulk discount prices for copies of it which, among other things, proves that they are considerably more unified as to program and strategy than they ostensibly appear to be. They didn't need those in the past because they had a different program then. Therefore I want to suggest that our program has to learn not only what we know and what we try to practice based on the movements of the past that successfully defeated the Klan in its earlier guises, but also the lessons that have been learned, sometimes under quite different circumstances, by anti-fascists both in this country and around the world.

I'm not going to spin that program here.

It's going to take some time to do it, some debate. I hope that we're ready for debate. It's taken us three years to get to that point, but I think we're ready.

I do want to say, though, that it's going to take a more unified movement than the one we have thus far built. This is much too small a meeting. I don't

want to take anything away from the accomplishments, particularly of the work that Lyn Wells and others have done to bring people here, but we all know this is too small a meeting. It needs to be much bigger. And one of the reasons is that this movement, our anti-Klan, anti-fascist movement, is fragmented right now — I believe needlessly so. There is a considerable amount we can do to try to heal that fracture and make it a stronger movement. For my part, I gave a talk somewhat similar, but on a different theme, at the national conference of People United — the other national anti-Klan coalition — in Baltimore a few months ago, and stressed basically the same thing. The two national coalitions should get together. There is plenty of evidence we can. A lot of people from People United are here at this conference, and some of our members were at the other one. Many of us belong to both coalitions. Whatever the reasons may have been in the past that kept our movement fractured, they aren't valid any more. If we're going to defeat a newly resurgent *fascist* Klan, we need the strongest possible movement we can have.

Thank you very much.

HUEY P. LONG: BAYOU FASCISM?

There wants to be revolution, I tell you. I seen this domination of capital, seen it for seventy years. What do these rich folks care for the poor man? They care nothing — not for his pain, his sickness nor his death. And now they're talking again about keeping the poor folks from voting — that same talk. I say there wants to be a revolution.

Huey P. Long's father, 1935

by Lance Hill

When I was about fifteen years old I happened across two pictures in my school history book that appeared so peculiar that the images are vivid in my mind today. One was a photograph of a strangely dressed Black man reclining regally in the back seat of a large car. He was surrounded by imposing-looking men, apparently bodyguards. It was Marcus Garvey. The other picture was of a roly-poly, jovial-looking man, dressed in a rumpled suit. It was Huey P. Long.

Neither of these men, nor the movements that they had led, could be explained by the text. Nothing in the historian's tedious recitation of dates and wearisome analysis could explain this apparent ripple of unrest.

Now it seems that Huey is being resurrected because he is perceived as a symbol of recalcitrance and radicalism, traits that do not appear immediately among white people. He was feared by big business, he outraged pompous politicians, and he carefully created an image as the voice of the impoverished and disenfranchised.

The Houston Opera has commissioned an opera based loosely on his life; Gore Vidal is writing the



screenplay for a movie about Huey; people are reprinting his Share Our Wealth programs as a nostrum for modern ills. His revival makes it imperative that the fascist character of his movement and the lessons therein be grasped.

Brief Overview of Huey's Life

Historians are fond of rummaging about in Long's early life, attempting to trace his later politics to some influence or trauma of early life. I will touch on this only briefly since it is central to my perspective that the "great leader" of any movement is transformed by the various political, economic, and social forces of the epoch. Early influences can only enable us to apprehend the diversity of experiences, but they should not be confused with the impelling force of a movement.

Huey was born in 1893 in Winnfield, Louisiana, a small town in the backwoods of the verdant rolling hills. The son of a populist partisan, Huey grew up comfortably in the midst of powerless, abjectly impoverished white farmers. Probably no other section of the country witnessed such chronic want, often bordering on famine. With none of the customary decencies of life afforded laborers elsewhere, these

people sporadically entered into the radical white populism that convulsed the northern part of the state.

Wobblies, anti-racist populists, white supremacist populists, and white supremacist reactionaries all discovered impassioned adherents on the same terrain. Democracy was an institution that was to be rendered harmless if any one of these political currents were to become an influential force. For Huey, a hybrid of petty bourgeois populism and white supremacy were essential influences on his early life, but more important, an abiding conviction that democratic institutions were tools of subjugation, obstructions to the revolution he envisioned.

Huey left home to pursue a career as an itinerant salesman. This phase of his life was more rewarding politically than financially, since Huey was to hone his understanding of the political dynamics of the backwoods settlements. But Huey was soon to grow restless, so in 1914 he entered law school and quickly passed the bar in one year, a result of his phenomenal memory and equally formidable talent of manipulation. He returned to his home in Winn Parish to pursue a practice that relied heavily on workmen's compensation cases. It was this area that first introduced him to public political life.

Huey had been drawn to the state capital to engage in a campaign to rewrite the workmen's compensation laws that were heavily biased toward the employers. It was there that he was befriended by Senator S. J. Harper, a radical anti-capital advocate of workers' rights and non-intervention in World War I. Senator Harper had the misfortune of offending the patriotic sentiments of his fellow solons, and soon he faced a ludicrous espionage charge. Huey took to his legal defense and successfully won his acquittal.

An interesting quality of Senator Harper's that receives little attention was his anti-Semitism: the sen-

ator was a dedicated anti-Semite and routinely corresponded with other virulent proponents. No doubt Huey was exposed to the senator's diatribes against "Jewish capital," nor was this kind of talk new to him. I mention it because Huey's recurring association with anti-Semites at least provides credence to the speculation that his movement could forge ideological links with other fascist organizations.

At the age of 25 Huey campaigned like a thunderbolt through his old sales territory, Northern Louisiana, and won a seat on the heretofore effete State Railroad Commission. Here he began a turbulent career, part myth and part fact, that endeared him to the masses of desperate white farmers as a rebel and populist. Huey quickly maneuvered on the commission to allow for a wider construction of its jurisdiction, rapidly bringing the great nemesis of the poor, Standard Oil, under his control.

Over the years Huey managed to harass the utilities, big oil companies, and Bell Telephone as a head of the crusading regulatory commission, and actually won several concessions from them. Using this position he managed to catapult himself into the governor's office in 1928. He built a pervasive political

machine through patronage and survived the ill-conceived assaults of his arch-rivals, the New Orleans old regulars' machine.

In 1932 Huey secured the U.S. Senate seat in Washington, and through an obsequious governor, simultaneously ruled the state government. Louisiana had become a complete and total dictatorship. All three branches of government were controlled by the "Kingfish," and they functioned purely as rubber stamps for Huey's mandates. Capital negotiated directly with Huey.

By 1935 Huey was the single most influential political figure on the horizon. He had carefully nurtured a dynamic image through massive propaganda and national radio programs. He headed what was potentially the first mass fascist organization with a membership of over four and a half million.

Roosevelt considered him the principal obstacle to his continued tenure, as Huey hinted strongly at mounting a third party challenge in 1936. On September 8, 1935, a somber young doctor named Seymore Weiss walked casually into the state capitol building in Baton Rouge and shot Huey to death. Weiss was instantly set upon by armed guards, who riddled his body beyond recognition. The Kingfish died and his empire rapidly



The Veto Protest Parade during the soldiers' bonus fight

crumbled.

Long's Political Program

Actually, Huey's politics have to be viewed on three levels in order to appreciate the import of his movement. These are not easily separated out, but let me outline them as follows:

First, there is the arena of social legislation, those accomplishments that he pursued and subsequently publicized as embodying his social program. Secondly, there are corporative programs, those which represent an approach to the state that foreshadowed the American fascist response to capitalist crisis. Finally there is the essential effect of all of these combined — the essential, objective quality of the Long movement, which I hold to be fascist.

From the beginning of his political life Huey had talked about the maldistribution of wealth, and he sought ways through social legislation to redress this problem. (Ultimately this was distilled in the Share Our Wealth program which called for a guaranteed annual income, limited work days, and ceilings on earnings, although these programs were not advocated together until 1934.)

During his tenure, Huey managed to provide old age pensions, free books for school children, adult education programs, and free medical care in some areas. He substantially eased the tax burden for poor whites, completely eliminating property tax for Blacks.

There is some debate surrounding the sweep and effectiveness of his programs, but all agree that in the eyes of poor whites he was a crusader for their needs. Roosevelt's New Deal program was consciously engineered to deflect the Long movement as well as to arrogate aspects of Huey's program as the New Deal's unique contribution.

More revealing for this analysis was the increasing importance Long placed on the role of the state in salvaging capitalism from its apocalyptic crisis. Similar to Mussolini

(of whom Huey genuinely knew little), Long had arrived at the conclusion that the solution to economic crisis was the intervention of the state as a reconciling force detached from the interests of labor or capital.

This corporatist approach was not just bombast on Huey's part: he did not hesitate to lend the full weight of his machine to the claim that he opposed super-government, be it the capitalist, the working class, or other fascists (the Ku Klux Klan). In pursuit of this, Huey set out to rescue Louisiana from the suffocating grasp of the antiquated laissez faire policy of a rapidly collapsing capitalist class.

His policy toward extensive bridge and road development was not, as some suggest, merely a ploy to facilitate his constituency's travel to the polls. The massive effort created thousands of jobs, prefiguring the WPA programs of the New Deal, while at the same time creating the arteries for increased capitalist development. The old Bourbons had ignored the elementary prerequisites for industrialization in the South, and Louisiana had struggled into the thirties on roads of mud, untravelable by truck or auto.

Huey complemented this with legislative packages that included cold storage facilities for farmers' crops and health care for a physically deteriorating class. He intervened as the monolithic state in the Louisiana banking crisis and cajoled large Eastern banks into rescuing the local banks from collapse. His local experience carried over into national politics, where he became a constant nuisance to the Roosevelt administration with his demand for a radical banking policy that included federally insured deposit programs.

As early as 1931 Huey was vigorously enacting legislation to stem the crisis of overproduction, using methods that were reluctantly adopted years later by Roosevelt. Huey had decided that the only way to eliminate the surplus of cotton that had driven prices down



August 29, 1932. Clad in a cotton night-shirt, on a cotton mattress with cotton sheets and blankets, Long signs the No-Crop Bill forbidding cotton planting during the coming year.

was to completely ban its production in 1932.

He quickly rammed the legislation through the Louisiana House and Senate, only to have surrounding states abstain from his scheme. His grasp of the necessity of radical intervention by the state, as well as his disregard for legal obstructions to these actions, made him far more effective at rendering the crisis less severe.

All of this culminated in an event that most historians mention casually but which reveals to me the depth and the vision of his philosophy of the state (I'm speaking of an implied viewpoint). In 1935 Standard Oil responded to a five-cent-a-barrel tax on their oil produced in Louisiana by laying off thousands of employees and threatening to close their Baton Rouge refinery, the largest in the world. Without reserve, Huey promptly informed Standard Oil that he was prepared to expropriate the refinery, or run them out of the state and build a publicly owned refinery (the profits of which, either way, would go to send poor people's children to college).

While the national office of Standard scoffed at the idea, the local Standard officials panicked at what they knew was entirely possi-

ble in Huey's Louisiana. What ensued was a negotiated agreement with Huey and an amicable resolution. But Huey had revealed two things: first, that he was willing to move decisively to salvage capitalism from itself; and second, in his form of government one need not negotiate with labor, legislatures, or courts. Huey *was* the state.

These were the things that Huey said of himself, the things that he wanted to be known as his vision. But none of these programs are particularly hallmarks, or proof, of fascism. They do resemble closely the political directions of European fascist movements, however. Two features of the Long movement are salient features in fascism — the preservation of capital in crisis and the elimination of mediating institutions in the class struggle (unions, parliamentary democracy, a free press).

I believe the first feature is borne out in the above-mentioned programs. On this point Huey once entreated his fellow senators that his campaign ". . . is no campaign to soak the rich, it is a campaign to save the rich. It is a campaign the success of which they will wish for when it is too late." When queried about the similarity of his politics to fascist policy, he replied that he was democratic.

What was his definition of democracy?

My theory is that a leader gets up a program and then he goes out and explains it, patiently and patiently until they get it. He asks for a mandate, and if they give it to him he goes ahead with the program, hell or high water. He don't tolerate no opposition from the old gang politicians, the legislatures, the courts, the corporations or anybody.

Compare Huey's perspective with one of his contemporaries:

We only made use of democratic means in order to gain power, and . . . after the seizure of power we would ruthlessly deny to our op-

ponents all those means which they had granted to us during the time of our opposition.

Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels

Huey's theory of democracy was profoundly anti-democratic, but it did recognize the mass character of the fascist movement, the fact that fascism rose to power with the support of a significant majority of the masses. What most historians have failed to understand is that Huey's ruthlessness was not the *result* of gaining power, it was the *condition* of his rise to power.

The Long Machine

The fact that Huey evolved from a rather traditional political boss career has tended to obfuscate the fascistic form of the political machine which he built. Fascism appears in many forms, but the definitive rule is that it always reflects the entire history of the bourgeoisie's attempt to contain the class struggle.

Lacking a tradition of clearly defined class organizations, fascism in its incipient form in Louisiana absorbed itself in the electoral machines, the only arena of political life. White supremacy's sway over poor whites had rendered appeals to direct action and class consciousness superfluous.

The thing that made Huey's machine unique was that it was not designed to compete with other machines; it was designed to eliminate them. Accordingly, the machine itself developed a structure that would atomize its own followers as well as yield up a variety of devices to ensure implementation of its policies. (The Long machine was essentially the bureaucratic power base for what was to be the mass organization, Share Our Wealth clubs [SOW]. In Louisiana the machine committees actually became SOW clubs and Long culled cadre for the national campaign from his old machine.)

What is amazing is the similarity of the machine to the fascist orga-

nization as described by Hannah Arendt in her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. The backbone of the machine was the local committee, typically consisting of the sheriff, officeholders, and a few political allies, their allegiance more opportunist than ideological. Reinforced with 26,000 patronage jobs, the machine demanded complete loyalty.

They were kept in a state of perpetual suspicion and infighting, something Huey encouraged. In fact, Huey made it a policy when "fixing" elections that none of his candidates would win by wide margins. This was intended to create a sense of uncertainty and dependence in his own organization.

At times he would even arrange to have one of his own candidates lose, thus feeding the anxiety and fear that permeated the machine and the state as a whole. This conscious manipulation is disturbingly similar to Arendt's analysis of various fascist forms of organization.

Another striking similarity is the fluidity of the high command, or inner circle of the machine. Huey's inner circle, just like Hitler's, was a diverse grouping of people who played different roles in his organization. In both cases the effectiveness of the leader depended on his ability to control the intrigue and machinations to his own benefit.

Most books written about Long spend a great deal of time on his abuses of the democratic process. Suffice it to say that Huey flagrantly violated every legal restraint imaginable with impunity. His machine made full use of a secret police force (State Bureau of Investigation) that operated in plain clothes, their identities known only to the machine.

People were occasionally seized by these goons, known as Huey's cossacks, and secreted away, sometimes held incommunicado without legal charges. On at least two occasions Huey declared martial law and called out the national guard to carry out his dirty work. He used the myriad state agencies to destroy op-

position newspapers or businesses.

When all else failed he allegedly kept secret files on all his opponents (and interestingly, his supporters) which he could use for various seamy schemes. The development of a para-military political group never occurred in Huey's time, yet ample evidence exists to indicate that the machine could muster up large forces to do physical battle with anti-Longs.

The point here is that Long seized control of a provincial government power before embarking on a fascist project, thus obviating the immediate need for a political-military wing such as the Italian squadrista.

Share Our Wealth: The Fascist Meteor

Early in 1933 the Roosevelt high command was eyeing this rump, outlandish demagogue from the Pelican State with increasing trepidation. Roosevelt considered Huey as a "strongman" threat from the left, with Gen. Douglas MacArthur posing the same challenge from the right.

Apparently Roosevelt's apprehension was confirmed in a secret poll that his organization commissioned: Huey could sweep the South on a third party ticket.

In fact, Huey's strategy was flexible, but he was convinced he would be in the White House by 1940. His plan was to field a third party candidate in 1936, stealing the Southern Dixiecrat and left vote from Roosevelt and throwing the election to the Republicans. After four years of conservative and devastating Republican rule, the country would be on the verge of economic collapse, and Huey would sally forth to sweep the country off its feet. It was a shrewd strategy, and at all points realizable.

Huey had rapidly developing support in Northern industrial areas, and news stands in California ordered his newspaper in lots of one thousand. Yet no poll could fathom the explosive power of the Long

HEAR
Huey P. Long
United States Senator
On All Issues of the Day

Persons desiring questions answered on any State, National or International questions requested to write out the same and hand to chairman of meetings.

Wednesday, November 8

Oakgrove	10:30 a. m.
Winnabore	3:00 p. m.
Monroe, New City School	7:00 p. m.

Thursday, November 9

Ruston	10:30 a. m.
Gibland	3:00 p. m.
Minden	7:00 p. m.

Friday, November 10

Natchitoches	10:30 a. m.
Leesville	3:00 p. m.
Alexandria	7:00 p. m.

Saturday, November 11

Marksville	10:30 a. m.
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machine.

For instance, in 1932 Huey moved his forces into Arkansas to back a sympathetic longshot for the Senate, Hattie Caraway. Using whirlwind tactics, masterful propaganda, and his own prodigious energy, Long steamrolled her into office to the amazement of all observers.

It was once said that the history of fascism was the history of under-estimation, and certainly in 1932 only a few anxious observers felt the earth tremble when Huey spoke.

Since Roosevelt was firmly entrenched in the Democratic Party and Huey had neither the time nor the disposition to try to win its nomination, Huey initiated his first mass political organization: the Share Our Wealth Society. SOWS was in existence for a brief 18 months of Huey's life. The organization was comprised of clubs in all states, although most were in the South. Most people joined as a result of listening to one of Huey's folksy national radio programs.

Many assume that it was the formal structure for a vast mass fascist organization or at least a mass electoral party. What should concern us here is the phenomenal growth of the organization, an event that paralyzed the left yet slowly disappears from history

books with time's passage.

The SOWS program was simple: redistribution of wealth, guaranteed annual income, guaranteed pensions, new cars and new homes from the money expropriated from the rich. The response to this nostrum was sudden; within 18 months the society had enlisted 26,000 clubs with over 4,600,000 members.

The average mail load for the 24-hour-a-day office in Washington was 60,000 letters a week, but on occasion (after a national radio speech by Huey) the office received 30,000 letters a day for over three weeks. Interestingly, office workers observed that at first the letters were crudely written, probably sent by poor rural whites. But near the end of Huey's life there was a steady increase in letters indicating a middle-class background.

It would be safe to assume that Long was forging a mass petty-bourgeois organization beyond his old constituency. Given that the adult population of the U.S. was roughly 55 million then, the 7,550,000 people on the SOWS mailing list reflect the seriousness of the movement's scope. Coupled with Huey's own personal newspaper, *American Progress* (peak subscription of 375,000), the Long propaganda machine presented one of the most formidable challenges to traditional bourgeois rule in the thirties.

Sitting at the administrative head of this organization was Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith was hand-picked by Huey to head up SOWS, and the young radical preacher from Shreveport took up his duties with the passion of a true zealot.

He was an extremely capable organizer, in many ways the actual organizational mind of SOWS. He and Huey had extensive contact, although Smith's servile devotion to his new-found deity sometimes rubbed the Kingfish the wrong way.

Often described as a LaFollette Progressive, only a few admit that Smith was a militant anti-Semite and fascist thinker before he joined Huey's organization. Only a year



STRANGE INTERLUDE.

The nation's cartoonists had a field day after Huey's encounter in the washroom at Sands Point

A contemporary cartoonist's view

before, Smith had written America's self-pronounced fuehrer, William Dudley Pelley, offering to help set up America's first fascist "silver shirts."

Some historians ruminate that Smith put aside these politics temporarily during his tenure as SOWS head. The suggestion is absurd. Smith later became a stalwart in the anti-Semitic, racist right-wing organizations agitating against the civil rights movement. Both apologists and detractors of Long are increasingly reluctant to concede that one of the largest mass organizations of the thirties was administered by an anti-Semitic fascist.

The view of many of Long's contemporaries that his movement constituted a left-wing insurgency has prevented many historians from identifying Huey with fascism as an ideology. But the European experience is replete with examples of fascist movements coming to power on populist-sounding programs with significant left-wing factions operating within them.

The example of Mussolini is enlightening since his transformation from Marxist leader to fascist ideologue paralleled the movement of large numbers of socialists into the fascist ranks. Also the Italian experience did not emphasize the anti-Semitism of the Nazis, nor was it

particularly concerned with programs and ideology.

As Arendt shows in her book, all the fascist movements spent tremendous energy trying to deny they ever promoted progressive-sounding programs, since the actual tasks of salvaging capitalism demanded the opposite.

It appears that Huey was serious about organizing an electoral third party, and the likelihood of this evolving in to a serious fascist challenge was strong. For several months Huey had met with radio right-winger and fascist admirer Father Charles Coughlin, and the only comment that they would make about their parleys was that they agreed on their general aims.

No doubt Huey could have pulled together a motley coalition of Townsendites, white populists, and even Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in America Clubs (large numbers of Sinclair's activists were members of California SOW clubs). Whatever left wing that developed in the party could be dealt with later on, perhaps in the same manner Hitler "eliminated" his troublesome Strasser grouping.

Certainly all of the links with overt fascists already existed in the coalition, as well as in the person of Gerald L. K. Smith. Fascist theoretician Lawrence Dennis commented that Huey was the closest approach to a "national fascist leader," and Dennis urged Huey to take the reins of American fascism with his endorsement.

Huey Long and Racism

It defies all logic why there is still a debate over whether Huey was a white supremacist. He ruled a state that subjugated Blacks in virtual slavery with no political rights whatsoever. He openly proclaimed himself in favor of white-supremacist rule. The evidence that historians dredge up to substantiate their claim that Huey was a closet liberal is his apparent hesitancy to use race as an issue in his campaigns, and also the tangible benefits accruing

to Blacks under the Long administration.

In fact, several programs directly benefitted Blacks, although the motivations behind this generosity are open to speculation. For instance, at one point Huey reduced property tax in an attempt to relieve the burden on his poor white farmer supporters. Consequently the new levy all but eliminated tax on the even poorer Black farmers.

Adult education classes were implemented to overcome illiteracy of the poor, yet it was the mass of illiterate Blacks that made such extensive use of this program that Huey was forced to rearrange the class schedules to night classes, since whites were grumbling about their Black workers going to school instead of working. At one point a close associate of Huey's mused that it was impossible to legislate for poor whites without helping poor Blacks inadvertently.

It is true that Huey was relatively free of racist tirades in public, although he could engage in vicious racist harangues when the occasion called for it. There are several factors that militated against his use of race as an issue.

Since Blacks were held in semi-slavery and had not presented a revolutionary political challenge for several decades, it was difficult to convince anyone that Blacks were the source of their problems. Keep in mind that Huey shaped his program and myth out of an understanding of what was credible to poor whites as well as what was safe from co-optation by his opposition. Any other political figure could have stolen Huey's thunder if that thunder was the issue of race.

But even the Klan was hostile to Huey on only one issue — radical economics. Probably the most revealing lesson is that those Southern demagogues who did choose to exploit the white supremacy of poor whites never approached the stature of Huey in their political careers.

In reality, Huey never tampered significantly with the tradition of white supremacy, nor did he exac-

erbate it. But there is sufficient reason to believe that in both the area of anti-Semitism and white supremacy the Long movement could have readily transformed itself into a genocidal movement comparable to European fascism.

A young Roy Wilkins once interviewed Huey shortly before his assassination and focussed on the issue of race. The "liberal populist" comforted Wilkins regarding a recent lynching in Franklinton, Louisiana, by telling him, "We just lynch an occasional nigger."

After Huey had pontificated at length about all that he had done for the Black people in Louisiana, Wilkins made one of the more astute estimates of Huey ever made by a contemporary:

My guess is that Huey is a hard, ambitious, practical politician. He is far shrewder than he is given credit for. My further guess is that he wouldn't hesitate to throw Negroes to the wolves if it became necessary; neither would he hesitate to carry them along if the good they did him was greater than the harm.

Conclusions

With the passing of time, historians have become much kinder to Huey Long. In his own day he enjoyed a reputation as a demagogue at best, and the accepted analysis of most liberals and leftists was that he was a precursor to American fascist rule.

That period in history both excited liberal historians and terrified them. With the stabilization of social democratic rule over four decades, liberals have become less inclined to concede that fascism was ever a viable movement. The publication of T. Harry Williams' unabashed apologia, *Huey Long*, signalled the beginning of a full-scale rehabilitation of the Kingfish.

But apart from the aggravation of bourgeois revisions of history, the danger of this resurrection is its tendency to obscure how fascism develops organically out of the so-

cial conditions and needs of capital in crisis.

Huey was an evasive creature, like the mysterious chameleon that inhabits the bayou state, a creature that appears to different people as different things. To understand U.S. fascism we have to appreciate how it is an historical product, reflecting the contradictions of national capital's development.

Huey embraced populism for the same reason Hitler embraced socialism: these facades were preconditions for their success among a people steeped in either political tradition. His early experiences as political boss and small-time machine politician were the only avenues for fascism in the philistine political world of Louisiana. His relationship to the traditional left and right was ambivalent, with both groupings vascillating between claiming him and battling him. The impact of

Long's movement on the national government is particularly telling, with Roosevelt's constant maneuvering to co-opt or eliminate the Long threat.

The more we come to understand the flexibility of the fascist movement, how it unfolds itself in the course of its battle for power and independence, the closer we will be to exposing and defeating it.

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Long in 1935 outside United States Senate Office Building

Editorial

NYACK AND THE GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION

Eight people — Gerri Gaines, Yaasmyn Fula, Asha Sundiata, Eve Rosahn, Bernardine Dohrn, Alan Berkman, Shaheem Jabaar, and John Crenshaw — are currently imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with a RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) grand jury in New York City.

We believe that the cases of those imprisoned deserve both more attention and more support than they have thus far received. In the hope of encouraging that support, we would like to examine why the government has chosen the particular people who have been subpoenaed and subsequently imprisoned and why it has chosen to characterize its investigation as one into a conspiracy.

The second question has an easier answer than the first. The "conspiracy" angle gives the government both legal and political advantages. In the first case, if the government does proceed with indictments and trials, the conspiracy charge (especially as it is interpreted in the RICO statute) is a somewhat easier one to fabricate a case around. But the political advantages are substantial as well. The charge of conspiracy conjures up images of shadowy figures hatching terrorist intrigues — images that fit in rather well with the notion of a world-wide terror network.

One of the primary reasons for the government's attack is to justify its repressive policies — whether to criminalize CIA revelations, to restrict the Freedom of Information Act, to break down doors and terrorize people in the Black community, or to secure convictions in the cases of those already indicted. But, given the still considerable support for civil liberties on the one hand and the remarkable resilience of white-supremacist hegemony on the other, the targets of the grand jury have to be chosen quite carefully.

The eight people in jail have either been activists in the Black liberation movements or white people who are supporters of those movements. What they have in common is not membership in an organization or even necessarily agreement on all political questions, but instead a conviction that the struggles by Black people are central for the future of the society we live in and a refusal to cooperate with a government that has shown time and again the lengths to which it was prepared to go to defeat those struggles.

We need to remember that repression, like so many other aspects of state policy, is applied unequally and selectively. Only some people are subject to state terror and/or political imprisonment. The left, as a whole, is undoubtedly infiltrated, informed on, and provoked. But it is not treated in the same way as members of the Black Panther Party or the Republic of New Afrika were or as the members of Black August are being treated today. For that matter, white activists have seldom been subject to the kind of repressive tactics that have been used against the broad movements of Black and other people of color. This differential repression is not based on the existence of an immediate, serious threat to the state's overall power — but rather on a perception by the state of the potential threat embodied in the movements of oppressed peoples.

The ability of the struggles waged by peoples of color within and without the borders of the United States to challenge people's loyalty to the system of social, economic and political power has, most dramatically in the cases of Viet Nam and of the Black movement throughout the '50s and '60s, contributed to a definite weakening of the imperial center. The state has been determined to eliminate that set of possibilities and used COINTELPRO internally and CIA operations externally to attack those movements. The direct attacks, whether they employed bullets or courts, represented only one part of the government's strategy. A well-orchestrated campaign has been conducted to portray the partisans of national liberation as terrorists and their politics as illegitimate.

With COINTELPRO exposed and the Black movement weakened (although in some ways resurgent), the government has developed a strategy of preventive detention for some political activists. Grand jury subpoenas issued to people whom the government knows will not collaborate is a U.S. version of political internment. The irony is that those who are subpoenaed, as well as those who have been indicted on federal charges, represent a politics that has, at the moment, little of an organized movement corresponding to it. What is being imprisoned is not an actual conspiracy, but instead a particular approach to politics.

The principal reason why there is so little spontaneous support for those who have been imprisoned is that the white left, by and large, has accepted the government's definition of legitimate politics and has kept its distance from the politics of autonomy for oppressed groups, of community self-defense and of armed struggle. This is not to argue that the white left has always made these choices self-consciously. They have far more often been made in the language of practicality and effectiveness — as those were defined by the prevailing attitudes in white communities.

In this light, it is interesting to contrast the characteristic responses of the white left and the Black movement in the aftermath of the attempted robbery of the Brinks truck last October. The typical published comment from the white left excoriated those presumably responsible and those whose politics were seen as sympathetic as being motivated by illusion or delusion. We can take it for granted that the initial private responses of most of those in the white left were not so different. On the other hand, the Black movement (especially in New York) rallied quickly to issue public statements denouncing the government's attacks on Black people and to defend the political and civil liberties of Fulani Sunni Ali when she was kidnapped from Mississippi.

We are not suggesting that the Black movement in New York was therefore giving its political approval to the attempted robbery. So far as we know, the Black movement has not, as a whole, taken any public position on that particular event. What positions, if any, organizations in the Black movement take will, of course, be decided by those organizations themselves. What we are trying to emphasize, though, is how different the approach taken by the Black movement was from that of the white left.

The predominant politics of the white left has been characterized for more than a decade by a withdrawal from the politics of support for the Black movement and by a playing down of the significance of racism. That withdrawal has not only damaged the potential for organizing among white people to support the struggles of people of color; it has also created a political vacuum, especially among young people, that has been filled by a resurgent right wing and a revival of fascistic racism. If that fascism is ever triumphant, it is doubtful that it would be as careful in its choices of candidates for terror and imprisonment as the government is now. We can see a rather dramatic illustration of this possibility in the Klan murder of the five members of the Communist Workers' Party.

The white left will not be persuaded to support those in jail by a version of the "You're going to be next" argument that seems almost automatic in these situations. The government has made it quite clear

that those parts of the white left that keep their distance from the politics of Black liberation have little to fear from the government's repressive agencies.

Instead, we would argue that those in jail should be supported because they represent, however partially and imperfectly, a political challenge to racist, bourgeois hegemony and rule. We must insist on the political character of the links between those imprisoned — as opposed to the attempts on the left and the right to characterize those links as criminal, conspiratorial or bizarre.

The wisdom of the old proverb that "An injury to one is an injury to all" has to be understood as meaning that it does not matter how close anyone else is to being subpoenaed or imprisoned. The imprisonment of eight is an attack on the movement and should be resisted as such.

It is often difficult to agree on estimates of priorities for political work. Few would suggest that the grand jury attacks are the burning issue of the day. Nevertheless, our movement is weakened and impoverished so long as the government remains able to continue the imprisonment of those subpoenaed thus far and to persuade so much of that movement that it should not be concerned. We believe that the effort to defeat this grand jury demands widespread support.

And what of those individuals arrested and charged in connection with the attempted robbery itself? Our starting point is the essential righteousness of any effort by the oppressed to gain their freedom. It is inevitable that Black revolutionaries will attempt to create a liberation army, which is, after all, an instrument of organized violence, and to finance its operations through expropriations that themselves entail violence — and it is inevitable that some-people-with white skin will help them. One does not have to hail the attempted robbery as the highest form of struggle yet reached in this country, as some have done, or agree on the wisdom of the particular line of defense chosen by the majority of those on trial, in order to recognize the political character of the action and respect the decision of those who have chosen to take a prisoner of war stance as well as those who have chosen to present a more conventional defense. Given present realities, it may be beside the point to call for the release of the Nyack defendants; yet there still remains for revolutionaries the more important task of understanding and explaining the character of the attempted robbery as a political, not a criminal, act, and insisting that those on trial be judged by political, not criminal, standards.



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Review

A HOUSE DIVIDED: LABOR AND WHITE SUPREMACY

By Roxanne Mitchell and Frank Weiss. Comment by Harry Haywood. New York: United Labor Press, 1981, xiii, 171pp., \$3.95.

Sojourner Truth Organization owes a political debt to Ted Allen. A large part of our understanding of U.S. history and the central importance of white supremacy are based on his insights, which were especially manifest in Noel Ignatin's White Blindspot, first published in 1967, and his Learn the Lessons of U.S. History, first published in 1968. For that reason, we are publishing the following piece, which was submitted to us with the title, "A Partial Review," in spite of the fact that we like neither the tone nor content of it. Our main political objection to Perry's article is the absence in it of any treatment of the subject of autonomy, either of the workers' movement in general or of the black movement in particular. Without an appreciation of how the conditions of life under capitalism give rise to certain forms of activity which represent a break with bourgeois patterns of behavior and constitute a challenge to bourgeois hegemony, it is impossible to develop a strategy for overcoming bourgeois white-supremacist domination, which, as Allen writes (Perry cites him in the review), is "the principal aspect of U.S. capitalist society. . . ." Thus, Perry's praiseworthy effort to refute the argument of the Mitchell-Weiss book and defend our common thesis is compromised from the start. For an example of how STO treats this debate, readers are referred to Ignatin's Black Worker, White Worker, published in the collection Workplace Papers.

The editors

IN DEFENSE OF TED ALLEN

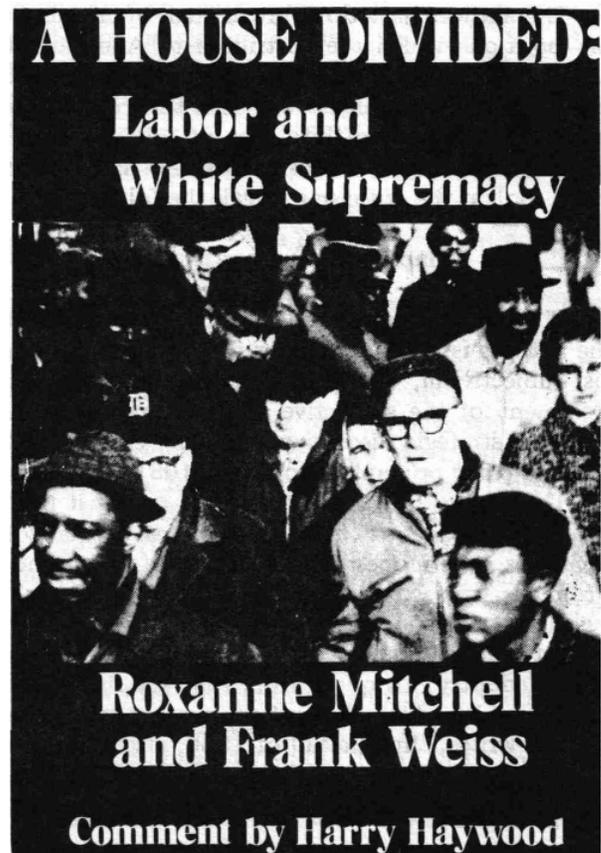
by Jeff Perry

A particularly foul aspect of *A House Divided: Labor and White Supremacy* is that the book utilizes the essential arguments of another author in an attempt to lay claim to theoretical advances and then turns around and distorts and misrepresents the views of the very author from whom so much is borrowed. This partial review will seek to suggest how and why this was done and in the process to provide the reader with certain key excerpts from the writings of the maligned author, Ted Allen. These excerpts, in turn, suggest some of the signal contributions made by Allen to the tasks of understanding and overcoming the "white" problem and to developing a revolutionary strategy and movement in this country.

A House Divided is a 1981 publication of the "Proletarian Unity League [PUL] and other friends" that "was written over five years ago." [pp. xii-xiii, v] Its authorship is attributed to the names Roxanne Mitchell and Frank Weiss. It includes a Preface, seven chapters, an Appendix on superseniority, A Comment by Harry Haywood, Selected Bibliography, and Study Questions. The authors state that their "book attributes the central causal role for a peculiar labor movement to that 'peculiar institution,' U.S. White supremacist national oppression. More than that we never meant to claim." [p. 144]

Chapter one addresses the longstanding question "Why no socialism in the U.S.?" and argues that "opportunism towards the institutions of white supremacist national oppression is not simply one among a number of shortcomings: it constitutes the key politi-

cal and ideological weakness of the workers' movement in this country." [p. 10] Chapters two through five deal with other competing theories and explanations which the authors describe as the Labor. Aristocracy Thesis, the Super-Profits Thesis and a corol-



lary Southern Branch Super-Profits Thesis, the Bribery Theory, and four variations of "left" economist views.

At their best, these five chapters paraphrase and re-state arguments far better elucidated by Ted Allen, particularly in his published works "Can White Radicals Be Radicalized?" (in the original pamphlet by Noel Ignatin and Ted Allen entitled *White Blindspot and Can White Radicals Be Radicalized?*, 1969) and *White Supremacy in U.S. History* (1973), and in his paper, "The Most Vulnerable Point" (1972).

That these authors seek to attack white supremacy and that they seek to do so by utilizing the previous research and writings of Ted Allen are commendable facts. Similar efforts by others should be encouraged. What is of most interest in the book, however, is the fact that after so utilizing Allen's previous work, they seek, in Chapter Six, to disassociate from what they call Allen's and Ignatin's "deviations" [p. 115], after noting, of course, that "none of the criticisms we have of Ted Allen's theoretical or political positions negate the general importance of his historical research" [p. 108]. Chapter Six in particular is very disjointed and runs far and wide with its criticisms and accusations. These criticisms and accusations are at times inaccurate, at times outright falsehoods, and at times strawmen (created by the authors), but most malodorous of all are the instances when the authors use arguments which Allen has developed to counter arguments which they falsely attribute to Allen.

The authors have three broad areas of criticism of the positions which they attribute to Allen and Ignatin. The first two areas of criticism are labeled by the authors "spontaneist subjectivism" and "ultra-left utopianism"; the third area of criticism I treat under the heading of criticisms of slogan and strategy. A look at the criticisms reveals the following:

Spontaneist Subjectivism

The first critique of Allen and Ignatin offered by the authors is described under the heading "spontaneist subjectivism," where they allege that Allen in his treatment of the subjective factor "nowhere relates it to the strategic discussion," to the "conscious element or party principle." [pp. 115,108]

The charge that Allen "nowhere relates it to the strategic discussion" appears to reveal either total blindness or dishonesty on the part of the authors. From his first writings on the subject, Allen has focused above all on the strategic centrality of the fight against white supremacy to the making of revolution in this country. To quote from the very first page of the pamphlet which the authors purport to critique: Ignatin writes, "In the fall of 1966, after some conversations with Ted Allen and Esther Kusick (who has just died and whose loss is felt deeply by those who

knew her) I became convinced of the correctness of their position—that the white-skin privilege has been the achilles' heel of the labor movement in the U.S., and that the fight against white supremacy (beginning, among white workers, with the repudiation of the white-skin privilege) is the key to strategy for revolution in this country." [*White Blindspot*, inside front cover] Allen writes, in the same pamphlet, that he and Esther Kusick "have, until now, been alone in this view ["the attack against white supremacy as the key to strategy"] (at least as far as we know)" and that "nobody else has even posed the problem of strategy." [*ibid.*, p. 9]

In the 1971 "Introduction to *White Blindspot* (1967) and *Can White Radicals Be Radicalized?* (1969)" Allen and Ignatin most cogently addressed the relation of strategy to party in a passage which deserves to be quoted at length:

The first condition for building a Marxist-Leninist Party in this country is the recognition of the following facts about the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which constitutes the principal contradiction of United States capitalist society:

(1) The principal aspect of U.S. capitalist society is not merely bourgeois domination, but bourgeois white supremacist domination; and therefore, the proletarian revolutionary strategy for the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the United States requires that the main blow be directed at white supremacy.

(2) The principal aspect of the U.S. working class movement today is not merely opportunism, but white racist opportunism; and therefore, the central and decisive task in the struggle against all forms and aspects of opportunism is the struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of the proletariat.

(3) The principal aspect of opportunism is not merely white supremacism, but the white racist privileges conferred by the bourgeoisie on the white workers; and therefore, the indispensable condition for the participation of the white workers in revolutionary struggle is the repudiation of their white-skin privileges, privileges which are ruinous to the short-range and the long-range interests of the entire proletariat, of whites no less than Blacks.

The second condition for building a Marxist-Leninist Party is bringing together the critical mass of cadre, sufficient in number and sufficiently national in scope, who understand the centrality of the struggle against white supremacy in *the terms stated above*; and who understand it not as a liability, but as the expression of the redoubled revolutionary power resulting from the conjunction of national liberation and proletarian revolution.

The third condition for the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party is that, as *a result of practice in applying this strategic line in tactical political, economic, and ideological struggles* over a sufficient period of time, the cadre has built a mass base of support among its fellow proletarians, let us say twenty to fifty times as numerous as the cadre it-

self, which understand and consistently supports the cadre, fair weather or foul. ["Introduction to *White Blindspot*," pp. 1-2. Note: this work is" cited by the authors of *A House Divided* on p. 113 but not included in their Bibliography.]

The first criticism/accusation of the authors is patently false.

the authors' charges are a bit demagogic

The next criticism offered by the authors is that Allen's and Ignatin's "subjectivism manifests itself in an attitude verging on indifference in regard to tactics and program." [p. 108] The authors then go on to cite as an example the following quote from Allen, a quote which Allen describes not as a strategy but "as two general rules of attack" [*White Blind-spot*, p. 18].

First, face the problem of the necessity to repudiate the white-skin privilege. Second, act: repudiate the privilege by violating the white "gentleman's agreement" as completely as you can at every opportunity. Once radicals adopt such an approach to radicalizing the white masses, the implications for particular areas of activity will not be hard to find. If in doubt at first, just make a list of the privileges and start violating them. [Allen, "Can White Radicals Be Radicalized?," cited by the authors on p. 108]

It should first be noted that the authors' charges are a bit demagogic, since nowhere in *A House Divided* do they themselves elaborate on "tactics and program." Rather, they offer such statements as, "At what point and in what circumstances the challenge [against the system of favoritism for whites] becomes decisive will depend on a variety of conjunctural factors concerning the development of the revolutionary movement about which it would be useless to speculate now." [p. 113]

Further, regarding tactics, Allen certainly did indicate some areas for work in the original *White Blindspot* — areas such as seniority, layoffs, urban removal, racist craft unions, prisons, higher education, civil service ratings, and apprenticeship programs. [*White Blindspot*, pp. 17-18] Since that article Allen has again taken up the subject, most notably in a 29-page letter to Ignatin at a time that Allen perceived a significant change in strategy in Ignatin's organization; at that time Allen added to his previous areas for work such things as South Africa and southern Africa, affirmative action, police brutality, frame-up and harassment, housing, and the white-supremacist aspects of the "tax revolt." [Allen to Ignatin, 7/11/78, p. 17, reprinted in Sojourner Truth Organization, *Internal Bulletin* Number 4]

More importantly, however, this criticism by the

authors of *A House Divided* is but the tip of an iceberg. The very quote which they attack Allen for is almost rephrased by these authors 13 pages later when they write:

facing up to the material base of white chauvinism in national oppression and the corresponding system of privileges for whites simply establishes a starting

point from which Marxists and other revolutionary-minded people should proceed. . . . Every shop floor, community, prison or high school leader, every class-conscious worker, every activist has to search out in concrete circumstances the actual forms taken by white-supremacist national oppression. . . . Through investigation of white supremacist national oppression and the spontaneous struggle against it, Marxists and other class-conscious workers can develop the propaganda, agitation, and programs of struggle which will convince the working class. . . . that its actual immediate and long-term interests lie in making the fight against favoritism for whites "part and parcel" of every struggle, [p. 122]

The essential difference between this passage and Allen's is that where Allen sees the need for "whites" to act to repudiate white-skin privileges, the authors of *A House Divided* do not put forth such a call for action. Instead, they argue that "the slogan 'fight white-skin privileges' or its corollary, 'repudiate white-skin privileges,' has never been more than a propaganda slogan aimed at winning people to a Marxist approach." [p. 115] [italics mine — JP] Perhaps the slogan was such for them, but thereby hangs a tale.

For Allen the crucial test is the actual leading of a mass base in practice in the fight against white supremacy and white-skin privileges. In the absence of this, there is no talk from Allen about being in the lead in the formation of a Marxist vanguard party. For the PUL, however, the situation is quite different. For some time now they have sought a liaison with the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (split-off from the Revolutionary Communist Party, formerly Revolutionary Union) and the Communist Party (M-L) (formerly October League, now recently splintered) in attempts at what PUL originally saw as "the construction of a revolutionary proletarian party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought" which PUL declared to be "the primary objective of all revolutionaries in this period." [See *On the October League's Call For a New Communist Party: A Response*, by the PUL, p. 13.] (The Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought has now been downplayed in line with recent developments in the

People's Republic of China.) Related to this they claim that "the main form of activity in the present period is propaganda" [see *Two, Three, Many Parties of A New Type?: Against the Ultra-Left Line, by the PUL, 1977, p. 29*] and that "the forces representing the long-term interests of the communist movement must aim the main blow at 'left' sectarianism." [*ibid.*, p. 30] In accordance with this, they became self-critical of themselves and their earlier formulation (*circa* the time the chapters in *A House Divided* were first written) that "... white opportunism in political line constitutes the fundamental threat to the construction of a revolutionary party." [*ibid.*, p. 59]

Thus the difference is clear — for Allen the main task is to actively aim the strategic main blow at white supremacy and the white-skin privileges in practice and, based on this, to seek to aggroup those that actually lead in this effort. The PUL people, on the other hand, are in the *party-building business* and seek to aim the main blow at "left" sectarianism.. Accordingly, the PUL readily seeks to build a Party with the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters-Revolutionary Union types (types long criticized on the left for white supremacy) on a basis not of their leadership in the fight against white supremacy but rather on their self-proclaimed "communist movement" standing and on a basis of fighting "left" errors.

The question then arises, why, if this is the PUL's strategy, do they come out in 1981 with a book on white supremacy in the workers' movement, based on writings which are over five years old? The question also might be asked, why did the authors make no attempt, according to Allen, to discuss their critique of his material with Allen himself? The answer, it seems, is that they clearly are in the party-building business — for a while they were even in negotiations with those who had the China "franchise" (Communist Party [M-L]). When groups like the RCP and the CP(M-L) were at their respective "peaks," they would have nothing to do with PUL's talk of "white-skin privileges," so PUL put talk of the fight against white supremacy on the back burner and focused instead on "left" sectarianism. Now, however, with both of the former groups in total disarray, and with many of their former cherished positions in tatters, the oppor-

immediate gain and then bringing it out when it has a possible market value is an old business trick — and one that might be expected from those in the party-building business. But Harry Haywood has been around a long time, and he wasn't fooled a lick by it. Haywood, whose works have long been circulated by the October League/Communist Party (M-L) comments that there "is a distinct tendency for the authors to see things from the vision of the 60's radical. Thus some of the main theoretical underpinnings of the 'Blindspot' line are not fully broken with." [p. 142] Clearly, the authors can't have it both ways — the Blindspot line and the OL/CP(M-L) line don't mix. Pulling aspects of the Blindspot line out after five years' running with a different line just doesn't cut it.

Ultra-Left Utopianism

The authors' second category of criticism of Allen and Ignatin is for what they call "ultra-left utopianism," which they describe as "a demand for the abolition of white supremacy not founded in an analysis of the historical limits of U.S. bourgeois rule." [p. 115]

They quote Allen from "The Most Vulnerable Point" that "the indispensable condition of the participation of the white workers in revolutionary struggle is the repudiation of the white-skin privileges, privileges which are ruinous to the short-range and long-range interests of the entire proletariat, of whites no less than Blacks and other proletarian victims of national oppression. (Page 2)." [p. 113]

The authors, however, then go on to create a strawman argument, speaking of "the connotation of the term 'repudiation' as a complete act" [p. 113] and then argue against this strawman — "we disagree with any formulation that implies that 'repudiation' is a single act which, once completed, ushers in a period of struggle." [p. 114] They then argue, "far from being a prelude to revolutionary struggle around other issues, as Ted Allen's statement might suggest, fighting white favoritism has to become a *central, and often the central revolutionary feature* of those struggles." [*ibid.*, italics mine — JP]

shelving a product and then bringing it out when it has a possible market value

tunity seems to have arisen in which a sound theory on white supremacy (such as that based on Ted Allen's writings) becomes a valuable thing, and the proponents of such a sound theory can become much more marketable individuals amongst those in such a business. Shelving a product when it provides no apparent

Incredible, truly incredible. The authors create a phony strawman argument — repudiation as a single complete act — which they then attribute to Allen. To counter it they use one of Allen's own arguments, which finally they alter so as to liquidate the centrality of the fight against white supremacy. Such argumentation is pure demagoguery.

Specifically, in thousands of pages of writing, Allen has never once argued that repudiation is a single complete act. Never! In a letter to [a member] of the Sojourner Truth Organization, dated March 1979, Allen comes out four-square for participation "in the actual struggles which continually occur against white racial oppression." [p. 10] More to the point, in the very work which the authors purport to critique (*White Blindspot*), Allen argues against "those 'vanguard' elements [like the PUL — JP] who worry about the self difficulty of 'selling' the rank and file on the idea of repudiation of the white-skin privileges" and says they "should begin their charity at home: they should first 'search their hearts' and ask if they, themselves, are sold on the idea of repudiating the white-skin privileges, and if they maintain a 24-hour-a-day vigilance in that effort." [*White Blindspot*, p. 10] Hardly the words of one who sees repudiation of a white-skin privilege (singular) as a once and forever act.

Further, it is Allen who argues that, "The principal aspect of U.S. capitalist society is not merely bourgeois domination, but bourgeois white-supremacist domination." ["Introduction to *White Blindspot*, p. 1] In a society whose principal aspect is bourgeois white-supremacist domination, there is no issue in which the fight against white supremacy will not be central. As opposed to those "Marxists" who offer a purified class-against-class analysis of U.S. society, Allen is emphatic in his position that there is no issue, be it male supremacy, housing, unemployment, education, etc., in this society which is not shaped in a white-supremacist fashion and which does not therefore require anti-white-supremacist proletarian struggle.

Allen is explicit in *White Blindspot* when he states that "the fight against white supremacy and the white-skin privileges is the key." [p. 10] It is a paraphrase of Allen's own writing which the authors of *A House Divided* have attempted to use to beat down the argument they falsely attribute to Allen. But

building efforts have not found the struggle against white supremacy to be the central task. Rather, the struggle against "'left' sectarianism" in the search for "proletarian unity" in the "Communist movement" is their priority.

The Question of the White Race

In some ways even more startling is the authors' charge that Allen's and Ignatin's emphasis on the "demand for the abolition of white supremacy is not founded in an analysis of the historical limits of U.S. bourgeois rule." [p. 115]

For fifteen years, Allen has been writing constantly on just this question. There is hardly an argument against the historical role of white supremacy in the U.S. which the authors use which wasn't said earlier and better by Allen. The authors themselves pay homage to Allen's historical efforts — speaking of "the general importance of his historical research." [p. 108]

Allen's historical research covers virtually the entire span of U.S. history. His current writings are on the origin of racial slavery and the invention of the "white" race as a bourgeois-social-control formation based on a system of white-skin privileges in the seventeenth century. His earlier works treat the historic reconstituting of these privileges, which were so threatened and undermined in the Civil War-Reconstruction period, and puts particular emphasis on the ways in which the bourgeoisie accomplished this in the principal areas of industrial employment, land, and immigration. His writings then go on to discuss how the existence of the white-skin privilege system enabled the bourgeoisie to turn to white supremacy to beat back attacks when threatened during Reconstruction, Populism, and the Depression 1930s. Based on this historical analysis and an appraisal of current situations, Allen then puts forth the strategy of the fight against white supremacy and the white-skin privilege system as the key to proletarian revolu-

in their party building efforts they have not found the struggle against white supremacy to be the central task

that is not all. They have changed Allen's argument in such a way as to alter its entire meaning. What is for Allen "the key" becomes for the authors "a central, and often the central revolutionary feature of those struggles."

The real telltale for the authors is the facility with which they find situations in which the struggle against white supremacy is *not* "the central revolutionary feature of those struggles."

Most specifically, the PUL people in their party-

tion in the U.S.

The authors of *A House Divided*, however, seem to have grasped little from all this, other than what they could use in their party-building polemics. An important example is when they describe Allen's *Class Struggle and the Origin of Racial Slavery: The Invention of the White Race* pamphlet (1975) [HEP, P. O. Box M-71, Hoboken, NJ 07030] (Note: the authors significantly omit the second half of the title.) as an analysis of "the origin of African slavery

as a form of social control in early colonial America, with a focus on Bacon's Rebellion of 1676." [p. 147]

Such a description clearly misses the significance of Allen's work. For Allen it is not African slavery but the "white" race bourgeois-social-control formation which was the key to social control.

Allen's writings focus not on African slavery but rather on the peculiar system of racial slavery that developed in what is now the United States. In detailing and analyzing the system of racial slavery, he explains how it did not exist from the beginning in Virginia, how its particular racist shaping was not something innate in the nature of capitalism, and how racism is not something "innate" in European-Americans — the term "white" was not even in use as a description of European-Americans for most of the 17th century.

Allen explains the development of this system of racial slavery as a particular ruling class response to particular conditions of labor unrest. The problem of the 17th-century Chesapeake bourgeoisie was to find an adequate labor supply and a viable form of social control in their pursuit of profits. The method ultimately employed involved the creation of the "white race" as a bourgeois-social-control formation which was used to maintain order in a system of racial slavery in which the lifetime, hereditary chattel-bond laborers were Africans and Afro-Americans.

Anglo-American colonies, the chattel-bond-labor supply was drawn in large part from English and other European sources. The peculiarity did not inhere in the fact that the supply of lifetime, hereditary chattel-bond-laborers was made up of Africans and Afro-Americans exclusively. Nor did it inhere in the fact that the "supply" of owners of bond-laborers was practically limited to Europeans and their descendants; that, too, was true for the Americas generally.

The peculiarity of the "peculiar institution" had its being, rather, in the "control" aspect. Yet, not in the mere fact that the control of bond-labor depended upon the support of the free non-owners of bond-labor, as buffer and enforcer against the unfree proletariat; for that too was a general characteristic of plantation societies in the Americas.

The peculiarity of the system of social control which came to be established in continental Anglo-America lay in the following two characteristics: (1) all persons of any discernible degree of non-European ancestry were excluded from the buffer-social-control stratum; and, (2) the bulk of the buffer-social-control stratum maintained against the unfree proletarians was, itself, made up of the mass of the free proletarians and semi-proletarians.

The purpose of this present study is to understand the historical events and process which culminated in the establishment of that system of social control; to understand how, at a certain point

not African slavery, but the "white" race bourgeois social control formation was the key

Racial slavery in the United States was long referred to as the "peculiar institution." It was so referred to because, amongst other things, it differed from the forms of slavery developed elsewhere in the Americas. Understanding how it differed is crucial to understanding Allen's work, the role of white supremacy in U.S. history, and the tasks required for any revolutionary change in this country. In his work currently in progress Allen explains this particularity, and I quote from Allen at length:

First, "the peculiar institution," or racial slavery, here refers exclusively to the particular form of labor supply and control, as it was established in the Anglo-American continental plantation colonies (and attempted in the Anglo-Caribbean), by the end of the first century after the landing at Jamestown. Secondly, the term "racial slavery" will be understood to refer not to the African ancestry of the bond-laborers, but to the "white race" system of control of the society based on Afro-American bond labor.

The system's peculiarity did not inhere in its labor-supply aspect. Laborers everywhere in the plantation Americas were reduced to chattels and supplied through the market system. And, in the

in our colonial pre-history, the "white race" — the quintessence of the peculiar institution — was invented, as a special form of class collaboration, for maintaining bourgeois social control in its specifically "American" form.

Clearly, Allen's understanding of the "peculiar institution" is different from that of the authors of *A House Divided*, who define the "peculiar institution" as "U.S. white supremacist national oppression." [p. 140] For Allen, the particularity is in the control aspect — in the "white race" as a bourgeois-social-control formation — a formation predominantly "white worker" in composition which was created by and serves the bourgeoisie against the proletariat — a formation that defines itself as "white" — a formation that acts "white."

For the authors of *A House Divided*, whose definition sees the peculiarity in the oppression and fails to see the peculiarity in the control, their confusion on this point is profound. On the one hand, incredible as it may sound, the authors hold that "*whiteness is a non-concept*, a bourgeois notion without substantive reality: a '*white race*' does not exist," [p. 84, italics mine — JP] Biologically, the concept of

the white race does indeed lack substantive reality — but not socially. If this were the point the authors were making, they would be on safe ground. The authors, however, are not making this point. To the contrary, they argue that "any demand that the masses of white workers distinguish now between the social sense of 'whiteness' and 'white' pigmentation can have no effect at this time or in the foreseeable future." [p. 110] Their acquiescence in the use of "'white' pigmentation" (the biological) and opposition to the notion of challenging social "whiteness" is nothing less than total surrender to "white" opportunism.

In contrast to the position of the authors of *A House Divided*, Allen provides an analysis of the "white race" as a bourgeois-social-control formation. This understanding in turn allows for an analysis of the interrelation between the objective and subjective components of the socially defined white race. Accordingly, he argues against "white race" privileges, the white-skin privilege system, and the "white race" social-control-formation. Allen also argues against the "white race" ideology and against acting and thinking "white."

The recent Bakke and Weber arguments were premised on defense of so-called "white rights" and "white" interests. The odious Ku Klux Klan puts itself forth as the true defender of the "white race." Even the authors of *A House Divided* go so far as to speak of "a white nationality." [p. 12]

Obviously, in the arena of ideology there is a vital struggle to be waged. What is the culture of a "white nationality" but a culture of oppression? Does not the "white race" set itself over and above all other "races"? What are "white" interests but interests of the bourgeoisie? Are not "white" interests directly opposed to proletarian interests?

One of the progressive developments that came out of the struggles of the fifties, sixties, and seventies was the self-definition of Afro-Americans in terms such as Black or Afro-American. These self-definitions had a host of positive attributes, not the least of which was that they were in fact self-definitions, not oppressor-imposed definitions. A highly significant aspect of these self-definitions was the fact at they posed a stark challenge in the ideological lim to the bourgeois white-supremacist order. Certainly it is long past the time when European-Americans should pose a related challenge to the bourgeois white-supremacist order by refusing to think and act "white." Clearly one of the tasks ahead is for European-Americans to begin acting not-"white," to see the odiousness in defining themselves as and acting as of the "white race," and to see the *revolutionary import and basic humanity of joining the race*. To this struggle, too, Allen makes a contribution when he calls for European-Americans to "Resign from the 'white' race."

This break from the "white race" is not to be understood as being merely on an ideological plane. The break from the "white race" as a bourgeois-social-control formation is made in the interest of revolution in this country. Whereas the authors of *A House Divided* see this as having no effect at this time or in the foreseeable future [p. 110] and consider it as a matter useless to speculate on [p. 113], Allen offers insights from a totally different perspective. In the previously cited letter to Ignatin, Allen responds to a scenario suggested by Ignatin with the following:

It is only the adherence of the white workers that converts what would otherwise be a simple front of European-American bourgeois classes, into the white race, a monolith of all rich and poor European-Americans. As a "race," however, it must remain a monolith, or it ceases to exist. The breakaway of a third of the European-American workers from the white race to the cause of the revolutionary proletariat would, therefore, mean the end of the white race. There is thus better reason to believe than to doubt that, if such a "healthy minority" of European-American workers opted for their class rather than their "race," that same tide of proletarian regeneration would sweep on through their ranks to the overwhelming majority.

At the beginning of the foregoing speculation, I assumed one-third to be the requisite "healthy minority," but came to the conclusion that the proportion necessary to make the minority "healthy" would transform it qualitatively into something no longer definable as part of the white race. It is possible then to define precisely what will constitute the "healthy minority" in those terms, as follows: The "healthy minority" will be that level of defection of European-Americans from the white race at which the white race is rendered defunct in its historical role as an instrument of social control for the United States bourgeoisie. [Letter to Ignatin, p. 10]

Surely, in stark contrast to the authors' specious charges, Allen's understanding is based on historical analysis and makes a signal contribution toward an explanation of how the "white race" was formed, how it has functioned, and how it can be ended by revolutionary struggle.

Criticisms of Slogan and Strategy

The authors of *A House Divided* go to some lengths to explain that they prefer to use only the term "white skin privileges" and not "the white skin privilege." [p. 109] They then go on to argue that the slogan "repudiate the white skin privilege" is ahistorical, is only a propaganda slogan, and is a slogan that is not for the entire working class, [p. 115]

The criticism of the use of the term "white skin privilege" is, like so many of the criticisms by the

authors, both deceptive and hypocritical. First, throughout *White Blindspot* Allen speaks of both the white-skin privilege and white-skin privileges and calls for both the repudiation of the white-skin privilege and "repudiation of the white-skin privileges." [See, for example, *White Blindspot*, p. 10]

The hypocrisy of the authors over the use of the term in the singular is most apparent when they themselves, defending themselves from critics, argue "that several factors recommend also keeping the phrase 'white skin privilege.'" [p. 14]

The authors also claim that the slogan is not for the entire working class, that it is ahistorical and only a propaganda slogan. All of Allen's writings, however, argue clearly that the struggle against the white-skin privileges is in the interests of the entire working class. In "The Most Vulnerable Point" (one of the works cited by the authors), Allen argues that "the white-skin privileges [are] privileges which are ruinous to the short-range and long-range interests of the entire proletariat, of whites no less than Blacks and other victims of national oppression." [p. 2] Clearly the struggles of Afro-Americans and other non-whites against white supremacy directly challenge the white-skin privilege system.

The authors go on to argue that "the focus on the failures of white labor to the exclusion of other strategic problems, most significantly those concerning the national revolutionary movements themselves" [p. 116], "translates into a failure to grapple with the problems facing the national revolutionary movements and their relation to the general labor movement." [p.117]

On the one hand, this criticism is a bit hypocritical coming from the authors, who themselves write: "the emphasis on the 'white question' might represent a necessary corrective to the common view among the left that the fight against white supremacy is a 'special task' of the Afro-American, Chicano and oppressed peoples. (This book has a similar focus, for that and related reasons.)" [pp. 116-17]

On this subject, too, Allen offers some useful comments. In a letter to a member of the Sojourner Truth Organization in March 1979, Allen writes:

If Afro-Americans ask my opinions in the matter of the national question theory and the Afro-American people's struggle for liberation from white oppression [and I do not expect to be asked], I will express my opinion if I have one which I think *worth* expressing; but not otherwise. This attitude seems to me to proceed logically from adherence to the principle of self-determination for oppressed peoples. Furthermore, I believe it helps to keep the focus of my attention directed to problems more appropriate to me as a European-American, i.e., those of analysis and exposure of the race-privilege system and the fights against its paralyzing effect on the proletariat will in this country.

On the other hand, if I am asked to participate in a discussion around the question: "Do the 'white' people in the United States constitute a nation?", I will do so: and begin, at least, by arguing the negative." [Letter to [STO member], March 1979, pp. 9-10]

As to the authors' contributions to what they refer to as the "strategic problems . . . concerning the national revolutionary movements" [p. 118] — they are virtually nil. Like the great proliferation of predominantly "white" self-proclaimed "communist" groups before them, they have offered little save the now-quite-familiar pronouncement about the need for "a resolute fight for the right of self-determination of the oppressed, the Afro-American people." [p. 118]

The mimesis of the "white" left on this point and the seeming failure to learn anything from the previous use of this slogan itself constitutes a barrier to revolutionary struggle. Here too, Allen, in reviewing the twists and turns of the U.S. communist movement on this very issue, makes the prescient point that:

Both in the acceptance phase, and in the rejection phase, the fact of holding or having held the Black Belt Nation theory served to give a gloss of sophistication to the essential process of the Party's abandonment of a revolutionary stand against white-opportunism — a sophistication far in advance of the simple-minded "race" notions of the earlier generations of white American socialists.

In short, although the national theory of the oppression of Afro-Americans has been shown to be incompatible with the fullest and most general triumph of class collaborationism, it is equally well demonstrated that the holding of the theory by white radicals does not constitute the slightest obstacle to the betrayal of their special obligations in the struggle against white supremacy, in general, and white opportunism among white workers in particular — the betrayal which, if unchecked, is the guarantee of the full and general triumph of class collaborationism. [Letter to [STO member], pp. 12-13]

Allen's comments seem well worth considering for the authors of *A House Divided*, who speak of a "white nationality" [p. 12] and who have put the struggle against white supremacy on the back burner in order to concentrate on the struggle against "Left" sectarianism.

Note: The reader interested in obtaining copies of Allen's writings may write to HEP, P. O. Box M-71, Hoboken, NJ 07030.

Correspondence

Dear Editors:

Noel Ignatin's "Comments" regarding the Theses on Fascism in *Urgent Tasks* Number 13 were generally helpful. However, in my opinion, in his few brief remarks about anti-Semitism, his analysis is headed in the wrong direction. I believe he misplaces the role of anti-Semitism in Nazi ideology, and to the extent he makes an estimate of likely events in the United States he is also wrong.

Before I begin my argument, I would like to state an assumption that might otherwise go unstated. I assume that the fascists, and in particular the Nazis, have an ideology that is of major consequence to their organizing efforts. That is not to say that they don't argue amongst themselves about this or that political position, or that they don't on occasion make changes in their general "stance." In this regard they are not too different from Marxists. I do believe that the various descriptions of the fascist movement as a movement without an ideology, primarily by bourgeois commentators, are wrong. Therefore I assume that a discussion of fascist ideology is, or should be, of concern to Marxists and other anti-fascists.

It is more than coincidence that the Nazi variant of fascism has been adopted and adapted by the fascist movement in the U.S. Nazism, more than Italian, Spanish, or Bulgarian fascism, places race politics at its core. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote, "The racial question gives the key not only to world history, but to all human culture. . . ." This theme was sounded again and again by the Nazis. In a speech before German lawyers, Helmut Nicolai, the man in charge of drafting Nazi legislation, said, "When we utter the word 'race' we are sounding the *leitmotiv* of National Socialism and of the National Socialist state." [Quoted in Davidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*.] The volkist state, lebensraum, etc. were all terms with definitions based on race. The Nazis understand history as a biological struggle and social problems as the result of unhygienic races. Our new Nazis even differentiate among white people on the basis of "racial health," and they have developed a theory of the "degenerate white." In *The Turner Diaries*, the widely distributed Nazi-Klan strategy novel, it is the whites who are hanged publicly as "race defilers" and "race betrayers." This is done as part of the process of "cleansing" the white race, as well as part of the process of political terror that is part of fascist politics. Remember that Zyklon B, the gas used as a mass killer by the Nazis, was perfected first in its use on Germans from mental institutions.

The anti-Semitism of the Nazis, both the old German ones in black shirts and the new American ones in white sheets, is a determining part of their overall

racist world-view.

Noel says, "Conditions in Germany and elsewhere were such that fascism could only come to power in coalition with a sector of the bourgeoisie. In that fact lies the explanation for the vital role of anti-Semitism in the fascist ideology. . . . Anti-Semitism serves the same purpose here that it did in Germany. . . . To the extent that fascism establishes its independence from the bourgeoisie as a whole, to that extent it will diminish in importance . . . although since it has developed a life of its own, it may well continue. . . ."

It wasn't *finally* decided that the Nazis needed a sector of the bourgeoisie until either right before or right after they came to power. While there may be some dispute about the exact date of their decision, there can be no dispute about the fact that anti-Semitism had played a central role in the movement from its earliest days. Anti-Semitism had a much lower NSDAP card number than Hitler's first industrialist recruit. Even that faction of the Nazis which was most "independent of the bourgeoisie as a whole," the Strasserites, understood and believed in the determinant character of anti-Semitism. This item is of more than just historical concern. The British National Front, one of the factions to emerge from the split among British fascists a few years back, is "Strasserite." In fact, other British fascists are busy attacking the NF for preaching "class war." The NF faction's "independence" has not made it any less anti-Semitic.

It is true, as Noel states, that anti-Semitism was a central ingredient in German nationalism, although my own understanding is that this had more to do with Napoleon and France emancipating European Jewry with their conquering armies, and less to do with the role of Jewish capital, as in Poland. This "mass" anti-Semitism was a fertile field for the Nazis. However, the Nazis translated this pillar of German nationalism into their own pillar of Aryan internationalism.

In the United States, anti-Semitism has played virtually no part in the formation of the nation, nationalism, and the nation-state. Racism towards people of color, on the other hand, has been central. However, our Nazis have married U.S. white racism to Aryan internationalism in something of the same fashion as the German Nazis. Indeed, the subtitle for Don Black's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *White Patriot* paper is "World-Wide Voice of the Aryan People." The National Alliance, a significant neo-Nazi formation, believes the Soviet Union deserves favorable coverage based on Stalin making a transition from "Jewish-Bolshevism" to "Russian [read "white" — author.] nationalism." It was on just such a racial basis that the National Alliance backed Gen. Jaruzel-

ski in Poland against Solidarity and its "Jewish advisors." There are many other examples, each instructive of one aspect or another of the Klan-Nazi world-view. Nazi anti-Semitism, both now and historically, is the result of the Nazi racial-biological determinist ideology. Jews are regarded as destroyers and corrupters of the Aryan people. Jewish capital is regarded as one front of the Jewish attack, the other being Jewish Bolshevism. It is quite possible to find most or even all of the capitalists under attack by the Nazis ("the entire bourgeoisie") and still find the Nazis regarding their struggle as anti-Semitic. Capital and capitalism are simply regarded as Jewish creations and clearly non-Jewish capitalists are regarded as their pawns. It is not only possible but *necessary* — for the Nazis' anti-capitalism, like everything else, is a function of their racialism. In this case the racialism means anti-Semitism. My logical inference is that the Nazis' revolutionary anti-capitalism stems from their anti-Semitism. Noel argues that the reverse is true, that the greater the anti-capitalism the less the anti-Semitism.

During the Middle Ages, anti-Semitism existed as a mix of theological pap and folk myths. I believe Hannah Arendt quite ably demonstrates the transition of religious anti-Semitism into political anti-Semitism at the end of the 19th century. The Nazis, as I have argued above, took this political anti-Semitism and made it, like every other political phenomenon, a racial anti-Semitism.

But doesn't my whole analysis collapse under the fact that European and European-descended Jews are *white*? Isn't it possible that in this country, where the central dynamic involves the conflict between white people and people of color, the fascists will drop their anti-Semitism? Some may argue that even if one accepts my analysis of the biological determinist character of Nazi ideology, anti-Semitism is not an inherently necessary part of that ideology. Some may argue that it is not necessary to defend Noel's thesis on the role of anti-Semitism in Germany in order to criticize my position: Simply put, Jews are white, and if we want to understand the Nazis, we have to look beyond what they are actually saying.

I have never argued that the Nazis are correct. I have only argued what they are likely to think and do, based on what they think and do.

By any strictly biological definition, the Jewish people do not constitute a race. There are light-skinned Jews and dark-skinned Jews. There are European and Asiatic, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. Even among the light-skinned Jews of Europe, their blood serology closely resembles that of their neighboring populations. A random sampling of Jews living in New York City at the turn of the century showed a great diversity in the cephalic index, the most common fable for Jewish identification. [Survey found in Abram, *The Jewish Question*.] In *Race* by John R.

Baker, a book published by Oxford University Press and distributed by a number of the neo-Nazi and Klan organizations, the author concludes after a "scientific" consideration of Jewish taxonomy that Jews are not a race. Similarly, Wilmot Robertson, a leading fascist theoretician, begins his discussion of the Jewish people in *The Dispossessed Majority* by stating that by any strictly racial criteria, Jews are an unassimilable European minority.

Any correct identification of the Jewish people or individuals should be based on some social category, i.e., religious, ethnic, national, etc. But it is the hallmark of fascist ideology to translate social categories of modern capitalism into biological categories

National Alliance member William Simpson, in his book *Which Way Western Man?*, after recognizing some of the arguments stated above, concludes quite the contrary: ". . . the Jews are not only a religious community but, even before Israel was launched in Palestine and when they possessed no homeland of their own, nevertheless did in fact constitute a nation and a race. To meet the recognized realities of genetics and of history, as well as for all practical purposes, there seems to be no other acceptable answer." In other words, if it looks like a duck, walks like a duck and smells like a duck, it must be a duck. This is the essence of the fascist position on race and the Jewish people. Scientific veracity is no clue to fascist reality. Henry Ford said more than 50 years ago that all the Jews had to do to prove that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was a Czarist forgery was to stop acting as if they were true.

But the fact that the Nazis have transformed social and biological categories should surprise no one on familiar with the pages of this magazine. In the U.S. race is not a biological category but a social one. This is clearly seen in the case of the relationship between white people and Black people. (Anyone interested should read almost any of the myriad writings published by STO on white supremacy.)

As an aside, I believe it is this point of intersection between bourgeois and fascist ideology which provides the most explosive potential for the fascists. For example, it is but a short step from the bourgeois identity of crime with Black people to the fascist identification of crime with uneugenic races. The difference, of course, is that the fascists don't call for a social solution like prisons, they want a genetic solution — genocide. I believe that an investigation of the relationship between fascism and capitalism conducted along these lines will prove to be much more useful than the usual vulgar Marxist nonsense about "finance capital," etc.

Although there is not yet a mass anti-Semitic movement in the U.S., there is a large potential for one. Father Coughlin and the rest of the band of anti-Semites from the 1930s had millions of followers. The Nazis and Klans have already been able to add a

special anti-Jewish twist to their understanding of Black people. All of the traditional Jewish conspiracy theories are busily being dusted off and tried on for size. In addition, new and innovative anti-Jewish politics are being developed. Christian patriotism and survivalism, which are fast approaching mass proportions, all contain anti-Semitic principles as part of their basic premises. A discussion of the outlines of this current anti-Semitic attack is beyond this letter. Suffice it to say that I believe the success of the anti-Semitic enterprise lies with the success of the fascist enterprise as a whole. I don't believe any of us would be devoting this much time and resources to a discussion of fascism and anti-fascism if the times did not demand it.

Ignatin replies:

[The author of the above piece] demonstrates that anti-Semitism was and remains a crucial element of the Nazi world outlook and program. His point is indisputable: fortunately for my argument, it is not the point at issue between us, which is an estimate of the likely part to be played by anti-Semitism in the development of a fascist movement in the United States.

[The author's] argument assumes the impossibility of the emergence among the fascists of a racialist ideology which does not lay great stress on anti-Semitism. What is the basis for this assumption? According to [the author], it is the historically determined ideology of Nazism, which gives a central place to anti-Semitism. The argument is circular.

The "Aryan" supremacy claims made by certain voices of fascism notwithstanding, fascists here will be forced to play down this element of their ideology if they hope to attract support among U.S. workers of Slavic and Mediterranean extraction. Can they similarly modify their attitude towards Jews — not necessarily dropping their anti-Semitism entirely, merely dropping it as an important mobilizing myth? In my article I cited one condition that would lead the fascists to do so: the achievement on their part of a relatively great deal of independence from the bourgeoisie as a whole, thereby eliminating the need for a mythical ruling class to substitute for the real one as a target for their attacks. Here I add a second condition: the diminution, among U.S. Jews, of the democratic and humanitarian sentiments that have traditionally distinguished them among the white population. Signs of this unfortunate assimilation of prevailing attitudes began to appear with the rise of the "crime in the streets" hysteria; its extent has recently been starkly revealed in the nearly unanimous support given by organized Jewry to Israel's latest atrocities in the Middle East.

†



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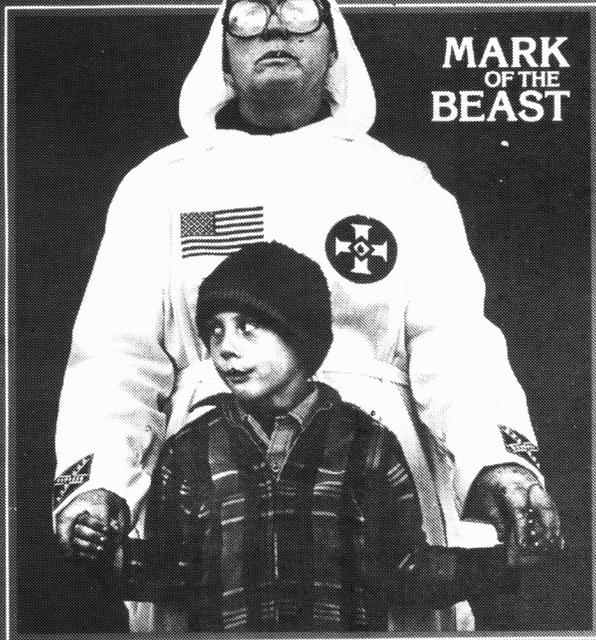
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