

CARTON 1:34

WRITINGS

ANTI-KLAN MEETING SPEECH
"BROTHERS AND SISTERS"

1980

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Brothers and Sisters:

We are meeting today at a very critical time in our history. We are meeting at a time when there is a dangerous resurgence of racism and reaction throughout the country. We are meeting at a time when the ~~mass~~ *freedom* ~~civil rights~~ and progressive movements have been placed on the defensive. We are meeting at a time when the gains that were struggled for by the movements of the 1960s are now being stripped away by the courts and the government. We are meeting at a time when the Ku Klux Klan has dared to raise its ugly head and strike a murderous blow against the anti-racist movement. We are meeting at a time when we must make a clear *and powerful* ~~determined~~ response to the racist violence that threatens to engulf our communities.

Debate
Twenty years ago on Feb. 1, 1960, four black students from Greensboro A&T College in North Carolina sat down at the lily-white lunch counter of the local Woolworth's store. This was the beginning of the historic sit-in movement that was to sweep the South, involving thousands of black and white students in the struggle against racial segregation. The sit-ins were part of the mass movement to end racial oppression that followed the famous Brown decision of 1954 in which the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation of the public schools unconstitutional. Like the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the sit-in movement arose from the knowledge that court decisions, while important, would not by themselves end racial segregation. What was required, the students realized, was ^{mass} direct action — action that could unite thousands of people in saying "No!" to racism.

The sit-ins quickly spread from Greensboro to dozens of other southern cities. Within a year the courageous and determined action of the students and their allies brought about the desegregation of many store lunch counters, as well as hotels, movie theaters, libraries, supermarkets, amusement parks and other public facilities. Moreover, the sit-ins were just the beginning of massive campaigns to end discrimination in housing, employment, social

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services, and education. These mass movements mobilized not only black people but also Chicanos, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and progressive sectors of the white community as well. Thousands of women and men of all races ^{Came} can to understand that masses of people in motion can change history -- masses of people in motion can make a new future for themselves.

Phil Hutchings has told us of the significance of CK movement of 1960s
But the future is not secured by struggles that took place ten or 20 years ago. The brutal murder of five anti-^{racist} Ku Klux Klan demonstrators in Greensboro last November was a grave warning that ^{the} that struggle against racism and racist violence is far from over. We must understand that the violence in Greensboro was not an isolated incident; it is part of a national pattern of attacks on black people, other people of color and indeed all people who actively ^{oppose} ~~struggle~~ racism and oppression. In the past few years we have witnessed an alarming increase in police brutality and police killings in black and third world communities; we have seen racist mobs attacking school buses in Boston, Louisville and other cities; we have seen increasing harassment of undocumented workers; we have seen the ominous spread of KKK and Nazi activity to ^{virtually} all parts of the country and throughout the military. Let's not kid ourselves: The Klan is organizing in southern California, the Klan is organizing in the central valley; the Klan is organizing right here in the Bay Area. The Klan is not limited just to the South; the Klan is organizing throughout the country, and it is growing threat to the democratic rights of all people. This is why we must build a national anti-racist mass movement, for this is the only effective ~~the~~ way to respond to the national threat posed by the KKK and other racist groups.

to say, The KKK ~~today~~ is attempting to ^{create phony} build a "new" image for itself and ride ^{with the complicity of} the tide of racism and reaction that is sweeping the country. ^{gave} The so-called media manipulation - electoral politics → cloak (respectability) to disguise racist ^{or terrorist} ~~Brooding~~ its base among conservative reactionaries.

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New Right has launched a heavy attack against affirmative action programs in employment and education, as well as promoting cutbacks in social services through racist, pseudo-tax reform measures such as proposition 13. The Klan has seized on this reactionary drift to promote itself as the defender of "white rights" and the opponent of "reverse discrimination." In this way the Klan has increased its appeal to large sections of the white population who are confused and angry and looking for some object on which to vent their frustration. Clearly a massive political education program is required in the trade unions and labor movement generally to undercut the Klan's appeal and make it clear that the Klan is an enemy of all workers. Labor organizers have been tarred and feathered and murdered by the Klan. Workers out on strike ^{have} ~~and~~ been brutalized by Klansmen, and together the Klans efforts to prevent black and white workers from organizing ~~in~~ in unions is a ^a major reason that the South remains a haven for non-union ^{which exploit workers &} shops ~~and~~ which pay below standard wages. (CWP 5 a ^{black} ~~union~~ ^{because of} ~~union~~ ^{work among the white} ~~union~~)

There can be no doubt that the Klan is a thoroughly racist organization. Throughout its 100-year history, the ~~KK~~ has sought to terrorize black people and other ethnic groups. When harassment didn't work the Klan resorted to open violence and murder. In every instance the object of the Klan was the same: to disrupt and turn back the struggle for racial equality. ^{and social programs}

But the Klan is also a fascist organization and a threat to the democratic rights of all people. ^{anti-catholic} Anti-Semitic, anti-communist, anti-immigrant, anti-woman's rights ^{anti-forging} and anti-union, the Klan is the cutting edge of fascism in the United States. It is no accident that the most violently racist group in the country is also the vanguard of fascism. U.S. capitalism is unable to function with ^{out} perpetuating racial oppression, and whenever ^{there} ~~there~~ is an economic recession such as has occurred in recent years, intensification of racism becomes the favorite weapon used by the country's rulers as they seek to shift the burden of the crisis onto the

backs of racial minorities, while also confusing and undermining the general working class movement. Fanning the flames of racist hysteria becomes a convenient cover for an all-out attack on the living standard and democratic rights of working people of all races.

A good example of this is seen in the Klan's demagogic rhetoric about "reverse racism." By portraying affirmative action programs and other gains of the 1960s as "reverse racism" against whites the Klan serves the interests of the giant corporations and banks by diverting attention from their role in causing high unemployment and lack of educational opportunities. With the national economy in a state of recession the U.S. ~~government~~ ^{political} establishment cannot offer liberal palliatives such as anti-poverty programs, model cities programs, and other make-shift reforms. Instead cutbacks in social services and attacks on wage levels are instituted in a desperate effort to protect and increase the profits of the banks and corporations. But such massive attacks on the living standards of the people cannot be carried out openly. They must be concealed by cynical appeals to patriotism, anti-communism and racism. Alternatively, ^{black people, Jews} the Arabs, ^{or} the Soviets, the Iranians, Mexican immigrants ~~or black people~~ are presented as the so-called ~~henry~~ "enemy" and chief cause of the present crisis. Thus, while the political establishment attacks the peoples' ^{and democratic rights} livelihood with one hand, with the other it unleashes the Klan and sets up scapegoats as targets for the resulting anger and frustration. In this political context, the Ku Klux Klan is a crucial weapon used by the ~~to divide people~~ establishment for promoting fascism and repression.

^{Let us be clear:} When the Ku Klux Klan rides, nobody is safe. (repeat)
^{What can we do to fight the Klan? Let me mention a few considerations.}
 At the same time ^{first} we must also understand that while the Klan is the visible, gun-wielding right arm of the racist monster, it is not the head nor is it the most vital organ. The KKK is the inevitable product of a racist and reactionary society. This means that we cannot expect to ~~destroy~~ ^{stop} the

"Reverse racism"
 a cruel lie
 London news
 from 1960s
 Underlying cause
 income - 60%
 schools, housing
 social services

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Klan through individual or small group confrontations. Certainly, people should defend themselves if they are attacked by these racist thugs, but we cannot expect to destroy the monster by chopping off one or two of its fingers. Those fingers will simply be regenerated by the society that created the Klan. We must also never forget that the Klan does not work alone, but usually has the tacit -- and sometimes open -- support of the local police and FBI. As we saw in Greensboro, when the deal goes down the police are going to look the other way -- or, as we've seen too many times before, the police are going to come to the aid of their brothers, ~~and~~ cousins, and co-workers who are wearing those white sheets. Every struggle has its martyrs, but at this point we don't need more martyrs -- we need ~~to~~ *organize a* ~~movement, that can defeat the Klan.~~ *mass* movement. *That can defeat the Klan.*

The ~~well~~ well-established collusion between government agencies and the Klan is also the reason that we cannot propose a strategy ~~that~~ *that* relies totally upon government and law enforcement agencies to defeat the Klan. Nevertheless, we should ^{not} miss any opportunity to demand that the government stamp out the Klan. Such a demand would expose the collusion between the government and the Klan, as well as rally the support of progressive political ^{figures} ~~leaders~~. Still, we must be clear that such demands are an effective tactic only when they are backed up by a mass, anti-racist movement.

When the Klan tried to rear its head in the 1960s, it was the strength and unity of the anti-racist movement that chased the Klan back into obscurity. The fact that masses of people were organizing and demonstrating against segregation and racism created a political climate in which the Klan could not operate. It is this kind of mass movement which we must commit ourselves to building today.

What kind of movement are we talking about? We are talking about a movement that educates people politically about the racist and fascist nature of the KKK. By that we mean that it is important for people

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What kind of movement are we talking about? We are talking about organizing a broad mass movement that can politically isolate and defeat the Klan. This will mean building a broad coalition that includes civil rights, labor, ^{Gay} ^{religious} ^{and church} women's, community and ~~church~~ organizations and individuals. All of these sectors have an objective and immediate interest in defeating the Klan. By uniting these forces in a ^{powerful} massive ~~educational~~ organizational and educational campaign, we can realistically work to politically and ideologically isolate and defeat the Klan, and similar racist groups.

while
Secondly, ~~in~~ organizing people into a movement we must also educate them politically about the racist and fascist nature of the Klan. By that we mean that it is important for people to understand that the Klan is not some kind of wierd aberration in American socieity that will somehow go away if we just ignore it. On the contrary, the Klan is a ~~left~~ logical extension of the racism that characterizes this society. Therefore, to combat the Klan we must fight every manifestation of racism wherever they may be found. Only a thorogoing, anti-racist struggle can eliminate the basis for groups like the Klan. This is the political message we must bring to those who want to fight the Klan.

Thirdly, since the Klan is a national phenomenon, our fightback also has to have a national character. In this regard it is important for us to link up with other organizations ^{doing} ~~and~~ anti-racist work, ^{such as} ~~and especially~~ with the National Anti-Klan Netowrk, which is a broad coalition of concerned organizations and individuals, and which is also the group sponsoring the national mobilization in Greensboro~~x~~ that is taking place today.

Here in the Bay Area it is crucial for us to strengthen the working labor, relationships between various civil rights, /community and progressive organizations that ^{are} ~~a~~ doing anti-racist work. This might involve holding community educational meetings such as this one, organi_zing a regional anti-racist conference for the near future, and building an anti-racist coalition that can conduct on-going ^{organizing} work on a day-to-day basis. Clearly, there is no lack of issues: everything from the activities of local Klan and

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Nazi groups, to police killings in the ~~black~~ community, to racism in the schools, to the recent decision by the state court of appeals that will destroy all affirmative action programs in higher education in California.

racist murders
Chico

We invite all of you here today to join with us in the commitment to build a new anti-racist offensive for the 1980s. Our history shows that when people are organized into a strong, united movement, the racist and reactionary forces are driven back. Without such a movement to directly challenge the Klan and other racists, their activity and influence will continue to grow. Today we are ~~saying~~ ^{advocating} let's ~~answer~~ ^{say no to racism and no to} the Klan with the united voice of the people. Let's say it & mean it.

NO to racism, no to the Klan
unite the people throughout the land!

Bob:

Here's the draft of the leaflet.
Bob

1

The Ku Klux Klan is on the rise again. By running candidates and appearing on television, ^{it} the Klan is making a concerted effort to win new adherents and reestablish itself as a powerful political force. The recent KKK/Nazi murders in Greensboro marked a new level of racist terror and ~~it~~ serves as a warning of the rising racist tide in the 1980's and 1990's. All democratic forces must ^{recognize} ~~meet~~ this threat and organize ^{prepare to} to defeat ~~it~~ the Klan.

HISTORY OF THE KLAN

~~The history of the KKK is an expression of a much deeper problem: that racism is central to the functioning of capitalist America. With each resurgence of racism and presented the most violent section of the resurgence of political crisis, the KKK comes to the fore as the representative of the most reactionary~~

HISTORY OF THE KLAN

The history of the Klan has been the history of racist upsurges and political reaction. The Klan is the violent ^{Violence perpetrated by the Klan, the police, or employers} ~~section of the~~ ^{is integral to} ~~tip of the racist iceberg~~ that has been central to the functioning of capitalist America. ^{U.S.}

The KKK was originally ^{formed} founded in 1865 by five ex-Confederate Army officers as a fraternal club to soothe their crushing defeat frustration at the ~~KKKK~~ of the slaveholders in the Civil War. Within a year, the ex-slaveholders had transformed ~~the~~ the KKK into the center of violent opposition to human rights for black people, as well as ^{to} public education, voting rights, and land for all of the people of the South then being ^{promoted introduced} ~~introduced~~ by the Reconstruction governments. Desperate to maintain semi-slave labor, the KKK ~~used~~ ^{become} intimidation, murder, rape and lynching to ~~attack the~~

achieve its ends. The Klan was ^{a key} ~~key~~ instrument in smashing Reconstruction democracy and instituting Jim Crow segregation in all ^{realms} ~~realms~~ of U.S. life.

^{After this success,} Having achieved its goals, the Klan was quiet until ¹⁹ ~~15~~.
e-19 Capitalizing on ^{WWI} ~~post-war~~ patriotism and anti-communism, the Klan promoted itself as the champion of 'Americanism'. In addition to white ^{male} supremacy, the Klan incorporated anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-communism, anti-immigration, and anti-unionism into its program. World domination by White ^{male} America was its goal.

^{reached} The Klan was at the height of its power in the ¹⁹²⁴ ~~1920's~~,
^{this program attracted} counting thousands of police, hundreds of city officials and capitalists, and dozens of Congresspersons among its ^{in 1924} 5 million members. ~~Rumor had it that President Wilson allowed Klan ceremonies in the White House itself!~~

The KKK began to disintegrate when it was sued for millions in unpaid taxes in 1926. But principal credit for its decline goes to the development of mass opposition to it throughout the country. The movement refuted its racist myths and defeated its racist terror. The Klan was driven underground where it ^{became} ~~rested content~~ as the invisible guard of Jim Crow until the 1960's.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's was the greatest anti-racist offensive yet witnessed in this country. Its frontal attack on segregation naturally smoked out the Klan. Attempting to maintain segregation, the Klan left a trail of terror throughout the South. But ^{it was} ~~it was~~ ^{swept} ~~ineffect~~ aside by the freedom movement which won important gains for ~~five-in-the-face-of-a-movement-which~~ all working people in this country.

THE KLAN TODAY

The Klan ^{has} ~~is~~ now stronger ^{and bolder} than it has been in more than a decade. Its resurgence coincided with the Bakke case in 1977. Since then the membership ~~&~~ of the various Klan groupings has increased about 25% per year. More serious is its ~~ts~~ increasing influence in the general population. The Kl-
an operates in at least 22 states plus the ~~army, navy, ma-~~ ^{armed forces.}
~~rines and air force.~~

The New Klan is struggling for respectability ^{through its media work}. ~~David Duke~~ ^{in the media} ~~is constantly on television and talk shows talking softly~~ ^{radio or television} ~~fitly in his three piece suit. Klan members have forsaken~~ ~~their hoods and encourage people to wear Klan t-shirts. It~~ ~~has fielded numerous Klan political candidates, including~~ ~~a 1980 presidential ticket. And it has launched vigorous~~ ~~ng. presidential and vice us recruitment campaigns in the~~ ~~nation's highschools and armed forces military. Most of its members are under~~ ~~18~~ ^{30.} ~~Despite its new tactics, the Klan is essentially the~~ ~~terrorist gang~~ ~~same as before.~~ ^{as before.} In the last year they have been involved in shootings in Talladega County and Decatur, murders in Greensboro, Okalona, and Oklahoma, beatings of union organizers throughout the South, and the formation of ~~a~~ a vigilante 'Mexican Border Patrol'. A measure of its ^{that} boldness is the fact they ~~committed~~ ^{were committed} the Greensboro murders ~~were committed~~ in broad daylight in front of television cameras! The KKK must be stopped now.

^{of} Klan marches and cross-burnings are being held throughout the country, from San Diego to ~~New York City.~~

NEW RHETORIC

Today's Klan poses itself ^{as} the "Champions of Equality"! Following the lead of the universities, corporations and the U.S. Spreme Court, ~~which gave us the~~ Bakke decision, the KKK now cloaks its racism in the rhetoric of 'reverse

discrimination, '.

This concept holds that minorities are now oppressing white people. ^{On this basis,} Thus the Klan ~~says~~ denies that ^{instead} it is racist, ^{Rath} er it declares ^{ing} itself to be the defender of 'white rights' which minorities are supposedly violating.

This 'white rights' rhetoric is a crude attempt to ~~exp~~ ^{mis-} direct ^(widespread) ^{capitalist} ~~italize~~ on the frustration caused by unemployment, ^{and} inf ^{and political hypocrisy.} lation. Far from being the ^{cause} ~~cause~~ of white misery, ^{mis-} minorities are ^{still} the greatest victims of the ^{economic} ~~capitalist~~ ^{system.} ~~system.~~ They suffer twice as much unemployment as whites, make only 60% as much income, and are condemned to the worst schools, ^{ools} housing, and health care. To top it off they are the ^{obj} ~~obj~~ ^{drug} ~~drug~~ objects of constant police harassment and ~~drug~~ trafficking. The concepts of 'reverse discrimination' and 'white rights' are cruel jokes designed to pit one part of the working class ^{the} ~~lass~~ against ~~xx~~ other--and send the capitalists laughing all the way to the bank.

THE KKK AND FASCISM

The ^{main appeal} ~~cutting edge~~ of the KKK is its racism, but ^{it is also} ~~its bot~~ ^{its bottom} ~~line is fascism.~~ ^{violent depriv-} ~~tom line is fascism.~~ The Klan advocates the ~~violaten~~

vation of democratic rights to the vast majority of people in this country. Minorities, Jews, trade unionists, immigrants, Catholics, communists, and women have no rights that ^{Klansman} ~~hat~~ a KlansMAN is bound to respect. Moreover the Klan is a rabid advocate of White American supremacy over and exploitation of the rest of the world. We are all to pay tri

^{The Klan stands for} ~~bute to the WASP male~~ capitalist ^{to rule the earth.}

It is not surprising, then, that ~~xxxx~~ the right wing movements of the late 1970's have provided fertile ground for the KKK resurgence. Movements

against affirmative action, the right to abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, as well as the mass deportation of Mexicans, abrupt cutbacks in social services, and ^{anti-Italian} ~~anti-~~Irish hysteria have revived not only the KKK, but also the Nazis and the John Birch Society. ^{Increasing links among} ~~whose increase~~

these fascists are evident throughout the country as symbolized by the ~~XXXXX~~ ^{United Racist} Front of North Carolina (which committed the Greensboro murders) and ~~the~~ ^{Klansman} David Duke's presidential campaign. ~~And as usual their main target is minorities, the historic scapegoat for the ills of capitalism.~~

To beatback the Klan will require a united anti-racist movement that ^{opposes} ~~opposed~~ all fascist, jingoist, and right wing movements in this country.

THE KLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT

The government is far from neutral in the KKK controversy: ~~its complicity~~ ^{has been} its conciliation ~~is~~ ^{is} critical to the ~~their success~~ ^{has been crucial to Klan success}.

success of the Klan. Local governments are often involved in outright complicity with the Klan, while the federal government conciliates it.

~~Many government officials have openly supported and encouraged the Klan. And the government insists on allowing the Klan to organize in the police departments, armed forces, and prison guards. Pressured by anti-racists, the FBI infiltrated the KKK, but it has stood by and watched the Klan commit one violent crime after another.~~

Most outrageous is the government's insistence on the legality of such white supremacists as the Klan and Nazis. Knowing full well that the sole purpose of the KKK is racist genocide and violent undermining of the democratic rights of U.S. citizens, the government demands that they be

to march, rally and organize. 6

granted 'equal rights' ^{upheld} This makes a farce out of democra-
cy and betrays the hypocrisy of the government's ~~claim to~~
^{not rhetoric.} represent human rights for ~~all~~.

Based on this, the government has allowed the Klan to
organize in its police departments, armed forces, and pri-
son system. It does nothing about government officials who
openly support and ^{encourage} ~~encourage~~ the KKK. It has ^s directed the
FBI to infiltrate the Klan, but then stands by as the Klan
commits one violent crime after another. And courts have
terrorists:
been notoriously lenient to Klan ~~murders~~ the Greens-
boro murderers have been released from jail on bail even
though their heinous crimes were recorded on television f
(Compare this to the fate of minorities ar-
rested for petty ~~theft~~ ^{thievery!} ~~thievery!~~ ^{thievery!})
~~inmate sentences for robbing the KKK~~ We must demand that
at the Klan be outlawed, and force the government to end
all complicity with ^{such} ~~all~~ fascist gangs!

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VIOLENCE AND RACISM

Racism was created and is maintained ~~only~~ by the use of systematic violence. Slave patrols, lynching, racist laws, ~~P~~ Pinkerton goons, police brutality, immigration agents, and Klan/Nazi terror are all part of the violent mechanism necessary to deprive minorities of their basic democratic rights, to force them into the position of cheap labor, and to quell their resistance to racial oppression and exploitation.

Racist exploitation has taken many forms historically: slavery, peonage, bracero programs, contract labor, and ~~un-~~ ^{last hired - first fired wage labor reserves.} employed urban labor reserves. But it has always been key to the power of U.S. capitalist development. The KKK is thus not an aberration from an otherwise democratic society, but rather an integral ~~part of this~~ racist, capitalist system. To oppose the KKK is meaningless without opposing racism in all its forms which ~~g~~ give rise to the KKK in the first place.

~~BUILD THE~~
WHY AN ANTI-KLAN MOVEMENT? !

The KKK is the stormtrooper for a broad assault on the rights and standard of living of minorities and other working people now taking place. It feeds on the frustration caused by the capitalist system which promotes billionaires ~~w~~ ^(in the face of inflation) while workers ~~x~~ struggle to survive, which keeps millions unemployed while factories and farmland lie idle, and whose political leaders are corrupt and unprincipled.

The Klan appeals to the most politically backwards sectors to place the blame for their frustration not on ~~the~~ irrationality of the economic system, but rather on the ^{greatest} ~~worst~~ victims of ~~that system~~ ^{this irrational economy:} the racial minorities and exploited countries. Only the giant corporations benefit from Klan activity.

^R
~~We~~ We can and must stop the Klan and all it represents. This will require all democratic, anti-racist forces to unite in a massive education and organizing campaign that will reach into every workplace, school, and neighborhood. We must ^{build a broad and ~~isolate~~} reject the road of ~~small group~~ ^{powerful} physical confrontation and ~~instead build a massive~~ united effort to politically and ideologically isolate the Klan throughout the country. We must demand that the Klan be ~~unlawful~~ outlawed and that anti-Klan education be instituted in all public schools. Klan terrorists must be swiftly brought to justice.

reunited
 The National Anti Racist Organizing Committee urges ev-
 hundreds of civic, religious, and labor
 everyone to join the ~~National Anti-Klan Network~~
 organizations who have formed the National Anti Klan Network.
 The struggle against the Klan offers and urgent and sharp
 focus to rebuild the unity of anti-racists and to rekindle
 the people's movement for justice and freedom in the 1980's.

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