

HANAFI MUSLIMS IN D.C.

Day of Wrath

Offended beyond reason and driven beyond reason, Hamass Abdul Khaalis tried to get his own back last week. For two horror-filled days, 134 people were held hostage by a small band of Hanafi Muslims. In one of the most sensational acts of indiscriminate terrorism in recent times, the Hanafi seized three downtown Washington, D.C., locations—the District Building, B'nai Brith headquarters and the Islamic Center.

The hostages were kept on the floor with their hands bound behind their backs while the captors, brandishing machetes and rifles, periodically threatened to chop off their heads and roll them out the windows. Male hostages were reportedly beaten and subjected to a steady stream of anti-Semitic abuse. In the first hours one innocent bystander (a black reporter) was killed and several people were wounded. The ordeal, which at any point could have become a hideous mass bloodbath, ended when a team of negotiators (including three ambassadors from Islamic nations) finally convinced the Hanafi to surrender.

The Hanafi, a small Sunni Muslim sect, were demanding that five Black Muslims responsible for the hideous 1973 massacre of their leader's family and those involved in the slaying of Malcolm X be turned over to them for revenge. "I want them to come here. They're not big people. They're roaches and rats and gangsters.... I want the killers here," demanded Khaalis. The Hanafi also demanded the closing down of the movie "Mohammad, Messenger of God" and the repayment to Hanafi leader Hamass Abdul Khaalis of a \$750 contempt-of-court fine stemming from the 1974 trial of the followers of Elijah Muhammad who were convicted of murdering his children.

In response to the takeover, the bourgeoisie mobilized its full technical "crisis" apparatus, including besides the

cops such specialists as its "threat analysts" to predict at what point the worst danger to the hostages was over and when the "Stockholm syndrome" (captives and captors starting to like each other) would take effect. There were the "silver-tongued" negotiators trained to reason with kidnappers without inflaming them. There were the three Muslim ambassadors from Iran, Egypt and Pakistan, backed up by Koran experts who managed to find passages which could be used to prove that the concept of vengeance is alien to Islam. When it was all over, there was only one fatality. A wholesale bloodbath had been narrowly averted.

A Frenzy of Despair

Coming on top of a recent rash of kidnappings and other bizarre terrorist acts, the terrifying incident was expressive of a growing mood of frustration boiling up beneath the surface of the deceptively calm American social climate. The bourgeois press has had a field day with the image of a population gone incomprehensibly mad. But unlike the pathologically depraved "Manson family," these people seem driven to a frenzy of despair by real, deep-seated and desperate social grievances.

Another recent kidnapping also reflected the mounting pressure of social and economic decomposition on the population. Anthony Kiritis, a 45-year-old Greek immigrant, auto salesman, homeowner and hitherto model citizen in a small Indianapolis suburb, could no longer meet his mortgage payments. With visions of his house repossessed, Kiritis struck out blindly against the most visible perpetrator; he kidnapped his mortgage broker demanding the debt be dropped. To the authorities' consternation, it was learned that most of the people in his home town were rooting for Kiritis to win his demands.



Hamass Abdul Khaalis

UPI

Then there was the case of Cory Moore, a gun-wielding 26-year-old recently laid off black auto worker, who held a white police captain and female police clerk hostage in Warrensville, Ohio. Moore gave up when he was promised a phone call from Jimmy Carter. The press played down his economic situation and played up his statement that "all whites" should "get off the earth." Moore's wife Leah told UPI that the Vietnam vet had become bitter about whites after leaving the Marines.

Behind the Hanafi takeover lay something far more comprehensible than the mysterious cult-warfare of fanatic black Muslim bands portrayed by the press. The Khaalis family had been hit by the Black Muslims just after the Hanafi had opened their new Washington center (bought for the group by basketball star Kareem Abdul Jabbar) and were embarking on a recruiting drive. Khaalis—who had been the number two man in the Black Muslims before breaking with Elijah Muhammad in 1958—founded his Hanafi sect in 1968 and by the early 1970's built it into something of a competitor to the Nation of Islam.

In the 18 January 1973 attack two adults and five children were killed. Four of these were the children of Khaalis, whose wife and a daughter witnessed the killings before they too were shot in the head and left for dead. During the recent incident the *Washington Post* (11 March) published a telephone interview with the Hanafi leader's wife, Khadyja Khaalis, who described the 1973 massacre:

"Khaalis: Let me ask you something, do you believe in peace and love and harmony and so forth?"

"[Post writer Joseph D.] Whitaker: Yes.

"Khaalis: Yes. Okay do you have children?"

"Whitaker: Yes. Two little girls.

"Khaalis: OK. Would you like to come home and find your little girl in the tub, foam on the mouth, drowned?"

"Whitaker: No, I wouldn't.

"Khaalis: A little violence would stir up in you wouldn't it?"

"Whitaker: Yes.

"Khaalis: Okay. We're human beings. That's the way Hamass came in and found four babies stacked up in the tub, foam coming from the mouth.

"He went upstairs and found my older son in the prayer room with his brains blown out. He was in the room, he found my other son with a coat tied around his head, shot in the head. He found my daughter coming down the stairs bleeding profusely. She was covered with blood.

"He went to the basement, he found BeeBee down there covered with blood. And he found the other baby in the sink, shot and then drowned. Drowned in front of her mother. And the little boy was beaten and she heard his screams when they took her upstairs. Heard the little boy screaming and the man beating him, before they drowned him, 'cause he was old enough to fight back. He was three."

Later, at the killers' trial, the judge charged Khaalis with contempt of court because at one point he jumped up and interrupted the proceedings by screaming "You killed my babies. You killed my babies and shot my women." It was the \$750 fine paid on this occasion that Khaalis was demanding be returned, insisting it was not a question of money ("hell we could've taken a bank") but of principle.

Khaalis—a 55-year-old black man in a racist society, a graduate of New York's City College who went on to make his living as a street cleaner. A long-time opponent of the Black Muslims' policy of white exclusionism; a man who was fined by the state for crying out in anguish during the trial of his children's murderers; a man driven by a desperate compulsion to avenge a crime of unspeakable brutality against his family. Behind his recourse to indefensible indiscriminate terrorism lay a real grievance of atrocious proportions.

"Disorders and Terrorism"

The Hanafi takeover occurred only weeks after the release of a major government report predicting the onset of renewed racial violence in the U.S.

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Augusto Pinochet, head of the ruling military junta since 1973.

The Long Arm of the DINA6



International Women's Day rally in Union Square, New York City.

SL Holds Forums

International Women's Day—A Proletarian Celebration

BOSTON—One of the few public events commemorating International Women's Day here was a forum by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) at Harvard University. Speaking on the proletarian character of International Women's Day, Comrade Bonnie Brodie noted the failure of feminist and reformist "movements" to secure or defend the most minimal gains for women in the face of a wave of reactionary legislation and Supreme Court decisions. This has undoubtedly led them to prefer silence on this day that commemorates the battles of militant proletarian women.

"There is an all-out attack on various small reforms won in the last decade of social struggle," comrade Brodie said. In Boston, striking workers seeking union recognition at the Pre-Term Abortion Clinic have been viciously harassed by management and cops (see *Women and Revolution* No. 14, Spring 1977). Most recently, several Boston cops are under investigation for a brutal terror campaign against black prostitutes in District One—the notorious "Combat Zone"—where they have reportedly kidnapped black women, driving them in their squad cars to the all-white enclave of South Boston and then pushing them out onto the streets, honking their horns to alert racist "Southie" street gangs.

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In this context, the response of local feminist groups has been pathetic. The SL speaker held up the Boston feminist monthly *Sojourner*, which endorsed Carter, as an example, pointing out that appointment of New York Stock Exchange member Juanita Kreps as secretary of commerce is small comfort to those striking Pre-Term women whose female bosses have used the cops against them.

Another "controversy" that has been dominating local feminist life here, the "Slice of Life" bread war, reflects the idiotic internecine squabbles to which New Left feminism has devoted itself. *Sister Courage*, another Boston feminist paper, gave the bread battle front-page coverage. The "great controversy" revolved around the expulsion of a male member from the "Bakery Collective." Not to be deterred, the enterprising male rose to the occasion by letting himself into the bakery in the dead of night, producing loaves of bread and selling them to local food co-ops, a statement of his position accompanying each loaf!

The speaker quoted from *Sister Courage*: "January 30th: A Rising Earth [food co-op] meeting is held to which Slice of Life is invited. The women leave early. One of Jeff's supporters yells 'We will continue to bake!' " *Sister Courage* concludes that it's "vital" to analyze food co-ops. While these difficulties of New Left entrepreneurial "alternate institutions" are occasionally good for a laugh, they are so far removed from the problems facing women in the real world that only the most retarded former flower children could possibly take them seriously.

But the programs of ostensibly revolutionary organizations have not been much better. In the current issue of the *International Socialist Review (ISR)*, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) laments Bella Abzug's vote in favor of the Hyde amendment, which bans the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortion except in cases of rape, incest or life-endangering pregnancy. But the speaker pointed out that the SWP played the key role in elevating Abzug to the leadership of its class-collaborationist Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). And in attempting to justify its anti-Marxist capitulation to

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UAW Local 6 Defends Bennie Lenard

CHICAGO, March 13—The defense of Bennie Lenard, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 who was savagely beaten and jailed by suburban Melrose Park police last January, took a step forward today. Members of Local 6, who last month established an official Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, voted overwhelmingly for two motions in his behalf. One calls for the Local to match \$955.85 collected at the plant gates. The other demands that the upcoming UAW convention support the demands of the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee and calls for the full resources of the International UAW and the rest of the labor movement to be mobilized behind this case.

Bennie Lenard is the victim of a blatant racist frame-up. After reporting a minor traffic accident, he was beaten unconscious by club-wielding racist cops. As is typical in such cases, where the victim becomes the accused, he was subsequently charged with a series of crimes: resisting a "peace" officer, striking a policeman, battery, etc. After nearly six weeks of hospitalization, Lenard now faces a barrage of legal persecution.

According to Defense Committee members, Lenard's employer, International Harvester, has also denied him all lost-time disability benefits. The company, unlike most corporations which carry medical policies through an independent insurance company, is a self-insurer and writes its own rules. It is reportedly pointing to a clause which stipulates no benefits in injuries that are "self-inflicted" or "involve a felony." Bennie Lenard clearly did not beat himself nearly to death on his way to jail, nor are any of the charges against him felonies. The UAW must insist that Harvester pay full and retroactive disability benefits immediately!

The motions passed at the membership meeting today were initiated by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle opposition group in Local 6. LSC supporters have been participating in the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, seeking to gain the fullest support for his case. The Defense Committee demands that all charges against Lenard be dropped, that he and his family receive full financial restitution from the city of Melrose Park and that the cops who brutalized Lenard be discharged, indicted and jailed.

The pursuit of these just goals has been hampered by Local officials who, relying on promises of a state attorney's investigation, seek to skirt responsibility for the defense effort. In the spirit of its previous work in initiating and organizing the Local 6 Civil Rights Defense Committee—which provided day-and-night defense guards for many weeks to the firebombed home of union member C.B. Dennis—the LSC argues that the pursuit of all possible legal remedies must not be combined with illusions in the "justice" of the courts. The mobilization of labor's strength in protest, exposure and pressure is key to preventing Bennie Lenard from being further harassed and railroaded.

In particular, the LSC has demanded that the Defense Committee have access to union funds and legal assistance. Though Local leaders continue to resist this, today's votes show that the Local 6 membership supports greater efforts for their union brother.

Unfortunately, Local 6 members cannot be assured that any motions they pass will be aggressively fought for at the UAW convention. A recently concluded race for eight convention delegates resulted in the election of flunkies and "loyal critics" of the International bureaucracy. They can be

expected to show little fight during the stage-managed passing of the baton from Leonard Woodcock to Douglas Fraser planned for this May.

One of those elected, past Local president Norm Roth, is a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) and the seldom heard from "Auto Workers Action Caucus." Roth is characterized by occasional spurts of militant talk which he readily shucks to make clear his subservience to the UAW hierarchy. He supported Woodcock's re-election three



Local 6 pickets at International Harvester last October.

years ago and spent most of his floor time at the pre-contract bargaining convention last year viciously denouncing a leaflet distributed by the LSC. Such soft-soap reformists are always horrified at the forthright presentation of class-struggle politics and end up as the left flank of mainline bureaucrats.

Roth was reportedly shocked again today when a series of convention resolutions proposed by the LSC all passed. Workers at the meeting told WV that Roth sat disbelieving in his chair complaining, "What are you doing? Why are you passing these motions?" as hands went up around the room. The resolutions, outlining a comprehensive class-struggle course for the union, included:

- "For a New Leadership"—which repudiates the class-collaborationist Woodcock/Fraser regime and calls for a new leadership based on a fighting program: jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for

Bennie Lenard needs and deserves your support. The Partisan Defense Committee urges WV readers to send their contributions to the official fund established by UAW Local 6:

BENNIE LENARD DEFENSE FUND, c/o Seaway National Bank, 645 East 87th Street, Chicago, IL 60619

40"); an end to racial and sexual discrimination, a union hiring hall and free 24-hour union-controlled childcare; the full right to strike over all grievances without International authorization; the independence of the unions from

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government intervention; militant strike strategy, including sit-downs and hot-cargoing of struck goods; international working-class solidarity against economic protectionism; full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers; workers control of industry; and a workers party fighting for a workers government to expropriate industry and run a planned economy.

- "Labor/Black Defense"—which backs the all-round integration of society, supports busing and its extension to suburbs and calls for the UAW to organize "mass integrated labor defense guards to combat racist police and fascist terror against blacks and other minorities wherever it may appear."

- "Workers Party"—which denounces the UAW leadership for its support to racist peanut boss Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party no less capitalist than the GOP; it calls on the unions to break from the bosses' parties and form a workers party to fight for a workers government committed to the expropriation of the capitalist industry and banks.

- "Smash Apartheid"—which demands militant solidarity action with the student and worker revolts in South Africa, including strikes against the "multinational" corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa to force recognition of black workers' unions. It also demands an international labor boycott of all arms shipments to the racist apartheid regime.

✓We can expect that the Local 6 leadership will either ignore these motions or mobilize voting cattle to reverse them. Certainly delegates like Roth and his bureaucratic cohorts will never fight to raise such resolutions at the UAW convention. But the politics expressed in these motions show the way forward for the discontented workers at the UAW's base. Driven by a corporate speed-up campaign, long hours of grueling overtime in many plants and the spectre of new layoffs, the Auto Workers ranks will not remain forever locked in the grip of their smooth-talking liberal misleaders. Consolidation for support to the class-struggle program upheld by the LSC in Local 6 is the key to a breakthrough for the UAW and the entire labor movement. ■

Chavez, Fitzsimmons Sign Pact

SAN FRANCISCO—The peace pact announced last week by the United Farm Workers (UFW) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is supposed to finally end the war in the fields that has hindered the organization of California agricultural workers for the last seven years.

The agreement signed by UFW leader Cesar Chavez and IBT chief Frank Fitzsimmons on March 10 at Western Teamsters Conference headquarters in Burlingame, California, provides that the Teamsters stop their union-busting raids on the Farm Workers. This was hailed in the liberal press as a major victory for Chavez, brought about by Fitzsimmons' desire to clean up his image in labor circles. The IBT can no longer be accused of being "the people suppressing the farm workers," said the Teamsters leader at a press conference announcing the pact.

The five-year agreement covers the 13 western states and recognizes UFW jurisdiction over field workers while leaving the Teamsters their traditional base in the canneries, food processing and produce trucking sectors. Present Teamster contracts covering field workers are to be turned over to the UFW as they expire, with a few exceptions for those companies under Teamster contract before 1970, like the giant Bud Antle lettuce company, which the IBT signed up in 1961.

The joint UFW/IBT statement was quite general, stating that "the Teamsters will maintain jurisdiction of all workers covered under the National Labor Relations Act [NLRA]. The United Farm Workers will have jurisdiction over all workers covered under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act [ALRA]." (The NLRA, which



Fitzsimmons (left) and Chavez after signing pact last week.

lost for the agribusinesses' decades-long battle against unionization.

The ALRB, established in 1975 to decide on representation rights, has been so bogged down in disputes and litigation since the first round of elections that it was virtually dysfunctional. The voting took place on a battlefield with gun-toting company and Teamster goons intimidating pro-UFW farm workers. Moreover, the ALRA specifically bans secondary boycotts and organizing strikes. Thus the ALRA, which we warned at the time was a threat to the independence of labor rather than the boon to farm workers organizing promised by Chavez, turned out to be a dead end from the very beginning.

California state legislators demonstrated its bankruptcy by cutting off funds to the ALRB in February 1976 as a means of counteracting the paper successes of the UFW in the 1975 representation elections. Learning nothing from the disaster, Chavez responded with Proposition 14, a voter initiative which was resoundingly defeated in the November elections despite the endorsement of Governor Brown and other liberals and the monumental waste of UFW resources on ballyhooing this proposal for state control of labor relations.

The employers had a mixed reaction to the IBT-UFW pact. Les Hubbard, a spokesman for the Western Growers Association, was quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) as saying,

"The big thing that concerns us is the mutual-aid agreement between the two. All those years (of past rivalry between the two unions), one thing that offered us aid and comfort was that the Teamsters didn't honor UFW picket lines. But now this agreement offers us a potential for a problem in future labor disputes."

The companies aren't too worried, however, since Chavez has not broken from his impotent boycott strategy to advocate militant labor action, such as mobilizing the unions to hot-cargo scab produce. Moreover, neither side has renounced the debilitating court suits which they have flung at each other in the past.

Hubbard welcomed the prospect of jurisdictional peace holding down the wage demands of the ranks, indicating that at least some growers figure they can deal with a "reasonable" Chavez: "the pact will lessen the upward pressure put on union contracts by the competition which had been going on between the two unions" (quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, 11 March). And many employers still hope to keep out the UFW with their usual strong-arm tactics. Don Curlee, a spokesman for table grape growers in the South Central

Farmers Committee, denied that the pact cleared the way for the Farm Workers, adding: "The UFW still has to win elections and negotiate contracts."

With the federal government breathing down their necks on pension fund scandals, Teamster bureaucrats are undoubtedly interested in a public-relations facelift. Moreover, however lucrative the sweetheart deals with the growers may have been for individual bureaucrats, the endless fight with the UFW has caused plenty of headaches for top IBT officials in return for very little in the way of dues money. Thus the Fitzsimmons gang may be genuinely willing (at least for now) to forego some unremunerative contracts for field workers.

The Teamsters' nauseating record of thuggery, raiding and other services to the agribusiness bosses puts even the backstabbing Meanyite officialdom of the AFL-CIO to shame. But although class-conscious workers stood firmly on the side of the UFW, demanding Teamsters out of the fields, Chavez also has left a trail of betrayals. His cowardly action in calling off the 1973 lettuce strikes, his groveling loyalty to the capitalist Democratic Party, his despicable use of the bourgeois courts against the Teamsters, his treacherous reliance on the ALRB and his scandalous (if short-lived) alliance with Immigration authorities to deport undocumented workers are the record of a sworn enemy of militant labor solidarity.

What is needed is a class-struggle policy. A real fighting alliance between the IBT and UFW could lame the bosses by halting the shipping and processing of scab goods, leaving them to rot in the fields. Militant defense of mass picket lines could answer the reign of terror by company gun thugs and sheriffs' deputies. By vigorously defending and organizing so-called "illegal aliens"—instead of appealing to the bosses' government to deport them—the UFW can lay the basis for effective organization of farm workers on both sides of the border and thus prepare for an effective fight against the growers' importation of scabs. ■



El Matriclado

Teamster goons, taunting farm-workers, stomp on Chavez effigy.

dates from the 1930's, specifically excludes farm workers.) However, newspaper reports said that where an employer is "primarily" engaged in farming the UFW would have jurisdiction, even over truck drivers; otherwise the IBT would have jurisdiction, even over field laborers. This formula leaves a giant question mark over the hotly disputed Gallo winery.

The victory for the Farm Workers represented by this agreement is tenuous at best. From the beginning, Chavez has relied on the good will of outside forces—from the Catholic Church and Kennedy Democrats to George Meany—with predictable lack of success. Had the UFW led militant strike struggles instead of counseling pacifism and appealing to the conscience of middle-class liberals with its consumer boycotts, there would be no question today of who represents the agricultural workers. Even now, Chavez' legalistic acceptance of the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) as "neutral" arbiter means that all is not

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Left: "Private property" sign on Brokdorf site. Bottom sign refers to "our Brokdorf power plant." Right: Cops use water cannons and mace to push demonstrators back from barbed wire fence surrounding site of proposed Brokdorf nuclear power plant in November.

Anti-Nuclear Hysteria and Police Repression in West Germany

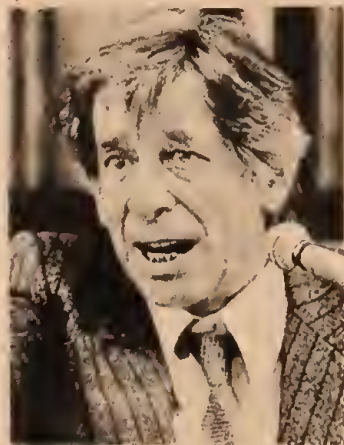
Last month more than 6,000 heavily armed West German police, 2,000 paramilitary troops of the "federal border guards" and members of sinister "mobile intervention commandos" (MEK's) managed to thwart tens of thousands of anti-nuclear demonstrators seeking to march on an atomic power plant site at Brokdorf, near Hamburg (see "Pitched Battle over Nuclear Power Plant in Germany," *WV* No. 146, 25 February). But despite massive repression, the atomic energy question has continued to dominate West German politics. During the last three weeks, revelations of a Watergate-style operation of illegal spying, bugging and burglary by the federal "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" (*Verfassungsschutz*) against a leading atomic physicist have provoked a major parliamentary scandal.

The demonstrators who assembled in the Wilster Marsh to converge on Brokdorf February 19 were met with 30 water cannons, 20 light tanks, 6 helicopters equipped to spray tear gas and machine-gun bearing squads of cops. To avoid falling into an obvious trap, march organizers turned back at the police barriers which closed off the area around the construction site. However, on their way back to the assembly point, individual demonstrators were brutally seized in the dark by the MEK's. Undercover cops dressed in blue jeans and parkas pulled out revolvers and donned masks as they dragged protesters out of cars, tying them hand and foot and forcing them to lie face down on the pavement as they were "questioned" at gunpoint.

The operation was hailed by Schleswig-Holstein state prime minister Stoltenberg as "the biggest police action in Germany since the war." With the participation of police from throughout the Federal Republic, it was clearly

intended by the authorities as a training maneuver for civil war conditions. But because it was directed at radicals and in the context of the witchhunt atmosphere in West Germany, this clear example of police intimidation and denial of democratic rights caused little outcry in the press or among bourgeois and Social-Democratic politicians.

However, a week later alarm bells went off when the generally pro-



Der Spiegel

Dr. Klaus Traube

government *Der Spiegel* (28 February) published an extensive dossier ("Bugging Attack on Citizen T.") on "Operation Garbage" carried out by the *Verfassungsschutz*, which suspected Dr. Klaus Traube of maintaining contacts with "terrorists." His telephone had been tapped since 1975 and in early 1976 his apartment near Köln was broken into, documents were photographed and an electronic bug was installed. Two months later the apartment was again entered and the bug removed. Nothing



Der Spiegel

Demonstrators used utility poles to break through fences around Brokdorf plant site.

incriminating was learned from this illegal surveillance, and Traube was informed in writing by the government that he was not under suspicion of consorting with or revealing secrets to "atomic terrorists." Nevertheless, the physicist lost his job as head of a breeder reactor project for a subsidiary of the giant Siemens Corporation.

Free-Democratic interior minister Werner Maihofer confirmed the general outlines of the *Speigel* report, stating that he had approved the operation on an "emergency" basis. This is ironic since Maihofer, now considered a hard-liner on "law and order," had as a professor in the late 1960's demonstrated together with his students against the federal "emergency laws." The interior minister's weak attempt at justification was not sufficient to quiet critics in the Bundestag (parliament), where many Social-Democratic backbenchers were already uneasy over SPD defense minister Georg Leber's love affair with the aggressively anti-socialist Bundeswehr officer corps. The chairman of the Young Socialists labeled the Traube affair "a depressing proof of the loss of respect for civil liberties in the Federal Republic," and there are now reports that the coalition government is considering dropping Maihofer.

Left-Wing Anti-Nuclear Hysteria

Building on widespread opposition to atomic power plants (which the government has attempted to appease by a temporary court ban on further construction at Brokdorf and the promise of a major Bundestag debate on nuclear energy), ecology-minded liberals and petty-bourgeois radicals have mounted a vague protest against the "atomic

state." "Environmental protection" has become the latest fad. Going far beyond protests over safety dangers, "back-to-nature" demonstrators at Brokdorf have demanded "no nuclear power plants...anywhere" and "the construction site must be turned into a pasture" (*Rote Fahne*, 23 February).

Communists demand workers control of safety conditions in atomic power plants, as throughout industry, and may in certain instances oppose a dangerous project. But Marxists, who stand for technological progress, certainly do not oppose atomic power as such. The *Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands*, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, neither joined the petty-bourgeois "ecology" mobilization against the Brokdorf nuclear power plant nor called for construction to continue. It is not the task of the workers movement to tell the bourgeoisie how to meet its energy needs.

In contrast, much of the West German left has been caught up in mindless enthusiasm over the reappearance of an amorphous, directionless "mass movement" reminiscent of the heyday of the New Left in the late 1960's. Thus the "critical Maoist" *Kommunistischer Bund (KB)* hailed the February 19 demonstration as a victory in a banner headline blaring, "30,000 in the Wilster Marsh" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 21 February). The Peking-loyal *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD)* upped the figure by 5,000 and labeled the uncompleted march on Brokdorf a success because "the peasants and toilers of the Wilster Marsh were among them [the demonstrators] and stood by them." One cannot escape the impres-

sion that these Maoists and semi-Maoists see the cow pastures and farmsteads of the lower Elbe as a center for revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Europe!

The one radical group which considered the Brokdorf march a defeat was the Maoist Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW). During the demonstration the KBW reportedly shouted adventurist slogans ("The [police] barrier is child's play, Brokdorf's our goal" was one quoted in *Arbeiterkampf*) and sought to force a confrontation with the massed army of cops ("The troops are already tactically on the defensive. The construction site is surrounded by the popular masses," declared a supplement of the KBW's *Kommunistische Volkszeitung*). There were also reports of fistfights as the KBW attempted to seize the head of the march, attacked the official sound truck and at one point urged demonstrators to "storm" the police fortress. Luckily these dangerous sandbox "war games" came to naught.

The Brokdorf demo had been alternately banned, permitted and again banned by court order, leading "moderate" elements of the various "citizens initiatives for environmental protection" to call a "peaceful" rally in nearby Itzehoe. With the pastors, concerned scientists, milk farmers and liberal ecologists bowing to the government's anti-communist fury, the fake-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) proclaimed that "the unity of the movement is the key." In declaring for the Itzehoe rally, the GIM summarized its whole capitulationist policy in the anti-nuclear movement: "Communists cannot be 20 steps ahead of the movement without paying a price" (*Was Tun*, 24 February).

The GIM was perhaps the most unabashed of all the left groups in espousing anti-industrial ecological claptrap. Not only atomic power plants earned its ire, but also "industrialization that endangers the environment" of the lower Elbe region (*Was Tun*, 11 November 1976). Moreover, it went so far as to criticize the pro-Moscow Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) for "opportunism toward the atomic energy policies of the DDR [East German] and Soviet bureaucracy!" To be consistent, these "Trotskyists" would have to denounce not only atomic power plants in the degenerated and deformed workers states, but also atomic weapons in the hands of their ruling bureaucracies.

The Maoists, as could be expected, have made this into a main theme of their anti-nuclear propaganda. To the central slogan "no atomic power plants in Brokdorf and elsewhere," the KPD added a second: "no atomic power plants in Magdeburg [an East German industrial city] and elsewhere." In contrast to these bootlickers for NATO, authentic Trotskyists consider nuclear weaponry in the hands of the degenerated/deformed workers states—including both China and the USSR—vital to the defense of their collectivized economies. Our complaint is that the nuclear "umbrella" was not extended to protect North Vietnam from U.S. terror bombing! ■

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Not One Penny Down the MAC Sewer!

Gotbaum Loots NYC Workers Pension Funds

When New York City's mayor Abraham Beame enthusiastically announced last December that with Carter in the White House there is a "completely different relationship" in which "every-one understands the importance of [NYC's fiscal] problem—and everybody wants to help," we commented:

"Such sentiments notwithstanding, there is still a cool billion to be raised. Moreover, it won't be long after Jimmy Carter's inauguration before it becomes clear that under the Democrats' administration the bourgeoisie's program for the masses of NYC will remain the same as it was under Ford: 'Drop Dead!' The labor movement must break its ties to the Democrats and build a workers party to lead the way forward to a workers government."

"—NY Court Messes Up MAC Boondoggle," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976

On March 1, with NYC still \$1 billion in the hole and once again on the brink of bankruptcy, Carter carried out our prediction to the letter: "My own inclination," he said, "is that New York City and State will have to deal with the long-range fiscal problems without Federal participation. This is primarily a problem that's got to be worked out by the city, state, banks and labor unions." In other words, drop dead!

Beame, who is seeking re-election, was undaunted. Sporting a tie dotted with big red apples, he took to his custom-made lectern (especially designed to enhance his stature) to babble: "Some problems may temporarily overtake us. But never let us forget—New York is a marathon runner. We are not quitters." (About the same time, a controversy broke out in the press over a proposal to name the preying mantis the New York state insect. Why not the cockroach, suggested irate New Yorkers. In addition to its prevalence in the metropolitan area, "la cucaracha" is a symbol of survival under adversity, and thus appropriate for the embattled city at last.)

As it turns out, Beame had good reason for optimism, despite the fact that the federal government was content to let NYC drown in its own filth and the banks to whom he appealed refused to advance the city a nickel unless they were given a long-term budget review board which would give them sweeping powers over every aspect of the city's finances for the next 20 years.

Beame's trump card was the city's employee pension system with \$8.6 billion in reserves. It seems that rules governing two of the five separate retirement funds, including the largest, allow city hall to control all decisions on how money is to be invested, even if all union trustees vote against such investments. As the bankruptcy deadline—March 11—approached, high-ranking city officials made it clear that they would not hesitate to play this trump card. "We do not regard bankruptcy as a viable alternative for New York City," said First Deputy Mayor John E. Zuccotti, "and we will not pass up any workable option for averting it."

Naturally, in an election year Beame preferred not to appear to be looting the unions' pension funds by brute force. He needn't have worried. Despite the fact that the pension funds already hold \$2.1 billion in city and Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) securities—as compared to the banks' \$1.4 billion—and have the enormous power to shut down the city, the sellout labor leader-



Brack/Black Star
Governor Hugh Carey and Mayor Abe Beame



WV Photo
Victor Gotbaum

ship was more than happy to help Beame plunder the pension funds.

According to Beame's eleventh-hour patchwork plan to hold off the financial wolves, the unions are to raise \$90 million of nearly \$1 billion needed by the city to pay its short-term debt by

foregoing payments of principal on the MAC bonds which they own. They are also committed to purchase more bonds, defer a 6-percent pay raise to which they are contractually entitled and refinance \$38 million in short-term notes issued by the City Housing Development Corporation which fall due in August.

Despite an empty threat only a week ago that the unions would not defer the maturities of the MAC bonds they held unless the banks did the same, when D-day came Victor Gotbaum and his cohorts meekly handed over the hard-earned pension fund money without so much as a whimper. The banks, of course, have refused to budge.

Since the beginning of the New York fiscal crunch—which has cost the municipal unions 60,000 jobs so far—two years ago, the Spartacist League has insisted that these vicious attacks on working people must be answered through mobilizing NYC labor for militant union action, including if necessary a general strike against the mass cutbacks and layoffs.

Jack Bigel, chief adviser on pension matters to the municipal unions, says meekly: "The unions have made no demands, have no demands to make." So every time the banks lift their little finger, the labor bureaucracy hands over more millions to be thrown down the MAC rat hole. The SL says the unions have plenty of demands to make and the power to implement them. Workers must reject useless, reformist schemes such as debt "moratoriums" and instead demand that the debt be canceled and the banks expropriated without compensation. The fight for militant trade-union action is above all a fight to dump the Gotbaums and Bigels, who not only sell out strike after strike but are now looting the pension funds as well to keep the good graces of the phony "friend of labor" Democrats.

Hands off the pension funds! Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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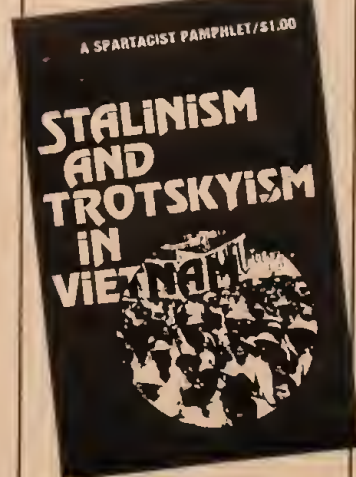
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Letelier Assassination Cover-up Exposed

The Long Arm of the DINA

There is a cover-up going on to protect the criminal terrorists who six months ago assassinated former Chilean cabinet minister Orlando Letelier, by blowing up his car as he drove to his Washington, D.C., office. A March 5 special on the NBC television "Weekend" news show quoted an FBI official in a classic example of bureaucratic double-talk:

"We, along with the Metropolitan Police Department, have been aggressively pursuing this investigation. We will continue to do so with the hope of bringing it to a logical conclusion at a very swift time.... Since the bombing occurred the FBI has embarked on a very aggressive and penetrative investigation. We are continuing to vigorously pursue this matter and will do so until it is brought to a logical conclusion."

But this stonewalling is only one prong of the official attempt to divert public attention from the savage bomb murder and mask the true authors of the crime. Immediately after the September 21 slaying, Chilean exiles and virtually the entire left pointed an accusing finger at the DINA, the Pinochet junta's bloodthirsty secret police. Enough circumstantial evidence has accumulated so Washington can no longer simply ignore this obvious trail. Thus a second dimension has been added to the cover-up: leaked hints of FBI investigation of the DINA connection.

Thus the 1 February *Washington Post* ran a front-page story announcing that federal investigators had uncovered evidence "leading them to believe" that the Letelier murder "was carried out by anti-Castro Cubans directed by persons in Chile." This information was attributed to "sources familiar with the investigation" and was labeled a "new focus of the Letelier probe," supposedly "discussed at a recent FBI headquarters meeting attended by Justice [Department] officials and FBI agents involved in the case...."

New focus? A month and a half earlier an almost identical story appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 December), again citing "sources familiar with the investigation." "Federal investigators," it reported, "have developed information indicating that an official of the Chilean government traveled to the U.S. under an assumed name to arrange for the murder." In addition, the "sources" referred to "evidence already obtained which seems to point to an international murder-for-hire plot in which Cuban exiles did the actual killing."

This is no "deep throat" revelation but an "authorized leak," like Henry Kissinger's famous "background" briefings attributed to "high Administration sources" or "knowledgeable officials." In both the *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* stories (a month and a half apart) "new information" is referred to; but in neither case is there resulting action or even public acknowledgment of the direction in which the investigation is proceeding. In other words, it is a smokescreen.

The Gusanos

Behind all this secrecy and half-admissions of a DINA/gusano link-up in the Letelier assassination is the fact that Orlando Bosch, leader of CORU (a coordinating body of right-wing Cuban exile terrorist groups in the U.S.), is sitting in a Venezuelan jail after being arrested in connection with the October 6 bombing of a Cuban airliner off Barbados that cost 73 lives. Bosch was jailed after Venezuelan authorities

searched the heavily fortified Caracas residence of a gusano associate, Luis Posada, who employed the two men that carried out the Barbados bombing. In the Posada villa were found maps of Washington and plans suggesting a tie-in with the Letelier murder.

Moreover, it was reported by the Caracas daily *El Nacional* that Bosch arrived in the Venezuelan capital three days before the Letelier assassination and "informed Cuban exiles there that two of their compatriots, the Novo brothers, had committed the attack. Guillermo Novo is second in command of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, one of the components of CORU" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 1977).

Bosch was arrested shortly after the airliner bombing incident. Immediately following the Letelier assassination, the press reported that the FBI was informed of a high-ranking DINA official seen arriving from Chile at New York's Kennedy Airport on August 25. Yet on 1 November the *Washington Post* published a lengthy article on the Letelier investigation which reported a total government whitewash of the DINA and gusanos. "According to informed sources," the article began:

"The far-reaching, highly sensitive investigation ... has failed so far to score any significant breakthrough.... The probe—here and abroad—has produced no major suspects.... the FBI had established no clear link between Cuban exiles and Letelier's murder. "CIA officials, nevertheless, say they believe that operatives of the present Chilean military junta did not take part in Letelier's killing.... the Chilean government has no direct ties with Cuban exiles."

This is pure subterfuge. The 15 November *New York Times* published a lengthy article detailing the odyssey of Bosch and leaving no doubts about the existence of a Latin American Murder, Inc. of CIA-trained Cuban exiles. In particular it noted a statement issued by Bosch and other leaders of CORU in July 1976 that called for "waging a terrorist campaign against Cuba." In addition:

- After jumping parole from a 10-year prison sentence for firing a rocket at a Polish ship anchored in Miami, Bosch was able to move freely from Venezuela to Chile, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and back to Venezuela.

- Bosch was arrested in Venezuela in November 1974 for planning an explosion at the Cuban embassy; the U.S. refused to take him back for prosecution as a parole violator. He was again arrested in Costa Rica last spring for plotting to bomb Kissinger (on a visit to that country) and Chilean MIR leader Andrés Pascal Allende, in exile there; again American authorities refused to ask for his extradition.

- Bosch "had been living during most of 1975 at a guest house of the strongly anti-Castro Chilean military Government."

More light was thrown on DINA links with gusano groups in a British television documentary on the Letelier assassination shown February 7 on the U.S. national educational network. *New York Times* writer Taylor Branch was interviewed saying that Cuban exiles formally connected with the CIA "would constantly mention that there were officials of the Chilean government coming into Miami for recruitment purposes." "Orlando [Bosch] has admitted after being arrested ... that he had worked for DINA. I do know that when



Linda Wheeler

Orlando Letelier's car after he was assassinated by a bomb near the Chilean embassy in Washington last September.

I was in Miami all the old Cuban operatives talked frequently about how Bosch was down there in Chile working for Pinochet." The U.S. government is now trying to explain its failure to question Bosch by alleging that obstacles have been thrown up by the Venezuelan government.

Whether or not Orlando Bosch is himself the linchpin of the conspiracy to assassinate Letelier, revelations of the tremendous influence wielded by CIA-connected Cuban exiles in Venezuela have caused a major scandal there. Bosch's friend Posada—a veteran of Brigade 2506, the CIA's Bay of Pigs Cuban exile army—was chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police (DISAP) under a previous government. The present regime of Carlos Andrés Pérez sought to absolve itself of any

suspicion of complicity with the Cuban airliner bombing by pointing to Posadas' ties to the Christian Democrats, now in opposition. But then it was revealed that Pérez' security adviser, Orlando García, had also been in touch with Bosch in the days before the airliner crash.

The Venezuelan government, and especially the secret police, are riddled with Cuban exiles. On 24 October *El Nacional* reported that three U.S. newsmen had been held incommunicado for ten hours and later expelled from the country because they identified Ricardo Morales Navarrete, a gusano ex-CIA agent and reputed FBI informer, as second-in-command of DISAP. One of the suspects arrested in the Cuban airliner bombing was a photographer for the government Bureau of Mines, and still another was an ex-functionary of DISAP described as an expert in bomb construction (*El Nacional*, 3 November).

A final note on the gusano connection: government bomb experts continue to express uncertainty about the nature of the explosive that killed Letelier, other than to remark that it is "now believed to have been a high-powered device, according to informed sources" (*Washington Post*, 1 November 1976). However, other specialists have suggested that the weapon was a simple bomb made of C-4 plastique explosive, possibly detonated by radio. The NBC documentary reported that "officially, it's supposed to be hard to get.... But the real black market in plastic explosives is in Miami.... Some of the Cubans, including those trained by the CIA, are still carrying on their war against the left, and they are the ones with the explosives." The program concludes as the television reporter blows up a Chevrolet with some black market C-4 explosive.

The DINA

Orlando Letelier knew he was a marked man. As former ambassador to the U.S. under the Popular Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, then foreign minister and finally defense minister in the last days of UP rule, he was high on the generals' "enemies list" when they took power in the bloody 11 September 1973 coup. Interned for a year, most of it in the sub-Antarctic concentration camp of Dawson Island, he managed to get to exile because of friends in Washington. There he struggled against aid to the Pinochet junta, playing a key role in stopping a \$63 million Dutch government program



UPI

Bernardo Leighton after 1975 assassination attempt in Rome.



UPI

Bomb planted underneath car assassinated General Prats and his wife on Buenos Aires street in 1974.

of investment in Chile in the weeks prior to his death.

We reported earlier ("Orlando Letelier Victim of Junta Death Squad," *WV* No. 127, 1 October 1976) that the FBI was given a letter from a Chilean military officer to Letelier advising him that there was talk of a plot to eliminate him. A former UP official, Hernán Rodríguez, said on the British documentary that Letelier had been warned against "causing trouble" by junta officials at the United Nations. "Some people from the Chilean Mission to the UN arrived [in the delegates lounge] and ... said something about, 'You're going to pay because of all the things you are doing to the Chilean government'." Isabelle Letelier recalled one among many threatening phone calls she had received: "They asked, 'are you Mrs. Letelier?' and I said, 'yes.' They said, 'you are wrong—you are the widow.'"

"Everybody who leaves Chile," said Mrs. Letelier, "is warned that they shouldn't say anything against the government.... We were warned that the hands of the DINA are very long." The feared secret police agency had already struck outside Chile before. In September 1974, a year after the Santiago coup, General Carlos Prats, former commander-in-chief of the Chilean army and a minister in the Allende government, was assassinated together with his wife in Buenos Aires. As the highest-ranking military man associated with the UP regime, Prats was a potential rallying point for opposition to Pinochet within the armed forces. The British documentary reported: "Pedro Ewing, DINA's man abroad, was seen in Buenos Aires just before the killing.... After the explosion, two DINA agents ransacked his apartment and stole the manuscript he had been writing about the coup. The DINA is believed to have used the AAA [Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance, a death squad with close ties to the secret police] as the executioners."

That same year, the DINA set up operations in Europe, establishing its headquarters in Madrid. Ewing was sent as a military attaché to the Chilean embassy in Spain, where he coordinated surveillance of Chilean opposition groups throughout Europe. Most notably, in Rome they were watching Bernardo Leighton, an anti-junta Christian Democratic leader. Like Prats and Letelier, Leighton had sufficient stature and was considered "independent" enough to serve as a focus for the formation of a broad popular front that would include dissident Christian Democrats.

The Italian government had accepted a sizeable number of Chilean refugees after the coup and did not recognize the military junta. The Vatican, however, did maintain diplomatic relations with the Pinochet regime, and the Chilean ambassador to the "Holy See" is a well-known fanatical right-wing reactionary who in the late 1960's belonged to a group called "Defense of Tradition, Property and Family." Allende partisans at the offices of Chile Democrático—the UP in exile—were accidentally informed of DINA spying against them when they received a telephone bill for an apartment that was occupied by personnel of the Chilean embassy and located only 100 yards away from their office.

A year after the Prats assassination, Bernardo Leighton was shot in the head outside his apartment, but not killed. His wife was also shot and paralyzed for life. Just as it was reported that the DINA used the AAA to eliminate the former army commander, the Italian intelligence agency told British television reporters that the main suspects as triggermen in the Leighton shooting were local Italian right-wingers, and that involvement by the DINA is suspected.

The CIA

Unable to simply ignore the Letelier case—or try to pass it off as the work of

"left-wing extremists," as both the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* at first attempted, along with the Chilean junta—U.S. authorities would rather go lightly on the DINA and find a scapegoat among the Cuban exiles, who are "dispensable." But as Mike Moffit (husband of Ronnie Moffit, who was killed along with Letelier) observed in the NBC documentary, "they might want to go as far as finding the John Dean of this particular case, but I don't think they want to go all the way to the top."

Some prominent U.S. journalists



Colonel Pedro Ewing, DINA agent, with book written in defense of bloody 1973 coup.

with well-known government connections are doing their bit for the attempted cover-up, by trying to defame Letelier. Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, in an article headlined, "Letelier's 'Havana Connection'" (*Washington Post*, 20 December 1976), "reveal" in 1950's-vintage McCarthyite, "I led three lives" innuendo that, "Secret papers found in Chilean exile Orlando Letelier's attache case after the assassination show he had been collecting a mysterious \$1,000 a month through a 'Havana Connection.'" Aping the Anderson/Whitten column, arch-conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak again discover these "previously undisclosed documents contained in Letelier's attache case" and use this to "prove" what they call "the familiar picture of Marxist revolutionaries, encamped in the Communist capitals of oppression, using well-meaning liberals to serve their ends in the name of human rights" (*New York Post*, 16 February).

So what are these mysterious payments which Anderson/Whitten claim show that "Letelier had been leading a strange double life"? Nothing but \$1,000 per month received from the Chilean Socialist Party in exile, whose leader, Carlos Altamirano, resides in Cuba. Letelier was, after all, a leader of the Socialist Party. And who was his "contact" for this sinister operation? It turns out to be none other than Beatriz Allende, daughter of the slain Chilean president! But perhaps the mud-slinging pundits would have preferred if Letelier had received the money from a capitalist "capital of oppression." Then their friends in the CIA could alert the DINA to the identity of Letelier's "contact" who would then suffer the same fate as the murdered ambassador!

The best that can be said for the despicable journalistic hatchet men who try to blame Letelier for his own assassination is that they could not be better CIA mouthpieces if they were actually on "The Company's" payroll. How is it that both teams come up with the same "secret papers" which have not even been returned to Letelier's widow? If it wasn't for the need to defend

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Day of Wrath...

(continued from page 1)

and calling for gearing up the state's repressive apparatus in "preparation." The incident was heralded as an ominous verification of the government's prediction, the *New York Times* (13 March) remarking: "The timeliness of this warning was demonstrated last week when bands of gunmen took over three buildings in Washington...." The "vulnerability of the nation's cities," said the *Times*, was "vividly demonstrated" by the siege. Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald charged the Hanafi takeover could never have gotten off the ground if the cops had not been hampered in their surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities by post-Watergate restraints.

The prospect of consuming racial violence in the U.S. remains very real in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to turn toward class struggle the seething discontent of a population ground down by hopeless poverty and inhuman oppression in a virulently racist society. That a single incident could fracture the tenuous stalemate and trigger an explosion of race-hate hysteria was intensely felt throughout the two days of the Hanafi seizure. Had the heads of the hostages really started rolling out the windows, all hell would have broken loose.

The decadent capitalist system can do nothing to fundamentally alter the social conditions of poverty and oppression, rage and fear which threaten to plunge the bourgeois social order into an orgy of fratricidal violence. This fact emerges once again from the 661-page semi-incoherent "Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism." The bourgeoisie's only prescription is to intensify murderous repression by the state apparatus. The people who brought us the Attica massacre are gearing up their bonapartist cops for ever more of the same.

The report warns:

"a deep well of violence underlies the apparent calm and stability of the American social scene.... Labor unrest, racial violence and poverty are all issues that can lead once again to civil disorders."

In contrast to earlier "studies," notably the 1968 Kerner Commission report, the present effort does not even pretend to consider reform measures to alleviate the endemic social ills:

"Some who consider themselves victimized by the obvious disparity between the expectations generated by the American dream and their unsatisfactory attainments under it react violently from time to time. Those alarmed by such outbreaks appeal to authorities, naturally, to do something about the root problems. It should be apparent that such appeals are unreasonable, if understandable.... It may well be that sustained attention to long-term solutions is not feasible, given the economic and political realities of the situation."

The "task force" report, a last gasp of the Nixon/Ford administration, thus complements the general outlook of Jimmy Carter and his technocratic/"ethnic purity" administration. It promises greater efficiency and reduction of "the impersonality of the governmental process," appealing for a renewal of "civil solidarity." Its basic proposal is for massive military assaults on all forms of "civil disorders"—under which category it lumps everything from militant labor upsurges and ghetto upheavals to the pathological cultist violence of the "Manson family."

The report blueprints legislative extension of official "emergency powers" for extended periods. These police-state "powers" include wiretapping, mass arrests and preventive detentions, search and seizure without a warrant, suspension of the right of assembly, curfews, encirclement and evacuation of "certain specified areas" and, as a last resort, outright martial law.

The authors (including Jerry Wilson, Washington police chief during the

round-up of 13,000 antiwar demonstrators in May 1971; Jesse Brewer, head of the Los Angeles police Special Weapons and Tactics unit; New York City police commissioner Michael Codd; New Jersey governor Brendan Byrne, who was Essex County Prosecutor during the 1967 Newark ghetto riot; Arthur Bilek of the Pinkerton agency) hope to take advantage of the current reactionary climate to legally reassert and codify the state's unlimited "right" to drown its opposition in blood. The measures the report proposes—and more—have been used before against "reds," ethnic minorities, embattled workers and most recently black radical activists.

Slaughter of the Militants

The top cops of the "task force" could point with pride to the coordinated cop vendetta against the Black Panther Party, the most notable and serious expression of "revolutionary" black nationalism in the late 1960's. The Panthers were destroyed by the interaction of murderous state repression, internal degeneration and bloodletting, and the corruption of the leadership exemplified today by Elaine Brown's penthouse and Eldridge Cleaver's pimp-



Bobby Seale

Pirkle Jones

ing for "God, country and the American way of life."

A contradictory phenomenon embodying a partial break from cynical "porkchop nationalism," and an attempt to fight on behalf of the oppressed black masses, the Panthers catered to black lumpen rage. Their military posturing and verbal terrorism set the organization up for provocation and savage repression by the state. Their glorification of the street-gang mentality led to internal factional differences becoming blood vendettas. The cult of the lumpen desperado guaranteed that Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver would become the political versions of "Super Fly."

Initially, the liberals reacted to the "Disorders and Terrorism" task force report with admonitions that police-terror methods do not work. In fact, however, the bourgeois state's massive repression against the Panthers and other militant black groups succeeded in wiping out an entire generation of potentially revolutionary black leaders. Cointelpro documents indicate the scope of the government's criminal conspiracy against black radicalism. In nearly 300 FBI actions against black groups in the late 1960's and early 1970's—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail on a string

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Threatened with Expulsion, Defend Pete Camarata!

Detroit Teamster Bureaucrats Frame Dissident

DETROIT—On March 4 Teamsters Local 299 leaders tried Pete Camarata, leading spokesman for the reformist opposition group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), on charges of interfering with official business.

The charges stem from Camarata's involvement in a three-day job action in the Detroit area last June, which was sparked by a two-week wildcat of car haulers in Flint, Michigan. The car haulers had rejected a proposed contract but were ordered back to work by the Teamsters International bureaucracy, leading to the wildcat.

Another 299 driver, Al Ferdnace, was fired from Automobile Transit Incorporated (ATI) for participation in the action; he faces union discipline similar to that meted out to Camarata. But what is really going on is a drive by hidebound Teamster bureaucrats to rid themselves of any semblance of organized opposition.

Only two members of Local 299's five-man executive board showed up at the trial: substitutes were appointed by Local president Robert Lins. Thus it is not clear who will ultimately render a verdict, nor when it will be announced. But the trial could result in expulsion from the union for Camarata and Ferdnace.

Camarata told *WV* that he considers the trial to be the bureaucrats' response to TDU's current agitation for Local by-laws changes. In this low-level "union democracy" campaign, the TDU is calling merely for the election of business agents and stewards (currently appointed), election to all committees, annual written financial reports and regular union meetings.

Bureaucratic Wrangling and the Courts

Local 299 is a politically important, 17,000-member local, which in the past has served as a launching pad for both Jimmy Hoffa and current Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons. Prior to Hoffa's "disappearance" he had planned on this Local as his re-entry point into Teamster politics. Pro-Hoffa and pro-Fitzsimmons forces (including the sons of both men) have fought a prolonged, and often violent, power struggle.

The political identity of the warring cliques was demonstrated last summer when they united in opposing a brief wildcat against the Master Freight Agreement. A new Local 299 president, Robert Lins, was installed by executive board fiat when Hoffa loyalist Dave Johnson resigned. Johnson was disgraced with the bureaucracy by his



Pete Camarata

inability to head off the wildcat and discredited before the membership by his flunking for Fitzsimmons' sellout contract.

But the regime of Lins and secretary-treasurer Otto Wendel is no more solid. It is haunted by the bitter restlessness of the ranks, Fitzsimmons' nepotist ambitions to elevate "Junior" into power, and the ever-present spectre of direct Labor Department or court intervention. The latter is fueled by continual exposures of massive graft and gangster corruption in the \$1.4 billion Central States Pension Fund. Against this backdrop, Local leaders would obviously be glad to get rid of the likes of Camarata, whose calls for even the most minimal reforms are a source of irritation.

Teamster militants should demand that the witchhunt charges against Camarata and Ferdnace be dropped. But they must just as adamantly oppose Camarata's already announced plans to seek a court injunction should he be expelled. Such a move would be one more treacherous invitation to any number of federal agencies and law enforcement bodies which are contemplating a major assault on the Teamsters. A class-struggle opposition must fight *within* the labor movement against the bureaucracy, not appeal to the bosses' state.

Workers must oppose the attempts of the government to further subordinate the independence of the unions under the guise of instituting "democracy" or cleaning up corruption. Every such intervention is another blow against the ability of the rank and file to control their unions and set them on a class-struggle course.

Anti-Labor Detroit News Promotes TDU

Camarata has garnered support from odd but revealing quarters. The rabidly anti-labor and staunchly Republican *Detroit News* (6 March) published an article by columnist Fred Girard which blasts the Local 299 leadership as thieves, criminals, fat-cats, animals, hoods, arrogant, stupid, etc. and urges

Teamsters to join the TDU. Girard favorably reports on the TDU's proposed by-law changes and assures his readers that they are in no way subversive (which is certainly true).

Girard can support the TDU not only because of the latter's utter reformism but also because both look to capitalist "justice" to reform the Teamsters union. In a 7 January article, Girard forthrightly proposed:

"The federal government should force the entire union into receivership instantly, turn every one of those crooks, and even the few honest officials, out of office, freeze every book, record, bank account and deal and initiate a massive congressional investigation."

Posing as a champion of Teamster members, Girard in fact is calling for the virtual destruction of the largest labor union in the U.S.

TDU: Merry-Go-Round Maneuvering

While supporting Camarata against attempts to drive him from the union, we are duty-bound to point out that he supported appointment of the very bureaucrats who today are persecuting him. Camarata told *WV* that he believes Otto Wendel is the driving force behind the current charges against him. Yet Wendel was Camarata's first choice for Local president last summer! When Wendel declined, Camarata then threw his support to Lins, who now appoints the trial bodies seeking to purge Camarata!

Proving that he has learned nothing from this experience, Camarata now hopes that his case will help cement relations with the Local 299 Concerned Teamsters (CT). This group was formed after last summer's wildcat as an explicitly "anti-radical" parry to the TDU.

The 13 December 1976 *Workers' Power*, organ of the Camarata-praising International Socialists, claimed that the CT "was formed by a part of the old Teamsters for a Decent Contract," predecessor to the TDU. Camarata, however, told *WV* that CT supporters had not been members of his group but had participated in last summer's wildcat picket lines. When red-baiting started in the wildcats' wake, the CTers jumped ship.

Local president Lins claimed good relations with the CT group in a December interview with *WV*, and the CT subsequently succeeded in having four business agents appointed in the Local (three of whom Camarata acknowledges have "completely gone over to the other side"). Ever looking for a "deal," Camarata claims that the remaining CTers are now disillusioned with Wendel and hopes that some joint work may be possible, such as TDU "critical support" to CT candidates in local elections this fall.

Though the bureaucratic and reformist "oppositionists" may temporarily get together on the basis of anti-Fitzsimmons sentiment, no way out of the impasse faced by Teamsters will be found short of building a class-struggle leadership. The fight for workers democracy in the Teamsters will succeed only as part of the struggle against *all* pro-capitalist misleaders, in or out of office, who rely on the capitalist government to "democratize" the labor movement. ■

British Scabs...

(continued from page 12)

February 14 when the Bahamian-registered *Venus* docked in Middleborough, England. Globtik Tankers is a British-based company but, like many other shipping companies in Europe, Japan, Australia and the U.S., Tikkoo registers his tankers with a "flag of convenience" for tax reasons. An additional motive is to avoid paying higher wages and providing better working conditions for their crews. The Filipino crew was getting only about \$220 per month per man, less than the official British rate.

When the ship docked at Middleborough, the crew demanded wage negotiations, acting with the aid of representatives of the British National Union of Seamen (NUS). The strikers raised the demand for a \$507 monthly wage, the minimum standard recommended by the ITF. Tikkoo refused. Thereupon the NUS instructed the crew not to sail until its wage demands were met, but Globtik moved the ship to Le Havre in the middle of the night. Then the strike began.

Maritime affiliates to the ITF have launched an international organizing drive to enforce its higher standards, protecting workers on "flag of convenience" ships as well as ensuring that jobs will not be lost by "runaway" shipping. In the U.S. only 5 percent of all American-owned shipping is manned by U.S. crews.

In North Europe (the campaign has hardly been implemented in the U.S.), a ship which does not meet ITF standards may be met by boycott action of ITF-affiliated unions, which include longshoremen and truck drivers. This represents a tremendously powerful weapon against shipping bosses like Ravi Tikkoo. The ITF has affiliates in most of the industrialized countries and has the potential to compel "runaway" shipowners to meet the higher standards for all seamen.

According to the *Beacon* (October 1976), newspaper of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NNU) in the U.S., the ITF claims that agreements have been negotiated for over 500 "runaway" ships; 3,000 seamen employed on 120 runaway ships recovered over \$3 million in back pay in 1975. But the ITF drive is purely bureaucratic and has not mobilized the union ranks; at times it has been nothing but mere tokenism.

As the *Beacon* points out, the ITF often fails to enforce even its own minimal wage standards. Exceptions are granted to shipowners who operate within the Far East. These companies pay under half the ITF wage standards. Some ITF affiliates tolerate grossly racist practices in the shipping of their own countries. For instance, British law supposedly outlaws wage discrimination based on race, but shipowners have for years paid non-citizen Asians who crew British-flag ships much less than British citizens. The ITF has even supported protectionist schemes of its affiliates which actually take jobs away from foreign-flag seamen.

Stabbed in the Back

The crew of the *Venus* was stabbed in the back by a vile, chauvinist set-up. The ITF stood by while the British NUS stole the jobs of the Filipino seamen after urging them to strike. The crew, following the violent defeat of the strike, was put on a plane back to the right-wing U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. Meanwhile, NUS leader Jim Slater said that a British crew (at £40 a week or about \$275 per month, considerably less than the strikers were demanding) was standing by until some back-pay settlement could be made for the original crew. But it's their *jobs* he's taking!

Slater had the gall to claim that the day those scabs attacked the ship was "a

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Marxism and the National Question in North America

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
Workers Vanguard
editorial board
Spartacus League
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19 March 1977, 7:30 p.m.

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LOS ANGELES

day of shame for the British maritime industry" (*Times* [London], 3 March). Slater and the NUS, however, share in that shame. Ironically, Slater charged that when Globtik changed the ship's registry from the Bahamas to Britain, this was just a company ploy to sack the original crew. But Slater willingly cooperated with that ploy. After an undisclosed "settlement" of back pay was made for the Filipino crew (now thousands of miles away), an NUS crew began signing on the *Venus*, while the union promised to "give all possible assistance to the company in the operation of its fleet."

Charles Blyth, general secretary of the ITF, claimed that while no one got everything he wanted, a satisfactory settlement had been made. What can be "satisfactory" about British seamen stealing the jobs of Philippine workers? The British seamen's union and the ITF apparently pride themselves on trying to get "severance" pay for the crew—while

at the same time robbing these men of their livelihood!

What is needed in the maritime unions is a class-struggle leadership committed to waging an aggressive international organizing campaign based on labor solidarity, not on aiding some workers at the expense of others. British and French unions should have refused to unload, or man the *Globtik Venus* and demanded that the Filipino crew get their jobs back. And the cowardly French CGT should remember that scabs—whom it let attack the strikers are a natural recruiting ground for fascists; Tikkoo's thugs should have been thoroughly smashed.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for a single international standard of wages and "benefits," at the highest level, and would back up this demand with international job actions (strikes and boycotts). Slater and his ilk deserve the disgust of every self-respecting unionist. ■

Abel's House...

(continued from page 12)

president actually crossed the picket line to inspect his new property during a recent Arizona visit, although he told television newsmen this was the purpose of the trip (in addition to stumping for McBride as his successor).

Members of Laborers Union Local 383, one of the striking unions, confirm that the Abel house at 10406 Sombra Circle is being built by scab labor. Picketers say that only preliminary grading and site preparation had been completed before the strike, but now the house is nearing completion. When the Laborers Union discovered that one of the houses built by strikebreakers was being purchased by Abel, the local sent a protest letter to USWA headquarters. Abel has not responded to the letter, and was unavailable for comment on the issue. The Steelworkers' public relations department told *WV* they would have to look into the matter.

It should not be surprising that a class traitor like I.W. Abel, the architect, of

the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that bans strikes in basic steel until 1980, would spit in the face of every union member in the country by purchasing a scab-built house. Not just the *Arizona Republic* but the giant steel corporations, too, feel he has earned a reward for years of loyal service to them. And once again Abel's betrayal is paid for from the dues of hundreds of thousands of steel workers who live and die in grimy mill towns so that a strikebreaker like Abel can play golf and swim with the bosses.

Abel is bowing out, McBride promises to continue his predecessor's pro-company policies, and perhaps four years from now Sadlowski will try again with empty "beer and hot dogs" rhetoric. But as Sadlowski demonstrated by pledging to carry out the hated ENA, the problem is not to replace a sellout bureaucrat with a "reform" bureaucrat. The only way to get rid of *all* the labor fakers is to sweep away the capitalist class they serve. Then we can really retire the Abels... and the Mellons—not to Sun City but to the garbage cans of history. ■



Construction trades pickets outside Sun City in Arizona.

WV Photo

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Der Spiegel

Prisoners inside Tres Alamos prison.

DINA...

(continued from page 7)

freedom of the press, even for disgusting vultures such as these four, we would certainly like to find out what is in *their* attache cases, supplied by the "sensitive sources" on whom they depend for their smear stories!

The Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. agencies were up to their necks in attempts to "destabilize" and then overthrow the Allende regime. They sought to buy the 1970 election through secret subsidies to Frei's Christian Democrats; then they sought to prevent Allende from taking office by purchasing votes in the Chilean Congress. The U.S. supplied arms to and was aware of plans by right-wingers to assassinate "constitutional" army commanders who stood in the way of an anti-Allende coup in late 1970 (General René Schneider died in one of these attempts). The embassy and the CIA provided continual subsidies to the anti-Allende press empire of the Edwards family; financed the ultra-rightist National Party and the fascist Patria y Libertad commandos; and underwrote the truck owners', doctors' and businessmen's "work stoppages" directed against the UP in November 1972 and July-August 1973. This is only the tip of the iceberg that has been admitted in Congressional hearings.

U.S. aid to the Pinochet regime has continued unabated since the 1973 coup, though it is now merely "economic" in order to appease the sensibilities of liberals in Congress. There is no doubt that DINA could not operate on U.S. soil without extensive complicity by American intelligence and police agen-

cies. That is why the government continues to stall, equivocate, "leak" contradictory stories and in every way possible hamstring an investigation into the Letelier murder. The working class can expect nothing else from the imperialist butchers, and must rely on its own means to reveal the conspiracy behind the Letelier assassination.

Letelier and Allende did not rely on the power of the workers movement, but instead tied the Chilean workers to their class enemies with the rhetoric of a "peaceful road to socialism" and the practice of a "popular front" with capitalist parties. One of the cornerstones of UP policy was preaching faith in the "professional" nature of the "constitutional" armed forces. Chilean workers and peasants paid the price for these illusions by losing more than 30,000 of their most valiant forces in the bloodbath that followed the 1973 coup. Today they still live in the dark night of bonapartist reaction, more than one worker in five without a job while tens of thousands are on the verge of starvation.

A Trotskyist party in Chile must direct its revolutionary criticism at the social democrats and Stalinists who led the working people into this nightmare with their "moderation" and "reasonableness." But Allende and Letelier were martyred not for their capitulationist policies but in order to destroy the vanguard of the proletariat. Revolutionaries must lead the working class in avenging these dead and all our slain class brothers and sisters, through organizing a world party of socialist revolution. Jail the murderers of Orlando Letelier! Smash the CIA/DINA through proletarian revolution! ■

International Women's Day...

(continued from page 2)

feminism in an earlier issue of the *ISR* (November 1976) the SWP shamelessly asserted that it does "not believe that the working class will" give women "their liberation. Women will liberate women."

Counterposed to both the pro-Carter and life-style wings of the feminist movement, and to the utter bankruptcy of reformists like the SWP, the SL carries forward the strategy of fighting within the labor movement for a class-struggle program which speaks to the immediate needs of the specially oppressed. Trotskyists put forward the perspective of carrying out special work among women through a women's section of the vanguard party and of the reformed Fourth International, while struggling against every manifestation of male chauvinism, which divides and weakens the working class.

The SWP claims that "in no country where a socialist revolution has taken place has there existed a mass feminist

movement as one of the fighting components mobilizing forces for the revolution." As comrade Brodie pointed out, the SWP is both right and wrong about this. They are wrong that there wasn't a mass feminist movement in Russia—there was. But they are right that it wasn't mobilizing forces for the revolution—because the feminists were on the other side of the barricades. The "consistent-feminism-leads-to-socialism" SWPers might recall the anti-communist fervor of the Women's Battalion of Death. ■

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Day of Wrath...

(continued from page 7)

of charges long enough to hold him for years.

The government's kill-crazy onslaught against the Panthers was a calculated exercise in murder, a crime of unspeakable malevolence. Unlike the Hanafi's irrational foray into mass hostage-taking, the representatives of capitalist "law and order" launched a cold-blooded and purposeful assassination campaign which decimated the Panther leadership within a few years. Among the victims were:

- **Bobby Hutton**—Black Panther treasurer killed in 1968 attack on an Oakland house in which he and Eldridge Cleaver were trapped. Police fired thousands of rounds of ammunition into the house. Cleaver still faces attempted murder charges in the incident.

- **Fred Hampton, Mark Clark**—killed in Chicago police pre-dawn machine-gun raid, 4 December 1969.

- **Carl Hampton**—Houston chairman of Peoples Party fatally shot when police riflemen perched on top of church roof to assault party headquarters, 1970.

- **George Jackson**—Prison militant responsible for winning hundreds of black inmates to the Panthers. Shot along with two other prisoners by San Quentin guards during escape attempt set-up, 21 August 1971, two days before his trial as one of the "Soledad Brothers" was to begin. Marin County Deputy Public Defender Frank J. Cox later said, "This was an attempt to kill George Jackson by a preventative first strike."

- **Jonathan Jackson**—killed with two other prisoners during raid on Marin County courthouse, 7 August 1970.

- **Bunchy Carter, John Huggins**—killed by members of Ron Karenga's "US" organization, 17 January 1969. Cointelpro memos show FBI involvement in provoking the incident.

Under the pressure of this wholesale carnage, political degeneration and organizational corruption were aggravated. In 1971 the party split, with the majority wing under Huey P. Newton orbiting increasingly toward Communist Party-style reformism. In the wake of the split, the Newton and Cleaver leaderships cynically sent battalions of their ranks to die in factional warfare against each other. Others were killed as a result of lumpen criminal elements and cop provocateurs in both wings. Among the dead were:

- **Alex Rackley**—falsely declared to be a police informer, the New Haven party head was wired to a bedpost with coathangers around his neck and arms and tortured for three days before being shot. His beaten, scalded, bullet-ridden body was later pulled from a Connecticut river. Strong FBI involvement in the killing was later admitted.

- **Robert Webb**—member of the Cleaver faction, was shot on a Harlem streetcorner in 1971 while selling the party newspaper.

- **Samuel Lee Napier**—Newton faction labor editor and West Coast circulation manager, was found shot in the burned ruins of a Queens Panther office in apparent retaliation.

Countless others were jailed; many are still there. Virtually the entire New York Panther leadership was held for nearly two years on the ludicrous charge that they had plotted to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Garden. Despite their acquittal, some are still in jail on other charges almost a decade later. Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) has spent four years in prison without ever being convicted; she is presently held in solitary confinement on a murder charge stemming from a cop attack on a Panther car on the New Jersey turnpike.

The corruption of top Panther leaders nailed down the destruction of an organization which once held the sympathy of most subjectively revolutionary ghetto youth. The most unspeakable is Eldridge Cleaver, who returned to the U.S. from Algeria last year. After an entrepreneurial venture abroad into "cod-piece pants," Cleaver is now on the lecture circuit preaching faith in "the limitless possibilities of the American dream."

Cleaver condemns his former Arab hosts as "the world's worst racists" and vows "total support for Israel in its struggle against international terrorism"; he denounces the Castro "dictatorship" which gave him sanctuary in 1968, terming its intervention in Angola a "racist maneuver to decimate Cuba's black minority." He expresses sympathy for Richard Nixon, sloughs off Earl Butz's disgusting racist remarks as merely funny, rails against "the Soviet menace" and calls for "an effective CIA," adding, "I'm having a love affair with the U.S. military" (*New York Times Magazine*, 17 January).

tokenism while leaving the intolerable conditions of the black masses unchanged. The Panthers' destruction marked the evacuation of the subjectively revolutionary components of black nationalist ideology, leaving behind only a more modish "Africanized" veneer for the chairmen of Black Studies departments and token government bureaucrats.

The sinister "task force" report is part of the bourgeoisie's well organized attempt to prepare for unorganized violence. The government's top cops are well aware that people who get repeatedly kicked eventually kick back. But how and who they kick is a matter of political decision involving political leadership. In the context of the utter absence of perceived revolutionary leadership, which is self-evidently most acute for the blacks, individuals strike out, often seemingly at random, in a grotesque distortion of the will to oppose their hideous oppression.

The urban ghettos are seething. Ghetto unemployment runs as high as 45 percent and higher among the

equality, they have naturally been integrationist; separatism flourishes in periods of demoralization and working-class quiescence. Identifying the labor movement with its self-satisfied sellout bureaucracy, militant black youth saw little hope for a perspective of linking their struggles to the organized power of the working class. Concentrated and clustered in inner city enclaves where they see mainly blacks (while the whites see and know that this is a pervasively white country), the black youth who posited a separatist road to black freedom were profoundly disoriented about the social realities of racist American society.

The strength of the Black Muslim religious cult reflects the absence of any militant ghetto movement which can provide cohesion, organization and hope for the black masses. Outside the black churches, there is no continuous black organization. The rise of the Nation of Islam is reminiscent of the "back to Africa" movement of the 1920's, headed by Marcus Garvey. Garvey's mass appeal was born of despair and social disorganization. After the First World War, the newly urbanized blacks were kept out of the trade unions by the narrow, racist craft leaders of the AFL. Garvey offered a dream of a reactionary black utopia in Africa and a form of social organization for the uprooted blacks: uniforms, parades, discipline.

Like Garveyism, the Black Muslim sect is separatist, looks to Africa and maintains a strict and puritanical set of rituals and ethical prescriptions. It teaches discipline, preaches black self-reliance and promises a black utopia by and by. Like Garvey's "Black Star Line," it is organically connected to black-owned small businesses. Despite a certain mass appeal, it is fundamentally a doomed middle-class phenomenon.

The manifest bankruptcy of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement threw up an impulse to separatism, to break with everything white. The Muslims organized around a break with the white man's religion, Christianity. Malcolm X, like Martin Luther King, was the son of a preacher. King learned to turn the other cheek in the theological seminary; Malcolm X found a militant Allah in prison.

The Muslims' doctrine for U.S. blacks, involved breaking with the traditions of slavery: slave names, slave clothes and particularly the slave religion. The Christian non-violence of King's movement led the black masses into a dead end and so Islam became identified with a break from liberal pacifism. But the channeling of a militant impulse into a religious organization was inherently unstable. The personification of this contradiction was Malcolm X.

When Malcolm X was invited by SNCC youth to speak at a 1964 Selma, Alabama, voting rights rally, King's deputy, Rev. Andrew Young, was worried and urged Malcolm X not to "inflame the situation, we're not even mentioning police brutality." But the militant Muslim directly attacked King's pacifist doctrine: "I don't believe in non-violence—no. I don't think anyone expects a sheep to go into the den of the wolf and love the wolf, because the sheep would end up in the stomach of the wolf" (Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*).

Andrew Young went on to become a Jimmy Carter man and now an ambassador for U.S. imperialism. Malcolm X went on to be shot dead (like the family of another Black Muslim breakaway leader). At the time of his death, he embodied both a separatist ideology and an impulse to militant struggle in America born of a hatred of racial oppression. He was becoming more political and less religious. His secularization made him particularly dangerous to the ruling class. He became a marked man when he broke with Elijah Muhammad and began to talk less against white devils and more against capitalism.



Cleaver is certainly the most despicable, but he is not alone. His wife Kathleen has now apparently swallowed her misgivings about his "conversion." Meanwhile Bobby Seale ran for mayor of Oakland on the Democratic Party ticket. The present head of what is left of the party is Elaine Brown, who has apparently inherited along with the title Huey Newton's luxurious penthouse apartment overlooking Oakland's Lake Merritt (Newton is in exile in Cuba). In the old days Huey's lavish abode shocked the moralistic New Left, even in the heyday of its slavish adulation of the Panthers; the dwelling had to be justified by invoking Newton's "need for security." Today Brown does not bother with such niceties. She told *Ms.* magazine (March 1976):

"Material goods still count for something in this society and besides, you know how folks be thinking... how she gon' get some for us if she can't get it for herself."

The Politics of Despair

The Hanafi takeover in Washington was certainly a bizarre and unpredictable event in its particulars. But this isolated, random act of vengeance is indicative of the misdirected outbursts of rage and frustration which underline the vacuum of revolutionary black leadership. The rise of the Black Panthers signaled the young blacks' passionate disgust with Martin Luther King-style liberal reformism, exposed as powerless to achieve more than legal

volatile youth; decent housing is out of reach; the rundown schools are but holding camps for those with no future who are then spewed out on the meanest streets in the world, where the population is daily terrorized by dope-pushing, trigger-happy cops and vicious criminal elements who prey upon the defenseless. The cheapness of life in this pathological broth is the culture medium of bizarre indiscriminate violence.

Particularly excruciating is the contradiction between the intolerable realities of ghetto existence and the "victory" of the struggle for formal legal integration. This tokenistic "victory" was wrested from a capitalist class which has less and less economic need for the black ghetto youth. Unlike the earlier migrations of blacks from the rural South to the industrial cities which occurred in connection with the world wars, the population transfers since World War II have been impelled by the automation of Southern agriculture. The blacks thus uprooted can find no place in a shrinking job market; the casual destruction of their lives by the impersonal decisions of corporations and banks is an infinitely greater crime than the Hanafi outbreak.

The creation of huge black ghettos whose soaring unemployment means increasingly less contact with white capitalist society fed into the separatist mood of the late 1960's. Whenever blacks have seen a possibility for successful struggles for integration and



Clark/Echave & Associates

The "reborn" Eldridge Cleaver (center) with Kathleen and lawyer Patrick Hallinan.

"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker."

Had he lived, Malcolm X might have discovered that Islam as well as Christianity holds back the struggle against black oppression. The inevitable failure of "revolutionary black nationalism" stripped Islam of its aura of militancy, revealing only the shops and mosques, the sometimes murderous sectarian squabbles and another recipe for pie in the sky.

Not Black Powerlessness—For Workers Power!

When the black masses stood poised between King's traditional liberal leadership and Malcolm X's nationalist appeal, the conflict was hardly between Christianity and Islam. It was a political battle—often debated as "passive resistance" vs. "self-defense," but fundamentally an argument about political power. King would rely on the good graces of the liberal capitalist state; Malcolm wanted power for blacks. But the ghetto as ghetto has very little social power. There could be ghetto outbursts of massive proportions, but when it was all over there were only black casualties and ghetto devastation. If the black liberals had left the masses physically defenseless, the nationalists as well left them politically disarmed. The black masses' potential power base is the organized power of the integrated labor movement.

However, black nationalist ideology and working-class passivity rendered efforts to build a "black revolutionary union movement" stillborn. The small Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers which grew out of DRUM combined legitimate attacks on the UAW bureaucracy's arrogant unconcern for black workers' needs with dual unionist and "black capitalist" demands such as for more black foremen and the channeling of union dues into the "community." Its sterility was marked by the eventual betrayal of its leaders, notably Ken Cockrel, now

aspiring heir to Detroit mayor Coleman Young.

The government spy agencies who singled out the militant black movement for murderous reprisal were reflecting more than their own venomous racism. The prospect of black radical activism is so threatening to capitalism because the collective problems of the ghetto cannot be solved this side of proletarian revolution. But unless revolutionary integrationism—the real alternative to both liberal accommodationism and illusory separatism—can be forcefully posed and rooted in the working class and black masses, the massive pent-up social grievances will explode in race confrontation, which means a tragic conflagration in which the black minority and all working-class aims can only lose.

The chronically unemployed layer of ghetto blacks has no social power. They have increasingly little value to the exploiting class. In this white racist country, the bourgeoisie cannot be able to use these lumpenized blacks even as part of the fascist shocktroops it will one day require.

But in today's urban ghettos, the aimless "brother on the block" may be literally the brother of an employed worker in basic industry. A slow but deadly race war is now being waged unopposed, leading to the daily destruction of the black people. The bourgeoisie would think twice about escalating its "Disorders and Terrorism" contingency plans for genocide if its repression were met with shutdowns in auto and steel. In the 1960's the black nationalists tried to bring their "community politics" into the factories. This connection must be made the other way around. It is the union movement which must aggressively organize the unemployed, the workers—especially the black workers—who must struggle on behalf of all the ground-down, the rootless kids, the hopelessly unemployed, the sick and old.

The creation of a Leninist and necessarily racially integrated class-struggle working-class leadership is the single element that can defend against and take the offensive against race war. Such a leadership will bind the powerless ghettos to the factories where workers—black and white—have organization and strength, the last place in an increasingly segregated society where white and black workers meet to plan common action against a common enemy. The future of the black people in the U.S. is tied to the future of all of the proletariat. The alternative to race war in the U.S. is class war, led by a unified Trotskyist vanguard party. ■

Excerpts from U.S. Report

"Disorders and Terrorism"

Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism (Washington, 1977). Published by the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

"Contingency planning should be predicated on the assumption that a deep well of violence underlies the apparent calm and stability of the American social scene. We must be especially careful during periods of rising expectations, particularly when these cannot be satisfied so fully and expeditiously as the disadvantaged might desire. Labor unrest, racial violence, and poverty are all issues that can lead once again to civil disorder." (p. 15)

"The United States constitutional framework is, indeed, a constraining factor in the design of effective responses to terrorism. There are many areas, such as search and seizure, preventive detention, arrest and speedy trial, that are legally obscure and in need of clarification." (p. 31)

"The recommendations in this chapter are... predicated... on the common interest of a substantial majority in maintaining the peace against a comparatively small, activist element seeking change by violent means....

"The recommendations also are founded on an acceptance of our social and political institutions as they presently are structured.... Although the institutions and systems themselves constitute a provocation and a challenge to some of those seeking change by violent means, the vast majority is, if not completely content, at least acquiescent in the system as it stands."

"Unlike the northbound progress of the African bee, the emergence of the developed, urban guerrilla offensive in the United States cannot be predicted with certainty.... Unhappily, these conditions [economic crisis] exist in many areas of the United States and are ripe for exploitation by those organized to such ends. Nor should it be overlooked that one of the most dangerous of radical groups in the United States has declared that 'A single spark can start a prairie fire.'" (pp. 37-38)

"Legislators should consider the desirability of providing law enforcement officers, under specified conditions of emergency, the power to arrest without warrant for probable cause in all cases where a serious offense has been committed by some person and power to detain and question persons for a reasonable period where it appears that certain specified offenses detrimental to the public security have been or are likely to be committed....

"Emergency legislation should be

contemplated that would give law enforcement officers, acting in pursuance of their duties, the power of search without warrant of persons and property under the immediate control of such persons....

"In addition to these powers, emergency legislation should be considered that would empower law enforcement officers, acting in pursuance of their duties, to enter private premises by force and without a warrant in order to apprehend some person or persons occupying such premises for the purpose of preparing or committing an act of violence detrimental to public security." (pp. 98-99)

"Law enforcement officers acting under emergency powers should adhere strictly to the terms of departmental rules and guidelines governing their exercise. The emergency legislation should provide that, if a law enforcement officer, acting in good faith, exceeds those powers, he should not be held personally liable, criminally or civilly, for any harm resulting from his action." (p. 100)

"Dissidents and dissident organizations should strive to adopt effective legal means of protest (such as authorized mass marches, boycotts, and picketing) in preference to illegal ones. Where a confrontation with authority is deemed essential to protest activities, only nonviolent breaches of law (such as sit-ins and unauthorized marches) should be undertaken. Where a reference to violence is deemed essential to protest activities, it should be symbolic, rather than actual." (p. 362)

"Given the historical character of civil disturbances in the United States it seems safe to predict that they will continue to recur with regularity, for much the same reasons as they have occurred in the past. Economic conditions and labor unrest must always be particular causes for concern.... The present tranquility is deceptive; it is urged that it not be taken as a sign that disorder in the United States is a thing of the past.

"Prevention is better than cure.... The dangers to the United States and its fundamental freedoms come not from intelligence activity itself but from badly regulated and badly supervised intelligence activity.... The intelligence capacity to respond to terrorism must be increased, not diminished...." (pp. 409, 415)

CORRECTIONS

In the report on an SL forum on Spain in our last issue the quotation from Trotsky in the concluding paragraph should have ended with the call for "the party, the party and once again the party." The final sentence was by WV.

In "Daoud Release Provokes Hypocritical Outcry" (WV No. 142, 28 January), we mistakenly cited Jordan's "Black September" massacre of Palestinian refugees as occurring in 1971 rather than 1970. And in the translation of the "Barcelona Communiqué" signed by the Spanish LCR in WV No. 143 (4 February) two words

were dropped due to difficulties in telephone transmission. The section reads (with the omitted words in brackets): "The undersigned parties... reaffirm that only the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance [toward democracy] in a climate of democratic tolerance." The reader will note that the correction makes the treacherous appeal to the bloody Francoist regime to "democratize" itself even more explicit.

Finally, in the article, "Red Scare in the British Labour Party" (WV No. 144, 11 February), we misspelled the names of Labourite politicians Aneurin Bevan and Michael Foot.

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I. W. Abel's House that Scab Labor Built

WV EXCLUSIVE

LOS ANGELES—Last month the *Arizona Republic* ran an editorial which began by observing, "Not many labor union members, past or present, live in Sun City, where a home between a golf course and a lake can cost \$100,000." But in this land of unlimited opportunity, boasted the mouthpiece for Gold-waterite right-wing reaction, the retirement development near Phoenix "will soon be home for a union member whose conservative philosophy matches that of most of his future neighbors."

The unionist in question is Iorwith W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Stepping down after a dozen years of shafting the USWA membership—saddling them with a no-strike contract while paying himself a hefty \$75,000 a year salary—Abel "earned the right" in the *Republic's* opinion. Not only does the Steelworkers chief stand four-square for "free enterprise," but he openly backs speed-up, with the "explanation" that "without workers' productivity there can't be corporate profits."

What the *Arizona Republic* failed to mention in its welcoming editorial was the fact that I. W. Abel's posh new house has been built by *scab labor*! This scandalous fact has nowhere appeared in print until now.

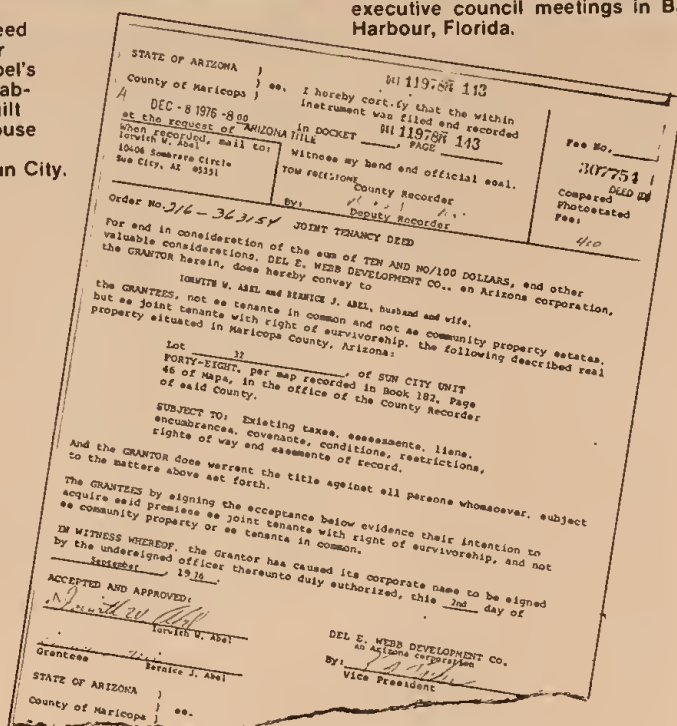
Last May 31, contracts expired between six Phoenix construction unions and Del Webb Corporation, developers of the Sun City project. The company is trying to drive out organized labor, "offering" an hourly wage only 60 percent of union scale. When negotiations proved fruitless, the unions (including laborers, cement masons, carpenters and plumbers) threw up picket lines at the project on September 27.

Since then, despite daily picketing, construction has continued as scabs and supervisors cross the lines. Teamsters are "honoring" the picket lines by driving trucks up to the edge of the project and handing them over to supervisors, who then drive them across! This cynical strikebreaking has caused mounting bitterness among the picketers.

Abel originally agreed to purchase the house on September 7, before the strike began (although the unions were already then working without a contract). But *WV* has learned that the deal was not completed until three months later. The deed was signed by Abel, notarized and registered on December 8, six weeks after the strike had begun (see photocopy on this page). We have been unable to determine whether the Steelworkers

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Deed for Abel's scab-built house in Sun City.



Bob Sherman/Camera 5
I. W. Abel gets manicure at AFL-CIO executive council meetings in Bal Harbour, Florida.

Ship Seized Off Le Havre— Maritime Unions Abandon Strikers

British Scabs Assault Philippine Seamen

Just after midnight on March 2, a band of three dozen British scabs, armed with clubs and axes, stormed aboard the ship *Globtik Venus* in the port of Le Havre, France, assaulted the striking Filipino crew and took over the ship for its owner, multimillionaire Ravi Tikkoo. The helmeted assault party swarmed over the ship shouting "Get the bastards!" A second engineer, who had acted as spokesman for the crew, was dragged from the stern of the ship, along the catwalk and up onto the bridge, and the crew was forced to surrender "peacefully" to this gang of armed thugs.

The mercenaries, recruited out of the pubs of Grimsby, were reportedly paid £80 (US\$130) each and promised another £100 if they took the ship across the channel to Portsmouth. A company flunky who hired the scabs told the

London *Guardian* (2 March), "We don't want violence of any sort. But naturally we have chosen big fellows." Tikkoo said he would personally lead an airborne assault on the tanker if necessary to break the strike.

The French police, which had been patrolling the dock, were out of sight when the attack occurred. The police prefect, according to British news reports, spent several hours discussing the raid with agents of Globtik Tankers and obviously pulled his men off the docks to avoid a confrontation with "British citizens." Thus despite often conflicting national interests, the armed thugs of capital managed to show international solidarity against the common foe: workers fighting for their class interests.

What is disgusting and utterly traitorous was the action of the French

CGT-affiliated maritime union. Suddenly withdrawing their picket lines from the dock, they gave the thugs free hand to terrorize the ship's crew. The Stalinist CGT bureaucrats initially supported the strikers and refused to allow the cargo of 50,000 tons of oil to be discharged. But with the Filipino crew thrown off the ship—without a finger being raised by French seamen—unloading of the cargo began.

Urged to Strike

The strike aboard the *Globtik Venus* was one of several recent militant actions by Asian seamen working "flag of convenience" ships serving North Europe. This is a tremendously important development in the maritime industry where shipowners have for years gutted unions by switching to Liberian or Panamanian registry and

hiring on low-paid crews from Asia or Latin America.

A current halfhearted organizing drive by affiliates of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) poses the possibility of a militant international struggle by seamen against these "runaway ships" that would greatly raise the wages of their crews and make a giant step toward a truly international maritime federation. But the story of the electrifying sit-down strike on the *Globtik Venus* was ended not so much by the company thugs' retaking of the ship as by an orgy of backstabbing and job-stealing. The ITF unions shamefully abandoned the Filipino seamen and may have set back international seamen's organizing for years.

The dispute over wages began on

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