

Cops/National Guard Out of the Ghetto!

MIAMI BLACK WRATH



UPI

N.Y. Post

Black Miami erupted in a fury born of desperation last week. Smoke billowing into the sky signaled to the whole country that ghetto unrest was not some vague memory of the past but a current reality. The more sensationalist media tried to call it a race riot, yet even most of the capitalist press recognized this as an outburst of anger provoked by extreme racist atrocities. It was set off May 17 when an all-white jury in Tampa acquitted four cops of a grotesque bludgeon-murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie in Miami last year. It was influenced by the current influx of Cuban refugees, threatening further displacement of local blacks. It was fueled by depression-level unemployment and systematic cop terror. And it continued for three days as the National Guard and police sealed off the Liberty City ghetto and rounded up hundreds of blacks into the jails. In the face of this attack it is the duty of black organizations, labor and socialists throughout the country to demand: Cops/National Guard out of the ghetto! Jail the killer cops! Free the victims of the racist dragnet!

Immediately Jimmy Carter had his press secretary Jody Powell go on TV to say that the president "wants his view known that violence can contribute nothing to the resolution of the problems." Violence doesn't get you anywhere? The cops who killed Arthur McDuffie got away with it, and if the ghetto hadn't blown, nothing at all would ever have been done about it. What were Miami blacks supposed to do? Just sit there and take it?

Miami was a stark image of Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" America. While thousands of Cuban reactionary

boat people in Carter's massive "Operation Libertad" are kissing the dirt of the promised land, blacks in their outrage are burning down Liberty City in nearby Miami. Andrew Young, formerly U.S. imperialism's black front man at the UN, was dispatched to relive the role he played so often in the '60s. He tried to cool out the ghetto but the crowd shouted him down. The SCLC's Joseph Lowery was closer to the mood of the black masses in criticizing Carter: "I think the crisis is in America, not in Afghanistan." This reflects the fact that racist atrocities at home are the domestic counterpart to the anti-Soviet war drive.

Lowery and the other black misleaders who flocked to Miami for the media exposure (Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks, Herbert Daughtry) were mainly concerned to keep black protests within limits. (Although Daughtry threatened at the UN to bring Miami to New York, the bourgeoisie won't be impressed by the threats of the '60s without the mobilizations of the '60s.) But most noticeable was the lack of any mass

protest mounted by black leaders anywhere in the country against the racist atrocity and ghetto occupation in Miami. Nor did the labor movement lift a finger to respond, any more than it did when five socialist union organizers and civil rights activists were cut down last fall in Greensboro by fascist bullets. In fact, union and black leaders did the opposite—they accepted the bourgeoisie's equation of the victims of Klan killers with the murderers.

Fed up, driven beyond reason, Miami blacks lashed out in a misdirected violence ranging from sniper attacks against the cops to looting of the stores to attacks on random whites who ventured into the ghetto. Such wanton crimes as pulling individual whites out of cars and beating them to death must not be condoned. Blacks in America certainly have more than enough historical reason to seek to redress the enormous social crimes committed against them. But injustice is not redressed by taking it out randomly on powerless individuals.

What happened in Miami was not a

social fight, just a violent reaction. Marxists seek to transcend such elemental outbursts by providing a program and leadership for drawing the ghetto masses behind the power of the black and white workers against the murderous, oppressive capitalist system. All labor must stand for the defense of the black population against police terror. But we insist, as we did throughout the 1960s, that the ghetto explosions do not lead anywhere but to the killing of more blacks and the devastation of their neighborhoods. The Jewish shopkeepers who were burned out of the inner cities more than a decade ago have not come back. And this time around there won't be any government programs even pretending to rebuild the burnt-out ghettos—just cold repression.

The 1960s was a decade of mass black struggle that was defeated. It was defeated because it was locked in the ghettos of a racist society. To change the conditions of life for the ghetto masses, what was required was militant class struggle. This the union bureaucracy feared above all else. The labor bureaucrats' criminal "business as usual" complacency in the face of the black masses' demands for liberation kept the black movement isolated from the white working class. With the help of Meany & Co., the American ruling class, from racist demagogues like Wallace and Agnew to liberals like the Kennedys, succeeded in putting over the line that black gains had to come at the expense of the white population. And the black leaders, both civil rights "moderates" such as King/Wilkins and the nationalists, refused to pose the black struggle in class terms through a

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Jail the Killer Cops! Free Victims of Racist Dragnet!

Islamic Reaction and Bhutto's Execution

Comrade Editors,
Workers Vanguard
New York

The brief reference to [former Pakistani president] Bhutto in *WV* No. 250 is open to misinterpretations. First, Bhutto was often denounced as drunkard in Pakistan but that had nothing to do with his trial and execution. He was tried not for drinking but murder and circumstances suggest that he was morally responsible and actually involved in it though legal technicalities might have spared his life in a British or American court.

Secondly, Trotskyists do not mourn the death of reactionaries like Bhutto but one could misinterpret that way. Unlike Maoists and bourgeois opponents of Zia, we do not forget the crimes committed by Bhutto which include bringing back martial law and military rule to Pakistan, atrocities against the Bengalis and various national minorities and anti-Ahmadiya riots. The crime mentioned last was totally ignored and condoned by the left-talking press in United States and around the world. Such riots had occurred earlier in 1950s but the then reactionary rulers of Pakistan condemned them and punished the culprits. Bhutto the "progressive" on the other hand punished not the criminals but their victims, the Ahmadiyas. They were deprived of their rights of citizenship as they became non-Muslims under the rule of Bhutto. Even in his last will, the book *If I Am Assassinated*, his sectarian hostility toward the Ahmadiyas is obvious to anyone who reads it.

(The Ahmadiyas are followers of Gulam Ahmad Qadiyani a Muslim divine born in Punjab who claimed to be Mahdi, the Promised One. His claim was not accepted by others and therefore the Ahmadiyas are regarded as heretics by the rest of the Muslims. But the original idea of Pakistan left room for the Ahmadiyas in it and many Ahmadiyas supported the Muslim League demand for Pakistan and held high offices in the new state when it was created.)

Thus, Bhutto was not a moderniser or liberal as his apologists claim but a real Sunni fanatic despite his "decadent Western vices as drinking" and Zia is simply implementing his ideas of Islamic Republic with more zeal.

Umesh Sharma
India

WV replies: As the comrade correctly points out, Zulfikar Bhutto was guilty of acts of terror against the working masses and national minorities. However, Bhutto was neither overthrown nor tried and executed for his crimes against bourgeois-democratic legality. Within the context of Pakistani bourgeois politics, he was a modernizing nationalist. Like all such (e.g., Nasser, Sukar-



Islamic "justice" in Pakistan. AP

no), he also upheld reactionary institutions (Islam) and carried out reactionary, repressive measures. Nonetheless, he was overthrown from the right by the top echelon of the officer caste in league with the Islamic fundamentalist opposition, the Jamaat-i-Islami. The anti-Bhutto agitation, both before and after he was overthrown, predominantly involved attacks on his drinking liquor and otherwise indulging in profane Western ways. The anti-Bhutto campaign and Zia/Jamaat-i-Islami regime is thus part of the Islamic

your financial support" to continue the fight against the race-hate terrorists.

Guest speakers at the meeting praised the exemplary united-front action initiated by the SL and urged financial support to fight the growing fascist danger. Dennis Serrette, National Organizer of the National Black Communications Workers Coalition and an ANCAN endorser, emphasized that the tempo of the '80s was going to be a lot different from the '60s: "We are in an age now where we gotta stop singing and start swinging, as Malcolm always said.... the average person now is not fooled by that red-baiting line that moved down. We've seen Malcolm go down, we've seen King go down, we've seen the whole peaceful demonstrations of the '60s go down.... Anybody who goes into thinking that it's going to be peaceful this and peaceful that is kidding themselves. Because the right wing is playing for keeps." Serrette concluded by noting that the ruling class has plenty of black spokesmen in place now, and this means that in any fundamental upheaval, "it is going to come down to a real class type of situation."

Wanda Rutland of the Militant Action Caucus in CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) highlighted the significance of the ANCAN demonstration: "...we can bring the labor movement out in solidarity with socialists, with the oppressed. And we can reverse the rising trend of right-wing terror and reaction.... People in San Francisco

Blood Line in the USec

Execution of Iranian Socialist Reported

We bring to the urgent attention of readers of *Workers Vanguard* a report which appeared in the 22 May edition of *Socialist Challenge*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain. The "stop press" bulletin states:

"Ahmed Moazen, a member of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party, Iranian section of the Fourth International), has been shot.

"He was executed by Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards after being arrested on 22 April when fighting broke out in Ahwaz University between left-wing students and Khomeini supporters. Universities in Teheran, Gilan, Sistan and Baluchistan had also been the scene of similar riots.... "The university had been the only place where the left was not being harassed by Khomeini supporters.

"Five students were killed on the spot [in Ahwaz] according to *Bamdad*, Khomeini's official paper, which also reported that thousands of students were arrested and that many of them were left unconscious from beatings and stabbings.

"Nine hundred students were imprisoned and 250 are still in prison awaiting trial. On 13 May some of the families went to protest outside the revolutionary court at the continuing imprisonment of their sons and daughters and in retaliation students were shot by the Revolutionary Guards."

The article points out that these attacks originated in Ayatollah Khomeini's call to spread Koranic "cultural revolution" to the universities to clear out left-wingers. The IMG's fraternal organization in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), instead greeted the "Islamification" in which dozens of leftists were murdered and hundreds injured. At the height of these massacres, the HKE (Iranian cohorts of the SWP) issued a statement denouncing leftists for attempt-

ing to defend their organizations and their very lives!

At the same time the SWP hailed the release of the last two of 16 HKE members originally arrested in Ahwaz last June. This, said the *Militant* (9 May), was proof that: "In Iran deepening revolutionary ferment has created an atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints." This criminal opportunism was denounced in a leaflet by the New York Spartacist League, "SWP/HKE: The Blood Is on Your Hands" (see *WV* No. 256, 16 May). We wrote: "With the full approval of the SWP, the HKE has offered up the lives of Iranian leftists to Islamic reaction to save their own skins."

If the report printed in *Socialist Challenge* is true, this statement has been tragically confirmed.

The IMG and HKS are followers of Ernest Mandel, leader of the United Secretariat (USec), the same "international" to which the SWP and HKE are also connected. When the mullahs took power in February 1979, all wings of the USec hailed this as a "victory." Only the international Spartacist tendency said, "Down with the shah, Down with Khomeini!"

For a time Mandelites and SWP supporters cohabited uncomfortably in the HKS. But as clerical-reactionary repression against the Iranian left and workers mounted, and the SWP supporters' groveling before Khomeini reached new depths, the group split. The 16 members imprisoned in Ahwaz then joined the pro-SWP HKE.

Now the HKE hails their own former jailers, while the blood of their fellow "comrades" from Ahwaz may be on their hands. But those who bow to their executioners are not spared the sword.

fundamentalist revival in the East, of which Khomeini's revolution is the most striking manifestation.

It is far from clear that Bhutto was guilty as charged. In any case, these particular charges were but a pretext for the juridical murder of Bhutto, who retained a popular following, by his political enemies. The London *Economist* (10 February 1979) quotes a senior

Pakistani military man to the effect that "not hanging Bhutto will be a disaster." Had Bhutto been overthrown by a proletarian revolution (and not by Islamic reactionaries), a popular tribunal might have judged his crimes merited the death penalty. On the other hand, the Marxist program is *not* for the execution of all bourgeois heads of state. ■

Anti-Nazi Fund Raiser in NYC

It takes \$\$\$ to fight the fascists. This was the message of a fund-raising meeting for the Spartacist League (SL) held in New York City May 9. The meeting, attended by a wide spectrum of left and labor activists, featured a videotape showing of the labor rally held in San Francisco on April 19 to stop the Nazis. Along with several militant union officials, the SL was an initiator of this successful action which drew over 1,200.

"This was a victory," said Spartacist spokesman Reuban Samuels, referring to the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally. "But the Nazis are watching us to see if we mean business or if this was just a one-shot thing." Samuels noted that in the anti-Nazi action in San Francisco (as well as in a stop-the-Klan rally in Detroit last November) the SL has been forced to play a role "that is far out of proportion to our real size and weight in this country as a small propaganda group." And he appealed to the audience of friends, supporters and endorsers of this demonstration to "show your solidarity with this action by lending us

your financial support" to continue the fight against the race-hate terrorists.

Guest speakers at the meeting praised the exemplary united-front action initiated by the SL and urged financial support to fight the growing fascist danger. Dennis Serrette, National Organizer of the National Black Communications Workers Coalition and an ANCAN endorser, emphasized that the tempo of the '80s was going to be a lot different from the '60s: "We are in an age now where we gotta stop singing and start swinging, as Malcolm always said.... the average person now is not fooled by that red-baiting line that moved down. We've seen Malcolm go down, we've seen King go down, we've seen the whole peaceful demonstrations of the '60s go down.... Anybody who goes into thinking that it's going to be peaceful this and peaceful that is kidding themselves. Because the right wing is playing for keeps." Serrette concluded by noting that the ruling class has plenty of black spokesmen in place now, and this means that in any fundamental upheaval, "it is going to come down to a real class type of situation."

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Conrad Lynn

knew that it was a fact, that we stopped the Nazis. It was not some technicality about a permit." Gene Herson, a leader of the Militant Solidarity Caucus in the NMU, stressed that Hitler was able to take power in Germany because the mass parties of the working class, the social democrats and Stalinists, refused to mobilize in united action in the streets to smash the fascist threat.

Conrad Lynn, noted civil rights activist/lawyer and author of *There is a Fountain*, drew attention to the recent ominous vote for the Nazis in North Carolina and described his defense efforts in the infamous "kissing case" in

that state in 1958:

"Last night at 4 o'clock in the morning I turned on the radio and heard the news from North Carolina about the Republican primary there for attorney general. The candidate of the Nazis, who was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina, received 43 percent of the vote in the Republican primary—56,000 votes. Don't talk about the Nazis being a little, tiny, lunatic fringe. Let's wake up this time....

"Now, I found out in 1958, when I went down to North Carolina to defend two little black children—one was seven and one was nine—this is North Carolina. And this nine-year-old boy was accused of kissing a white girl on the cheek.... That was the 'kissing case.' That was North Carolina in 1958. And that's North Carolina in 1980."

Calling on "all people who are for the kind of organization shown in that picture" (of the April 19 anti-Nazi demo in SF), Lynn concluded: "We are leading the great masses of American people who will *destroy* the last opportunity for capitalist imperialism to save itself. Because that's the last stand. We're dealing with people near the edge of insanity."

The meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale, after which members of the audience made contributions to the Spartacist League. We urge our readers to aid SL efforts to mobilize united labor/black action to stop the Nazis and the Klan by sending money/checks payable to:

Spartacist League
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116

Wave of Firings by Ma Bell

Bay Area Phone Workers Say: Hands Off Our Stewards!

After months of Pacific Telephone harassment and numerous firings of union officials in San Francisco, Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) sponsored a demonstration May 21 outside Bell Telephone's Sloat Directory Assistance offices in San Francisco. More than 50 angry phone workers showed up to protest the firings of a mounting number of operators and other workers.

The phone company's campaign to discipline phone workers before the upcoming union contract negotiations has included "final warnings," suspensions and firings of militant CWA members throughout the system. In the Bay Area the company has gone after members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) with a special zeal.

Jane Margolis, a MAC spokesman, member of the 9410 executive board and shop steward, told *WV* that she was suspended from her job for five days and put on "final warning" for allegedly having stopped momentarily to talk to a fellow worker while on company time. Kathy Ikegami, another MAC supporter and a steward, was put on disciplinary warning, Margolis reported, for supposedly having "misused" company time in another incident involving herself and Margolis, who were together processing a grievance against the company over yet a third incident.

The May 21 demonstration was focused on the recent firings of two shop stewards at the Sloat location, Mark



Bobbi Sinnott, left, addressed phone workers' protest May 21.

Rexroad and MAC member Bobbi Sinnott. Sinnott, who was fired for allegedly having used profanity while answering a telephone company customer's directory assistance request, was a featured speaker at the demonstration.

In an interview with *WV*, Sinnott said that over her three years with the phone company her work record showed a steady increase in disciplinary harassment—first after becoming a CWA steward, and a further increase since joining MAC a year ago. This, while receiving over 20 commendations from Bell customers for her courteous and helpful response to information requests.

Two months ago, a Sloat supervisor,

known for harassing operators by requiring them to "sign out" in order to go to the bathroom, warned Sinnott for allegedly "disrupting the work" by talking to her fellow workers. When Sinnott told him that she intended to "grieve his ass" over the incident, the foreman then suspended her for two weeks for using profanity to a manager.

Several weeks later, the same manager decided to eavesdrop on Sinnott's calls, claiming that she shut her equipment down too often in order to blow her nose! Having eavesdropped on ten of her calls, Sinnott said, the foreman arranged to have her framed up and fired for allegedly being discourteous and using profanity with a Bell customer.

Sinnott, a recent MAC candidate for CWA convention delegate, denied the charge and demanded proof of the supposed incident. She was told that the company was relying on the manager's word and that telephone company management personnel were "trained not to fabricate stories"—whereas the workers, presumably, lie all the time. (This supervisor is also known for baiting homosexuals in an industry where many gays work as telephone operators.) Sinnott says she and the MAC will fight until she gets her job back.

According to Margolis, the Local 9410 officialdom under the leadership of Local president Jim Imerzel and vice

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Stalinists Follow Lead of Militant Caucus

Oppose Anti-Soviet Drive in West Coast Longshore

Under the leadership of Jimmy Herman, elected to the International presidency in 1977, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has made a sharp turn to the right. Breaking with the pro-Soviet policies of the Communist Party-influenced Harry Bridges regime, whose hallmarks were calls for "détente" and free trade with the USSR and East Europe, at the 1979 International convention Herman & Co. threw themselves foursquare behind spending for the U.S. military. The only voice raised against them was fraternal delegate Howard Keylor, co-editor of the "Longshore Militant." The Stalinist delegates voted with the leadership, to the disgust of retired union founder Bridges, who came up and demonstratively shook Keylor's hand, congratulating him on his speech in defense of the Soviet Union.

When the hostages were taken in Iran, Jimmy Herman, outdoing Carter himself, slapped a *total* embargo on Iranian shipping. But in January membership meetings in the Bay Area, one-third of the longshoremen and warehousemen voted against Herman's pro-imperialist policy. Leading the fight against the boycott were Militant

Caucus supporters who warned that these economic sanctions were a prelude to lining the union up behind Carter's anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East. Although the Stalinists also opposed the boycott, they supported the clerical-reactionary Khomeini regime in Iran while expressing a flag-waving "concern for the hostages," and remained silent on the urgent need to defend the USSR.

Now, it seems, the CP supporters have decided it's OK to come out on the side of the Soviet Union. When Herman and International secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain authored a policy statement sharply condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Bridges responded with a letter to the union newspaper, *The Dispatcher* (2 May). The letter defended the Soviet action as a necessary response to CIA-backed counterrevolution. Citing the basic reforms begun by the 1978 Taraki government—such as "the elimination of illiteracy and an educational campaign freeing women from the bonds of what was virtually religious slavery"—Bridges ended with a not very subtle slap at the Herman/McClain leadership:

"Our position on developments in Afghanistan casts a blot on the long-

standing record of our union, which has always supported the working class and trade union struggles against repressive regimes in any country in the world. It is regrettable that we take the side of the forces that seek to overthrow a people's revolution in Afghanistan and to return its people to virtual slavery."

In Local 6 the Stalinists jumped into the fray. At the Local convention April 12, CP supporters unequivocally endorsed the Militant Caucus motion supporting the Soviet intervention and even threw in a motion of their own. The Stalinists thus found themselves in the awkward position of having to bloc with militants they usually denounce as "Trotskyites," in order to defend the Soviet Union. The motions defending the USSR lost, but despite fierce red-baiting one-third of the delegates voted against the International's anti-Soviet position.

Then, at the May 15 Oakland membership meeting of Local 6, one CP supporter, borrowing Trotsky's line defending the Soviet Union in the 1939-40 war with "poor little Finland," came out for Soviet troops in "poor little Afghanistan"! (Apparently the Stalinists are reading *Workers Vanguard* pretty closely these days.) This time the leadership's position was defeated, 32 to

25. Thus an important united blow was struck against Carter's new Cold War drive, as CP supporters once more joined with the Militant Caucus. Glad to see you on the right side of the barricades, brothers and sisters. ■

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End of Black American Liberia?

Shortly after midnight on April 12 machine-gun fire was heard crackling around the executive mansion in the capital of a small West African country. The next morning on national radio an army sergeant accused the old government of "rampant corruption" and declared himself the new president, the former president having been killed in the coup. So what? Military coups occur in Africa every other Thursday. What's special about this one?

Liberia is different. That's why there's all the horrific publicity in the U.S. bourgeois press about Sergeant Samuel K. Doe's takeover. Both *Time* and *Newsweek* ran photos of 13 members of the old regime tied to stakes on a beach and executed by a firing squad of poor marksmen. It's not just that Liberia was the oldest, most stable American neo-colony in Africa. It's not just that the country is practically a plantation of Firestone Rubber. It's that the fallen Liberian leaders were in a sense fellow Americans overthrown and killed by embittered native Africans.

Black American Colonial-Settler State

In 1816 the then white liberal establishment in the United States, which included James Monroe and Andrew Jackson, set up the American Colonization Society, whose goal was to send most, if not all, American blacks to Africa. However, in the next few decades the Society only succeeded in resettling some 10,000 freedmen and manumitted slaves (whose freedom was bought by the Colonization Society) on a small coastal area in West Africa christened Liberia. In 1847 the Americo-Liberians (as they came to be known) declared their independence, but they retained friendly relations with the American Colonization Society as well as other sections of the U.S. ruling class.

The Americo-Liberian colonists gradually extended their territorial control into the hinterland, conquering and subjugating the native African population in a series of one-sided wars that lasted until the 1930s. As products of an advanced capitalist society, although members of its lowest class, the black Americans and their descendants were able to subdue, rule and exploit a backward population vastly greater than their own. The tribal warrior's knife and spear was no match for the Americo-Liberian soldier's rifle and cannon.

The black American colonists in Liberia were no less concerned about preserving their ethnic purity than the Dutch Afrikaners in South Africa. Today their descendants constitute a distinct ruling caste making up only 3 percent of Liberia's population of 1.8



"Country people" soldiers execute True Whig leaders. Renaudeau/Sipa

million, the other 97 percent referred to as "the country people." This 3 percent owns over 60 percent of the national wealth. Politically organized through the True Whig Party (!), the Americo-Liberians ran a one-party state from the 1870s until last April 12.

And what a state! All the atrocities which shocked liberal world opinion in the Belgian Congo and white South Africa were played out on the smaller stage of black American Liberia. Rebelious tribes were massacred or driven into remote, inhospitable regions. Native women were routinely raped by Americo-Liberian soldiery, often in the presence of their husbands. And we are not talking about ancient history!

Forced labor tantamount to slavery was practiced on a massive scale until at least the 1940s. In 1931 a League of Nations commission reported that contract labor was recruited by "criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trading" (quoted in *New York Times*, 11 January 1931). President Charles King reportedly got \$45 a head for every "boy recruited" for the labor in the Spanish plantation slave island of Fernando Po. In general the League report described "the native village classes" as having "been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression." Needless to say, the League of Nations' moralizing protests had no effect on Liberian society.

Liberia has been a black American colonial-settler state in another sense as well. The descendants of the black Americans retained a close political and economic dependence on the mother country. While the Americo-Liberians

usually didn't need Uncle Sam's direct intervention in holding down "the country people," the support was there if needed. In 1915 Washington supplied arms and military advisers to the True Whig regime in suppressing an especially stubborn native uprising. In the late 1940s a student of the subject wrote:

"Today, the Americo-Liberian governing class, living in a string of coastal towns, would certainly be in a constant state of insecurity except for the overshadowing arm of the United States."

—Raymond Leslie Buell, *Liberia: A Century of Survival 1847-1947*

Today U.S. corporations have \$340 million invested in Liberia, an enormous sum for a very backward country of less than 2 million people. While many American companies are present in Liberia, one is supra-dominant. In the 1920s Firestone Rubber effectively bought the country—1 million acres with a 99-year lease.

The U.S. ruling class naturally maintains a diplomatic silence over the social reality of its staunchest friend in black Africa, a piece of "the free world" in the Third World. This diplomatic silence was accidentally broken in 1976 when a live microphone picked up a conversation on Liberia between Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and House speaker Carl Albert just before Liberian president William Tolbert addressed a joint session of Congress:

"Albert: Are there many Liberians that are mulattoes?"
"Rockefeller: Most are strictly blacks. ...the blacks that went back took on all the characteristics of Southern whites...."
"Albert: They never let the local blacks get in on anything?"
"Rockefeller: Oh, no.... [black senator] Ed Brooke is a one-man receiving committee [for Tolbert]."
"Albert: Yeah, he'd be a slave if he were over there. (laughter)"
—*New York Times*, 24 September 1976

While the U.S. bourgeois press is now playing up the execution of the True Whig leaders as one of the big atrocity stories of the year, there was hardly a word in this country when last April Tolbert ordered police and soldiers to fire into a demonstration protesting an increase in the price of rice. At least 74 people were killed and hundreds wounded.

Pan-Africanism in Practice

There is a long history of pan-Africanist sects in the United States, most notably the mass, though ephemeral, "back to Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920s. Today black nationalism in the U.S., which

flourished in manifold forms in the mid-late 1960s, is reduced to a few inactive sects. However, separatist and nationalist ideologies will have some appeal for American blacks as long as they suffer racial oppression, especially in the absence of a politically class-conscious, integrated workers movement.

Of course "back to Africa" nationalist rhetoric is just so much escapist fantasizing. But there is one historic reality of a "back to Africa" movement—and that is Liberia. Had larger numbers of American blacks resettled in Africa, this would only have produced more and bigger Liberias. A hundred years before the survivors of Hitler's Holocaust took over Palestine, American blacks, many of them former slaves, showed that the victims of racist oppression do not make humane, democratic colonizers.

The crimes of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinians and of the Americo-Liberians against "the country people" are not just a matter of bad policies which could have been different with a more enlightened leadership. A people which seeks to colonize a settled region, however impelling its motives, must clash with the indigenous population. And if that people has a higher cultural level, there will be a tendency to drive out or subjugate the indigenous population.

Black nationalists preach the natural, trans-class unity of all African-derived people against the white imperialist



master. For example, African People's Socialist Party, abusing the classic Marxist slogan, calls for: "Africans of the World Unite to Destroy Imperialism!" We Marxists have a simple reply to pan-Africanist ideologues: look at Liberia, the reuniting of American blacks with the African motherland.

And what of Liberia now that "the country people" in the person of Sergeant Doe and his fellow soldiers have overthrown the True Whig regime? One of the soldiers on executioners' beach told reporters that the grandfathers of the men just shot had "suffered us terribly." He went on: "We shall be killing them every day. Even their children will not live" (*Economist*, 26 April).

These shouldn't be dismissed as idle threats. The hatred of "the country people" for the Americo-Liberian elite runs deep. While Sergeant Doe has made some conciliatory noises toward the Americo-Liberian leaders and their Washington protectors, the 45,000 members of this ruling caste could be terrorized and driven out of Liberia. This too would be a crime. The descendants of the American blacks have no right to oppress and exploit the mass of the people, but they do have a right to live. Moreover, a socialist revolution would seek to use the education and skills of the members of this former elite group in the service of economic progress in a workers state. But this understanding and perspective demand a repugnance toward all forms of nationalism and its ethos that "tomorrow is my people's turn to be the oppressor." ■

Reply to Intercontinental Press

A Sparkling Polemic

"Schaefer's opus has very much a 'God that Failed' quality and one is reminded a bit of Angelica Balabanov. Formerly Mussolini's mistress, Balabanov later became disillusioned with Lenin, too. It was not 'god' that failed, though, but Balabanov."

From "Libby On the Road to Canossa" In *Spartacist Canada*. Order yours now!

Single copies \$.25, order from: Spartacist Canada, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada



Ford Mahwah Workers Say:

UAW Must Strike to Save Our Jobs!

The following leaflet, dated May 15, was initiated by members of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 and signed by more than 20 workers at Ford's Mahwah, New Jersey assembly plant.

The next few weeks may be the last we will work at Mahwah. Or it could be the beginning of a fight—alongside over 278,000 UAW members out on the streets—to defend our jobs.

The auto barons are on the offensive—gearing up for a depression by shifting the burden of hardship onto

GM has shut down its Southgate, Ca. facility. All the companies are laying off—the Motor City looks like the '30s depression. And those who work in plants still operating can expect the flip side of the layoff coin—speedup.

Ford claims that it's closing Mahwah because of poor quality and absenteeism. Sixty-two cars per hour in this sweat hole, lots of overtime and continual harassment is no recipe for quality. Ford's greed for profits has led them to bleed the plants dry rather than invest to produce a competitive fuel-efficient car. And now they expect us to pay for their

ment Act] and SUB [Supplemental Unemployment Benefits] fund will not solve our problems. There is \$1 billion in the TRA budget and 500,000 workers will be laid off by July. What kind of skill can a worker get at age 44? A training program for what? There are no jobs. The last week of April 575,000 workers applied for unemployment. The unemployment rate among Detroit's 800,000 production workers is 25 percent—almost four times the national average (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 May). And the SUB is running out. Chrysler SUB is already exhausted for those with under 10 years seniority—ours will run out soon. We have no choice but to fight.

WE ARE NOT HELPLESS—THE UAW HAS THE POWER TO SAVE OUR JOBS! The International should immediately prepare to mobilize the membership—coordinate industry-wide strikes with plant occupations in those plants slated for closure—to win: A shorter workweek at no loss in pay—spread the available work around—create jobs for all! 100 percent COLA to cover the galloping inflation; full unlimited unemployment benefits; unlimited SUB; paid job training under union control.

Plant occupations—sitdown strikes—are from the arsenal of the UAW's own militant traditions. Remember Flint in '37. The sitdown is effective against closures because it challenges the bosses' "right" to throw us out of work. We hold their machinery ransom for jobs.

What We Can Do at Mahwah

Local 906 must call a meeting to organize a one-day sitdown demonstration inside the plant of the whole membership to protest the plant closing. Such a dramatic action would serve as a beacon, attracting national attention—the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* have been covering the Mahwah closing. Of course this isolated action is not enough but it could spark union-wide actions to save our jobs. A fight for job security by the most powerful industrial union in North America can win!

The time to act is now, before the plant closes. Ever since management



Richie Bradley

WV Photo

announced the June 20 closing of Mahwah, our union leadership has not held a membership meeting to organize a strategy to save our jobs. The only "effort" has been a rally, supposedly to protest the closing and loss of jobs, but actually a campaign rally for Teddy Kennedy—a proponent of wage-freezing.

Forge a Militant Fighting Leadership

The UAW speaks of dignity for the membership. There is no dignity in waiting in unemployment lines or having your house or car repossessed. There is no dignity in grinding overtime and killing working conditions. And what dignity is there for a 20-25-year man out of work?

Instead of laying out a strategy to fight, the local leadership and the International told Mahwah workers to write their congressmen and to rely on the strikebreaking Democratic Party which used Taft-Hartley against the miners. The leadership wants us to beg. When this union was organized in the '30s the UAW did not say, "GM won't recognize our union, so we must write our congressman." NO! UAW militants—against the policy of their reactionary AFL leaders—mobilized the union's most powerful weapon—the sit-down strike—and brought GM and Chrysler to their knees. We must remember the lessons of our union's

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Mahwah, NJ May 5: Ted "wage freeze" Kennedy and Victor "CIA" Reuther (to his right) address crowd of soon-to-be-laid-off auto workers.

WV Photo

our tired backs. Ford has closed plants in Pico Rivera, California; Windsor, Ontario and now Mahwah. The failing Chrysler has closed several plants and

greed! We say **MAKE THE COMPANIES PAY!**

Many of us have families; mortgages; bills to pay. The TRA [Trade Adjust-

THE TIMES HERALD RECORD

Monday, May 19, 1980

3

Group urges sitdown strike at Mahwah

By WAYNE A. HALL
Monroe Bureau Chief

MAHWAH, N.J. — A small group of workers at the Ford Motor Co. plant at Mahwah who describe themselves as militants are trying to foment a sitdown strike at the plant to keep the company from shutting it down June 20.

About 3,700 workers are to be idled by the closing. Members of the group, the Militant Solidarity Caucus, called on their fellow workers last week to seize the plant and for other auto workers across the country to do the same to make the strike effective.

"We can't just sit around and wait until Ford sells the plant," said Richard Bradley, a caucus spokesman with 10 years on the chassis line. "We can hold it for ransom — there's a lot of valuable equipment."

"You have to challenge the property rights of the bosses," added Craig M. Thurtell, a 31-year-old spot welder who was laid off last August, when Ford stopped truck production at Mahwah.

The group is calling for a union meeting to organize a one-day sit-in to "spark unionwide actions to save our jobs."

In a leaflet, the caucus sharply criticized the leadership of Local 906 of the United Auto Workers, their union, during the present efforts to keep the 12-mile-long assembly line going.

"The leadership wants us to beg," the leaflet said.

"The UAW has made a right turn," said Thurtell, one of four caucus members at the plant advocating a workers party as an alternative to the UAW's support for the Democrats.

Bradley said there was some support for the caucus proposal. "Guys came up to me and said this is the way the union should be," he said. A similar request by the caucus last year when Ford stopped truck production at the plant was greeted by boos and catcalls.

"Their immaturity doesn't surprise me," said Local 906 president Joseph P. O'Hara Sunday. "A sitdown strike would play into Ford's hands. Instead of shutting down June 20, they would shut down in May."

Radicalism among the plant's assembly line workers was mentioned by Ford in the reasons it gave the union for the closing, O'Hara said. An earlier shutdown might jeopardize the four- to eight-week period the union needs to make sure all the workers get their benefits and counseling, he said.

"What we're trying to achieve could be wiped out" by a strike, said the local's president. "This is no longer a contractual fight. (President) Carter must take it up."

A quality control inspector at the plant said the caucus had little support from the rank and file.

"The guys don't want to hear about a strike. That would

just raise hell with any reopening," he said.

The caucus takes a longer view. "The fundamental problem is that the UAW is tied to the Democratic Party and, as long as that's the case, the workers' rights are going to be eroded," Thurtell said. The union is backing Sen. Edward M. Kennedy in the June 3 New Jersey primary. Kennedy stumped the plant two weeks ago and laid the blame for its shutdown on President Carter.

"Crazy Carter or wage-freezing Kennedy: There's no difference," said the caucus. "... labor needs its own political arm... a workers party ... based on the recognition that labor and management have no common interests." The caucus disavowed any connection with the American Communist Party, although Bradley said Sunday that it was supported by the Spartacist League, a group espousing the theories of Leon Trotsky, a revolutionary who broke with Lenin.

"We're prepared for a long struggle, not instant success," Thurtell insisted. He added the caucus' numbers were reduced at the plant when Ford "weeded them out" and the union failed to defend them.

"That had a quieting effect, but the workers will recover," Thurtell said.

Union leaders denied Sunday that the UAW had failed to fight for employees threatened with dismissal for belonging to the caucus.

Fascist Thugs Rampage in Hebron

ZIONIST REIGN OF TERROR ON WEST BANK

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's recent escalation of Zionist expansionism exploded in an outburst of Arab resistance early this month when six so-called "Jewish students" were killed May 2 in the Israeli-occupied West Bank city of Hebron. The army and extreme Zionist armed gangs responded with a wave of terror that extended throughout the area and focused on the Arab community of Hebron, a historic center of Arab nationalism now under the gun of an escalated Zionist "settlements" policy. The "religious students" bemoaned in the bourgeois press were really right-wing armed thugs seeking to drive out all Arabs from this city of 60,000. Even Yasser Arafat, who has been seeking bourgeois respectability by denying responsibility for terrorist acts, gladly claimed PLO responsibility for this one and boasted that it was accomplished by local Arab residents rather than "outside" infiltrators.

The West Bank Zionist outposts have been providing the shock troops for Begin's new West Bank policy, announced by the Israeli cabinet in February, of settling Jews in occupied Arab population centers like Hebron, instead of in sparsely populated rural land. (Last year, an Israeli cabinet committee authorized the building of 10,000-15,000 housing units for Jewish settlers each year in the West Bank.) The first concrete step in this new policy was a cabinet decision March 23 to open a "religious school" and a "field school" in Hebron. The studies would include formal military training and the "students," who carry automatic weapons, would come from the nearby settlement of Kiryat Arba, a stronghold of the ultra-Zionist combat groups. Clearly this was the first step in an eventual Zionist "resettlement" of Hebron. Thus, unlike indefensible acts of

random nationalist terror (such as the Lod Airport massacre), the response of the Arab population in Hebron was an act of legitimate self-defense.

Ever since the West Bank was seized by Israel in the 1967 war, the Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc) has aimed to occupy "Jewish" houses in Hebron which were abandoned after a 1929 Arab riot. In the last year Zionist thugs, in the notorious tradition of Deir Yassin, have repeatedly attempted to terrorize the Arab population into fleeing. After the March 23 announcement about the two "schools," Hebron mayor Fahd Kawasmeh (one of three later deported) called for an Arab general strike. Rock-throwing incidents and skirmishes between Palestinian youths and the army heated up after an April 7 PLO raid from Lebanon, and then an unarmed Arab boy was killed by two Israeli officers.

While the "excesses" of Begin's fanatical followers sometimes get him in hot water with his U.S. patrons, he has made it clear that the paramilitary Gush Emunim and Meir Kahane's Kach gang will have all the military backing which Israeli state power can provide. Following the May 2 shooting Hebron was placed under 24-hour curfew (i.e., the whole city was subjected to house arrest!). The next day two buildings, the roofs of which were allegedly used to launch the Palestinian guerrilla attack, were blown up by the army. (Ironically, one of them was owned by an Arab whose grandfather sheltered more than 20 Jewish families during the 1929 riot.) Also on May 3 the government announced it was preparing to expropriate 30,000 more acres of Arab land. (Begin believes that "Judea and Samaria," i.e., the West Bank, are Jewish by biblical right.) But this was only the beginning of Zionist retribution.

An example of the ferocity of the

current Zionist reign of terror in the West Bank is what happened when, on May 13, Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank caught a 17-year-old Arab youth, Tarik Shumali, whom they suspected of tossing stones at their truck. First, of course, the soldiers beat young Shumali to within an inch of his life, putting him in the hospital with multiple injuries. Then his sister and parents were fired from their teaching positions. Then Israeli border cops invaded the Shumalis' village near Bethlehem, cut the phone lines to their house and loaded their belongings on a truck. The house door was welded shut and the family was dumped in an unheated, unelectrified mud hut in an abandoned 1948 refugee camp some twenty miles away!

More publicized was the peremptory and, even by Zionist law, illegal deportation of three West Bank Palestinian spokesmen to Lebanon. (These were Hebron mayor Fahd Kawasmeh, Hebron's Muslim religious leader Sheik Raja Tamimi and Halhoul mayor Muhammed Milhem.) On top of this the government issued South African-style "banning" orders against several others. Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka, for example, is forbidden to talk with the press, speak in public, attend meetings or even leave his city for any reason. Meanwhile Zionist hoodlums with Uzi submachine guns and Israeli soldiers rampage through the streets of Hebron breaking windows, shooting and generally terrorizing the Arab population. Thus no one doubted Jewish Defense League founder Meir Kahane when he warned that "there will be Jews who will do terrorist acts.... There will be bombs against Arabs" (*New York Times*, 7 May).

The noted Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak observes that "The oppression of the Palestinians living in the West Bank has very much increased during the first months of 1980." He cites intensified land confiscations and seizures from the Jewish Quarter of old Jerusalem, the poisoning of Arab crops and the construction (with U.S. money and Arab labor) of new military bases in the West Bank. These by-now standard tactics have been supplemented by Nazi-style "collective punishment" and collective humiliation of Palestinian villagers. Shahak reports that in order to punish stone-throwing children whole villages have been rousted from their beds and made to stand outside (often in the rain or even snow) while brutal searches are carried out. Curfew violators have been forced to dig ditches or move stones for Israeli troops or given public beatings.

The Hebron shooting and the

provocation of the Zionist fanatics have exacerbated differences within the Israeli ruling class. The six Hebron dead were eulogized by the Zionist "hawks," but the "doves" were embarrassed. Even the *Jerusalem Post* noted that one of the dead, U.S. emigrant Eli Hazeev (see accompanying article), had been convicted for breaking into Arab homes, and counseled "cooler thought" than "a settlement policy which directs itself at the heart of the Arab population." Both the Zionist right represented by the governing Likud-dominated coalition and the Labor Party "moderates" are committed to the military occupation of Arab lands by the Jewish theocratic state. Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin, and other "hardliners" such as agriculture minister Sharon seek to expand Israel by emptying the West Bank of Arabs; others in the cabinet, such as now-departed war minister Weizman occasionally object to a Gush Emunim provocation, while ordering vicious repression of the Arab masses. But Begin's "Labor" Party opponents shy away from the economic and political costs of such an openly genocidal policy. Instead they seek to maintain the West Bank as a conquered province, a source of cheap Arab labor for the Israeli economy.

Carter is angry at Begin for pushing the settlement issue just as the May 26 deadline approaches for an empty "autonomy" arrangement under the Camp David agreements. But the Zionists' problems with the West Bank settlements go deeper than the growing rift with their U.S. sponsors. Many Israeli capitalists know that pushing the Palestinians out would deny them a reserve army of labor. This reserve army is particularly useful to the capitalists in light of the unprecedented wave of economic strikes breaking out now in Israel in the wake of massive inflation. On the other hand, the existence of a base for popular Arab nationalism within the Israeli-occupied territory is an expensive military problem for the government. It is this conflict of capitalist interests which is the basis of the tactical split between the Begin "hawks" and the Labor Party "doves."

The class conflict in Israel, which today is narrowly economic, can cut across the murderous nationalist rivalries in the Near East only when it is linked by a proletarian vanguard party to the Palestinian Arab struggle for national justice. This is key to the revolutionary perspective of joint Arab/Hebrew class struggle against the Zionist and Arab rulers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Not Jew against Arab, but class against class! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■



Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent



Hebron 1980: Zionist attack razes Arab buildings on site where Eli Hazeev got his.

From My Lai to the West Bank: All-Purpose Fascist Killer

Eli the Wolf Gets His

When six Israeli ultras were shot down in the West Bank Arab city of Hebron by Palestinian commandos on May 2, the Zionist terrorists had their symbol. His name was Eli Hazeev, or so he had named himself, for "Hazeev" is the Hebrew word for the wolf. He was a man who had come to Israel to kill Arabs. (Paraphrasing the genocidal cliché from his own native America, he said that "the only good Arab is a dead Arab.") This was the crazed fascist killer chosen from the six to be mourned as a martyr of Zionism. In his name a wave of terror would be spread through the Palestinian towns, both by uniformed Israeli police and soldiers and by machine gun toting thugs in civilian dress whose motto is, "Whenever an Arab sticks his head up, cut it off."

The burial of "Eli the Wolf" brought thousands of armed paramilitary "settlers" to Hebron May 5 in a display of force aimed at intimidating the Arab population. The funeral procession was closely guarded by the Israeli occupation army, whose sharpshooters took up positions on roof tops and stone walls overlooking the eerie, empty streets. Marchers expressed Hazeev's spirit by hurling rocks through windows of Arab homes along the route. At the grave site soldiers shot volleys into the air amid shouts of "revenge, revenge." Army chief of staff Rafael Eytan was there along with Israel's chief rabbis. One of

them later proclaimed the dead man holy, saying that "without doubt his name will be remembered among the heroes of Israel."

The name Eli Hazeev may indeed be remembered as a symbol of the Zionist occupation of Hebron, not only by the pogromists trying to drive Arab residents from their homes but also by those who defend the oppressed Palestinian population and even by liberals who find Begin's biblically ordained "settlement" policy tactically unwise. That the U.S. is more than a little peeved at the provocations by the Gush Emunim and other military-religious Zionist sects is reflected in the way leading American papers latched onto the Hazeev case. His biography was front-page news in lengthy articles in the *New York Times* (12 May) and *Washington Post* (7 May), but it was not the usual glorification of Exodus "freedom fighters" and Massada warriors. Simply sketching the story of this new young hero of Zionism is to damn him, even in death. For the exposés reveal that Eli the Wolf was an all-purpose reactionary killer made of the same stuff as Klan murderers in Greensboro or Nazi SS sadists.

Blood, Bibles and Anti-Communism

The man shot down in Hebron called himself Hazeev and claimed he was always Jewish. While he was alive and

Eli Hazeev,
a/k/a
James Mahon:
ex-FBI informer
turned Zionist
killer.



Haolam Hazev

roamed the streets of West Bank towns in full battle regalia with an M-16 slung across his chest no one challenged his claim. But the truth is that Eli Hazeev was born James Mahon 33 years ago at Mitchell Field on Long Island. He was a "base brat," raised in U.S. military installations from the Philippines and West Germany to Alexandria, Virginia. He was carefully taught a brand of Cold War Protestantism by his father, an Air Force colonel, church deacon and "Russian specialist" trained at Columbia University. James Mahon was nursed on the fight against "godless Communism" by this "Christian nation" and came to believe that indeed god was on America's side.

In military family tradition he signed up for Vietnam combat a year early, at 17, with his father's waiver. He served two tours with a sniper unit of the 101st Airborne Division, later boasting that he would act as "point man" on squads which went into the underground tunnels to search and destroy the Viet Cong. Twice wounded by the Vietnamese and given a chestful of medals by the imperialist army, he later said soldiers on the battlefield called him "wolf." In truth, they called him "killer." One neighbor put Mahon's credo and passion for military violence simply: "He wanted to kill all the Communists he could." But he felt betrayed by America's losing war in Indochina. Brought up to be a hero in a "holy war," he thought the dark forces of defeatism wouldn't let him win.

So after leaving the military, he turned his killer instincts against the antiwar movement, becoming an agent provocateur in 1969. He infiltrated and informed and connived to set up antiwar activists. He tossed firecrackers at the police, no doubt to make a trigger-happy cop shoot into the crowd. He was arrested many times in his FBI role and had the charges dropped. Known as "Crazy Jim," his activities in this period culminated in the shotgunning to death of a fellow member of a Washington-area motorcycle gang, "The Vipers." Again he got off free. Although the FBI denies responsibility for Mahon's killer antics after September 1969, his father claims he did it all on Hoover's payroll. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese had defeated the U.S. Army on the battlefield. No matter how dirty the imperialists fought, they couldn't win. For this macho killer, America had grown weak and flabby; for the internalizing Protestant it was moral weakness, which turned into self-hate.

With the 1973 Israel-Arab war James Mahon thought he had at last found his holy war with all the stops pulled out. No more washed-out American Protestantism, he had found the matrix of religion and murder that suited his tastes. Mahon tried to join the Israeli army that year but was turned down as a

foreigner. He converted to Judaism. "Crazy Jim" became "Eli Hazeev" in 1974 and again tried to get into the Israel "Defense" Force. When they wouldn't take him, he joined JDL leader Meir Kahane's Kach group of Zionist terrorists on the West Bank. Where else could he ride his Norton Commando 850 and shoot off his M-16 acting as god's flailing hand while backed up by the armed might of capitalist state power? If his love of blood had been fixed more on greed than on religion, he could just as easily have been a "soldier of fortune" for the CIA in Africa.

Hooked up with Kahane's fascist gang on the West Bank, Hazeev's brand of messianic terror was at times even a thorn in the side of the Israeli Zionist state authorities. A year ago he was arrested in Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport, accused of hatching a plot to assassinate a PLO official touring the U.S. Kahane claimed his hit man was after a Nazi, but they found an Arab headress and disguise in Hazeev's suitcase. For this he got a slap on the hand—a month in jail. Mostly he operated out of the "settlement" (armed Zionist outpost) of Kiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron. Here Eli the Wolf was always in the forefront of the gangs of thugs who broke into Arab homes to smash furniture, break windows, beat up youths and terrorize innocent families. Hazeev made a reputation for himself among his Palestinian victims, and finally they got him.

Kahane bemoaned the death of Hazeev/Mahon: "He was a very special person, an absolutely fearless person, a magnificent sharpshooter." A friend put it a little differently: "The guy is, was, a psycho, and he hung out with a bunch of psychos." But it is not just Eli Hazeev, or "the Kahane people," who are murderous nuts. Kiryat Arba, founded by Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Levinger, and the other West Bank "settlements" are filled with such terrorists, ultra-Zionist combat soldiers. Although formally illegal under Israeli law, these settlements are protected by troops and receive millions of dollars in government services. Today Kiryat Arba has some 600 families in this armed camp surrounded by security fence and military watchtowers. It is home for Kahane and Levinger and it was the lair of Eli the Wolf.

Significantly, when "Crazy Jim" Mahon decided to become a Zionist terrorist and joined up with Kahane, he did not remain in the U.S.-based Jewish Defense League. In America, where Jews are a target for homegrown Nazi nuts, Hazeev could find no outlet for his storm-trooper fantasies. In fact, this anti-Communist fanatic might well have found himself pitted against swastika-waving anti-Communists. And throw-

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Israel Shahak on Begin and Hebron

We print below an excerpt from an interview with Israel Shahak regarding Begin's genocidal settlement policy in the West Bank and its implications for the future of the Likud-dominated government. Israel Shahak is a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp and a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. As chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, Dr. Shahak is an outspoken critic of Zionism and a highly respected defender of the victims of Israel's racist policies.

Begin and all the parties of his government are in a weak position with the public. If there are early elections they will all be smashed. Other parties maybe more than Likud. Because of this, they are all afraid of early elections. But there is one group within this setting—those are the real supporters of the settlers, part of the National Religious Party and part of the Likud, who are like the Prohibition Party in the U.S. 60 years ago. As we say in Israel now, give them a settlement every week and they will agree to anything else. They will not mind the inflation—they will not mind anything except about the settlements. But if you will not give them a settlement then they will, because they are complete fanatics. They are capable of toppling Begin because without them he will not have a majority. It means that he has for strictly political reasons



WV Photo

to appease them before anyone else. Only in this way can he keep his majority—this is the whole secret.

I would also say that in the next election (even if it is kept as scheduled) Begin will for sure be reduced to less than half the seats he has now and the Labor Party will have another victory. I have a very strong feeling that something is going to happen before the next election. The situation is such that I do not know what it will be. It can be a preventive Israeli war against Syria/Lebanon and also an attempt to grab oil at the same time—or to threaten the oil states. This is one possibility. It can be either a military coup d'état as I indicated or an attempt to set up a strong state, although his government is so weak that it cannot be done by the government. And it can be to obtain a billion or two from Carter to carry on for another year. I'm speaking now just as representing ordinary Israeli Jews who think they cannot continue on like now for very long. ■

Miami Black Wrath...

(continued from page 1)

program in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited, uniting black workers with their class brothers. In this way the basis was laid for the decade of "white backlash" that was the 1970s.

In the absence of significant social struggle it is difficult to predict what Miami will mean for the future. Certainly the bourgeoisie will seek to direct minorities' anger into self-defeating race confrontations. But deepening capitalist depression faces both black and white workers with prospects of economic disaster (albeit not equally). There is a road forward out of the smoldering Miami ghetto. It is neither the road of civil rights liberalism nor of black separatism—both of which have proved their bankruptcy—but of *revolutionary integrationism*. It is the fight for assimilating oppressed minority populations in an egalitarian socialist society. This is the road of class struggle—the necessary linking of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution. In the other direction lies a never-ending cycle of oppression, rebellion and suppression. Race war or class war—that is the future for American blacks.

"His Skull Cracked Like an Egg"

Arthur McDuffie, a 33-year-old former Marine and black insurance executive, was riding home on a friend's motorcycle in the early hours of the morning last December 17. According to police accounts, he was spotted for speeding and led the cops on a 100 mph chase. Whether or not the cop story is true, McDuffie evidently stopped on the ramp to Florida 112. The *Washington Post* (21 May) recounted what happened next in horrifying detail:

"Meier [a police officer] testified last month that he heard McDuffie shout, 'I give up' before anyone touched him. He said he had drawn his service revolver on McDuffie and told him, 'Freeze.'"

"Suddenly, another officer pulled the black man off his motorcycle and yanked McDuffie's helmet off. Within seconds, others rushed up and 'started striking him with Kel-Lites [long, heavy metal flashlights] and nighsticks,' Meier said....

"I got splattered with the blood,' Vereka remembered. He said he recalled Marrero [the only Cuban defendant and the only cop to be charged with murder] had said, 'Easy, one at a time' before stepping up and raising his hands above his head to deliver the sledge-hammer blows. 'I turned my back and walked to the car,' Vereka said."

The autopsy report said "McDuffie's death was caused by blows to the head which were wielded with 90 times the force of gravity, cracking his skull cleanly between his eyes and in the back of the head. Probable weapon was a heavy-duty police Kel-Lite flashlight, swung two-handed, like an ax."

The cops reported McDuffie as an "accident victim" who had crashed his motorcycle. But there were too many

witnesses, and even some of the cops accustomed to routine police brutality couldn't stomach it. But it was not until four days after the Miami newspapers broke the story and a week and a half after the killing that Florida state attorney Janet Reno's office announced McDuffie had been murdered. Metropolitan policemen Ira Diggs, Michael Watts, William Hannon, Alex Marrero and Herbert Evans were indicted. They were an unsavory bunch: a year previously Marrero had set off a mini-riot all by himself in a brutal arrest of a drug suspect. Michael Watts had a string of brutality charges and once beat up a drunken-driving suspect so badly that the man needed two brain operations and has never returned to work. Last

percent unemployment for blacks compared to 8 percent for whites and Hispanics. And while the government was welcoming tens of thousands more Cubans over the last month, Haitians arriving in their rickety wooden boats were turned away or crammed into the shacks of the Liberty City ghetto.

The Time Bomb Goes Off

Miami rulers knew what to expect. Circuit court judge Lenore Nesbitt ordered the trial moved from Dade County to Tampa. "The word 'McDuffie'," she said, "has become a byword, a symbol of police terror," and the case "a time bomb I don't want to go off in my courtroom or this community." The trial should have been an open and shut



Miami 1980: Cops/National Guard out of the Ghetto! Free the victims of the racist dragnet!

week Watts tried to commit suicide by turning on his motorcycle in his apartment. Unfortunately, he was rescued by his ex-wife.

Already, Miami-area blacks were angered by four blatant cases of racial injustice and discrimination by state attorney Reno, a "liberal" Harvard Law graduate who boasts of her membership in the NAACP. In February 1979, five white Metro cops on a drug raid "mistakenly" kicked in the door of 48-year-old black school teacher Nathaniel LaFleur, broke his ribs and beat up his 20-year-old son. In nearby Hialeah, a 22-year-old black youth was shot and killed while urinating against a factory wall; the off-duty cop said he thought the youth might be a burglary suspect. Most infuriating was the case of the white highway patrolman who admitted raped an 11-year-old black girl and got off with probation. But while taking no action against beating, murdering, raping police, Reno went after the area's highest black official, county school superintendent Johnny Jones, with a vengeance. It was a typical Adam Clayton Powell case—Jones was charged with conspiring to use \$9,000 in public funds to buy gold-plated plumbing for his bathroom. He was convicted even though the fixtures never even left the store.

Meanwhile, social conditions were explosive. While Miami has a large northern-derived population, much of it Jewish, and is by now over one-third Cuban, Florida is still the deep South—the home of anti-homosexual bigot Anita Bryant, the state where Delbert Tibbs was framed. And blacks have been massively thrown out of their previous jobs in hotels and related service industries, so that today there is reported 17

case: if ever it was possible in racist/capitalist America to convict a cop of killing a black man, this was it. The cops admitted they did it ("in the line of duty"). But the state attorney let the defense get away with murder, knocking 19 blacks off the prospective jurors list so that in the end there were none left. And at 2:30 p.m. Saturday afternoon, May 17, the lily-white jury acquitted the killer cops. The time bomb went off.

By early evening blacks were roaming the streets of Liberty City shouting "McDuffie!" while rocks and bottles began to fly. Around 8 p.m. some 5,000-8,000 people massed outside Metro police headquarters in response to a call by the NAACP. Placards read: "Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?" When the crowd broke down the doors of the police station, cops moved in with tear gas and attack dogs to break it up. Early on there were vicious attacks on whites driving

through the ghetto: three young men returning from a fishing trip were pulled out of their car and beaten to death with boards and rocks; another trio (including a young woman) barely escaped with their lives after being shot, stabbed and one of their number repeatedly run over by a car. The bodies of two Hispanic men were found burned and mutilated. Meanwhile, the looting and fires (more than 200) began in earnest, the cops moved in in force and 4,300 National Guardsmen were deployed in and around the ghetto.

When it was over there were 15 dead, more than 300 injured and 1,000 arrested, mostly for curfew violations and looting. After the first night all of the dead were blacks shot by police or by roving gangs of white and Cuban vigilantes who cruised the ghetto streets picking off blacks for the kill. This was something that didn't happen in the northern ghetto upheavals of the '60s. It was not all race hate, though. There were a number of reported instances of blacks aiding whites to safety. Press agencies widely distributed a photo of whites standing guard with pistols and shotguns in front of the Palm Lake trailer court, an enclave in the middle of the ghetto. But they told a TV reporter, "The terrible thing about it is, we sympathize with them. We feel that what was done in Tampa two days ago was absolutely a travesty of justice" (CBS News, 19 May).

The cops, however, went on a murderous rampage once Liberty City had been "secured" by the army of occupation. On Sunday night, residents near a Zayre shopping plaza awoke to the sound of breaking glass in the parking lot. They watched as city cops using rifle butts, billy clubs and lengths of pipe smashed up more than a dozen automobiles, slashing the tires and spray-painting "looter" all over them. When Mayor Maurice Ferre later called the rampaging cops "bums" and had five of them suspended, it provoked an ominous demonstration of police bonapartism May 23 and threats to "strike" unless the suspensions were revoked. Immediately the five were reinstated and assigned to "stress training" instead of their regular duties.

"Long, Hot Summers"

The comparison to what the media calls the "long, hot summers" of the 1960s was inescapable. Physically it looked like the '60s: the smoke was as thick as in 1967; the death toll read like 1965. The mass arrests, sniping, looting, rock and bottle throwing recalled scenes from Watts to Detroit. "Miami! It Has Started" blared the front page of America's oldest and in some ways most conservative black newspaper, the *New York Amsterdam News*. But what was it that had "started," and had anything started at all?

There were plenty of real similarities with the '60s. The social and economic misery of the Miami ghetto is equaled or exceeded in almost every other major U.S. city. Everywhere there are notorious cases of killer cops executing innocent blacks on the street: in New York, black businessman Arthur Miller;

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in Houston, Chicano war veteran Joe Torres; in Los Angeles, Eulìa Lovc, mother of eight. Routinely the police are let off or put under "observation." And behind the cop terror are economic conditions which are far worse than in the mid-1960s. The current reported rate of black unemployment (12.6 percent) is more than double that in 1966. (Massive layoffs in 1974-76 hit blacks hardest, and while whites were later called back, most blacks—"last hired, first fired"—were not.) While black incomes relative to whites' had improved slightly from the mid-'60s until 1971, they have fallen steadily since. The ghettos are already long since in a depression, and the depression nationally is just beginning.

Yet as the real situation of American black people has worsened, the visibility of "successful" blacks has dramatically increased. Almost every news station now has its black "anchor person." Most prominent of all is the new layer of black elected officials ("BEOs")—the Coleman Youngs, Kenneth Gibsons, etc.—with Carter's former black front man at the UN, Andrew Young, the prime example of "making it." These capitalist politicians are the bourgeoisie's main vehicle for selling the Democratic Party to the ghetto masses. And if they should fail (as Andy Young certainly did in Miami), there is one other area of American society where black faces are more prominent: the armed fist of the state, where since the 60s there has been a big push for more black cops, black soldiers and the black National Guardsmen who were so prominent in Miami.

But it is the differences between the black explosions of the '60s and Miami 1980 that are most important. Not all "ghetto riots" are the same. Between the mass rip-off during the 1977 New York City blackout and the 1964 Harlem battle between black demonstrators and rioting cops there is a world of difference. Most importantly the upheavals of the mid-1960s were in a context of mass black struggle. While Miami erupted over accumulated local grievances and was triggered by an unusually outrageous atrocity, the '60s saw ghetto uprisings as a nationwide phenomenon. It was the failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement to meet the demands and expectations of urban blacks that gave rise to this mass social eruption. The later ghetto upheavals were also conditioned by the growing unpopularity of the dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

The leadership of the civil rights movement had a program not for black liberation, but for the reform of Jim Crow laws. For the South the bourgeoisie was prepared to grant grudgingly some formal equality under the law. Northern ghetto blacks had had "equality under the law" for years. They needed jobs, housing, education. And while the recognized leaders continued to talk about "non-violence" and brotherly love, frustrations mounted in the pressure cooker of the ghetto slums, exploding most often at the flash point of

Black Women and Revolution

The Spartacist League is sponsoring a *Women and Revolution* class series. A six-part series every Friday night at 7:30 p.m. at the Student Center building room 583, Wayne State University, Detroit. The classes will focus on the oppression of women and blacks and how to fight it.

Next class May 30. June 6 videotape showing, rally to fight Klan terror, Detroit 1979. June 20, film showing, "Babies and Banners."

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Detroit Class Series

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ORGANIZE BLACK POWER!

Big, violent, elemental outbursts against brutal police and cheating merchants show that talk of improved conditions for Black people is a lie. Things are getting worse despite what preachers and politicians say.

A turn must be made. Sure, it feels good to break loose against oppression. And Gov. Hughes shows himself an enemy of Negroes when he says he is most disturbed by the "holiday atmosphere" in the exploding Black Ghetto. But when it's all over, only some piddling junk has been taken home from crummy stores. And many have been hurt and killed and all the old ways go on.

Meanwhile the cops got their kicks: they like smashing Black heads and gunning down Negroes. Hughes combined a race slur with a lie when he said, "The line between the jungle and the law might as well be drawn / In Newark." The law of white racist, capitalist America is the law of the jungle; the cops and troops are the predatory enforcers and the workers, especially Negroes, are the victims. A turn must be made.

Where to Start

1. Stop voting in fake "liberals" like Gov. Hughes, Mayor Addonizio and their "Democratic" party of the racist ruling class. No support to Black Republicans or Democrats either.

2. Build Independent Black Political Power—begin revolutionary change; start taking over control in the Ghettos. Lay the basis for a Freedom Labor Party.

3. Defend the Black Ghettos—every serious and responsible workingman should exercise his right to own a gun.

This leaflet gives views of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, a multi-racial revolutionary socialist organization named after Spartacus, the leader of the great Roman slave revolt. For more information write: Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 or call 212/WA 5-2426.

Read "BLACK AND RED: Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom", special SPARTACIST supplement, 10¢ (order from above address)

This leaflet was distributed in Newark immediately after the July 1967 ghetto conflagration. It put forward a revolutionary perspective to militant blacks bitterly and violently reacting against the failure of the liberal civil rights movement. In this context we raised the slogan of a Freedom-Labor Party as a *transitional* demand to link the mass black upsurge with the organized workers movement. This demand was first developed by the Spartacist tendency in the early '60s when it was directed at the movement for black democratic rights in the largely non-union South. With the evaporation of a mass black movement in the late 1960s, this particular transitional demand came to be inappropriate.

police repression. So in many ways the "riots" marked the end of the civil rights movement; symbolically the last major one was the nationwide outburst following the assassination of King in 1968. It was the fury and frustration of the masses when they saw that a decade of struggle would not affect the steaming ghettos of despair.

Above all there is an all-important difference between a spontaneous outburst, no matter how justified, in response to the criminal assaults of the capitalist state, and a positive political struggle. As we wrote in our major programmatic document on the black struggles of the '60s, "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," adopted at the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966:

"For the last three summers ghettos across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of 'normal' brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction."

—reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

And we did intervene—in Harlem 1964, in Chicago 1965, Newark 1967, when King was assassinated in 1968. As

against both the civil rights preachers' pacifism and the nationalists' glorification of spontaneous violence, we called for organized, armed self-defense. Centrally we put forward a program of anti-capitalist economic demands aimed at linking up with the organized labor movement to form the basis for a Freedom-Labor Party.

Racist Backlash Can Be Defeated

When blacks in the 1960s faced a racist backlash in the absence of a militant, integrated labor movement and a strong communist party, the rejection of civil rights liberalism gave rise to a mood of black separatism. Thus the slogan of "black power," which earlier expressed in a contradictory way radical opposition to the liberal/pacifist leadership of the civil rights movement, had by the late '60s become the slogan of utopian separatist illusions.

The ghetto eruptions of 1964-68 were a bridge of violence between the earlier civil rights movement and the subsequent black nationalist mood. There was such a link because a mass black movement did in fact exist, with leaders (or misleaders), and with struggle. And some politicized blacks learned from the "riots." They learned that the ghetto had little or no political power on its own. In Detroit, no one can fail to notice that 12th Street was never rebuilt. And very few cities had more than one such explosion. Significantly, in Detroit after the 1967 eruption many of the most radicalized blacks turned to the strategic auto workers through the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Although nationalist and racially exclusionist, for a time the League represented a serious challenge to the UAW bureaucracy and an important opportunity for Marxists to intersect and win over radicalized black labor.

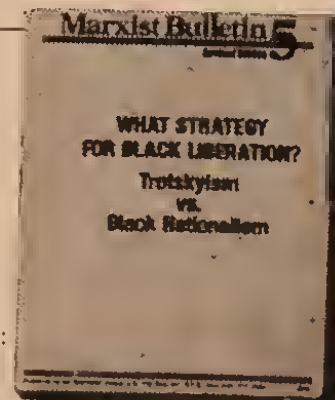
But the bourgeoisie also learned from the "riots." In Detroit they formed the STRESS paramilitary police squads and decreed a "free-fire zone" for cops in the ghetto. Most importantly, through the ethnic politics machinery of the Democratic Party, they bought off a layer of black "leaders" to control their own community. This has become the work of the Andrew Youngs, Ken Cockrels and all the strikebreaking black mayors. Tragically and barbarically, those who couldn't be bought off and absorbed into the Democratic Party were gunned down, as happened to many militants in the Black Panther Party.

Once the struggle for black equality came north it had to unite with a mobilization of organized labor. Instead, with the aid of Democratic Party liberals and their labor lieutenants, the white racists had their way—beginning with Cicero, Illinois where they savagely attacked a courageous band of civil rights marchers. White backlash fought the black movement, and the backlash won. The 1970s saw racist mobs defeat school integration in the streets of Boston and Louisville, with the aid of Congress and the courts.

After a decade of white backlash, 1980 finds black people with no organizations of struggle, no leaders striving even for reforms. Only the treacherous "BEOs" of the party of Jimmy Carter and the Dixiecrats. And what have white workers gained from the '70s? Unprecedented inflation, falling living standards, mass layoffs, perhaps the start of a major depression and the danger of imperialist war.

But the 1980s need not repeat either the racial polarization of the 1960s or the triumphant racist backlash of the '70s. Today the percentage of black workers in auto, steel and industry in general has increased since the ghetto explosions of the '60s. It is in the factories that major social battles will be fought and blacks will be in the forefront of those fights. They will also be hit hardest and first by the depression. They are also driven to act by the immediate threat of growing race-hate terror groups like the KKK and Nazis, gangs which thrive in the political climate of Carter's anti-Communist war drive.

Black workers must take the lead to mobilize the labor movement in defense of the beleaguered ghettos—to stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, for militant self-defense, to break with the Democratic Party and fight for a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor, and a workers government. The successful Detroit anti-Klan rally in November and San Francisco anti-Nazi rally last month—in which the Spartacist League played a leading role—point the way toward militant struggle against racist attacks. There will be no black liberation short of socialist revolution. Only a workers government and nothing else can stamp out race-hate terrorists like the Klan and Nazis, replace the cops with a militia of the working people, free the blacks from the ghetto hellholes and effect the massive redistribution of wealth needed to make the equality of blacks with whites a reality. ■



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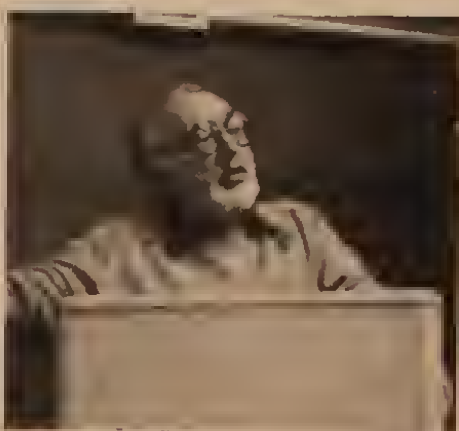
Healey/Silber Debate Raises the Spectre of Trotskyism

LOS ANGELES—The American "critical Maoist" milieu has been thrown into turmoil by the sight of soldiers of the Soviet Union fighting against CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan. At least some of them have been forced in the process to begin to confront the "Russian Question." On April 5 a debate on Afghanistan was held here between Irwin Silber, professional fellow traveller and ex-editor of the Maoist *Guardian*, and Dorothy Healey, ex-head of the California Communist Party. Ironically, Silber, who spent the last 15 years condemning everything the "revisionist" USSR did, supported the Russian intervention—while Healey, who for decades supported everything the Soviet bureaucracy did, opposed it.

What was particularly significant, though, was Healey's charge of "Trotskyism" against Silber, holding up the Spartacist League as a horrible example, while Silber himself was quite aware that some of his more risqué formulations would sound perilously close to "the Trots." For two such seasoned Stalinist politicians, this "we're-all-adults-here-so-let's-talk-about-Trotskyism" attitude was simply a little harmless fireworks display. But those who play with fire often get burnt, and it is no accident that the spectre of Trotskyism increasingly haunts the critical Maoists these days. China in overt reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, Russia engaging in some "armed struggle" in Afghanistan—only Trotskyism can provide a coherent analysis of these events which have turned the Maoist worldview upside down.

"The time is long past in our movement when you could discredit a theory or argument merely by labeling it as 'Trotskyist,'" Healey said, while doing precisely that to scare Silber's supporters. Currently associated with the helter-skelter social-democratic New American Movement (NAM), Healey opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a violation of its "national sovereignty" and "independence." Healey, a "Eurocommunist" whose appetites toward unity with the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie lead inexorably toward strengthening NATO against the Soviet "menace," baited Silber as being simultaneously a crypto-Trotskyist and a defender of the worst brutalities of Stalin.

Healey began her presentation saying that the Communist Party (CP), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Spartacist League (SL) and Silber (S) were all essentially on the same side of the fence in Afghanistan. Correctly noting that the SL position was most unequivocal in



Irwin Silber

favor of the Soviet intervention, she quoted a *Workers Vanguard* article pointing out that due to the great backwardness of Afghanistan, social progress would have to be brought from outside—i.e., "exporting the revolution." In reality, Healey admitted, Silber's position was closer to that of the SWP, which makes much of the "Afghan revolution" in order to downplay the uncomfortable question of defense of (and the class character of) the Soviet Union.

Silber got back at Healey by noting that for Marxists self-determination is not a sacred first principle, and often must be subordinated to overriding considerations of class struggle. On Afghanistan Silber at least empirically is taking the working-class side as against open counterrevolution. But ever since breaking with the *Guardian* early in 1979 over China's overt collusion with U.S. imperialism in the punitive invasion of Vietnam, Silber has been a Stalinoid dilettante, a "socialism in one country" man without a country. He and his critical Maoist friends have laboriously produced a sea of literary sludge for four years now about who the really *main* "main enemy of the world's peoples" is—all of which is just so much murky cover for Silber's slow shift of allegiance from Peking to Moscow. Thus Silber welcomes Afghanistan as proof of the "progressive" nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, rendering his tortuous transition from critical Maoist to critical Brezhnevite easier.

Silber's more "daring" formulations were merely eclectic and superficial pickings from the Trotskyist arsenal. Recalling the hoary Stalinist "two-stage revolution" theory—"still applicable" of course—Silber provided the audience a slight *frisson* by saying that due to the threat of imperialism, "liberation forces" in colonial countries might well be forced to move immediately from the "democratic stage" into the socialist



Dorothy Healey

one, as in Cuba and Vietnam. That may have sounded like the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution to some of the more primitive Maoists. But don't fall off your chairs, supporters of "The Trend." There is no Afghan "national bourgeoisie" to ally with or Silber would trot out the old formulas for "progressive unity in the democratic struggle." Trotskyists stand for the *class independent* proletariat to lead the socialist revolution (and in the deformed workers states, the political revolution against the parasitic bureaucracies).

During the discussion a supporter of the SL challenged Silber to explain how Stalin's policies were any different from the "revisionism" of the Kremlin today. Silber's defense of Stalin was quickly blasted by Healey, however, who jumped in to say that Stalin's policies were no better than Khrushchev's (that's putting it mildly!). "What do you mean—I was there!" she said, devastatingly citing the American CP's betrayals during World War II: support to the internment of Japanese-Americans, the no-strike pledge, denunciation of the struggle for black equality as "divisive."

So Healey and Silber managed to score a few debater's points against each other. But Healey's appetite toward the liberal bourgeoisie, Silber's toward the Soviet bureaucracy, are both bankrupt. Neither has any interest in building a revolutionary working-class party. The Silberites in fact *refused* to have anything to do with the April 19 Committee Against Nazis mass labor mobilization in San Francisco. The rally drew 1,200 protesters from 22 unions, but this bunch stayed away, castigating it as a "Trot" rally. To the extent they do anything, it is the most wretched reformism—the Silberites' "Anti-Klan Network" for example limits itself to lobbying for the Congressional Black Caucus to "investigate" the Klan and for the Los Angeles Board of Education to outlaw Klan organizing in the schools.

The way out of the "critical Maoist" impasse can be found only through confronting the revolutionary program and practice of Trotskyism, exemplified today by the Spartacist League. As we wrote in analyzing the break of "critical Maoists" with China over Angola (*WV* No. 95, 6 February 1976):

"It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counter-revolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which 'defends' collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution."■

Scab "Socialist" Pulley Would Pay Off Exxon

Few occasions bring out the social-democratic politics of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as clearly as when its reformist electoral campaigns get a little limelight. An example was an interview SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley got in the University of Washington student newspaper after he gave a speech there on March 31.

WV thanks the Seattle-area reader who sent us the article (*University of Washington Daily*, 1 April 1980) reporting on the Pulley speech and interview in which, after calling for nationalization of "all the basic industries":

"Pulley said that, for practical reasons, the owners of nationalized industries would be compensated for their loss, although he added, 'I don't think we owe them anything.'"

Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program, of course, counterposes to just such a "muddleheaded reformist slogan of 'nationalization'" the transitional demand of *expropriation*. Among the key differences between the reformist and the transitional slogan, it notes that "we reject indemnification" and "we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers." But all this is just so much fuddy-duddy orthodoxy to the "practical" party that in the last presidential elections presented a "Bill of Rights for Working People" projecting a road to socialism through Constitutional amendment.

The interview also accurately caught the SWP's position of neutralism between U.S. imperialism and the Russian deformed workers state. In order to tacitly abandon a key programmatic element of Trotskyism—unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration—and to slip in instead a version of "peaceful coexistence," the SWP invokes the popular "no-nukes" spirit of utopian anti-technology:

"The idea that you can have nuclear superiority is completely irrational, insane, and obscene," Pulley said. "In a nuclear war, there will be no victors. The only way to escape this threat, which is an ever-present one, is to disarm."

For Trotskyists it is not the existence of weapons that threatens to unleash global nuclear holocaust but the irrational imperialist bourgeoisie, which is deterred only by Soviet weaponry (if at all) from destroying the world to save its decadent capitalist system.

Press coverage that the SWP didn't relish was *WV*'s exposure of how Pulley in September 1978 crossed a picket line put up by Brotherhood of Railwaymen and Airlines Clerks unionists striking U.S. Steel in Gary, Indiana. What is perhaps most galling about the SWP election campaign is not its tired old reformist politics but its parading of scab Pulley as a socialist steel worker speaking for the interests of the working people.

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Cuba...

(continued from page 12)

Stalinist discriminatory treatment of homosexuals as social parasites. Perhaps some of the homosexuals who are leaving Cuba are in fact "social scum," but not for the reason of their homosexuality. And their lot will not be better in capitalist America, where anti-homosexual bigotry is intrinsic to the bourgeois social order. In the federal prison in Talladega, Alabama, where some hundreds of the Cuban exiles are being held as "undesirable aliens," many are imprisoned only because they are homosexuals.

Cuba Si, Yanqui No

As Castro pointed out in 1965, if the U.S. promised unlimited immigration to the people of any other Latin American country, they would pack up overnight. It is certainly evident that the higher standard of living in the United States exerts a powerful attraction. However, no one is starving in Cuba, which is a lot more than one can say about any other Latin American country—or the ghetto poor in the U.S. And one of the main reasons the Cuban masses must suffer privation is the trade blockade by the U.S.! Nevertheless, even today the majority of Cubans have contempt for those who deserted the revolution for a little more comfort. On

the anniversary of the Cuban victory in the Bay of Pigs invasion, April 19, over a million people demonstrated their opposition to the "scum, parasites, shirkers, counterrevolutionary gusanos" and others who have lent themselves to the imperialist attack on Cuba. And on May Day far more than a million crowded into Revolution Square in Havana in one of the biggest rallies on the island since the revolutionary victory.

The fact that revolutionary enthusiasm has not died out in Cuba is heartening. Partly it is due to the fact that 20 years of imperialist economic strangulation, military attacks and counterrevolutionary subversion have forced a garrison mentality on Castro's Cuba. This is Stalinism under the gun. Aid to struggles against imperialist forces elsewhere, as in Angola during 1975-76, certainly has contributed—though this is the exception rather than the rule. Settling down to build "socialism in one island," Castro long ago shut off the pipeline to Latin American guerrillas (except where they are allied with bourgeois patrons, as was the case of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas).

As Trotskyists we uncompromisingly defend the social conquests of the Cuban revolution, while at the same time denouncing the bureaucratically deformed nature of the Cuban workers state. With power concentrated in the

hands of a small bonapartist caste, there is no soviet democracy for the working people. Only through a *political revolution* can the Cuban masses take the reins. A healthy workers state would not rely on ephemeral good relations with Latin American capitalist regimes or the pipedream of a deal with rapacious Yankee imperialism but would seek to extend proletarian revolution throughout the Americas and the world.

On the U.S. left the pro-Moscow Communist Party predictably parrots the line from Havana. With its Stalinist blinders the CP can neither explain why tens of thousands might seek to leave a supposed socialist paradise nor offer revolutionary leadership to Cuban and American workers. Their only answer is the chimera of "détente." Even more enthusiastic in its *fidelist* passions is the ex-Trotskyist, now-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which tries to tail simultaneously after Castro and the liberal American bourgeoisie. The SWP is so caught up in the contradictions of its position that the current issue of its *Militant* (23 May) on one page lauds Castro's May Day speech saying good riddance to the "corrupt elements, delinquents and lumpen" and on the facing page attacks Carter as a "racist" for describing the Cuban refugees in similar terms.

For almost two decades the Spartacist tendency was unique in

analyzing Castro's Cuba as a *deformed workers state*. Recently some who call themselves Trotskyists—notably the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and its followers—have formally adopted this characterization. This is only a mask for their social-democratic Stalinophobia—and the furor over the Cuban "boat people" dramatically proves it. A Brazilian paper which follows the Lambertist line, *O Trabalho* (15-21 April), headlines: "Flight from Cuba—Castro's Fault." This is a grotesque capitulation to the imperialist onslaught. While not bending their political opposition to the Castroite regime, genuine Trotskyists must denounce Carter's anti-communist "Human Rights" crusade and defend Cuba from the attacks.

Life is hard in Cuba. It is simply not possible to achieve a socialist society of abundance and equality in the confines of this small island—much less so than for Stalin's Russia. But the Cuban working people have won historic gains through overthrowing the Batista tyranny and expropriating the capitalists, both foreign and domestic. The Cuban masses want to defend these gains. We can well understand why they want to be rid of the "parasitic scum" who have prostituted themselves to the imperialist blackmail. So do we, Dr. Castro, but it will take socialist revolution to do the job. ■

Eli the Wolf...

(continued from page 7)

ing chicken blood at some Soviet diplomat or bombing Aeroflot offices would hardly satisfy his appetite for militarist strutting and terrorist killing. It is only in Israel where the Zionists hold state power—and particularly on the West Bank where paramilitary shock troops are needed to supplement the regular occupation army—that Kahane's group can engage in fascist actions.

Hazeev is by no means the only terrorist ultra who "adopted" his cause, changing his identity in a process of self-loathing. There is a bunch of such macho-crazies around who attach themselves to everything from the star of David to the crescent and star; unfortunately, some of them occasionally even claim the hammer and sickle. These political/ethnic "transsexuals," who don't feel right about their own identities, have the urge to kill; they know they are extreme for something, but never quite sure for what. Eli Hazeev is one example, but the case of New York KKK Grand Dragon and King Kleagle Daniel Burros shows it can go the other way. When he was exposed as a Jew he thumped his head and said, "You know, I'm going to have to put a hole through it"—and he did, carrying out his genocidal program against himself (*New York Times Book Review*, 1 October 1967).

Other examples: the man who shot American Nazi *führer* Lincoln Rockwell, one John Patler (changed from Patsalos), was a former Rockwell storm trooper of swarthy complexion who had been purged by those he called "blue-eyed devils." Recently there is the case of Chicago Nazi leader Frank Collin, arrested last January on charges of child molesting after being expelled by rivals in his group (who turned him in to the police). Collin was another one-time Rockwell follower, booted out because his father was Jewish (and a

Dachau survivor). Even Rabbi Meir Kahane has a bizarre schizoid personal history worthy of followers like "Crazy Jim" Mahon, a/k/a Eli Hazeev.

Born into the home of a Talmudic scholar in Brooklyn, in the mid-60s Kahane started using the name Michael King. According to a *New York Times* (24 January 1971) investigation, for several years the future JDL leader posed as an Upper East Side swinger who made the rounds of the party circuit claiming to be a Presbyterian. Meanwhile "King" was working for Consultants Research, one of those right-wing "information gathering" outfits that had all the earmarks of a CIA operation. One of his failed projects was to publish a weekly on embassy night life in Washington as a cover for developing intelligence sources. He also tried to organize an abortive "July Fourth Movement" to support U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Indochina. But with the decline of the antiwar movement, Kahane rediscovered his "Jewish roots" and became the most notorious advocate/practitioner of ultra-Zionist violence. In the U.S. his creed assuaged Jewish guilt over not resisting the Nazi holocaust, by attacking black militants and Soviet diplomats. In Israel it was picked up by the Eli Hazeevs as the ideology for shock troops of fascist terrorism.

These are the small-fry terrorists of capitalism/imperialism, terrified of their own weakness, who want to be "strong" by becoming trigger men for the powerful. (The big-timers, of course, order their killings by the millions from the genteel Oval Office and computerized War Room.) But not all terrorism is morally equal: there are also those overwhelmed by the misery of the oppressed, who strike out in fury at the murderous oppressor. They hope by their individual act and sacrifice to do what can be accomplished only by mass social revolution. Marxists point out that this individual terrorism is a program of

despair, the triumph of extreme subjectivity over rational political action. The individuals who are driven to it, however, are often personally courageous and can even be won to proletarian communism.

As for the Arab commando who gave the anti-Communist Zionist terrorist Eli the Wolf what he had coming, we might well want to sit down with him or her, have a beer and talk things over. ■

CWA...

(continued from page 3)

president Marie Malliett, while voting for Margolis' proposal for a demonstration at Sloat, have fought tooth and nail against members' calls for strike action against the company's offensive. Starting in March, when Rexroad and another steward were fired and Margolis was given a final warning notice, 300 members of Local 9410 signed petitions for a union meeting to take a vote to strike. Yet Imerzel supporters on the Local executive board violated the Local's bylaws and voted down a motion by Margolis that a strike vote be taken.

Margolis pointed out, "If the union tops won't protect their own officers, E-board members and stewards, how can they be counted on to defend its members? Strike action would have put a halt to the company's escalation of attacks on the union's militants and would have been a strike to defend the whole union."

Local secretary Joe McKenna was quoted in a recent MAC leaflet as saying that "there are people who have been dismissed (by the company) that I wouldn't hire to clean my back yard." He was joined by Imerzel, whose comment was that there "were no concrete issues" that merited a strike. This gave the company the green light to go ahead and victimize the best elements in the union just before a contract period.

Margolis noted that a mere 2 percent of the union's budget was allocated to strike preparations. At an executive board meeting, she proposed that funds previously allocated to support strike-breaking anti-labor politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties be allocated to a "real strike fund, to prosecute a real strike to beat back the union-busting attacks" by Ma Bell. Imerzel ruled the motion out of order, she says.

When a Local 9410 meeting was finally held on March 18 and was about 10 members short of a quorum, Imerzel

spit in the face of 300 phone workers by refusing to consider a strike.

An indication of the utter cynicism and contempt for the union membership by the Local leadership was provided by an incident during this meeting when, according to MAC members, Imerzel supporters disconnected the union's telephones in order to prevent MAC stewards from calling additional union members to the meeting.

In a recent leaflet the Militant Action Caucus noted that Imerzel & Co. had agreed with a suggestion for members to start home gardens and home canning of vegetables as a way to deal with inflation and company attacks. MAC proposed instead that members "can Imerzel" and his whole rotten machine and build for a real strike when the contract expires in August. ■

Mahwah...

(continued from page 5)

history and break with the do-nothing policies of Fraser & Co. The bureaucracy's official program is lousy, stinking, racist protectionism. We are an *International* union. We reject schemes that lead to trade wars—then shooting wars—with our union brothers. Divided is defeated—we must strike as one.

For a Party of Our Own

Kennedy is being pushed by the local and International as the political answer to layoffs and inflation. (Remember how they said Jimmy Carter was the answer in '76?) Crazy Carter or wage-freezing Kennedy: there is no difference. Relying on the Democrats is like entering a fight with our hands and feet tied—labor needs its own political arm. A workers party, based in the unions which would intransigently fight in the interests of working people. A party based on the recognition that labor and management have no common interests. Fraser off Chrysler's board of directors! A party dedicated to the establishment of a workers government—planned economy based on use rather than profit. Only then will we be assured of a decent standard of living.

WE HAVE NOTHING LEFT TO LOSE! Brothers and sisters: This strategy is the only way to save our jobs. The upcoming June convention must deal with this urgent situation and Mahwah delegates must fight for this strategy. WE HAVE NOTHING LEFT TO LOSE—WE MUST FIGHT NOW! WE DON'T HAVE TO BEG—WE HAVE THE POWER TO WIN! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League

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-MARXIST LITERATURE-

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Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Freedom Flotilla" Backfires—U.S. Trips on Big Stick

Cuba Turns Tables on Carter

The exodus of thousands of Cubans to the shores of Florida has turned into one more embarrassment for Jimmy Carter as he bungles through this election year. It started out as a broad-scale campaign to disrupt and intimidate the Castro regime and reinforce U.S. imperialist domination of the region. The weapons included a propaganda blitz against "Communist tyranny," economic/political pressure on Caribbean governments friendly to Havana and provocative military maneuvers openly aimed at Cuba. But now Carter is desperately trying to cut off the flow of "boat people" to Key West. And while black residents of nearby Miami set the "Liberty City" ghetto aflame in anger over racist injustices, thousands of Cubans riot in the "Camp Libertad" refugee center, trying to escape the barbed-wire enclosures where they have been penned up since arriving in the "land of the free."

When 10,000 people crowded into the Peruvian embassy in early April to demand "asylum," Carter promised that the United States would welcome the anti-Castro Cubans with "an open heart and open arms." But Carter's plans backfired when Castro took him at his word. Everyone in the Peruvian embassy was granted an exit permit and anyone else who wanted to leave was granted permission to do so as well. The Cuban government made its position clear:

"If the Peruvian government wants to receive all the anti-social and lumpen elements in Cuba, we will gladly let them go, along with all those who are ideologically opposed to the Revolution and socialism. The dividing line between common criminals and counterrevolutionaries is becoming less and less clear."

—"Cuba's Position," *Granma*, 7 April

When an airlift to Costa Rica was suspended by Castro on April 18, friends and relatives from Florida sent boats to evacuate the "refugees" by sea. Anyone who could pay the charge of \$1,000 could ride the "freedom flotilla" of small fishing boats and pleasure craft to Florida.

This was more than Carter had bargained for. When the Cubans actual-

ly started arriving in large numbers (close to 65,000 have entered the U.S. in the last few weeks) the "land of opportunity" was not standing with outstretched arms. Particularly when it became clear that a large proportion of the "tired and poor" were common criminals and other social "undesirables" Carter did a quick about-face: "We will not permit our country to be used as a dumping ground for criminals who represent a danger to our society, and we will begin exclusion proceedings against these people at once" (*New York Times*, 15 May 1980). The "freedom flotilla" was declared "disorderly" and every craft found bringing people from Cuba was seized.

In an absurd attempt to disguise the cutoff, Carter proposed an airlift and sealift for only the "screened and qualified" to come to the U.S. He actually proposed to send the U.S. Navy to Cuba to make sure that no "degenerates" boarded the boats! While the U.S. president made his "offer" in all seriousness, no one waited with bated breath for Castro to accept. And the Cubans have continued to come. Carter's latest attempt to save face has been to rule that those arriving from Cuba would not be treated as political refugees but as applicants for asylum. This maneuver in effect removes legal restrictions on the number of Cubans who can be admitted to the U.S.

Big Stick and Racism

Carter's pressure against Cuba has not been confined to a press smear campaign. Along with the two-decades-old economic embargo and preservation of a naval base on Cuban soil at Guantánamo Bay, American policy in the Caribbean is returning to the days of "dollar diplomacy" and "the big stick." Thus the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund recently cut off the pro-Cuban Manley government in Jamaica, starving it of import credits in a blatant attempt to bring it down in upcoming elections. Carter/Brzezinski are reportedly talking of blockading the tourist and nutmeg island of Grenada, the latest "revolutionary" regime in this American lake. And in the former banana republic



Wide World Photos

"Operation Libertad"—Imperialist attack on Cuba, and it's not just propaganda. What's that battleship (background) doing in Key West?

of Nicaragua, pro-U.S. capitalist representatives walked off the figurehead junta in early May as a clear warning to the Sandinista rulers.

Toward Cuba itself Washington policy has been old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy, even before Carter seized upon Afghanistan as a pretext for his anti-Soviet Cold War offensive. Last summer there were the fireworks over Russian troops who had been on the island for 15 years or more. This was used as the excuse to set up a new U.S. naval command in Key West, "less than 90 miles from Cuba." Earlier this month Bahamian gunboats seized two Cuban fishing vessels 20 miles off Cuba (supposedly inside Bahama's territorial waters since it claims the 200-mile limit!). Cuban fighter planes sank the patrol boats first and Havana apologized later. Simultaneously the Pentagon has launched a major Caribbean military exercise amid a total media blackout in the U.S. "Operation Solid Shield," scheduled for May 8-20, involves 42 warships, 20,000 troops and 350 fighter planes in maneuvers near Cuba. Plans include landing 2,000 Marines at Guantánamo and practice for B-52 bombers in mining Caribbean waters from the air.

In its anti-Castro campaign the U.S. has portrayed the fleeing Cubans as victims of political persecution. Therefore it is all right to let them in while the Haitians, for example, must be kept out because they are allegedly only economic refugees looking for a better way of life. The Carter administration has neatly reversed the facts to fit its own propaganda needs. The Haitians are trying to escape the violence of the bloody, U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship: their motive is simple—they want to stay alive. The real reason for the government's closed door policy here is racism toward the black Haitians and

the anti-communist instinct to stand by your despot. Like Chileans seeking to escape the butcher Pinochet and refugees from other right-wing dictatorships, they are turned away because, as one lawyer put it, "If they can stay, the whole hemisphere is eligible" (*New York Times*, 27 May). As a result, more than 600 have been sent back to face imprisonment, torture and frequently death at the hands of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's killers, the Tontons Macoutes.

None of the Cubans, however, have even claimed to fear for their lives, in a country where there has not been a single execution since Batista's most sadistic murderers were shot in 1959. Many do admit that they have been in jail, claiming that they were imprisoned for political reasons so they won't be shipped back for being the common criminals that they no doubt are. Most are simply looking for a better standard of living in the land of supposed capitalist riches. It should be clear, however, that once ensconced among the gusano-led Cuban exile communities, some of them (especially when they discover that Miami streets are not paved with gold) will be recruited into the network of clandestine reactionary murder gangs such as the notorious Omega 7.

Along with the criminals, degenerates and deserters, Castro includes homosexuals in the category of "social scum." "Cuba's Position," reprinted from the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party, states: "Even though in our country homosexuals are not persecuted or harassed, there are quite a few of them in the Peruvian embassy, aside from all those involved in gambling and drugs who find it difficult to satisfy their vices here." What we have here is an expression of the Cuban regime's

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Cuban working masses demand "Down with the Blockade", "Yankees out of Guantánamo."