

A Program to Win the Coal Strike!

**For Protest
Strikes
Against Taft-
Hartley—Now!**

**Elect an
Emergency
UMWA
Convention!**

The great coal miners strike of 1977-78 is at a crossroads. After 100 days of the most explosive labor struggle in the U.S. since the 1940's, Jimmy Carter invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act and tore the mask of "impartiality" from the capitalist government, openly exposing it as the strikebreaking tool of big business. There must no longer be any question in the minds of coal miners: they are locked in deadly combat not only with the coal operators, but with the capitalist state as well.

Today, March 14, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) negotiators and the operators reached yet another wretched "tentative agreement," one that does not even meet the standards of the rotten 1974 agreement, under which miners had to wage one wildcat strike after another to defend themselves. Negotiated under the high-pressure threats of enforcing Taft-Hartley, this government-ordered pact will be voted on by miners with a gun at their heads—under penalty of jailings and firings for continuing to strike.

The government, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and treacherous UMWA leaders are offering the miners only a slightly altered version of the terms the BCOA has been seeking all along and which the strikers have consistently rejected. Miners! Your adversaries are hoping that you can be worn down, but after nearly three and a half months on strike, you have the operators on their knees

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Miners in Charleston, West Virginia March 7 denounce Miller/Carter sellout.

WV Photo

BURN IT AGAIN!

MARCH 14—Arnold Miller, the coal companies and the federal government are engaged in a war of attrition against the 160,000 striking coal miners. As we go to press this gang has come up with its third "tentative agreement" which it will now try again to shove down the strikers' throats. As part of the publicity build-up there will be plenty of smiles and handshakes. But the hard facts are that Sellout No. 3 is, if anything, even worse than its predecessors on the crucial issue of the right to strike.

Miners! Keep the bonfires burning! The latest giveaway pact must receive the same treatment as Nos. 1 and 2. The UMWA membership must respond

emphatically that it will not accept a contract that does not guarantee:

- Unlimited right to strike.
- Full funding of the health and welfare funds.
- Equalization of pensions at the highest levels.
- A big boost in pay with full cost of living.

Three times the bosses, their government and their agents in the union have tried to impose a contract which would institute a de facto no-strike clause. Three times they have submitted a pact that would junk the union health card and the miners medical plan and maintain the second-class pensions for older retirees. Enough!

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**Break with the Strikebreaking Democratic Party!
Dump Miller, Meany & Co.—For a Workers Party!**

SWP Still Covering for Miller

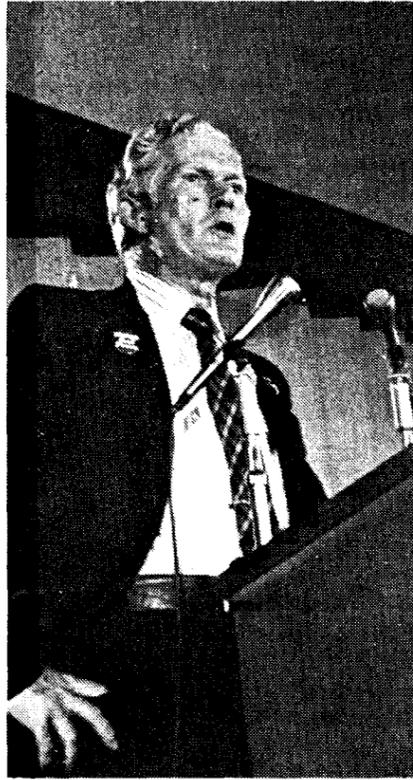
1974

These days among striking miners the name Arnold Miller inspires a hatred so fierce that its bearer has taken to packing a pistol and fears for his life should he venture out into the coalfields. Isolated and hunted, the man who nominally stands at the head of the union that is fighting the most intense class battle in 30 years sits it out in obscure West Virginia motels, surrounded by bodyguards and trembling before the wrath of the men he has betrayed.

Three thousand miners at Fairmont, West Virginia give standing ovations to calls for his resignation and a chorus of boos at every mention of his contract. Five out of every six Illinois UMWA strikers have signed a petition demanding his ouster. And now the union membership has followed up three years of constant wildcat strikes by voting down and burning the give-away "tentative agreement" negotiated by the Miller bureaucracy with the coal operators.

Rarely in U.S. labor history has a union leader been so universally despised in the midst of a strike, a time when even the most discredited labor skate can usually manage to rally the ranks by denouncing "divisiveness." In the past three weeks anti-Miller recall petitions and anti-contract rallies have swept through the Midwest and Appalachian coalfields like forest fires which show no sign of burning out.

But while the United Mine Workers ranks are demanding Arnold Miller's head on a platter, there are still some people—so-called "socialists," no less—who are willing to cover for him. With the fate of this historic class battle hanging in the balance the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) throws its resources into empty "strike support" rallies boosting the union misleaders who have been the chief obstacle to



Arnold Miller

WV Photo

beyond boredom. It is lifeless precisely because the only way to avoid embarrassing the UMWA officialdom is to ignore most of what is going on.

Thus nowhere does the *Militant* give more than a passing mention of the miners' roving pickets which have successfully slashed non-union coal production in half and maintained the exemplary solidity and effectiveness of this strike. Such actions are "illegal," you see, and moreover "unauthorized" by Miller & Co. So concerned is the SWP to protect its "responsible" image that one looks in vain for a simple call on the miners to defy the Taft-Hartley injunction! The *Militant's* coverage of the most powerful U.S. strike in 30 years is distorted to the point that one can actually get a more accurate picture of its main features from reading the mouthpieces of big business, such as the *New York Times* or even the *Charleston Gazette*.

Just take the first "tentative agreement" between the union negotiators and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Even the *Wall Street Journal* (21 February) quoted sources characterizing this sweetheart deal as a "shopping list of humiliating demands" which gave the operators "nothing less than total control of the UMW work force." But while the 17 February *Workers Vanguard* front-page headline declared, "Miners to Miller: Shove It!" the *Militant's* story that week was run under the headline, "Strike Not Settled Until Ranks Vote." "Not settled"? "Until the ranks vote"? The *New York Times* reported after scouring the coalfields for days that it had difficulty finding a single miner in West Virginia who would defend this outrageous contract.

How Not to Write a Polemic

After this incredible backhanded support to Miller's sellout, the next edition of the *Militant* (3 March) went even further in its defense of the UMWA bureaucracy with a polemic against the Workers League and the Spartacist League on "How Not to Support a Strike." The author, one Shelly Kramer, is a former leader of the state-capitalist Revolutionary Marxist Committee, now fused with the SWP. To atone for past "ultra-leftist" sins, Kramer has been assigned to do hatchet jobs on the "sectarian" SL, in this case denouncing our program for the miners strike as utopian pie-in-the-sky.

Coal mines reopen as contract is ratified
By FRANK LOVELL
The new contract signed by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association appears to be a landmark agreement. But in reality, its terms will be determined by the events of the next three years. Like all labor-management contracts, this one regulates the relationship between worker and employer, but it is far different from any other.

How to defend gains in new miners' pact
Another fault found with the agreement was its failure to more nearly equalize wages for all miners. There is a spread of about \$9 a day between the lowest-paid worker and the highest. Some of these are grievances that can be resolved in favor of the miner. If the elected union grievance and safety committees function effectively, gains in the area of safety give the union greater control over work conditions than ever before. The contract recognizes the right of individual miners to withdraw from unsafe work.



1978

The SL is way out in left field, writes Kramer, with the harebrained notion that fighting for labor solidarity with the coal strike means "introducing union resolutions calling on workers to 'hot cargo' (boycott) scab coal and demand that the Steelworkers immediately go on strike too." Horrors! What will these ultra-left sectarians demand next? Kramer goes on:

"What should this mythical steel strike demand? Nothing less than an end to all layoffs and rehiring of laid-off workers through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, nationalization of bankrupt factories without compensation, smash ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement] and defend the right to strike for all workers'."

Just as liberals bait the SWP, the author accuses the Spartacist League of having "little or no concern for the needs of the miners themselves," and of simply exploiting the strike for nefarious purposes of revolutionary propaganda. But alas for poor Kramer, the editors of the *Militant* inexplicably cut the ground out from underneath her polemic by filling the rest of their 3 March issue with articles that utterly demolish her arguments. It turns out that those same miners who engage in such "illegal" tactics as roving pickets insist on trying to stop the flow of scab coal through such "ultra-left" tactics as hot-cargoing and dumping.

The article "Miners: It's Time We Showed Them Who Has the Power" reports on a heated exchange between a militant miner and Paul Lewis, District 15 director of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), at a February 18 western Pennsylvania strike-support rally. According to the *Militant's* account, after Lewis declared that his district "wholly supports" the coal strike, the miner took the floor to remark that he was reminded of a Teamsters official who recently announced his "100 percent support."

"But who else is carrying this non-union coal than the Teamsters?" the miner asked. "This is where I feel if the Steelworkers are behind us, the Teamsters are behind us, we're going to need much more support than just standing behind the mike and telling us they're behind us 100 percent."

And why was the miner so annoyed with Lewis? What the *Militant* doesn't report but every western Pennsylvania mine militant recalls is that this same USWA picard recently caused the arrest of several coal strikers picketing a coal loading dock of the Jones and

Laughlin steel plant in Pittsburgh when he led steel workers across a UMWA picket line there. The SWP's silence is deliberate. By their lights Paul Lewis is behaving "responsibly" with his scabbing while the miners have been bitten by that "ultra-left" bug.

Which brings us to another of the SL's "mythical" demands—the call for a joint steel-coal strike in which, according to Kramer, "only a handful of workers would join in." Again the SWP polemic is undercut by another article in the same issue, this one entitled "Govt. vs. UMWA, Lessons of Mine Struggles in 1940's." Here the writer points to the 1949 coal strike in which "sympathy for the miners swept through the CIO ranks." Reflecting the view of the then-revolutionary SWP, the article praises in particular UAW locals which passed resolutions at the time for a 24-hour sympathy strike against Truman's imposition of Taft-Hartley.

Kramer's clumsy polemic claims that the SL insists that "before steelworkers can support the miners they are also obliged to overthrow their own union leaders" (our emphasis). Of course, the SL has said no such thing, although we have pointed to the constant efforts of the union bureaucracy to sabotage militant labor solidarity and the urgent need to defeat these backstabbers. In contrast, for three months the *Militant* uttered not a word of criticism of the UMWA tops' sellouts at the negotiating table, their failure to organize the shutting down of scab production, to approach other unions for sympathy strikes or to defy the Taft-Hartley injunction.

But now that Miller has become a walking corpse, thoroughly discredited and despised, and miners have turned thumbs down on two successive pacts negotiated by their "leaders," the SWP has moved to clean up its act. Belatedly terming the original Miller agreement a "ball and chain contract," the 10 March *Militant* even hints at a crisis of leadership in the UMWA, although in the most insipid terms. The article "Coal Miners Debate Contract" opines:

"Whether the majority of miners vote to accept or reject the contract, their struggle with the coal companies will not be settled. They will continue—as they have done during this strike—discussing and working to develop new policies and a new leadership that can make the UMWA an effective fighting instrument for their needs."

Ho hum. But there it is, folks. Never let

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Harry Patrick

WV Photo

victory throughout the strike. And in its press the SWP has been positively shameless in slanting its coverage of the coal strike to apologize for the UMWA bureaucracy.

In normal times the SWP's *Militant* specializes in voluminous reporting of trivia laced with a mild dose of low-level "socialist" verbiage directed at liberals ("Socialist Candidate Files for Houston Dog-Catcher," etc.). It takes a certain kind of talent to make the miners strike sound equally deadly, but the *Militant* editors have managed with an endless stream of "strike special" accounts of campus fund-drives, "human interest profiles" and the like. Yet in reality the SWP's reportage of the coal strike is

Racist Furor in Australia over "Boat People"

—reprinted from Australasian Spartacist No. 51, March 1978

SYDNEY—For a few weeks at the end of last year it seemed that scarcely a day would go by without a boatload of Vietnamese slipping into Darwin harbour, waving anti-communist banners and demanding to be treated as political refugees. The bourgeois media had a field day, of course, abounding with "human interest" stories about these "boat people"—forced by "ruthless communist tyranny" to become "desperate refugees" in search of "freedom" and a "new life." In sympathetic interviews the refugees described, often in impeccable English, their "harrowing" escapes, their "nightmarish" journeys through storm-racked, shark-infested seas and their gratitude at being in a "free country."

The Fraser government, discovering it had a "moral and humanitarian" obligation to "ease human suffering," welcomed the "boat people." At the other extreme, the Darwin branch of the Waterside Workers Federation called a two-hour protest strike against the arrival of these "phony refugees" from a "friendly country," denouncing "a double standard by the government in dealing with illegal migrants to Australia" (*Northern Territory News*, 25 November 1977). The wharfies also raised several hundred dollars to aid six crewmen kidnapped during the hijacking who demanded to be returned to Vietnam, and took industrial action to prevent their harassment by the Fraser government. The Stalinist-influenced wharfies demanded not only that the crewmen be repatriated, but that those who had seized the boat to flee Vietnam be sent back as "pirates" as well.

"Double standard" is hardly adequate to describe the government's attitude toward the Vietnamese refugees. Less than a year ago this "moral and humanitarian" government literally abducted Italian Communist Party member and migrant organiser Ignazio Salemi to whisk him out of the country on a deportation writ and forced Malaysian student leader Hishamuddin Rais into hiding in order to avoid deportation to the torture chambers of the reactionary Malaysian government. Like its predecessors, Labor or Liberal, this government has maintained a virtual closed door to the hundreds of thousands of leftist Latin American refugees fleeing savage military regimes. What persecuted leftists do manage to get into the country are, like the sizable Asian student population, subject to relentless surveillance and intimidation by ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organization] and other secret-police agencies.

This is nothing new. When, after World War II, the then Labor government opened Australia to large-scale immigration by non-English-speaking Europeans, it was official policy that "under no circumstances are refugee Spaniards from the Franco regime to be included in the immigration program" (quoted in John Playford, "The Truth Behind 'Captive Nations Week,'" April 1968). While barring victims of Franco's rightist terror, the government welcomed supporters of various East European fascist movements and veter-

ans of Hitler's extermination squads.

If, following the 1965 rightist bloodbath in Indonesia in which some 500,000 workers and peasants were slaughtered, any Indonesian "boat people" had attempted to land in Darwin we have no doubt they would have been either blown out of the water by the Australian armed forces or immediately shipped back to face Suharto's death squads. The then Menzies government, along with the mainstream of the Labor Party, was frankly appreciative of the anti-communist coup and ever since has been anxious to express its gratitude to the Indonesian generals.

The "boat people" and "White Australia"

But as valuable to the bourgeoisie for anti-communist propaganda as the "boat people" are, they are still Asians; and official policy or not, this is still "White Australia." Fraser was uncomfortably aware that their descent upon Darwin would revive the fears of "invading yellow hordes" and acute anti-Asian racism pervasive throughout Australian society and might damage his prospects in the December elections. The government quickly dispatched Immigration Department officers to the refugee camps in Malaysia and Thailand to persuade prospective "boat people" to await processing through "normal channels." (Some 5000 such officially screened refugees have been flown to Australia since 1975.) The bourgeois press agonised over the dangerous precedent being set if the threat of instant deportation of any and all Asians landing "illegally" in the country were de facto removed (see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 December 1977).

Hypocritical as the bourgeoisie's welcome has been, the indignant opposition of labour's "leaders" has been simply disgusting. A spokesman for the Darwin public bus services drivers, citing the "danger" of exotic diseases, threatened a stop-work action if the buses carrying Vietnamese were not thoroughly fumigated before and after use! A trifle more circumspect, [ACTU leader Bob] Hawke denounced Fraser for "inviting Vietnamese refugees to simply row a boat ashore and stay in Australia" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 December 1977). Such racist rubbish expresses the traditionally chauvinist policy of the ALP/ACTU bureaucracy, resurrecting the central planks of Australian social democracy's founding program: "White Australia" and virulent protectionism. Even Whitlam's official revocation of "White Australia" several years ago was largely fraudulent—only a few thousand highly skilled Asians were allowed in each year. The logic of Labor's historic reformist chauvinism is stark: far better to allow Indonesian workers to be massacred by the butcher Suharto in 1965 than to have them land on Australia's shores.

Because of this context of traditional anti-Asian chauvinism within the labour movement, any blanket opposition to the arrival of the Vietnamese must be viewed with suspicion. All the



Arrival of "boat people" on Song Be sparked protest strike by Darwin longshoremen.

more so when it comes from the Maoist Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (see *Vanguard*, 9 February) which in pursuit of its virulent strain of Australian patriotism opposes foreign-language instruction for migrants in Australian schools (*Vanguard*, 20 October 1977), and furthermore, is well on the way to characterising Vietnam as "dark fascist". Similarly the Healyite Socialist Labour League—which is notorious for its adaptation to backward consciousness in the working class—following the Darwin strike demands that all the Vietnamese be shipped back (*Workers News*, 1 December 1977). In the case of this demand, whatever its motivation, protest against anti-communism becomes a cover for racism.

Following the collapse of the Thieu regime in 1975, the U.S. imperialists airlifted their collaborators and cowardly professional torturers to safety, hastening to rescue these anti-communist hitmen for possible future use in the service of the CIA. "No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals" was the demand raised by the Spartacist League/US: "These vicious professional anti-communist killers should not be allowed to escape punishment for their heinous crimes against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 68, 9 May 1975). The same holds true today for any high-ranking military officers of the old regime or other war criminals among the "boat people."

But to demand that the "boat people" be shipped back *en bloc* can only be racist. By and large these refugees (who may not necessarily all be committed right wingers) appear to be relatively small-time components of the *ancien regime*—businessmen, entrepreneurs and the like—or trained professionals such as doctors, engineers, professors and students, as well as the ubiquitous brothel keepers and drug pedlars. There is a sense in which the "boat people" are dispossessed—deserted by their own ruling class and its U.S. imperialist paymasters. They were part of the artificially bloated "middle class," created and made wealthy through corruption and its services to the imperialist army of occupation. The fall of the Thieu regime meant an inevitable, dramatic drop in the living standards of

this thin layer and also posed the threat of being packed off to a so-called "New Economic Zone" to boost agricultural production.

Of course, many of the refugees have arrived complete with gold bars and in some cases their own servants! Others have sold their supposedly unseaworthy boats and acquired expensive houses (*Australian*, 3 August 1977). But while decidedly unenthusiastic about the arrival of such well-oiled "refugees," we do not join in the chauvinist-motivated clamour for their expulsion.

Defend the Berlin Wall!

While we support the democratic right of citizens of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states to emigrate, such rights are subordinated to our unconditional class defence of the workers states against imperialism. Thus we defend the right of the Vietnamese government to prevent the departure of those whose technical or medical skills are needed for reconstruction of the country after the ravages of the imperialist war, or those who are privy to secret military information. Similarly, unlike all varieties of West European pseudo-Trotskyists, including the West German United Secretariat group, we defend the Berlin Wall. At the time of its construction in 1961, East Germany was suffering from a massive, economically destructive hemorrhage of its skilled workforce. While the East German Stalinists' bureaucratic policies made the wall's

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Backs Poor Little "Democratic Kampuchea"

RSL Denounces "Vietnamese Expansionism"

In its reversion to primeval New Leftism the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a small degenerated Shachtmanite group, has taken to mindless enthusing for any and all violence by whoever qualifies on their scale as the "most oppressed." In recent months it has claimed the New York blackout looting were "revolutionary," hailed the burning to death of wife-beating husbands, justified the murder of an innocent white bystander in a Detroit ghetto explosion and glorified "lumpen rage" generally. Now it has found a new underdog to champion: poor little "Democratic Kampuchea" (Cambodia).

In the squalid border war between Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the RSL has determined that "arrogant" Vietnam is the "oppressor nation," and thus the territorial claims of the xenophobic Stalinist regime of Pol Pot must be supported. It is understandable, of course, that Maoists must champion "Democratic Kampuchea" as one of the unpleasant duties required of sycophants for Peking-style Stalinism. But the RSL's impulse to support what can only be described as the *most* backward and repressive deformed workers state on earth is genuinely perverse, particularly given that they consider *both* Cambodia and Vietnam to be equivalent "state capitalist" societies.

Marxists greeted the historic victory of the Indochinese masses in routing imperialism and throwing out the venal indigenous bourgeoisie, but warned that the Stalinist leaderships which took power could create only deformed workers states. These parasitic nationalistic bureaucracies are a roadblock to the struggle for socialism. The brief but gruesome history of "Democratic Kampuchea" has bloodily confirmed the reactionary nature of this peasant-based Stalinism.

The Khmer Rouge's first triumphal act was to evacuate Phnom Penh at gunpoint, forcing the entire population, including the aged and terminally ill, into the countryside. Thousands died miserably there, lacking food, medicine, tools, and knowledge of how to survive in the war-devastated fields. The country's tiny proletariat was completely destroyed and dispersed. The weak Stalinist bureaucracy's inability to control mass city populations combined with the Khmer Rouge soldiers' outburst of primitive peasant hatred of the cities has resulted in a land of grim forced-labor communes. Having managed to complete the destruction of the already war-torn Cambodian economy, the ruling regime rests on an exceptional degree of coercion and the exacerbation of ethnic hatreds against its neighbors (see "Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok," *WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977). Given the RSL's appetite for "lumpen rage," it is perhaps appropriate that the Stalinist organizers of such excesses of "peasant rage" should find new supporters in these New Left moralists.

The current Indochinese border war is yet further confirmation of the reactionary, counterrevolutionary nature of the Stalinist regimes of both Vietnam and Cambodia, and communists must *oppose* the nationalistic military actions of both sides.

The RSL's formal rationale for supporting Cambodia rests on the simple moralistic equation that "big is

bad" and since Vietnam is the bigger nation and Cambodia the weaker and more backward, Cambodia must be right. In a recent New York City forum and a *Torch* (February 15-March 14) editorial, they insist that "revolutionaries should defend Kampuchea against the expansionism of Vietnam." The RSL asserts that, of course, "Like all capitalist regimes, the new state capitalist governments in Vietnam and Kampuchea are expansionist," but Vietnam is worse, because "with a large population and superior resources, [it] is overpowering Kampuchea."

The historic implications of this worldview, wherein only the weak and small are morally pure and thus have the right to exist, are quite interesting. Surely the RSL must agree, for example, that the Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the globe, and the People's Republic of China, with its 800 million population, were vastly more powerful nations than Syngman Rhee's tiny "Republic of Korea" in 1950, when it clashed with Soviet-backed and Chinese forces. Interestingly enough, the RSL's historic forebears, Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League, *defended* the "independence" of South Korea against Sino-Soviet "expansionism."

"The so-called Northern government is not a government of the Korean people.... The victory of its arms would mean nothing but the extension of the slave power of Stalinism over the whole territory of Korea, and therefore a disastrous blow to the people of Korea and the cause of democracy and socialism everywhere."

—*New Internationalist*, July-August 1950

The RSL's methodology must logically lead it to support this reactionary position which was a watershed in the Shachtmanites' slide into State Department socialism and drive into open apologists for imperialism.

But this only scratches the surface of the question. What, we wonder, would the RSL think if "tiny Taiwan" were invaded by the People's Republic of China today? And, particularly for those familiar with Trotskyist history, the classic case of Finland in 1940 springs immediately to mind. After all, Shachtmanism was born as a tendency in response to the liberal imperialist outcry over the "red imperialist" invasion of "tiny Finland" by the Soviet Union.

In making a case against "arrogant" Vietnam, the RSL has omitted all mention of Cambodia's other historic enemy, Thailand. Cambodia has engaged in a series of border clashes with Thailand for at least as long as it has with Vietnam. Why does the RSL fail to denounce "Thai expansionism"? But beyond that it must be noted that the present Cambodian-Vietnamese conflict occurs in the context of a vast "disillusionment" in liberal-radical circles with the victorious Indochinese Stalinist regimes. Behind today's liberal chorus of "sadder but wiser" recriminations and "second thoughts" lies the attempt by yesteryear's "anti-war activists" to reconcile themselves with liberal imperialism, whose commander-in-chief is—we have no doubt—also concerned with "Vietnamese expansionism."

As opposition to the Vietnam War spread on U.S. campuses during the mid-1960's, the RSL's predecessors in the International Socialists (then the Independent Socialist Clubs) opportunistically dropped their traditional

"Third Camp" position of defeatism and called for victory to the Viet Cong insurgents, tailing the dominant New Left popular support to the Stalinist forces. They attempted to justify this shift on the basis that Vietnam was fighting U.S. imperialism in a war purely for national liberation, denying that a civil war between opposing class forces was going on. At the same time they never explicitly rejected the classic Shachtmanite view of the Viet Cong as agents of Sino-Soviet "imperialism." This weaselly, evasive position caused considerable difficulty then and raises thorny problems for the RSL today, given its current championing of Cambodia against "Vietnamese expansionism."

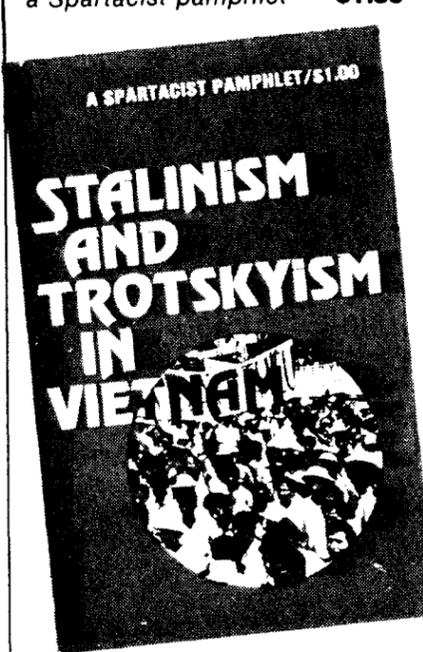
In retrospect, then, it seems that the RSL should condemn the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese (NLF/DRV) operations on Cambodian soil during the war, since Cambodia was officially neutral until May 1970 when U.S. and South Vietnamese troops invaded. It is, after all, precisely those areas which are in contention today between Cambodia and Vietnam, particularly the area known as the "Parrot's Beak," where the NLF/DRV "sanctuaries" were centered. And would the RSL support the capitalist Lon Nol regime's bloody massacre of Vietnamese in Cambodia? Alleging, like the RSL today, that Cambodia was threatened by Vietnamese encroachment, Lon Nol unleashed a frenzy of mass slaughter—Vietnamese settlements were burned to the ground, and western reporters saw scores of decapitated bodies floating downriver.

But if Lon Nol appears too unpalatable and easily dismissed as simply a U.S. puppet, how about "patriotic prince" Norodom Sihanouk's 1967-69 campaign against "Vietnamese influence"—there's a genuine case of Cambodian attempts to maintain "national integrity" for the RSL.

The RSL Writes Indochinese History

According to the RSL, Vietnam has always been the historic aggressor
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Stop LAPD Vendetta Against the Left!

Cops Break Up PL Demo, Sue Victims

LOS ANGELES—A squad of nightstick-wielding L.A. cops brutally attacked a small demonstration called by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) in support of the miners strike on Saturday, February 11 in downtown Los Angeles. According to an eyewitness interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times* (12 February) the commander of the police detail told his men, "That's it. Get 'em." After the dust had settled, six demonstrators were lying on the ground bleeding and five cops had received minor injuries. Twelve protesters were arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon (a picket sign!) and several remain in jail, unable to post bail ranging from \$2,500 to \$10,000.

A police attack upon a demonstration which lands protesters in jail while the cop assailants charge their victims with assault is a standard ploy for disruption of the left. The February 11 LAPD attack, however, was but the latest in a series of cop assaults and harassment of PL in Los Angeles which have developed into a full-blown vendetta. In an ominous twist, individual policemen in L.A. are also *suing their victims* for damages in civil liability suits.

Under the sponsorship of the L.A. Police Protective League, ten Los Angeles cops have filed a \$1 million damage suit against PL, two of its national leaders and 28 demonstrators, who according to this frame-up suit "assaulted" the police. (PL has responded with a \$238 million counter-suit aimed at the Los Angeles Police Department's harassment campaign against them.) The avowed purpose of the cop lawsuit is to bankrupt PL and, if the tactic works, to then go after other left organizations.

The Spartacist League denounces this outrageous attempt by the cops to attack the working-class movement and then use the courts for the purpose of legal robbery. Should the cop suit succeed, it bodes great dangers for the left and labor movement—providing an additional lucrative incentive for brutal cop attacks. All class-conscious militants must demand that the suit be thrown out of court and all charges against the arrested demonstrators dropped!

The incident on which the police lawsuit is based occurred last June 18 during a demonstration sponsored by the PL-dominated Committee Against Racism (CAR) in the L.A. garment center. When cops harassed the demonstrators and threatened them with arrest, a PL spokesman retorted, "We can put them [the police] six feet under and run the country ourselves." The ensuing scuffle resulted in the hospitalization of four cops and one member of CAR and the arrest of 29 demonstrators. Eight of the jailed protesters were

charged with assault with a deadly weapon (again a picket sign) and held on \$10,000 bail each. Several of those arrested were Latin Americans who face the threat of deportation.

In addition to the suit, the LAPD has also hit Progressive Labor with the standard techniques of bourgeois repression. In August it was revealed that one of the defendants in the June 18 attack was a police "red squad" agent who surfaced after attending at least one legal strategy meeting between the defendants and their attorneys. A PL demonstration one week after the original melee, called to protest the police assault, was also broken up by a huge mobilization of L.A. cops which surrounded a small clot of demonstrators and forced their dispersal.

The Los Angeles police have a well deserved reputation for brutality and victimization. In order to avoid legal repercussions from their Gestapo tactics, L.A.'s "finest" spent the month of May 1976 destroying all civilian complaints of police brutality filed against them—four tons of records in all! Ironically, as a result of this shredding operation the defendants charged with misdemeanors in the June 18 clash have been able to obtain a dismissal of charges since the police have willfully destroyed the evidence of past assaults. The felony charges remain, however.

The outrage of cops suing the victims of their attacks also remains, and the ongoing LAPD vendetta against PL. It has always been standard operating procedure for bourgeois state repression to subject militants to continuous fabricated prosecution in order to hamstring left organizations. The Black Panther Party (BPP), for example, was the target of an orchestrated FBI campaign to jail and murder the party's top leadership. And even where street murders and frame-ups were unsuccessful, BPP members spent years in jail defending themselves against one rigged prosecution after another.

Since 1973 the L.A. Police Protective League has been pursuing its civil suit strategy, attempting to steal the funds of their victims (in addition to bankrupting them with attorneys' fees and bail bonds). Jerry Trent, a League director, has openly admitted that one purpose of the suit is to deplete PL's financial resources. David Weitzman, defense attorney in the civil case, says:

"It sets up a situation where the police have a way of picking up a little extra money over and above their regular salary. They know every time they make an arrest they can sue somebody for whatever they claim happened...."

—Los Angeles Times, 8 July 1977

In the idiot adventurist style for which this eclectic Stalinist outfit is renowned, PL's *Challenge* of 30 June characterized police assaults such as the June 18 attack on their demonstration as "stepping stones to revolution," and later boldly announced, "WE ARE GROWING FROM THIS ATTACK!" (*Challenge*, 14 July 1977). Actually, attempts to singlehandedly take on the LAPD—notorious for the jackboot methods of its SWAT teams, its use of attack helicopters and massive firepower as in the 1975 massacre of the "Symbionese Liberation Army"—are more likely to lead to prison, hospitalization or worse. It will take the mass mobilization of a class-conscious proletariat to give these uniformed enforcers of the bourgeoisie what they deserve. While solidarizing with PL against the cop attacks, both physical and legal, we warn militants not to be misled by these fake communists with more guts than brains.

The lawsuit which has resulted from the L.A. police assault on Progressive Labor must be stopped. If this ominous cop victimization tactic is permitted to succeed, leftist militants, strikers on the picket lines and other targets of police ire could be sued for millions for the "crime" of standing in the path of these professional gun thugs in blue. Drop the charges against PL/CAR demonstrators! Smash the cop lawsuit! ■

12 Dead, 23 Injured in Belfast

Criminal IRA Firebombing

LONDON—In one of the most grisly incidents in the seemingly endless cycle of sectarian slaughter in Northern Ireland, 12 people were killed and another 23 injured when a firebomb ripped through the La Mon House Hotel just outside Belfast on February 18. The bomb was reportedly hung to the wall of the hotel, attached to petrol cans which shot a spray of flaming petrol into the crowded hotel. Over 500 people inside, attending both a motorcycle club and a dog club dinner, were trapped between flames and darkness as lights went out. The dead, mainly Protestant, were charred so badly by the fire that their bodies were almost unidentifiable, although the police determined that three married couples and one crippled woman, unable to escape the fire, were among them.

The Provisional IRA, in a statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, admitted responsibility for the carnage with a self-serving apology: "We accept condemnation and criticism from only two sources: from the relatives and friends of those who were accidentally killed and from our supporters—who have rightly and severely criticised us" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 26 February 1978). The statement also added that "All killings and tragedies stem from British interference and the denial of Irish sovereignty."

It is indeed generous of the Provos to "accept" "condemnation and criticism" for this act of indiscriminate terror. When the IRA undertakes actions,

terror bombings of cafes and public places where Catholic and Protestant workers congregate, are no less responsible than are the Orange gangs' attacks on Catholic residential areas for provoking the escalating spiral of bloody terror. The 1976 murder of ten Protestant workers in a mini-bus in Armagh County and the London tube [subway] bombings which terrorise and kill the population at large, IRA disclaimers notwithstanding, are the result of this vicious policy.

Naturally the British government's response to this reeks with hypocrisy, coming from the imperialist forces which have imposed massive repression against the Catholic population of Northern Ireland—from occupying the Catholic ghettos with their own terror squads to wholesale internment and torture in concentration camps like Long Kesh. This latest Provo outrage has predictably become a pretext for various defenders of British imperialism to denounce "violence" while calling for harsher measures against the Catholic nationalists. The Tory spokesman on Ireland, Airey Neave, backed up by almost every Unionist politician in the North, called for yet stiffer anti-IRA measures, while Ulster Unionist MP James Kilfedder—in whose constituency the bombing occurred—demanded reintroduction of the death penalty for terrorists who took lives.

Protestant paramilitary groups, including the reactionary Ulster Defense Association, held a crisis meeting in Belfast following the bombing and

wingers such as Ian Paisley and William Craig immediately called for an all-out mobilisation of the entire Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR) and for an increase in the numbers of Special Air Service (SAS) men operating in the North, while the right-wing London *Daily Telegraph* came out for the reintroduction of internment without trial.

Thus far Northern Ireland Secretary of State Roy Mason has resisted demands for an increase in military repression—largely because he feels he has no need to do so. Already there are 100 police detectives working on the case, the largest team in Northern Ireland's history for a single incident. Additionally there are already 31,000 armed "officers of law and order" in the six counties: "one for every 45 people" according to Mason. In equivalent terms that would amount to 1,200,000 members of the armed forces and police within Britain!

The Royal Ulster Constabulary immediately took advantage of the massive revulsion at the explosion to carry out sweeping mass arrests of known or suspected IRA members in West Belfast. In dawn raids on February 19 they arrested 21 Catholics from the Falls Road area of the city; the following Tuesday another 13 were arrested. While eight of the original 21 have since been released, the rest are being held under the reactionary Prevention of Terrorism Act which was introduced after the November 1974 bombing of a Birmingham pub (see *WV* No. 60, 17 January 1975). It is the elementary duty of socialists and working-class militants to demand the immediate release of all those arrested in the RUC round-up.

The RUC has also produced thousands of posters, to be distributed massively in Catholic areas, showing the charred remains of a body under the screaming headline: "MURDER, MURDER." While the working people of Ulster, Catholic and Protestant alike, have good reason for outrage over this bloody sectarian atrocity, the government posters are aimed at provoking revulsion at the IRA and support for the imperialist state. They do not show the victims of the Loyalist gunmen and the occupying army.

The bombing has pushed Protestant workers closer to the Loyalist demagogues who seek to lead them and may well provoke some murderous response from Orange paramilitaries. Among Protestant workers the response has already been quite marked. On Tues-

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Remains of Belfast restaurant after bombing in February. AP

however misguided or counterproductive, directed against the British imperialist state (the army, Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC], etc.) and its representatives, it is the duty of Leninists to defend the Provos against the reactionary repression. But the fact is that this explosion was simply criminal sectarian slaughter which follows logically from the Provos' petty-bourgeois Catholic Irish nationalism. Such utterly indefensible acts must be sharply condemned by all communists. The fact that a nine-minute warning was allegedly given to the local police in no way lessens this criticism: indiscriminate terror has led in the past and will lead in the future only to the pointless deaths of yet more innocent people.

This latest atrocity is a part of the Provisional IRA's policy of fomenting sectarian violence in the service of nationalism, whose ultimate poisonous logic is genocide. The Provos' random vengeance murders of individual Protestants, the pub bombings like that of the Abercorn Cafe in 1972 and their

issued a scarcely veiled threat of retaliation: "We have given the politicians their chance and we feel we have sat back long enough. Something must be done" (*Sunday Times* [London], 19 February). Notorious Ulster right-

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Boat People...

(continued from page 3)

construction necessary, and recognising that in a Germany reunited under a healthy workers state it would be torn down, it nevertheless represents a defence of the proletarian property forms against resurgent West German capitalism.

Certainly many of the "boat people" are simply refugees from a social revolution. However, the economic mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy not only undermines the revolutionary gains but exacerbates such disaffection. A healthy workers state in which all policies were determined by the toiling masses through democratically elected soviets would be far more capable of enlisting the support of professionals and the middle classes. Only workers political revolution to oust the bureaucratic parasites can open the road to the fullest use of all the resources, human and material, of the workers states.

Marxism and Immigration Policy

The ALP's current moves toward complete opposition to immigration because of the unemployment crisis—"left-winger" Moss Cass, the Labor spokesman on immigration, is now calling for immigration to be "cut to the bone"—is thoroughly reprehensible to proletarian internationalists. "White Australian" opposition to immigration expresses only the chauvinist protectionism of the labour bureaucracy. On

the other hand we do not raise the demand for "open borders." The miserly standard of living of the Asian masses will not be raised if they all go elsewhere. Not only is such a "solution" utopian; on a sufficient scale immigration flows only exacerbate national antagonisms and in extreme cases could even wipe out the national identity of smaller countries. Only after the triumph of international socialism, eliminating the age-old problem of scarcity, can the state, and therefore borders and immigration laws, be abolished.

While aggressively opposing all forms of racially and nationally discriminatory quotas, communists do not advise capitalist governments on their necessarily chauvinist and exploitative immigration policy, which opens and closes its portals in line with economic and political expediency. We intransigently defend the rights of migrant workers—"legal" or not—against chauvinist persecution and deportation. We demand full citizenship rights for all migrants.

We care little for the anti-communist Vietnamese who are currently the darlings of the Australian bourgeoisie; we are on the other hand vitally concerned with the fate of our class brothers and sisters who seek to escape from under the thumbs of right-wing dictatorships around the world. But we understand as well that the plight of the exploited masses can be relieved only through their mobilisation in a struggle against their exploiters—the bourgeoisie—and for the international dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

Burn It Again...

(continued from page 1)

Make this the last time Miller and the negotiators try to dismantle key UMWA gains and shackle the union with onerous legal restraints to break the militancy of the ranks. Elect delegates to an emergency UMWA convention to prepare the union for the struggle! Oust Miller, Perry, Dawes, Antal and the rest of the bunch who keep approving government-written contracts which serve only the interests of the BCOA! Establish democratically chosen strike committees at the district level and a national strike committee to replace the present bargaining council which can produce nothing but sellouts!

Some press reports have referred to the new pact as a "modified 1974 agreement." It must be remembered that the previous contract was the cause of three years of bitter wildcats because of its unworkable, pro-company arbitration system; inadequate funding of the health, welfare and pension funds; and the lack of an explicit right to strike. But it is clear that the new agreement, like those before it, accepts at least in principle the drastic takeaway demands desired by the operators.

At press time there has been no official statement of the pact's outlines. However from leaked reports it is stated that the pensions of those miners who retired before 1976 will be raised \$25 monthly immediately, instead of over a three-year period in previous offers. Yet the tremendous disparity of more than \$200 a month will remain and older retirees will continue to live on starvation pensions. As for the "improved" wage offer, this amounts to no more than 25 cents an hour over the life of the contract.

On medical coverage, the free health care provided under previous contracts has still not been restored. The deductibles have only been slightly reduced, to \$200 annually for working miners. As in the previous offers, the vast majority of UMWA miners would be covered by commercial insurance plans, thereby

virtually dooming the miners clinics.

But the key issue remains the right to strike. On the surface the BCOA has withdrawn its demand for a "workforce stability package" which would allow the companies to fire "instigators" of wildcat strikes. (This was simply an indirect way to obtain a no-strike contract.) But according to the 15 March *New York Times*:

"The withdrawal was only apparent, or at least only partial, union officials said. "In place of the stability package, the agreement today reportedly specified in an attached memorandum of agreement" that the union and the companies would be bound by the terms of an even harsher anti-wildcat plan handed down late last year by the three-member Arbitration Review Board. "The plan from the board... would permit the suspension and discharge of wildcat strike leaders under less conclusive evidence than was required under the withdrawn package."

The supposed advantage of this procedure is that the ruling, "ARB 108," could be challenged in court (unlike the contract provisions themselves). However, it is ludicrous to hope that the bourgeois courts with their company judges and their Taft-Hartley laws will be more sympathetic to the workers' cause. They may modify ARB 108, but quite likely to make it harsher. The courts and Congress have mounted a concerted assault on "unsanctioned" strikes, threatening stiff criminal penalties for wildcaters. And the courts have held that any contract with a grievance procedure has an implied no-strike clause. It is precisely this issue—the heart of the present strike and of the coalfield wildcats since 1974—that the new "deal" throws to the judges to arbitrate!

Burn Sellout No. 3! For two-bits an hour and \$25 a month they want to force you into a disguised no-strike contract which abolishes the UMWA health card. After 100 days of a bitter strike, with hundreds of miners arrested, scores injured and some killed, in the face of cops, National Guard and now Taft-Hartley, the UMWA ranks have successfully resisted the coal operators' attack and backstabbing by their own leaders. Don't give in now! Vote it down! ■



Nazis on the run in St. Louis

Nazis Routed in St. Louis

American Nazis seeking to parade through South St. Louis with their swastikas and "white power" banners were routed by angry crowds on Saturday, March 11. This mobilization to prevent the Hitler adulators of the "National Socialist Party of America" from establishing themselves in St. Louis is a victory in the battle to crush these racist, terrorist thugs.

Forty-one uniformed brownshirts, most of them from out of town and led by their Chicago-based Führer Frank Collin, met in the newly established Nazi headquarters in St. Louis for a "national convention." This was to have culminated in a march from their Chippewa Street storefront to a rally in Gravois Park. But despite extremely heavy police protection (including a bus and two vans full of cops, a motorcycle escort and patrolmen lining the parade route) the fascists were afraid to face the anti-Nazi crowds, estimated at 3,000 by the police.

Hundreds of counterdemonstrators (including members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League and red-helmeted members of the Revolutionary Socialist League) were waiting in Gravois Park for the Nazis to arrive. Faced with the massive outpouring of opposition to their provocation, the fascists huddled with their police protectors and decided to cancel the race-hate rally. Instead they drove briefly down the street on the back of an open truck, where they ineffectually defended themselves with swastika-decorated shields against a barrage of snowballs, stones and bottles hurled by the booping crowds.

"It would have been suicide to walk through there," one cop commented afterwards, to which Collin agreed. This debacle is particularly humiliating for the tiny St. Louis Nazi group, which blustered last October after a clash with anti-Nazi demonstrators in which several of the fascists, including Collin, were bloodied: "Next time we'll put the fear of God into them. We'll kill them if they touch us."

Following the decisions of appellate courts in allowing a projected Nazi march in the largely Jewish Chicago suburb of Skokie, Illinois, a Missouri judge refused to grant a restraining order against the fascist parade. The St. Louis "convention" and attempted rally were in fact intended as a test run for the Skokie parade, scheduled for April 20—Hitler's birthday. But St. Louis has demonstrated that the cowardly storm-troopers can indeed be stopped. These vermin must be run out of every city where they raise their heads!

Only the intervention of the cops

allowed the Nazi scum to escape intact. After the abortive "march," the fascists were escorted to a police stationhouse to allow them to change clothes and slip away. Meanwhile over a hundred cops in riot gear with dogs and clubs stayed behind to defend the Nazi headquarters against the Gravois Park demonstrators, who marched on it when they heard the brownshirts had canceled their rally. Club-wielding police arrested six protesters there, once again underlining that ultimately the forces of capitalist "law and order" will stand together with the fascist terrorists, who are held in reserve as the bourgeoisie's last line of defense against revolutionary upsurges of the working class and oppressed.

We demand the immediate release of the arrested anti-Nazi demonstrators in St. Louis! No reliance on the racist cops and courts—For labor/black defense to smash the Nazis! ■

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Abortion Clinics Bombed in Akron

"Right to Life" Is Murder, Inc.

CLEVELAND, March 7—For several weeks "right-to-life" forces in Ohio have been gearing up for an offensive against liberalized abortion laws. And, as has frequently been the case during the past months, these hypocrites' efforts on behalf of the church, family and right-wing political causes have not been confined to prayer vigils and back-room legislative lobbying but have been more genuine expressions of their vicious anti-woman and ultimately *murderous* program. (It is no accident that most of the "right-to-lifers" are also fervent advocates of the death penalty and defenders of Vietnam war criminal Lt. William Calley.)

On February 19 someone posing as a delivery man and carrying a plastic bag full of gasoline entered the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland, forced his way into the operating room, splashed the gasoline into the eyes of a technician, temporarily blinding her, and spread it around the room. He then set fire to the room and fled.

In the next room a 20-year-old woman, in the middle of an abortion, was forced to jump off the operating table, as flames and smoke engulfed her, and run from the premises along with 15 other patients who were dressed only in paper gowns.

tions at a suburban Washington, D.C. clinic and after six forced entries for the purpose of harassing patients and shutting down the facility, picketers once again barged into the Northern Virginia Women's Medical Center, threw two administrators to the floor, injured a nurse and trampled on a woman who was six-and-a-half months pregnant. Charged with trespassing, the picketers were acquitted. "They had a good faith belief," said Judge Lewis Griffith, "that their actions were necessary to save lives."

Although the "pro-life" movement has downplayed its affiliation with the Catholic Church in the attempt to broaden its base among fundamentalist right-wingers—many of whom are anti-Catholic—the Church remains its principal financial and moral backer. As early as 1972 the National Catholic Conference of Catholic Bishops set up the Bishops Committee for Pro-Life Activities. This committee has used its considerable resources to disseminate a steady stream of propaganda among priests, Catholic schools and organizations and women in general. In 1974 the Bishops Conference also set up a separate political action group, the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, which works closely with



WV Photo

Striking Israeli seamen aboard the Zim-California in Long Beach harbor.

U.S. Threatens Deportation

Defend Striking Israeli Seamen in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Seventy striking Israeli seamen, occupying two ZIM container ships in Long Beach harbor, are threatened with deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The crews of the *ZIM-California* and the *ZIM-Haifa* are among the more than 3,000 Israel Seamen's Union (ISU) members who have been on strike around the world for over a month against the ZIM Line Container Ship Service.

The INS has refused to renew the seamen's 29-day visas beyond a single five-day extension which expired March 1. Visa extensions are routinely granted by the INS in cases where a ship is unable to leave port. Although the visas have expired, the crews remain on the ships, and no date has yet been set for deportation hearings.

Seamen aboard the *ZIM-California* told *WV* that "the company is trying to break the strike" by using the visa expirations to force the sailors off the ships, which could then be manned by scab crews. One seaman added that "the minute the INS deports us, they are part of the strike on the side of the company." Even so, the seamen indicated their intention to obey a court order: "If a judge decides we will leave, we will leave."

Unless the California labor movement, particularly the maritime unions, mobilizes in defense of the Israeli seamen's strike, there is no reason to expect the U.S. government, which is currently on the offensive against striking miners with a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order, to cease and desist on the visa issue. But the West Coast seamen's and longshore unions have done nothing to support the threatened strikers.

Tony Salcido, secretary of ILWU Local 13 (the Los Angeles area longshore local) told *WV* that his local was "on record to support them any way we can. We are respecting their picket line." But when asked if ILWU longshoremen would unload the ships if the strikers were replaced with scab crews, Salcido said only that "the situation will get hairy [and] that's something we'll have to face when we come to it."

Israeli seamen have been working without a contract for the last three years and have seen their real wages plummet in the face of an annual inflation rate of over 40 percent. After a year of negotiations the ISU struck in January. As ZIM ships reached ports around the globe, sailors stopped work, occupied the ships and prevented the unloading of cargo. Officers and "rat-

ings" (unlicensed seamen), members of separate divisions of the ISU, are striking jointly. The crews have remained aboard the ships, maintaining ships and cargo and preventing the company from replacing them with scab crews.

ISU bargainers in Haifa resumed negotiations on March 5. A 30 percent annual wage increase retroactive to 1976, with 40 percent in 1978, which the union is demanding, represents less than the rise in the cost of living. The company rejects this wage proposal and demands that the seamen accept a no-strike clause in any new contract. The no-strike clause is rightly seen by the seamen as a union-busting measure and a step toward easing the transfer of ZIM ships to registry under foreign "flags of convenience," so that the companies pay lower wages to non-union crews.

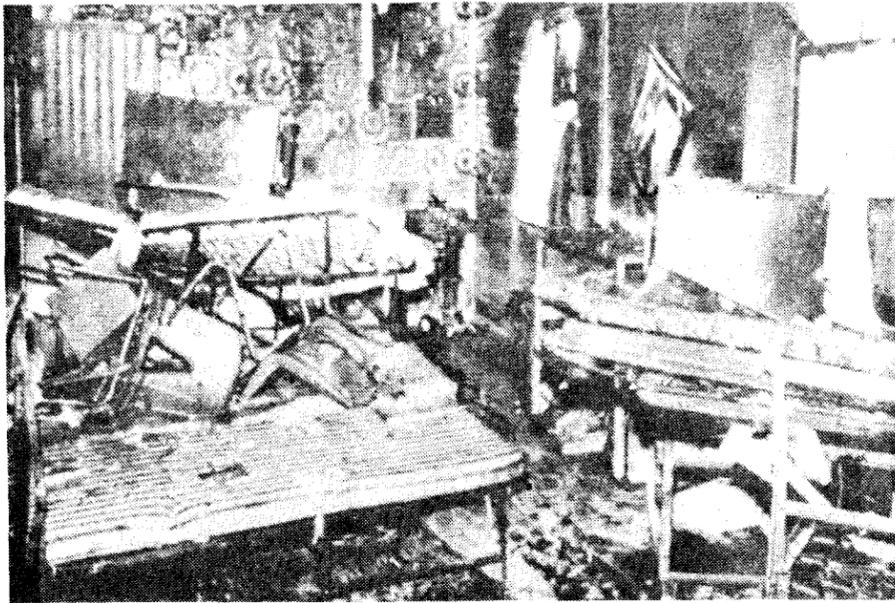
The offensive against the seamen's strike has become the spearhead of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's anti-labor drive. It comes in the context of the government's "free enterprise" austerity program, the "New Economic Policy," which has seen the Israeli pound devaluated by 50 percent in only four months. Austerity measures have been met with considerable resistance from sections of the Israeli working class (see "Begin's Israel: Wage Slashing and Terror Bombing," *WV* No. 182, 18 November 1977).

The ISU is among the most powerful and militant of the Israeli labor unions, though its last major strike (1952) was broken by the government, which used police to remove striking seamen from their ships docked in Israeli ports and replaced them with scab crews. The defeat of the present ISU strike would send a cold shock through the entire Israeli working class, allowing a further step-up in the rate of exploitation to fuel an arms budget already the highest in the world per capita.

In the name of military security, the company has obtained a labor court injunction to prevent seamen from striking oil tankers and bulk cargo carriers. The ISU leadership, accepting the logic of national chauvinism, has agreed to abide by the labor court ruling, and union crews continue to man these vessels.

ZIM has also chartered over 40 foreign ships in an effort to break the strike, and, according to the sailors, Israeli Minister of Transport Amit has bragged that "the strike can go on forever" without damage to the Israeli economy. Furthermore, Ben Zion Berg-

continued on page 8



AP

Cleveland Women's Clinic after attack.

The fire, which caused \$30,000 in damages and put the clinic out of business, is the most serious of a number of recent incidents of violence and vandalism which have been reported across the country.

The anti-abortion groups have denied all responsibility for these attacks, disingenuously suggesting that they are the work of clinic personnel, rival clinics or dissatisfied clients and their families. In fact clinic personnel, clients and their families have been the victims of the violence and threats of violence.

Furthermore, regardless of the perpetrator in Cleveland, these attacks are clearly part of an organized, nationwide campaign of intimidation and terrorization. During the last year at least five other clinics have been forced to close or move because of fire, firebombs or chemical bombs, while others have experienced repeated vandalism, threatening telephone calls and hostile mobs. Some have hired security guards or provided escorts for their patients.

The response of the "guardians of law and order" to these murderous attacks has been one of deliberate, criminal negligence. On February 11, after more than a year of anti-abortion demonstra-

other "pro-life" groups and employs professional lobbyists to continually introduce bills demanding the reversal of the Supreme Court decision permitting abortion.

Late last month the apartments of *continued on page 11*

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SWP Covers for Miller...

(continued from page 2)

it be said that the SWP didn't cover its ass!

The miners, however, care a great deal whether they win or lose, and will not simply "continue discussing." In addition to demanding the ouster of the ineffectual, pro-company sellout Miller leadership they have steadfastly resisted Carter's attempts to strongarm the union. Following the imposition of Taft-Hartley last week *WV* responded by headlining the miners' traditional battle cry, "You Can't Mine Coal With Bayonets!" under the demand, "Coal Miners: Defy Slave Labor Law!" The *Militant*, that bloodless "socialist News-week," was content to quote *miners* saying they would not obey the injunction. As the miners march through the streets of Charleston denouncing the government strikebreaking we would not be surprised to see the SWP trailing along behind plaintively pleading, "Peaceful! Legal! Peaceful! Legal!" as they did in Boston when pro-busing demonstrators prepared to fight off attacks by the racists.

The 1978 miners strike has been a dramatic confirmation of the Trotskyist thesis that the crisis of working-class leadership is key to the deadlock of trade-unionism. The near-total collapse of the UMWA leadership—from the cowardly Arnold Miller to the second layer of so-called "dissidents"—has graphically demonstrated not only that the union bureaucracy is the agent of the bosses within the labor movement, but also that its privileged position is mortally threatened by any outbreak of militant struggle. And this is true for phony "reformers" like Miller as much as for the octogenarian reactionaries of the Meany stripe.

The present crisis is the direct outgrowth of the 1972 victory of Miners for Democracy (MFD), which ousted the gangster-ridden Boyle regime only to replace it with handpicked lackeys of the Labor Department. At the time the Spartacist League was virtually alone on the left in opposing Miller's candidacy because of the grave danger to the independence of the union posed by federal intervention. We wrote:

"The Miners for Democracy is the captive creature of the liberal section of the bourgeoisie and has been subordinated to these interests from the start.... Miller has no real program and he must keep faith only with the Labor Department/liberal Democrat cabal which installed him at the head of the UMW."

—"Labor Department Wins Mineworkers' Election," *WV* No. 17, March 1973

In contrast, the SWP joined the rest of the left in lauding the MFD "insurgents" and their promise of "cleaning up the union" in conjunction with the capitalist government.

But these ex-Trotskyists seek to be more than cheerleaders for union "progressives"; their chosen role is as educational and research directors, editors and sundry advisors to the liberal wing of the union bureaucracy. Thus the SWP is concerned above all to prove that it is a reliable support when the going gets rough. Thus at the time of the 1974 negotiations, when miners were burning the contract in the coalfields, the 20 December 1974 *Militant* came out in favor of the sellout with a headline declaring "How to Defend Gains [!] in New Miners Pact." Another article, "Coal Mines Reopen as Contract is Ratified," implied that everyone who fought against ratification was a Boyle agent.

As Miller self-destructed the SWP began looking around for a new hero. Last year's Sadlowski challenge in the United Steelworkers didn't pan out, so beginning in August the *Militant* began touting ex-UMWA secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick. Here was a man who was

a leader of the MFD and at the same time would indulge in a little "left" rhetoric about a labor party. Little matter that he supported Carter's election and vehemently supported Miller in opposing the coalfield wildcats. "The contract will not be reopened," he told the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (31 August 1975). "The right-to-strike people can strike till Hell freezes over."

Coming in third in the 1977 UMWA presidential election after Miller and Boyle supporter Lee Roy Patterson, Patrick pledged to go back to the mines in Barrackville, West Virginia and keep up the good fight. For the next six months he was quoted in every *Militant* article on coal, and at the end of the year the SWP featured him in a two-part interview. To its embarrassment, the very day of the *Militant's* second installment—23 December 1977—the *New York Times* broke the news that

Patrick was quitting the union! On the lookout for a cushy job, he was quoted in the *Times* as saying he had "learned to love Quiche Lorraine and Grand Marnier.... if there was any kind of other job offer that came along I'd do it."

Sure enough, the offer was made. Now Harry Patrick works for Jimmy Carter as regional director of ACTION, the "domestic Peace Corps," at a reported salary of \$35,000 a year. He has since disappeared from the pages of the *Militant* and was last quoted in the 1 March *Bluefield West Virginia Telegraph* encouraging the miners to ratify Carter's contract. So much for the reformists' latest bureaucratic darling.

In the *Militant's* 24 February article on the first (Miller) tentative agreement, the SWP again praised the "democratic gains" of Miller's 1972 election victory. The Spartacist League has instead

pointed to the tremendous threat of government intervention facing the miners, from Taft-Hartley on down to the Labor Department writing of the contract and maneuvering within the UMWA to engineer its acceptance. The precondition for union democracy, we have pointed out, is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state. As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940 at the time the American workers were fighting to build the CIO:

"The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

"The second slogan is: *trade union democracy.* This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state. In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class.... The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of the workers and for obstructing the revolution, or on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

RSL...

(continued from page 4)

against Cambodia:

"Before the French came, the Vietnamese ruling classes had been expanding into neighboring lands for more than 800 years. Many of these lands had been under Kampuchean rule (although not always inhabited by ethnic Kampuchians). Much of what is now southern Vietnam, including the rich Mekong Delta, was part of Kampuchea as recently as 200 years ago. There are still more than half a million Kampuchians living in Vietnam today."

Actually, there are probably somewhat more than a half a million "Kampuchians" in Vietnam today, given the fact that large numbers of refugees from Pol Pot's "socialist paradise" have found their historic oppressors' country preferable to life in "Democratic Kampuchea." And the RSL omits the fact that there were also some 400,000 *Vietnamese* living in Cambodia at the time of the 1954 division of French Indochina into Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam—those same Vietnamese imprisoned, persecuted and slaughtered by Lon Nol.

Although the RSL pretends that the region's history only began in the 13th century, the real history of the region is far more complex. The period of Annamite (Vietnamese) expansion southward into areas previously held by the Khmers (Cambodians) commenced about 800 years prior to the advent of French imperialist domination of Indochina. (The Annamese were themselves under pressure from China to the north.)

However, if we go back only an additional 100 years, to the 12th century, the picture changes dramatically. Then the Khmer empire, under the divine king enthroned at Angkor Wat, was at the height of its power, controlling most of the Indochinese peninsula from the Mekong Delta to the Irrawaddy river in Burma. It had expanded its realm to include these areas by conquering and trampling over the peoples in *its* way.

Further, it was never simply a question of Annamites versus Khmers—there existed at one time an entire people, the Chams, whose kingdom lay between Annam and the Khmers, and which was completely ground up and dispersed between the two stronger warring peoples. What about the historic injustice done to *them*? Those remnants of the Cham people still around today must surely consider the RSL's parenthetical note that the areas under Khmer rule "were not always inhabited by ethnic Kampuchians" the very height of insensitivity to their near-total obliteration!

We wonder if the RSL has thought through the implications of its historical methodology. If history began 800 years ago in Indochina, where do they think it began in the Near East, for example? Why, only 2,000 years ago the Egyptians

were busy enslaving the oppressed Hebrew people, weren't they? How can the RSL then question Begin's terror bombing and drive for "territorial adjustments" to rectify the historic injustice done "Eretz Israel" back then?

The possibilities are endless. How about the historic injustices done the native population of North America some 200 years ago? Perhaps the RSL thinks the entire state of Maine should be returned to the Indians, as some are now demanding? Or should the entire immigrant population which has arrived in the last 250 years collectively commit suicide, since their descendants are far too many now to return to their ancient homes? And so on.

The logic of the RSL's search for pure cases of "the most oppressed" to defend leads literally to oblivion, for in fact *any* historic people which has survived into the 20th century has done so at the expense of weaker peoples, and at some time or another in the past has been the "oppressor." The central aim of Marxism is to *transcend* this pattern of human progress, which has been characteristic of the entire course of human civilization. The end result of the RSL's moralistic methodology, however, leads precisely to the perpetration of this pattern of bloody, vicious nationalism.

For Political Revolution in Indochina! For an Indochinese Socialist Federation!

Given the complex history of the peoples of Indochina—including not only the Khmers, Laotians and Vietnamese, but also sizeable minorities of Chinese and various primitive mountain tribes in both Vietnam and Laos—it is obvious that the national question, with the ambiguous and murky border situations, requires careful resolution. But this will never be achieved by the mutual land-grabbing, military adventures, narrow nationalism and ethnic-hatred policies of the Stalinist regimes.

In the early years of the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks elaborated a broad program of autonomous regions and republics for the diverse peoples under their rule to ensure their national rights. A similar policy would be developed by revolutionaries in Indochina today, in the context of an Indochinese socialist federation. The entire area along the Mekong river is geographically an economic unit, whose development requires the integration of the various countries' economies under the leadership of the economically most advanced Vietnam (this is *de facto* occurring already in Laos). But given the Stalinists' policies of exacerbation of racial tension, this can only be accomplished through the overthrow of the nationalist bureaucracies by a workers political revolution. The road to socialism in Indochina lies through the creation of Trotskyist parties, as part of the reorganizing of the Fourth International, to lead the proletariat to victory! ■

Israeli Seamen...

(continued from page 7)

er, ISU representative on the *ZIM-California*, said that the union has no strike fund or benefits and that any contract agreement will not be submitted to the membership for ratification. It all adds up to the serious danger of defeat.

Labor bureaucrats by definition hamstring the workers and bow before the wishes of "their" government, but in Israel the labor movement is more directly integrated into the state apparatus than in many other capitalist countries. The ISU is a part of the Histadrut, not a genuine union federation, but rather a corporatist "labor" arm of the Zionist movement.

For 30 years before Begin's election last year, the Israeli "Labor" Party (or its predecessor, the Mapai party), closely linked to the Histadrut, governed the Zionist state. Moreover, the Histadrut *owns* 10 percent of ZIM lines, the remainder being owned by the government (50 percent) and private stockholders (40 percent). Clearly, the "Labor" Party politicians hope to ride the present wave of working-class discontent back into the seats of parliament and government power without rocking the Zionist ship of state more than necessary. The false consciousness of Zionist national chauvinism serves to channel worker militancy against Arab workers instead of the real enemy, the capitalist class, thus blocking the conscious development of the class struggle.

Reportedly more than 90 percent of the same seamen who are now pitted directly against the Begin government, for example, voted for this Zionist butcher in the last election. Now they are discovering that "the national interest," that hobby horse of wage-slashing bourgeois politicians, is the class interests of the exploiters. The fight of the Israeli seamen against Begin's anti-labor policies is a just struggle which must be defended. Internationalist support to this strike can help drive a wedge between the Hebrew-speaking workers and their Zionist rulers. Victory to the ISU strike. No deportations! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU/Miners

(continued from page 12)

concerned to demonstrate solidarity with the miners strike since the 1971 ILWU/ILA longshore strike was broken up by a Taft-Hartley injunction and the capitulation of former ILWU president Harry Bridges and ILA president Teddy Gleason. With the ILWU facing tough contract talks in June, the outcome of Carter's Taft-Hartley intervention will have a direct effect on the West Coast dock union's ability to fight. Worries among the ranks were amplified by the capitulation of International president Jimmy Herman to a local judge's order against solidarity actions with the ILA strike last October.

Parallel to the Local 13 action, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, members of the Local 10 (S.F. longshore) Executive Board and publishers of "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition newsletter in the local, along with the Militant Caucus in Local 6, began circulating a petition on March 8 to "call on president Herman and the Bay Area ILWU local presidents to organize a 24-hour Bay Area-wide protest strike against government strikebreaking in the coalfields." The petition quoted a statement made by Herman at a February 24 rally, where he boasted: "If they try mining coal with bayonets or visit harm on the miners, there will be actions here and throughout the country...."

With a couple of days' circulation the petition gathered over 100 signatures in Local 10 and 150 in Local 6, as well as the signatures of Local 13 president Art Almeida and Seattle Local 19 president Dick Moork. This petition was an important factor in forcing the Local 10

The following motion was passed by a vote of 44 to 1 at the March membership meeting of Amalgamated Transit Local 1555 (Bay Area Rapid Transit operators and station agents).

WHEREAS: The Carter government has invoked the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley act in an attempt to force the coal miners back to work.

THEREFORE:

1. We the members of ATU Local 1555, are in favor of a one-day stop-work mass labor rally of all Bay Area labor in solidarity with the miners and against government strikebreaking.

2. We will communicate this motion to all Bay Area labor unions and will participate in and build such a mass protest rally.

Executive Board on March 9 to come out for some kind of solidarity action in support of the miners strike.

Strike Support Coalition

Herman himself had made the call for solidarity actions before some 1,000 assembled trade unionists at a February 24 rally organized by the so-called "Miners Strike Labor/Community Support Coalition," a collection of top Bay Area labor bureaucrats such as John Crowley of the Central Labor Council and Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100. When this coalition held an organizing meeting March 11 at the Retail Clerks headquarters, about 200 trade union militants showed up, clearly upsetting the conservative trade union tops. Early in the meeting the Coalition's co-chairman, Larry Wing, president of ILWU Local 10, mentioned that the ILWU IEB favored a 24-hour coastwide work stoppage and was calling the rest of labor to join in. Wing also noted the IEB had voted a \$25,000 donation to the mine workers as well as a \$1 per-month/per-member assessment of the ILWU membership for the miners' families.

At this point a militant Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) worker announced that a similar motion (see box) for a "one day stop work mass labor rally of all Bay Area labor" had been passed 44 to 1 at a membership meeting of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 on March 8. Noting the parallel course of the two unions, she put forward a motion calling for implementing the work-stoppage motions and extending them to Bay Area labor as a whole:

"This body calls for a 24-hour Bay Area-wide stop-work protest strike against government strikebreaking in the coalfields. We urge all local unions and the Central Labor Council of all nine Bay Area counties to immediately prepare for such an action."

This simple motion immediately polarized the meeting, for the encrusted U.S. labor bureaucracy cannot abide even such elementary actions of class solidarity. Caught off guard, the nervous bureaucrats sought a way out of this dilemma and found it with the criminal aid of the Communist Party (CP) and the SWP. While both groups are vying to play chief hatchetman against labor militancy for the union tops, at this meeting the SWP clearly led the pack in wrecking the chances of solidarity strike action.

The fight which followed found the CP supporters caught in the middle. With the BART militants' motion simply calling for implementing the ILWU resolution, they did not want to completely disavow it. But aware that the ILWU bureaucracy was seeking to minimize its impact, neither did they want to go too far out on a limb. Thus early on in the heated discussion Franklin Alexander, well-known CP supporter in ILWU Local 6, said he was "not ready" to vote for such a motion because it was "too soon," and later tried to kill it by referring it to the steering committee. (Ironically Billy Proctor, a CP supporter in Local 10, had signed the "Longshore Militant" petition earlier in the week.)

But the SWP supporters present did not beat around the bush. Mobilizing their small army of hitherto silent "Coalition" members to come out and defeat the motion, they effectively denounced the ILWU resolution as "ultra-left"! First Roland Sheppard, SWP floor leader, openly attacked the solidarity motion on the grounds that: 1) "The job of this body is to support the miners" [read Miller]; 2) "The ILWU actually isn't calling for the action, only looking for the mood in the ranks"; and 3) One must "walk before you run." Actually the SWP is on its hands and knees, a position it got used to during its 1960's peace crawls. And as if the miners who have been on strike for three months would not appreciate the support of a solidarity strike, John Olmstead, a Teamster, seconded Sheppard's remarks and actually cautioned that the motion would "alienate the union membership!"

Against the BART militant's motion for strike action the SWP was pushing an elaborate eight-part resolution which with all of its clauses did not advocate anything more militant than establishing a miners' support group to put out general propaganda, collect canned goods and so forth. Meanwhile the bureaucrats were scrambling to get off the hook. Joe Figueiredo, Local 6 business agent and a CP-supporter, lined up with the SWP-backed proposal, pausing only to squabble over the composition of the steering committee. Larry Wing, who had first raised the ILWU position in the meeting, said action was up to the International and ended up abstaining on the solidarity strike motion. International ILWU president Jimmy Herman left the meeting hurriedly to avoid making a commitment.

Speakers in favor of the work-stoppage motion included Stan Gow and Howard Keylor from the ILWU; Earl Gilman, supporter of the "Trotskyist Organizing Committee" and a

member of AFSCME Local 1650; and Leo Seidlitz, hospital worker from the University of California Medical Center. Other supporters included trade unionists from the Seamen's Union of the Pacific, the IBEW, and numerous others.

By voting time the several score SWP supporters had lined up a solid voting bloc of themselves and the most rabid right-wing bureaucrats present. Even so the first voice vote was disputed and a second hand vote was only defeated by a margin of roughly 120 to 70, with CP supporters such as Figueiredo, Franklin and several others abstaining. As if this wasn't enough, the SWP even opposed a subsequent proposal for nothing more frightening than a Saturday rally. (This was tabled to the steering committee!) As a sop, the body adopted a motion from a supporter of the tiny Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist) to "stop all movement of coal"—a virtually meaningless motion since no coal moves through the Bay Area docks.

This sabotage of the solidarity strike proposal is the most blatant proof yet that the SWP's "turn to the unions" means covering for the bureaucrats and outright sabotage of vitally needed militant labor action. Surely the spectacle of these "socialists" denouncing the call of the ILWU Executive Board as, in substance, adventurist is downright grotesque. No conscious union militant can consider these reformists as anything but despicable *betrayers* of labor's cause. Because they are seeking to establish themselves as sophisticated braintrusts and apparatchiks for the liberal wing of labor officialdom these pimps for the bureaucracy are fiercely determined to maintain capitalist stability—sometimes even more so than the union tops themselves, who are occasionally subject to pressure from the ranks. *Today the most rabid opponent of sympathy protest strikes to aid the miners—excepting only the reactionary Meanyites—is the SWP!*

At the time of the 1974 AFL-CIO-sponsored jobs rally in Washington—which took place against the backdrop of massive auto layoffs—the SWP proffered its skills in "building mass movements" to the union tops. In particular the *Militant* crowed about how with their experience in crowd control the SWP could have prevented the disruption of Hubert Humphrey's speech by thousands of militant unionists. But the AFL-CIO had no use for specialists in crowd control.

Now with the mine strike the SWP has gotten its first real chance to show its stuff by building tightly controlled "strike support" rallies as a means of siphoning off rank-and-file anger. No one can fault them for falling down on *this* job. However the going has been rough in places, for the militancy of the miners has spilled over to other sectors of the working class—such as West Coast dockers—threatening to upset their best laid plans. That is why the SWP feels obliged to come out four-square *against* solidarity strike action.

Thus at the San Francisco February 24 kickoff rally for the "support coalition," where SWPers lined the walls as marshalls, Central Labor Council leader John Crowley invoked Carter's "human rights" and compared the miners' plight to the "oppression in the Soviet Union." This remark brought a chorus of boos and hisses from the audience, but no mention in the March 10 *Militant* report on the event. In Los Angeles, a similar SWP-engineered support coalition is avoiding all talk of industrial action, instead preaching

reliance on the capitalist government by calling for union resolutions to "urge president Carter and our elected representatives to put pressure on the BCOA corporations to accede to the just demands of the coal miners for their human rights"! Such was the liberal garbage pushed by the SWP's Peter Camejo and others at the March 9 meeting at the L.A. USWA Local 1845 hall.

In normal times the bureaucracy would have little trouble squelching a move to turn one of its hollow resolutions into a real action campaign. Many an ILWU IEB resolution has remained a dead letter. An April 28, 1973 ILWU stop-work action against Nixon's wage-price freeze was turned into a *Saturday* rally for the Democratic Party with the featured speaker being then-mayor Joseph Alioto! But these are not normal times.

The large vote at the Coalition meeting in favor of a protest strike against Taft-Hartley, the militant sentiment of many ILWU locals, and the BART workers' near-unanimous resolution—all indicate it is possible at this moment to turn the bureaucrats' paper resolutions into action. Solidarity strike action is key to winning the miners strike. The ILWU resolution, representing the first step by an international union in this direction, must be immediately implemented! ■

IRA...

(continued from page 5)

day, February 21, 800 electricity workers downed tools during the funeral of two of their fellow workers. The next day most of the province's industry ground to a halt in the biggest stoppage since Paisley's abortive strike of ten months ago, as another five people were buried. The big shipyard, aircraft and engineering works—Harland & Wolff, Short Brothers, Mackies—all closed for the day, while some 3,500 workers attended a memorial service in torrential rain at Belfast city centre. There they heard Thomas Passmore of the Orange Order denounce the British for insufficient military saturation of Catholic areas and call for a step-up in army activity. "On behalf of the innocent dead I demand justice; on behalf of the innocent living I demand protection," he declaimed.

Justice and protection for the oppressed and exploited working people of Northern Ireland can never come from appeals by Passmore and his ilk to the bloody imperialist state. His "justice" and "protection" are nothing but a call to *step up* anti-Catholic terror. Protection can be afforded only by the creation of integrated anti-sectarian workers' militias, which, tied to a vanguard Trotskyist party, will defend *both* Protestant and Catholic communities against sectarian-nationalist and imperialist terror. Justice will be done only when the workers of Ireland join forces against their exploiters, both Orange and Green, in the struggle for a socialist federation of the British Isles.

The La Mon House bombing was not simply an "unfortunate by-product of anti-imperialist warfare" as the IRA would have it; it is an integral part of the Provos' policy of whipping up sectarian hatred. But being a Catholic Irish nationalist does not bestow the right to blow up innocent people, even "by accident," any more than being an English socialist obliges one to *excuse* such atrocities.

Only by striking out on the path of proletarian revolution can a break be made from the vicious spiral of sectarian violence and counter-violence in Ireland. For that a programme aimed at splitting the Catholic and Protestant communities along *class*, not communal, lines is needed—the programme of revolutionary Trotskyism uniquely upheld today by the Spartacist League (British sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency). ■

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Coal Strike...

(continued from page 1)

and the government stymied as to how to end the strike.

The motor force of this powerful strike has been the unmatched militancy and solidarity of the mineworkers. The coal miners have stubbornly resisted not only the onslaught of the BCOA, scab operators, state cops and the National Guard, but have also stood firm in the face of heightened intimidation from the Carter administration. There was never any question that the miners were completely prepared to defy Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction, as they have done so successfully in the past.

In the face of the bourgeoisie's armed strikebreaking menace, thousands of miners have sworn that they would rather die fighting above ground than perish like dogs in the mines under the brutal conditions that the BCOA and Carter seek to impose. Don't give in now! Vote No!

Crisis of Leadership in the UMWA

The greatest immediate threat to the miners strike is not the government or the operators but the UMWA "leaders" who keep feeding one sellout deal after another to the ranks.

Not in decades has a union leadership suffered such a collapse of authority in the midst of a strike as has that of the UMWA. When over 70 percent of the membership, after three months of a hard strike without a paycheck or any strike benefits, voted down the last contract proposal, they delivered a crushing rebuke to their leadership—not only to Arnold Miller, but to the bulk of the district leaders as well. There is an unbridgeable gap between the fighting instincts of the rank and file and both Miller and the bureaucratic "dissidents" of yesteryear and yesterday (Ken Dawes, Jack Perry, etc.) who caved in under the slightest pressure to do the government's bidding.

The strike confirms once again that those union "leaders" who place their confidence in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state and in capitalist politicians, *must* betray. Five years ago, when every other left press was beating the drums for Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy (MFD), *Workers Vanguard* stood alone in our insistence that the Miller gang was no alternative to the corrupt Boyle. In an article published in March 1973, we wrote of the unholy alliance between Miller, the liberal Democrats like Joe Rauh who financed and organized his campaign, and Nixon's Labor Department which ran interference for the MFD against Boyle:

"Scum like Boyle must be thrown out by the organized and conscious union ranks, not by the capitalist government and courts, whose interests lie not in democratizing them, but in destroying them...."

"By establishing Arnold Miller in office, directly dependent on the liberal bourgeoisie and the state apparatus, the government sought to ensure that no real change would be effected in the relationship of forces between the miners and the coal operators."

The title of that article was "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers Election." Let anyone today deny that it has been this same Labor Department, doing the bidding of the BCOA, that has been dictating orders to the UMWA tops these past several months—and, indeed, these past several years!

Miners and other workers must grasp the lesson of the bankruptcy and disintegration of Miners for Democracy. Liberal "reformers" like Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers, who seek to ride into office on the coattails of government intervention in the unions, surrender the one element that is absolutely indispensable to defend the rank and file from the bosses—working-class independence. In exchange for the support of capitalist politicians in installing them in office, they pledge to enforce the decrees of



State cops at Norton, Va. escort truckloads of scab coal past picketers.

pro-company arbitrators, trustees, the courts and the capitalist parties. Thus, at base there is no difference between these fake "progressives" and the Meanys and McBrides and Boyles, who similarly subordinate the interests of workers to the capitalist parties and legal order.

The policies pursued by Miller today are in no way different from the sabotage of every miners wildcat over the past three years. Only the magnitude, scope and intensity of the current struggle is greater. When cast in comparison with the heroic fighting qualities of the rank-and-file miners, pretty boy Miller and the district officials stand out clearly today as the wretched traitors that they are. And so it is with pro-capitalist labor fakers of all stripes—they are utterly incapable of providing militant leadership in any great struggle.

The policies of the UMWA leadership continue to bear absolutely no relation to the aspirations of the rank and file. While the miners prepare to defy Taft-Hartley, the International Executive Board votes to comply with the slave-labor act! With thousands of miners clamoring for Miller's removal, the IEB casts—unanimously—a vote of confidence in Miller!

We say to the miners: your International leadership is worse than useless; it is the primary tool by which the bosses and Carter hope to demoralize you and set one section of the union against another. In the face of this treachery, miners must demand:

- Genuine union democracy and rank-and-file control over the strike.

For a *special UMWA convention*—throw out Miller, Dawes, Perry, Antal and the rest of the traitors. Elect a new bargaining council. Elect district-wide strike committees to coordinate strike activities with other regions and to force an emergency union convention.

- The convention must formulate clear, fighting strike demands. Reject any and all defeatist strategies, such as extending the terms of the 1974 contract combined with a higher wage scale. This will solve none of the problems that forced miners to wildcat continually over the past three years. Instead, miners must fight for such demands as:

- 1) The unlimited right to strike—down with arbitration!
- 2) Full medical and health coverage. End financing on a productivity basis—instead, demand contractual guarantees that there be no cutbacks. Stop blackmail by pro-company arbitrators by demanding *union control* over the welfare and retirement funds.
- 3) For union control over safety.
- 4) Equalization of pensions at the highest levels.
- 5) A big wage boost with full cost-of-living protection.
- 6) Sign up the non-union miners with the UMWA and bring them under this contract.

- In addition, the convention must pledge itself to "No contract, no work," and oppose any separatist back-to-work movement.

- Send mass delegations to unions of Teamsters, auto, steel, rail and maritime workers, demanding coordinated soli-



Demonstrators from Logan County at West Virginia state house protesting Taft-Hartley injunction, March 7.

arity actions including strikes against Taft-Hartley.

Defend the Miners! Smash Taft-Hartley!

The vile treachery of the Miller bureaucracy is rivaled today only by that of their counterparts in the AFL-CIO, the UAW and the Teamsters. The flashy \$1 million and \$2 million dollar donations made to the UMWA by the bureaucracy of the Steelworkers and Auto Workers unions—contributions which in fact amount to barely \$1 for each member of these giant industrial unions—represent both a response to the enthusiasm for the miners strike that exists among the rank and file of these unions and an attempt by the union tops to deflect interest away from more direct militant solidarity actions—such as strikes to defend the miners and smash the Taft-Hartley threat!

Both AFL-CIO leaders like Meany, who has gone on record condoning Carter's invoking of Taft-Hartley, and the UAW's Fraser, who has urged federal seizure of the mines to get the miners back to work, endorse government strikebreaking. They fear more than anything else the militancy of the miners. The longer this powerful strike continues, the more they are caught in a vise between their loyalties to the Carter administration and the desire of their trade-union base to come to the aid of their class brothers and sisters of the UMWA—as well as fight for their own needs with the same militant methods as the miners.

The infamous Taft-Hartley Act—which along with its anti-strike provisions contains the notorious "right to work" Section 14B and prohibits secondary boycotts—is one of the primary tools of the bourgeoisie in throttling the organizing of the unorganized. It can be smashed now. Taft-Hartley continues to exist only because in the 30 years since it was enacted, the central core of the American trade-union leadership has not once challenged it. In response to the invoking of the slave-labor law against the miners, we call for organized work stoppages and mass labor protest meetings. The call by the International Executive Board of the West Coast longshore union, the ILWU, for a coastwide one-day dock shutdown in solidarity with the mine strikers points to what is urgently required. Implement it now! Such strikes in the next week would send tremors of fear through every capitalist politician. That is the way forward to defending the miners, smashing Taft-Hartley and opening the road to organizing the unorganized.

Carter's strikebreaking must be a call to action, as well as an object lesson, for the entire working class. Every serious struggle, every broad and militant defense of the workers' standards, inevitably will lead to a confrontation with the capitalist state, backed up by its armed battalions. Auto, steel, rail, maritime workers and Teamsters: the bosses and their government hold the same treatment in store for you! Thanks to the betrayals of the trade-union bureaucracy the miners have been forced to wage their battle unaided. We call on the entire working class to rise to the defense of the miners. Refuse to handle coal shipments! Mobilize union members to join the miners pickets in the coalfields! Organize mass labor rallies and work stoppages to smash government strikebreaking!

Oust the Bureaucrats! For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

It is above all the political ties between the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party which stand as the greatest obstacle to genuine solidarity with the miners. The union officialdom is afraid to take any step that would constitute a deep or lasting break with these phony "friends of labor." Yet the crumbs which Meany & Co. beg for at

Carter's table—such as a labor law reform which will minimally speed up NLRB processing of union organizing efforts, while giving the government greater power to discipline wildcat strikers—are truly pathetic. The outcome of the miners strike will have far more impact on organizing the unorganized than the puny legislative schemes of the AFL-CIO tops. Thousands of workers realize that if the miners lose, if the trade unions are picked off one by one, then both organized and unorganized workers will be next on the chopping block.

the mines are under private ownership or the temporary guardianship of the state—the executive committee of the entire capitalist class as Lenin called it—the miners will only get as much as the power of their strike action can beat out of the capitalists.

It is under the hammer blows of the class struggle, such as in this powerful miners strike, that the class loyalties of Carter & Co. are demonstrated clearly before the working people. Carter and the Democratic Party stand for union-busting, for strikebreaking, for the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. And be-

which the bourgeoisie through the twin parties of capital regularly dispenses to all who rebel militantly against their oppression under capitalism. And the menacing of the coal miners today is a reminder that the same "justice" is reserved not least for the organized workers movement, which is the most socially cohesive and dangerous threat to the bosses and the only force capable of dislodging them from power.

This crucial strike is being closely followed by both the capitalists and labor. It takes place in the context of the continued decay of American imperialism. In order to bolster its sagging profit rates and make U.S. capitalism more competitive vis-a-vis its Japanese and European rivals, the U.S. bosses are poised to strike major blows at the working class. The tens of thousands of steel workers laid off from shut-down, obsolescent mills, as well as the hundreds of thousands of railway workers who, facing major attacks on manning scales and union work rules, are currently being forced to work without a contract by their pitiful leadership, are only the first to have felt this whip. Should the miners be defeated, it will only embolden the capitalists that much more.

The strikebreaking of Carter, the threat of armed terror against the miners—that is the real program of the Democrats and Republicans. The George Meanys, the Arnold Millers and the Doug Frasers who helped put Carter in power and now refuse to break with him are class traitors and must be politically smashed. The alliance between the trade unions and the Democratic Party has hung like a millstone

around the neck of the labor movement for decades and must be repudiated. No more support to strikebreakers, to racism, to imperialist wars! Instead the unions must build their own party—a *workers party*.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who are going after the striking miners tooth and nail, a workers party would rally millions of workers to the coal miners' defense. While the government agencies threaten to cut off food stamps and try to starve the miners into submission, a workers party would from the beginning of the strike have organized relief and assistance from the miners' allies in the trade-union movement. A workers party would have fought to make sure that no scab coal was transported or used in a unionized plant, while the Democrats try as hard as they can to move scab coal into the strikebound areas. A workers party would have called on steel workers to go out on strike instead of threatening them with violation of federal anti-strike statutes. A workers party would have countered the federal government's strikebreaking ploys by seeking to mobilize millions of union members in solidarity strikes.

Only through such a party, based on a program of irreconcilable class struggle, can the American workers movement make any fundamental progress. And only with the building of a workers party will the laboring masses have a tool to organize to throw out the capitalists, institute a workers government and finally put an end to the brutal exploitation which victimizes coal miners and all the other wage slaves of the capitalist system. ■



Gil Cope/Charleston Gazette

Miners protesting Taft-Hartley confront Governor Rockefeller at the West Virginia statehouse March 7.

But the continued efforts of the labor bureaucracy to obscure and smooth over the class lines that divide the trade unions from the capitalist political parties have received a rude jolt in the course of this strike. There is not a single trade-union leader—not even the despicable Meany—who has not been forced to avow that he is really on the miners' side. On the other side, the bourgeois politicians of both parties—the Democrats and the Republicans—have rallied to a man behind Carter.

In an attempt to make the possibility of a different kind of federal intervention more palatable, the big business press has tried to play up federal seizure of the mines as more beneficial to the UMWA than Taft-Hartley. This is a lie! The debate over Taft-Hartley vs. federal seizure of the mines is in essence simply a debate within the ruling class over the most effective way to break the miners strike.

Jimmy Carter—the tool of the giant oil, power and steel trusts that operate the bulk of the coal mines—has already warned the miners not to expect a better deal out of a government seizure. This millionaire peanut boss—and *Democrat*—will never offer the miners a contract that meets their just demands. Whether or not Carter & Co. raise the American flag over the coal tipples, the battle cry of the miners must continue to be—"No contract, no work!" Whether

hind Carter stands the armed fist of the capitalist state—the cops, the National Guard and the troops.

Carter and the bourgeoisie know that their laws are meaningless without armed force to back them up. If the capitalist politicians have not attempted a massive armed assault on the ranks of the miners, it is out of neither humanitarian concerns nor any other principle. It is simply that they realize that these assaults would be met with massive resistance from the miners that would likely ignite a tremendous social explosion in the U.S. But where the UMWA is relatively weak and its forces thin as in Stearns, Kentucky and southern Indiana, the bourgeois authorities have not hesitated to mete out savage violence to the miners. And today, in the wake of the invoking of Taft-Hartley, the coalfields are bristling with state cops and National Guardsmen, commanded by both Democratic and Republican party governors.

The armed might that today menaces the coal miners who seek to halt scabs is, in the last analysis, the fundamental means by which the capitalist state metes out its class "justice." The murderous "justice" of the American bourgeoisie has, in recent years, been visited on the Korean and Vietnamese working masses, on the population of Santo Domingo, on the residents of the black ghettos. That is the "justice"

"Right to Life"...

(continued from page 7)

some members of the Pro-Choice Coalition in Ohio—an organization which defends women's right to abortion—were burglarized and rifled by persons suspected of being members of anti-abortion groups who were incited by inflammatory anti-abortion sermons from the pulpit. The Pro-Choice Coalition subsequently approached Bishop Michael Murphy with a request that he issue a statement opposing harassment, vandalism or potential violence against Pro-Choice members. The bishop refused.

The well-financed efforts and recent terror tactics of the "pro-lifers" have not been without effect. In Ohio, site of the most recent attack, the "pro-life" offensive culminated in a right-wing victory on February 28 when the Akron City Council narrowly passed an ordinance written by an anti-abortionist which states that it is the "long standing policy of the city of Akron and the state of Ohio that the unborn child is a human being and a person from the moment of conception."

This vicious ordinance makes it mandatory to notify the parents of all women seeking an abortion who are under 18 years of age. Those under 15 must present either written parental consent or a court order. All women seeking abortions will be subjected to "counseling" in an attempt to intimidate them and will be given a description of the "anatomical and physiological characteristics of the particular unborn child" at the stage of development at which it would be aborted. (This is the modified version of the ordinance. The original version specified that the mother be told that the "unborn child" is alive and that it is fully formed after the eighth week of pregnancy, sensitive to touch and able to swallow after the ninth week and able to live outside the womb after the 20th week of pregnancy.) The ordinance also provides "free-

dom of choice" for doctors to refuse to perform abortions.

Among the supporters of this outrageous attack on women was poverty hustler Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of "Operation PUSH." A telegram bearing his signature but traced to the Right to Life Committee of Illinois was sent to the Akron City Council without his knowledge. On becoming informed of its contents, however, Jackson stated that he supported it because it agrees with his position on abortion. The telegram stated in part:

"Operation PUSH salutes and endorses legislation considered by the Akron City Council as a necessary step toward protecting the health and dignity of our women and defending human life in its most defenseless state, in its unborn condition where it is so inhumanly exploited by abortion.

"Operation PUSH therefore adds its wholehearted support to the Akron City Council and Citizens For Informed Consent and urges that these farsighted efforts be duplicated throughout the country so that injustice against all God's children be ended."

—"Jackson Supports Akron Bill," *Akron Beacon Journal*, 31 January 1978

Encouraged by this success, the National Right to Life Society has geared up its forces throughout the Midwest, notably in Cleveland, where it intends to propose an ordinance even more restrictive than the one in Akron while lobbying against the opening of an abortion clinic scheduled to serve Cleveland Heights.

This concerted assault against the right to abortion is being spearheaded by ultra-rightists and religious fanatics who, professing concern over the "sanctity of life," have no hesitation about employing naked terror tactics against women seeking abortions and the medical personnel assisting them. Every "legal" victory for these reactionary forces emboldens them to new outbursts of vigilantism against the oppressed. These bigots and reactionaries—who howl about "decency" as they attack homosexuals, about "conscience" as they fire-bomb clinics, about "freedom of choice" as they attack school buses—must be stopped in their tracks. ■

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Close the Ports NOW!

ILWU Votes One-Day Work Stoppage to Support Miners

SAN FRANCISCO, March 14—As the mine workers face the most critical hour in their 100-day-old strike, the labor movement must ensure that they do not stand alone. With Carter lowering the boom by invoking Taft-Hartley it is the urgent duty of the unions to undertake protest strike action against this government strike-breaking. Last week the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) became the first major U.S. union to move in this direction.

On Friday, March 10 the ILWU International Executive Board (IEB) adopted a resolution whose substance was as follows: 1) to authorize the International officers to call a 24-hour longshore strike coastwide, to protest the use of Taft-Hartley against the miners; 2) to call on the rest of the ILWU, particularly Hawaii and the Warehouse Division, to join in this action; 3) to call on the rest of organized labor in cities where the ILWU has locals to join the 24-hour stop-work action.

Such solidarity action with the coal miners is precisely what is needed at this moment. It could be the spark which ignites the rest of labor to join in this crucial battle, but some of the ILWU tops are predictably dragging their feet. Trade-union militants must raise an urgent clamor demanding that a coast-wide dock shutdown and citywide work-stoppages against Taft-Hartley and for victory to the miners strike be implemented now!

Following reports in the press of the IEB resolution the ILWU International tried to deny that a motion for a 24-hour coastwide dock strike was ever passed. Instead, according to a CBS radio interview with the editor of the ILWU newspaper, the *Dispatcher*, the March 10 IEB meeting simply "gave the executive officers the authority to look into that question of a shutdown and other ways of helping the mine workers."

However, this denial has been hotly contested by several local ILWU presidents. Before the International began spreading its smokescreen Art Almeida, president of ILWU Local 13, told *Workers Vanguard* his local was the first to go on record to call for the 24-hour work stoppage. This proposal, said Almeida, "was discussed at the International Executive Board last Friday morning. The International Executive Board adopted the position of Local 13, which was to be coordinated by the International officers."

In addition the March 13 *Seattle Times* points out that ILWU Local 19 president Dick Moork seconded the work-stoppage motion (see box). And, speaking before the March 14 meeting of the Los Angeles Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coal Miners Strike, IEB representative Chick Loveridge asserted

that he had amended the original IEB motion to explicitly include the call for a dock shutdown.

At a San Francisco coal strike-support meeting Saturday (March 11) a motion to implement the ILWU proposal and expand it to all of Bay Area labor won considerable support from the 200 assembled trade unionists and other militants present. Nevertheless it was defeated, largely due to the incredible treachery of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)! Not only did these pseudo-socialist charlatans oppose the proposal but they lined up the right wing of the Bay Area labor bureaucracy to defeat it! The SWP must be mercilessly pilloried for this disgusting stab in the back against the miners. By their own hand these reformists have branded themselves with the title, "labor traitor."

Ferment in the ILWU

The earliest breakthrough leading to the ILWU resolution came in Local 13 in the San Pedro/Long Beach/Los Angeles area where several hundred longshoremen passed a resolution at the March 2 membership meeting calling for a one-day work action. According to a statement circulated by Chick Loveridge, an IEB member: "Local 13 is urging President Carter not to interfere on the side of the mine owners, no Taft-Hartley. Local 13 is calling for a one-day supporting action, by closing down the port of LB/LA and urging all other ports on the West Coast to do the same. Local 13 is also inviting all other labor organizations to join us in a meeting of support on the day the ports are closed down."

The resolution received widespread support in the membership meeting, and another resolution also passed pledging \$1,000 directly to the Stearns, Kentucky miners and a \$1 per-month/per-member assessment for the duration of the Stearns strike. And at a subsequent ad hoc miners support meeting, held March 9 at the Los Angeles United Steelworkers Local 1845 hall, Dave Arian, president of the southern California district council of the ILWU, announced the determination of the Local 13 longshoremen to go ahead with the work stoppage. "We'll have a one day strike here in L.A. whether the International wants it or not," he said. Unfortunately Arian pointedly refuses to publicly criticize the union leaderships either of the ILWU, the UMWA or even the AFL-CIO. This whitewashing is particularly dangerous considering Meany's backstabbing "acceptance" of Taft-Hartley, Arnold Miller's sabotage of the coal strike and the treacherous double-talk of the ILWU International which thus far is sitting on the IEB motion.

Longshore militants are particularly

continued on page 9



Ship docked in San Francisco.

WV Photo

from the *Seattle Times*, 13 March 1978:

I.L.W.U. Calls for Strike to Support Coal Miners

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union leaders have called for a 24-hour strike at West Coast ports to protest the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against striking coal miners.

Bob Mandel, an Executive Board member of I.L.W.U. Local 6, San Francisco, said yesterday that the union's international executive board had voted Friday to authorize the union's international officers to call a strike, Associated Press reported.

Dick Moork president of Seattle Local 19 seconded the motion for a one-day work stoppage tagged on to a policy statement in favor of the mine workers. The policy statement urged locals to gain the support of other labor organizations in the area on behalf of the mine workers, although not necessarily for a work stoppage. Moork said the international officers of the union would coordinate and call the work stoppage.

No date has been set yet but it probably would be within the next few weeks. The union's Executive Board appealed to organized labor in all the cities where there are I.L.W.U. locals to join in the 24-hour protest strike, Mandel said.

"As far as we know, this is the first call by any union for a strike in

defense of the miners," Mandel added. He said all I.L.W.U. local presidents have indicated they want the strike.

"The way to make it clear to the government that all of labor stands on the side of the miners is to mobilize labor's economic muscle," he said. The Carter administration won the Taft-Hartley back-to-work order on Thursday after arguing that the United Mine Workers' strike was damaging the nation's economy.

Some coal miners who walked off the job December 6, were officially notified of the order yesterday and others were to be told today.

The I.L.W.U. represents about 11,500 dock workers on the West Coast.

The international executive board's action was sparked by a call from Local 13 in Los Angeles, Mandel said.

He added that the board also has called on the union's other 44,500 members, including Hawaiian locals and warehousemen to join in the planned longshore strike.

Carl Damaso, president of Local 142 in Hawaii, said a meeting of the local's officers would be held today or tomorrow to discuss the matter.

Besides longshoremen and warehousemen, the Hawaiian local represents pineapple, sugar and hotel workers on islands other than Oahu, plus some employees in trades ranging from baking to auto sales.

The I.L.W.U. has joined other unions in sending financial help to the striking coal miners. It authorized a \$25,000 donation and urged each member to contribute \$1 a month for the duration of the strike, a union official said.