

Down with Robbers' Peace Plans!

U.S./Israel/Egypt Stab Palestinians

The Israeli-Egyptian drive for a separate peace agreement has slowed to a crawl in the wake of the Christmas day summit meeting between Menahem Begin and Anwar Sadat. Their drooling enthusiasm for each other's company and Carter's "prince of peace" junket to the Near East have yielded no real progress. The "fundamental principles" which the U.S. imperialist chief enunciates are as muddy as the waters of the Jordan. Even the initially euphoric Western press has begun to talk of "constructive fudging."

The one point of concrete agreement to emerge from the flim-flam is that the United States and its Near East clients are determined to prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state. Their goal is, to quote Lenin, a robber's peace. As for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), proclaimed sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the Arab League at Rabat in 1974, Carter's national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski last week succinctly stated the common U.S./Israeli/Egyptian position: "Bye, bye PLO."

So desultory were the December 25 talks in Ismailia that the promised Israeli-Egyptian declaration could not be produced. Instead Sadat and Begin held a joint press conference where the Egyptian president explained:

"The position of Egypt is that on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a Palestinian state should be established. The position of Israel is that Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria, the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip should enjoy self-rule."

—New York Times, 27 December 1977

Both statements are patently self-serving fabrications. Sadat actually opposes a Palestinian state and prefers that the West Bank be linked to Jordan (which controlled it prior to the 1967 war). Begin, for his part, will allow Palestinian "self-rule" only under the bayonets and tanks of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). But if the statements of position are equally mendacious, they do serve to indicate the chasm which separates both sides at the negotiating table.

Sadat, the pin-stripe-suited general who hopes to do better attracting imperialist investment than his army usually does in battle, would happily sell out the Palestinian Arabs to achieve an Israeli-Egyptian settlement that could distract the impoverished, war-weary Cairo masses from their misery. But Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin, is not about to drop his annexationist plans for the West Bank, which he regards as part of "Eretz Israel" (Biblical Israel). For Sadat to avoid total isolation in the

Arab world, the sellout of the Palestinians must be written in the fine print. Begin insists on putting it in capital letters in the first sentence.

Begin's Phony "Peace Plan"

There is no doubt about Begin's position. The electoral program of his Likud coalition stated: "Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] will not be turned over to any foreign power. Between the sea and the Jordan sovereignty will be exclusively Israeli." After becoming prime minister in an election upset last May, he went to Kaddum, one of the "illegal" Zionist colonies on the West Bank set up by the fascistic Gush Emunim sect, where he exclaimed: "We are here in liberated Israeli territory...."



Vioujard/Gamma-Liaison

These two provinces have been, are and will remain an integral part of Israel, and every Arab leader had better know that or learn it" (*Le Monde*, 21 May 1977).

Begin's 26-point "peace plan" essentially demands Arab recognition of the status quo in the occupied territories with a few embellishments. It would allow Palestinians to elect an "administrative council" whereas they now choose only mayors in tightly circumscribed elections. The key point is paragraph 11: "Security and public order in the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be the responsibility of the Israeli authorities." During the debate in the Israeli Knesset (parliament) which followed the Ismailia meeting, the prime minister declared that this was one point which "anybody who wants an agreement with us will have to accept" (*Jerusalem Post* [Inter-

Right: They like each other, too. Carter and Sadat embrace. Below: "Rejectionists" at Tripoli. From left, Ariat, Qaddafi, Hawatmeh.



Mims/Time

of the Israeli Army and formally part of Israel.

As the multicolored bunting and peace banners were being taken down in Cairo, Sadat was clearly a disappointed man. He could do little more than limply assert his optimism. If the Begin plan was oppressive to the Palestinians, totally unworkable, almost deliberately provocative—well, at least it was a plan, "the first offer ever made by Israel to the Palestinians." The heralded "Cairo preparatory conference" of lower-level Egyptian and Israeli officials had accomplished just about as much: agreement on what name plates to have on the table and on rules of procedure.

While Sadat modulated his chagrin in public, the government-controlled Egyptian press was far less restrained. The editor of *Akhbar al-Yom* wrote: "The meetings in Ismailia were not with the delegates of the state of Israel but with Shylock, the Merchant of Venice in Shakespeare's famous story of the Jewish usurer exacting his pound of flesh."

Tough Talk in Jerusalem

In Jerusalem, Begin and his cohorts were crowing about the "successful" Ismailia meeting while predicting that Sadat would have to make "painful concessions" as the price of a settlement. In response to a hostile Knesset deputy who asked, "How will you prevent a Palestinian state from arising?" foreign minister Moshe Dayan shot back:

"By force of the army; this is the first time I agree with you. Any agreement can be broken and there is no court to look after our interests except ourselves. How will I prevent their refusal to sell land to Jews? How will I prevent the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Lebanon against our will? By force of the army: the I.D.F."

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Claridad

15,000 unionists marched to the capitol building in San Juan November 10.

Following Murder of Teamsters Official

Labor Militancy Surges in Puerto Rico

While mass transit stood idle throughout Puerto Rico, 15,000 trade unionists marched November 10 through the streets of San Juan denouncing the murder of Juan Rafael Caballero, an official of the Unión de Tronquistas (Teamsters), by agents of the notorious Criminal Investigations Bureau (CIB). In late December more than 6,000 electrical workers on the island struck against the government water and power authority amid expectations that Governor Carlos Romero Barceló could call out the National Guard at any moment. Together the massive display of working-class outrage over the assassination of a Teamster organizer and the walkout by one of the most militant independent unions (UTIER) mark a resurgence of Puerto Rican organized labor, largely quiescent for the last three years.

The brutal murder of Caballero is a measure of the lengths to which the authorities are prepared to go to repress the workers movement in this strategic Caribbean possession of U.S. imperialism. It was seen by many as retaliation for the killing, on September 22, of Alan Randall, a former State Department official alleged to have ties with the CIA, by an unknown "Labor Commando" group. Randall had specialized as a corporation lawyer designing anti-labor programs for his clients. At the time of his death he was preparing a symposium on "Terrorism and the Labor Movement" for the annual meeting of the Federal Bar Association.

Repression of Puerto Rican Labor

The colonial bourgeoisie of Puerto Rico has sought to cash in on its access to the U.S. market by promoting the "commonwealth" as a low-wage haven of labor peace. Since the 1940's first the Popular Democratic Party (PPD— allied with the Democrats) and then the advocates of statehood, now called the New Progressive Party (PNP—tied to the U.S. Republicans) have pushed "Operation Bootstrap"—a program to lure runaway American manufacturers with long-term tax exemptions and the absence of a minimum wage. The result has been flourishing industry and a large proletariat, laboring under miserable conditions and with little union protection.

An inclusive Puerto Rican union federation has not existed since 1945, when the PPD split the General Confederation of Labor in order to isolate Communist influence. However, in recent years, enticed by the prospect of amassing a voting bloc of docile dues-paying locals, AFL-CIO bureaucrats commenced organizing on the island. As the unions grew in number the pro-

imperialist politics of these reactionary labor skates were challenged by more left-wing unionists. In 1971 Puerto Rican workers responded to Nixon's wage freeze with a mass mobilization which resulted in exemption of the island from federal controls. This experience gave birth to the United Workers Movement (MOU), led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), with a program combining bread-and-butter trade unionism with social-democratic and independentista rhetoric.

The labor upsurge reached a peak in 1973-74 when PPD governor Rafael Hernández Colón resorted to the National Guard to suppress a series of militant strikes. (The last time the Guard had been called out against the Puerto Rican masses was in response to an independence revolt at Jayuya in 1950.) In July 1973 the colonial militia was mobilized against strikes by the UTIER (an MOU mainstay) and San Juan firemen. In November 1974 troops were again called out against a strike by the MOU-affiliated water workers, and 11 strike leaders were jailed. Sentiment for a general strike was so strong that it was echoed by MOU executive director (and PSP leader) Pedro Grant.

With the danger of a mass explosion past, the bourgeoisie embarked on a campaign of anti-labor reaction. The PPD government nationalized telephone, maritime transport and all public utilities, thereby bringing workers in these key sectors under the jurisdiction of no-strike legislation prohibiting collective bargaining for public employees. As part of an attack against the MOU, trumped-up bank robbery charges were hurled at one of its leaders, Federico Cintrón, resulting in his jailing. As a result of this repression and in-fighting between PSP supporters and other tendencies the MOU today claims to represent only 14 percent of the island's workforce, barely half its earlier strength.

Police Death Squad Strikes Labor Movement

In the wake of the 1973-74 defeats the Teamsters have taken the lead in aggressive union organizing in Puerto Rico. Thus the slaying of Randall provided a convenient pretext for a concerted assault upon them. "The police investigation quickly focused on Local 901 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a local that is closely aligned with several militant pro-independence unions," reported the *New York Times* (11 November). Following the murder of Caballero, Tronquista leader Luis Carrión (whom the slain organizer closely resembled) was

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Letter

New York
7 December 1977

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear Comrades,

I read with interest the fine polemic against the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in *Workers Vanguard* of 25 November ("OCI: Election Brokers for French Popular Front," *WV* No. 183). Possibly because it was written by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) for distribution in France, the article takes the present French political context somewhat for granted, and contains a couple of polemical statements which if isolated and taken as having general validity would be incorrect.

The main would-be Trotskyist organizations in France are currently claiming that a victory for the popular front would be a "first step" or somehow "progressive," representing a "victory" for the French proletariat. But in fact, as the international Spartacist tendency has repeatedly pointed out, an electoral victory of the bourgeois popular front, far from being a "victory" for the working class, paves the way for massive defeats of the workers, whether by a bloody coup or otherwise (e.g., the peaceful installation of Vichy fascism after the 1930's French popular front had served its purpose of frustrating the working-class upsurge). However, it is incorrect to abstract this point to a general level, as does the article when it states that "the workers have nothing to gain from the victory of one bourgeois formation over another."

The working class is not indifferent, for example, to the sharply different levels of repression under a fascist or bonapartist military dictatorship as opposed to a bourgeois democracy ruled by, say, a Christian Democratic party. If the issue were posed in direct military confrontations, the Marxists would call on the workers to mobilize independently, but on the same side of the barricades as bourgeois democrats, against the fascists or aspiring Bonapartes. We would have been prepared to fight in 1958 alongside Stalinists, social democrats or bourgeois liberals if they had resisted de Gaulle's imposition of the semi-bonapartist Fifth Republic. But in no case would we have given *political* support to a bourgeois formation—e.g., by advocating votes to Mitterrand, then head of a bourgeois

party, against de Gaulle in the 1965 French presidential elections.

Similarly, in polemicizing against the OCI which, as the article makes clear, tends to claim that social democracy is somehow "less reactionary" than the Stalinist PCF—and against the LCR which frequently implies that, to the contrary, it is the Stalinists who are "less reactionary" than the social-democratic PS—the article refers to the "equally counterrevolutionary reformist bureaucracies" of the PCF and PS. Now it is certainly true that the Stalinists and social democrats are comparably counterrevolutionary, that neither is "less counterrevolutionary" in nature than the other. Nevertheless at any given moment in time either the PCF or PS might adopt some specific position which is more to the left than that taken by the other. Thus in the United States in the brief period between the time of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, when the U.S. Stalinists issued strident propaganda against the imperialist war and broke with Roosevelt, Trotsky advocated giving their candidates critical electoral support. Then, only a few months later when the Stalinists had flip-flopped and become the most patriotic supporters of the "anti-fascist war," it was the Stalinists who were the most notorious strikebreakers and advocates of speed-up to build the war effort.

A poor translation aggravated a certain unclarity in another passage. Thus the sentence "As the *minimum condition* for electoral support the workers must demand that the PCF and PS break with their bourgeois electoral partners and with the Common Program which provides the framework for this class-collaborationist alliance," should read: "The *minimum condition* the workers must set in order to give electoral support to the PCF and PS is that they break with their bourgeois electoral partners..." Workers must insist that the PCF and PS actually *do* break with the bourgeois parties before voting for them. The OCI betrays the principle of working-class independence in calling for critical support to representatives of the bourgeois popular front, excusing such support on the grounds that it does simultaneously call on the workers parties to break with their bourgeois electoral partners.

Finally, a translation error reversed the meaning of a phrase in the intervention of an LTF comrade at the OCI educational, quoted at the very end of the article. The sentence should read: "Today, the OCI has given up the fight against the popular front, *even though it tries* to preserve appearances" instead of "not even bothering to preserve appearances."

Trotskyist greetings,
John Sharpe

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Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Beech

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Michael Weinstein

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Subscription Lists Seized

Toronto Cops Raid Gay Movement Newspaper

TORONTO, January 5—On December 30 four cops from the Metropolitan Toronto Police Morality Squad and one from the Ontario Provincial Police raided the Toronto offices of *The Body Politic*, a gay liberation news magazine widely distributed throughout North America. For three and a half hours, over protests from members of the collective that publishes the magazine, the police filled 12 large crates with records and documents, including subscription lists, which they seized "for study." This criminal seizure makes it clear that the operation was not simply a raid but a serious attempt to shut down the publication and victimize both the publishers and the subscribers—an outrageous violation of freedom of the press.

The police attack came in the midst of a barrage of media criticism of *Body Politic* for an article published in the December/January issue entitled "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." The article describes the sexual experiences and personal relationships of several men with youth under the Canadian legal age of consent. Although the issue had already been on sale for a month and no charges had been raised at the time of the raid, the police came armed with a search warrant empowering them to seize almost anything in the office.

The warrant, according to the attorney for the magazine, is illegal even under Canadian law. It allegedly authorized the cops to search for evidence under Section 164 of the federal Criminal Code ("use of the mails for the purpose of transmitting or delivering anything that is indecent, immoral or scurrilous"). But the "evidence" the police claimed to be after (i.e., that the publication is in fact sent through the mails) was readily obtainable by reading the newspaper's masthead and contacting the post office.

On January 5 charges were entered by the crown attorney against Pink Triangle Press (the non-profit publisher of *Body Politic*) and against the officers

of the corporation under two sections of the Criminal Code which describe the possession or distribution of "obscene" materials as criminal offenses. Charged under Section 159 ("possession for the purpose of publication, distribution or circulation") as being "obscene," was a book already cleared last October by the notoriously censor-happy Canada Customs (which stops even *Penthouse* at the border). Charges under Section 164 related to the publication of "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." Both charges carry a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment. In addition, the publishing company and its officers could face substantial fines if convicted.

The state attack on this gay liberation movement newspaper is part of a much larger campaign targeting the democratic rights of homosexuals. On January 15, five days before the *Body Politic* defendants are due to appear in court, Anita Bryant will arrive in Toronto. This vile reactionary, who successfully launched a vicious anti-homosexual campaign to overturn an ordinance in Dade County, Florida prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals, apparently intends to extend her right-wing rampage to Canada. Her visit also coincides with the trial of four men held in connection with the apparent rape/murder of 12-year-old Manuel Jacques, whose body was found on the roof of a downtown sex shop last August.

The emotional reaction to this brutal murder was exploited to scapegoat homosexuals and became the take-off point for a right-wing mobilization aimed at the city's homosexuals and prostitutes. Thousands of reactionaries gathered in a midtown lynch mob to support the return of capital punishment (see "Rightist Reaction Threatens Democratic Rights," *Spartacist Canada* No. 19, September 1977). The trial, Bryant's visit and the raid on *Body Politic* all take place at a time when the controversial recommendations of the Ontario Human Rights Commission to include the term "sexual orientation" in the province's Human Rights Code is under consideration.

In Quebec, too, despite the fact that the nationalist Parti Québécois government passed reforms in December prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in housing and employment, homosexuals continue to suffer severe persecution and harassment by the police. Last October 23, the biggest mass arrests in Quebec since the 1970 War Measures Act took place when 146 men were rounded up and jailed in a police raid on two Montreal gay bars. The incident resulted in a protest 24 hours after the raid, with 2,000 demonstrators taking to the streets and blocking one of the main intersections in downtown Montreal. Police dispersed the protesters by charging through the crowd with side-car-equipped motorcycles and clubbing demonstrators, many of whom were injured.

The mass arrests in Montreal, Bryant's visit and the attack on *Body Politic* are fueling a bigotry crusade aimed at intensifying state censorship of pornography and consensual personal relationships. This interference by the bourgeois state in purely private matters must be opposed and all other laws proscribing freedom of expression and those aimed at so-called crimes without victims must be abolished.

The anti-homosexual hysteria whipped up against *Body Politic* not

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Why Is Bay Area Gay Liberation Afraid of Communists?

SAN FRANCISCO—Caught out in a flagrant capitulation to anti-gay prejudice, Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL) is seeking to suppress the revolutionary criticisms of the Spartacist League (SL), which recently confronted BAGL to demand it repudiate its stand and reaffirm its purported commitment to the democratic rights of homosexuals. While BAGL's line is shocking, it flows logically from the group's sectoralist politics, which lead straight to the camp of the Democratic Party. It is to stifle debate within the group over this atrocity that BAGL's leading clique has imposed gag rules against SL supporters at its meetings.

In November a leaflet, "Gay People Speak Out Against Racist Tactics of Candidates in the Sixth District Election," was issued by Lesbian Resistance (LR) and BAGL. It opposed the opening of a lesbian bar in the SF Mission District, a predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhood, in terms that sound more like an Anita Bryant bigot than a gay liberation organization: the bar and "women outside the community" who would frequent it would "undermine the culture of the community"; "We recognize the importance of *la familia* in the Latin community and of protecting the small businesses that cater to families...."

Why should a radical gay organization choose to take upon itself the job of "protecting" the family against lesbians? BAGL is politically animated by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, a clot of long-time New Leftist polyvanguardists who built BAGL as an "anti-imperialist" grouping, as against elements favoring a single-issue gay rights group. A Spartacist leaflet pointed out that "BAGL's and LR's refusal to defend gays in the Latin community is a sickening extension of their 'sectoral' politics; vying in popularity with Chicano nationalists, they capitulate on the central question precisely because anti-homosexual prejudice is so strong in the Latin community." BAGL's brand of constituency politics, which centers on tailing the backward attitudes of sections of the oppressed, cannot cope with conflicts among different oppressed sectors, in this case Latins and gays. So these purported gay liberationists find themselves in the excruciating position of defending the Latin family against presumed attack by lesbians.

In its craving to solidarize with "Third World struggles," BAGL allied itself with a sinister "struggle" indeed—the campaign of Latino Democratic politician Gary Borvice, running for supervisor in the Mission District. Borvice is notable for his persecution of homosexuals and according to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1 November 1977) "was in the forefront" of the movement to block the opening of the lesbian bar. BAGL's back-handed support to Borvice was, of course, motivated by New Left "anti-imperialist" vicarious nationalism: "We seriously question the ability of any white person running for office to represent the needs of the Latin community," stated the same scandalous leaflet.

At the December BAGL membership meeting, the Spartacist League and its supporters—including two former members of the BAGL steering committee—sought to open a debate in the group about this leaflet. The terrified steering committee, however, refused to allow the BAGL membership even to vote on whether to allow discussion of the group's own leaflet.

But the protest nevertheless had an impact on BAGL and its periphery. In discussions with the SL, two of the original authors of the leaflet as well as other former BAGL supporters were won to the SL's criticisms of the leaflet.

This set the stage for the January membership meeting, where the BAGL steering committee proposed a "deal": to allow only one member or supporter of the SL to attend the next meeting, where the leaflet would be discussed for one hour. When an SL supporter rose to protest this undemocratic procedure and ask for a membership vote, several steering committee members jumped to their feet and surrounded our comrade, shouting "Out! Out!" and hooting. When it was clear that this disruption had blocked any possibility of political discussion, the SL contingent walked out of the meeting, joined by several BAGL supporters.

The SL is proud of its record of relentless struggle against racial and sexual oppression. Instead of catering to macho prejudice in order to demonstrate sensitivity to the culture of an oppressed community, the SL counterposes a transitional program in the real interests of all the exploited and oppressed. The SL refuses to reinforce the dangerous illusions that capitalist politicians—black, Latin, female or homosexual—will alleviate capitalist oppression. Democrat Borvice, supported by LR and BAGL because he is a "Third Worlder," will do no more for his constituents than Coleman Young, Maynard Jackson or Bella Abzug have done for theirs.

The self-styled "anti-imperialist," "gay liberationist" BAGL has proven itself as useless to homosexuals as it is to Latins and the working-class movement. The Spartacist League challenges BAGL to an open debate in which BAGL must either repudiate its attack on homosexuals' democratic rights or publicly justify its support for the bourgeois family and the Democratic Party. ■

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Trotzkistischen Liga Deutschlands

- Jahresabonnement — 8,50 DM (inklusive Porto)
- Auslandsluftpostabonnement — 10,- DM (ein Jahr)

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NEW YORK CITY

Three Faces of Hoffaism in Detroit Teamster Elections

DETROIT, December 30—Results of a local Teamsters' election race that has been closely watched by union members, trucking employers, the government and the bourgeois media were announced here yesterday. The campaign drew national attention when a candidate's car was firebombed and one of the initial presidential candidates was killed after dropping out of the running. In the final tally, Local 299 incumbent president Bob Lins beat back a challenge from two so-called "reform" slates to narrowly retain control of one of the Teamsters' largest and most politically volatile locals.

Home base of both Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons and his "disappeared" predecessor/rival Jimmy Hoffa, Local 299 has long been a hot spot of intra-bureaucratic warfare in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). This election was popularly portrayed as a showdown between "honest" reform-minded rebels and the hidebound IBT hierarchy. In reality the race featured competing brands of business unionism. While it revealed that discontent is on the rise in the nation's largest union, the election showed that the anger of the Teamster ranks has yet to find expression in a class-struggle opposition.

Lins and his cohorts took five of seven executive board positions up for grabs, yielding only two spots, recording secretary and trustee, to the slate headed by Local 299 business agent Pete Karagozian. Though a self-styled admirer of Jimmy Hoffa, Karagozian was careful to limit his criticisms to the confines of Local 299, avoiding a clash with the top Fitzsimmons bureaucracy and preparing for a rapprochement should he win. He lost his bid to unseat Lins by only 244 votes out of the 7,258 mail ballots cast.

A partial slate of the reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) trailed further behind. The TDU's leading spokesman, Pete Camarata, ran third in a field of four for vice president with 1,824 votes (to the victor's 2,710). This substantial vote was no doubt due to the wide newspaper publicity received by Camarata, as TDU candidates for trustee Walter Ruff and Dennis Wade fared much worse, netting only 494 and 877 votes respectively. While this would be a respectable showing for genuine class-struggle oppositionists in this period, to reformists the post is the prize and their totals were far below the 2,600 needed to win one of the three trustee positions.

The results may still be challenged, however. As Local 299 politics have been for some time, the election race was marked by widespread violence, "dirty tricks" and a rash of law suits. At least six civil court and Labor Board cases have been filed so far, stemming from allegations of "unfair election practices." Fraudulent leaflets were "anonymously" distributed, redbaiting Camarata (who is a publicly acknowledged member of the International Socialists [I.S.]) and Karagozian (who has no known links or sympathy with any left group) and listing a phony arrest record for the latter. Expectations of vote fraud were so widespread that ballot tallying was turned over to an outside accounting firm, and a Teamster Joint Council 43 representative was assigned to oversee the election.

The pervasive climate of violence within Local 299 makes a mockery of workers democracy, substituting fear and intimidation for free discussion and debate as the means of deciding union

policy. In mid-October a car belonging to Karagozian's running mate went up in flames. Earlier, last May, a pipe bomb exploded in Karagozian's wife's car in their driveway, blowing out windows in their home and those of neighbors.

There is a long history of such gangsterism in the Local. In 1970 former president Dave Johnson was beaten up by thugs in his office in the Local hall. Two years later a shotgun was fired through the windows of his office. In 1974 his boat was blown up. Back in 1971 the houses of two Local 299 business agents were bombed. The next year a Local trustee was cut down by a shotgun blast, losing an eye and almost his life.

The gangsters don't even balk at assassination. Hoffa, of course, was abducted in a Detroit suburb and then surely murdered. And on December 12 Local 299 secretary-treasurer Otto Wendel, who had pulled out of the presidential race and stated his plans to retire, was found slumped over in his still running car with two bullets pumped into him. Police suggested the shots were self-inflicted, but Wendel died without telling his story, and no identifiable fingerprints were found on the .38 caliber revolver found on the floorboard of the car.

But on December 29 the chief of staff of the medical center where the Local 299 official had been rushed made the spectacular announcement that Wendel had been shot twice in the back not, as police have been claiming, in the stomach. The very next day the doctor mysteriously retracted his statement. The initial examining physician says he didn't notice where the bullets entered, and early surgical procedures made it impossible to determine in the autopsy. The obvious presumption of murder is compounded by the contradictory medical reports and police meddling in the affair.

Post-Hoffa Teamster Politics

From the day Jimmy Hoffa emerged from Lewisburg Federal Prison in 1971 until he was kidnapped, the political life of the Teamsters—and of Local 299 in particular—was dominated by Hoffa's conflict with his former second-in-command Frank Fitzsimmons. Engaged in a court fight against the restrictions, imposed in Nixon's commutation of his sentence, prohibiting him from engaging in union activities until 1980, Hoffa targeted his home local as the stepping stone for a return to the Teamster presidency. The battle for control of Local 299 between the Hoffa and Fitzsimmons' factions—with both men's sons holding Local office—ragged with beatings, bombings and threats of worse.

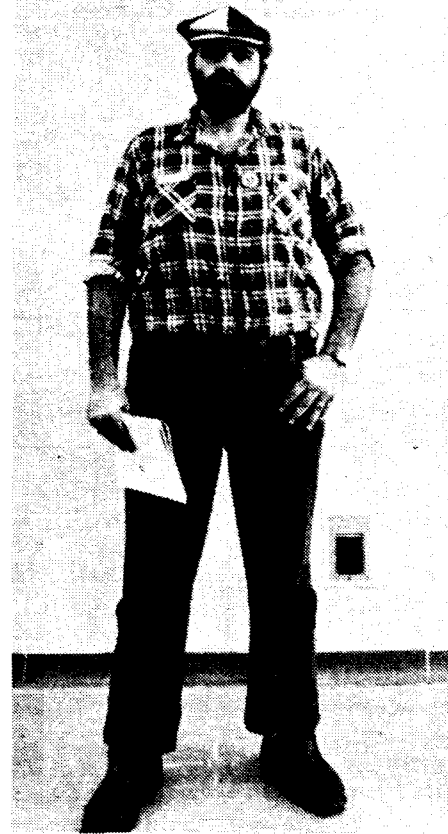
As International president, Hoffa had practiced the same dictatorial, corrupt rule that Fitzsimmons is renowned for. But with one difference: Hoffa occasionally delivered. While both were fundamentally alike in their pro-capitalist business unionism, and both shamelessly used their position to line their own pockets, Hoffa maintained a base of support by producing some benefits for at least a section of the membership. He was also a maverick: like John L. Lewis, one of the last business unionists to occasionally stand up to the bosses.

By using the tactic of "hot-cargoing" non-union freight—a technique learned from the Trotskyist-led campaign which organized over-the-road drivers in the central states during the late 1930's—

Hoffa put together the first National Master Freight Agreement in the early 1960's. It was this achievement, and the specter of a national trucking strike, which made Hoffa into the whipping boy of the Kennedys and the rest of the bourgeoisie. Corruption was only a pretext, as there were plenty of Meanyite AFL-CIO unions just as racketeer-dominated as the IBT. In any case one doesn't see the government sending business executives to jail for bribery even in such spectacular cases as the Lockheed scandal.

Out of power, Hoffa railed against some of the same abuses he committed when in office. Though Fitzsimmons had wooed away much of the bureaucracy, Hoffa still had a widespread following in the ranks, and it was to them that he appealed in the language of "tough guy" business unionism. He denounced Fitzsimmons' undermining of the National Master Freight Agreement, his sweetheart contracts and his bilking of the pension fund. In an authorized biography published shortly after he disappeared, Hoffa threatened to blow the whistle on Fitzsimmons' alleged ties to organized crime. The former Teamster chieftain spoke, of course, with the intimate knowledge that comes from extensive experience.

The kidnapping of Hoffa in the summer of 1975 resulted in a political vacuum. The politics and rhetoric of Hoffa's brand of business unionism needed new spokesmen: the Bob Lins, Pete Karagozians and Pete Camaratas stepped forward. Though now locked in combat, all three claim the heritage of Jimmy Hoffa and, not so long ago, stood together.



Pete Camarata

Andrew Sacks



Jimmy Hoffa



Frank Fitzsimmons

UPI

When, in early 1976, Hoffa-loyalist Dave Johnson decided to retire from the presidency of Local 299, a bitter fight over his successor broke out between the Hoffa and Fitzsimmons forces. Fitzsimmons wanted his son, then Local 299 vice president, to get the job. By a one-vote margin, however, the sharply divided executive board, however, picked a pro-Hoffa business agent, Bob Lins. At that time, both Karagozian and Camarata supported his appointment, despite the fact that Lins had shortly before helped to break a three-day wildcat Camarata led against the Master Freight Contract.

In the most recent election, all sides appealed to the Hoffa myth. Bob Lins' supporters took to wearing three-year-old buttons saying "I'm a friend of Jimmy Hoffa." Before Otto Wendel dropped out of the race, his platform promised a "bread-and-butter union in the HOFFA tradition." Karagozian

described himself as a "strong Hoffa supporter." And, in a *New York Times Magazine* (27 November 1977) article on the Teamsters' election and the TDU, Pete Camarata posed for a picture in the Local hall beneath an oil portrait of Hoffa. The symbolism was not lost on anyone. If Hoffa was still around, the political terrain the TDU occupies would be more than overshadowed by his presence.

Tie That Binds TDU/I.S. to Fitzsimmons

Camarata's affinity for Hoffa should come as no surprise, for the attempt to gain influence on the cheap by orienting toward a wing of the bureaucracy is the core of the "program"—such as it is—of Teamsters for a Democratic Union. Thus the highlight of the TDU's second national convention in Cleveland last

WORKERS VANGUARD

September was the appearance of Harry Patrick, then vice president of the United Mine Workers. Patrick (who had been defeated in his bid for the UMW presidency) demagogically pronounced, "Labor leaders are not responsible to the membership under any circumstances," and called for a labor party. This is the same Patrick who for the last four years has stood shoulder-to-shoulder with fellow "reformer" Arnold Miller in opposing every wildcat strike by the rebellious coal miners!

Camarata and the TDU went to considerable lengths maneuvering for a victory in this election. They deliberately ran a limited slate for secondary posts, clearing the way for Karagozian, who received the TDU's endorsement. The favor was not returned. Karagozian ran a full seven-man slate and shunned the TDU. As a further insult, several of Karagozian's candidates were drawn from the "Concerned Teamsters" group, formed exclusively to distinguish itself from the alleged "radicalism" of the TDU. Nevertheless, TDUs' hopes were boosted when several weeks before the Local 299 vote TDU candidate Bob Janadia nearly defeated incumbent Bobby Holmes for the presidency of Detroit Local 337. Head of the Michigan Teamsters Joint Council and a powerful IBT vice president, Holmes defeated Janadia by only 700 votes.

Undoubtedly redbaiting cost Camarata votes. But the absence of a politically distinctive program was key to the success of this attack. Why vote for a member of the International Socialists, many Teamsters doubtless reasoned, when we are promised the same things by Karagozian? Indeed, Karagozian's platform was lifted almost directly from the TDU. Both were for better policing of the contract, election of business agents and stewards, an end to "casualization," etc. On the larger questions facing the labor movement—the government offensive against the unions, the need for labor to break with

both Detroit's daily newspapers, the *Free Press* and *Detroit News*. *News* columnist Fred Girard lavished unending praise on the TDU in several articles. The *News* is an arch-conservative, notoriously anti-labor newspaper, but it ran an editorial on the TDU which concluded:

"We admire the guts of these young lions among the sheep. We wish them well. Now that the flurry of official interest prompted by Hoffa's disappearance has died, they remain the one true hope for cleaning up the Teamsters."

Strange praise from a labor-baiting newspaper.

Camarata also benefited from last summer's publication of a Readers Digest book, *Desperate Bargain: Why Jimmy Hoffa Had to Die*, which devoted an entire adulatory chapter to the TDU. The reactionary *Readers Digest*, whose executive editor is former secretary of defense hawk Melvin Laird, is not exactly known for a progressive stance on labor issues. But the book's author, Lester Velie, gushes over Camarata's oppositional stance at the 1976 Teamster convention: "... a rank-and-file Daniel who confronted the lions at Las Vegas and came away bloodied but unbowed..." Even the capitalist mouthpiece *Business Week* favorably covered Camarata's campaign.

The bourgeois press does not usually run such loving articles on those it perceives as labor militants, challengers to the social status quo or "subversives." Owned and controlled by the capitalist class, the mass media are defenders of exploitation, oppression and the profit system of private property. So why all the favorable press? The answer is that Camarata and the TDU are perceived not as a danger to capitalism but as useful allies in the bourgeois state's onslaught against the Teamsters union.

Compare these accolades for the TDU with the frenzied redbaiting spewed out against the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters during the 1930's. Citizen Alliance

Reformists Hail Iron Ore Strike Giveaway

The last of 18,000 striking iron ore miners returned to work December 16 after a 138-day walkout, the longest in the history of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Almost a third of the strikers had returned to work three weeks earlier following a back-stabbing maneuver by USWA president Lloyd McBride which broke the miners' solidarity and began a local-by-local back-to-work movement. While the final settlement contains some limited wage gains and resolved local grievances, it sacrificed the principle of parity with basic steel which the mine workers were striking for. Large "no" votes in ratification meetings and the fact that it took nearly a month to get all the striking locals back on the job reflected widespread dissatisfaction among the iron miners.

The main demand of the walkout was for equal wages with USWA members in basic steel, through the introduction of incentive pay amounting to about 60 cents an hour. Under the agreement, however, incentives will amount to only 40 to 50 cents an hour and will apply to only 75 percent of the miners. Furthermore, the pay boosts do not even go into effect until late 1979, and there will be an actual pay cut for new hires.

From the start, McBride sought to sabotage the iron miners strike, which he correctly saw as a challenge to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). Aware of seething discontent on the iron range, McBride tried to head off an open revolt against the ENA by sanctioning the mine workers strike while at the same time making sure it remained isolated from basic steel, hard-hit by massive layoffs and an intense productivity drive. After three-and-a-half months of the strike, as iron ore stockpiles began to be depleted and the steel giants were forced to drop their stance that incentives were not a "local" issue and that consequently the strike was an illegal violation of ENA, McBride stepped in to rescue the companies.

In mid November McBride arranged a settlement which, though similar in most respects to the final contract, would have also cut the pay of the 25 percent of the miners not covered by the incentive plan. This deal was unanimously rejected by the strikers' 80-member negotiating committee. McBride returned to the companies to iron out this wrinkle and ordered that further bargaining take place on a local-by-local basis. Five thousand miners in northern Michigan were pressured into breaking ranks and settling separately. Faced with a disintegrating strike, one miners' local after another returned on McBride's terms.

McBride also moved to ensure that there would be no repetition of unruly challenges to ENA. He signed an "amendment" to the Agreement, stipulating that future disputes over what constitutes "local" issues would be submitted to binding, compulsory arbitration. If this outrage is allowed to stand, the stranglehold of the no-strike pact on the Steelworkers ranks, loosened by the miners strike, will be tighter than ever. USWA militants must fight to junk this amendment along with the whole ENA.

The effectiveness of McBride's treachery was critically enhanced by the complete absence of opposition from the "dissident" Sadlowski wing of the USWA bureaucracy. Both District 33 Director Linus Wampler and Joe Samargia, president of the largest local on the Mesabi Range, Local 1938, are prominent Sadlowski adherents and acknowledged strike leaders. Yet neither publicly denounced McBride's divisive ploy or rallied the iron miners to

maintain a solid front until all went back together. None of the Sadlowski backers were willing to take the steps necessary to win the strike.

From the very beginning, it was clear that the enormous stockpiles of iron ore and taconite pellets at the steel mills would be the corporations' biggest weapon, forcing the miners to picket month after month with little impact on the basic steel industry. Refusing to handle the stockpiled ore was an elementary act of trade-union solidarity that would have brought the steel magnates to their knees. But it would also have required a direct confrontation with McBride, the ENA and the no-strike national contract. Neither Sadlowski nor his allies on the iron range were willing to take this decisive step. As a result, the miners ranks were divided and driven back to work.

Sadlowski's Lackeys Hail "Great Victory"

Since the leaders of the iron range strike were in Sadlowski's camp, those groups on the left who serve as "Oil Can Eddie's" press agents have been compelled by the logic of their tailism to hail the settlement as a "great victory," even though it was written and forced down the miners' throats by Lloyd McBride. Sadlowski's "socialist" sycophants praised the agreement in almost identical language. The Communist Party (CP) *Daily World* (20 December) lauded the "strike victory" of a "well-fought struggle." In the 30 December *Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) welcomed the "Iron Range Victory." The International Socialists (I.S.) waxed even more ecstatic: "an impressive and spirited victory" was won, according to the 19 December *Workers' Power*. The reformist program and appetites these bootlickers share yield a strikingly common appraisal.

Tying themselves to the apron strings of any left-talking bureaucrat that comes along, these opportunists squirm to apologize for just about any betrayal committed by their currently favored misleader. When Arnold Miller rammed a sell-out contract minus the right to strike down the throats of coal miners in 1974, the CP denounced its opponents as disrupters only interested in aiding Miller's predecessor, Tony Boyle. The SWP apologized for Miller's three years of treacherous opposition to a wave of militant coalfield wildcats, before switching horses (along with the I.S.) to the only slightly less tarnished Harry Patrick, who had consistently backed up Miller's anti-strike stand.

The CP, SWP and I.S. likewise scrambled aboard Sadlowski's bandwagon when he challenged the Abel/McBride machine for the USWA presidency last year. Though Sadlowski

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WV Photo

Demonstration last April outside Local 299 hall protesting expulsion of two TDU members from local.

the Democrats to form a workers party, racial and sexual discrimination—the TDU was silent. When *WV* asked Camarata during the campaign why his program sidestepped these issues, Camarata answered: "People are very touchy about bringing up any kind of politics, especially Democrats, Republicans, socialists, communists. They don't want to hear it.... Most Teamsters aren't political." This economist reformism is the programmatic tie that binds the TDU and its I.S. mentors to the same pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy as Fitzsimmons & Co.

Bosses' Press Loves TDU

It was definitely not a lack of press coverage that hurt Camarata. He is probably the best-known dissident in the Teamsters, thanks to an outpouring of favorable publicity in the bourgeois media. In addition to the *New York Times Magazine* story so laudatory that it constituted a virtual endorsement, Camarata was featured regularly in

ads during the 1934 general strike blared, "How do you like having our Minneapolis streets in the control of communists?" The *Minneapolis Journal* threatened the "communists" of Local 574, "But let them beware lest an aroused citizenry here take vigorous measures against them" (quoted in Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* [1972]). The bosses even reprinted articles by IBT president Dan Tobin smearing the Minneapolis Teamsters: they naturally preferred the corruption of old-line business unionism to militant class struggle led by a genuinely revolutionary union opposition. Ultimately they resorted to sheer force to get rid of this threat to their class rule, clapping the entire Local leadership behind bars for its courageous opposition to the imperialist Second World War.

Accomplices of Government Union-Busting Attack

By a strange coincidence every time there is a threat of a national Teamsters

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Strikes Continue, Generals Squabble

Argentina: Weak Link in Chain of Junta Terror

The mid-1970's has been the hour of the dictators in Latin America. Eight out of the eleven countries of South America groan under the heel of military jackboots. As the death squads and anti-guerrilla commandos go about their work the scope of reactionary terror has reached levels unprecedented since colonial times on this bloody continent. Concentration camps are set up, torture techniques refined and copied; official assassinations are counted in the tens of thousands while both political prisoners and exiles now number many *hundreds* of thousands. A new category has been added to the statistics of capitalist repression: the "disappeared."

But in recent months cracks have appeared in the solid wall of *gorila* rule. Increasingly even the most well entrenched bonapartist regimes have been unable to enforce a peace of the graveyards through sheer violence. Last year student protests erupted in Brazil and this month, for the first time since the September 1973 Chilean coup, hundreds of leftist anti-government demonstrators marched through the streets of Santiago. Even in Nicaragua, fiefdom of the Somoza family, widespread opposition has surfaced threatening to topple one of the last *caudillos*, whose father was placed in control of the country in 1933 by the U.S.

Of all the military dictatorships south of the Rio Grande, the one facing the most explosive social and political crisis is the Argentine junta, which ousted the corrupt and discredited populist government of Isabel Martínez de Perón in March 1976. Now rent by internal divisions, unable to control a raging inflation, faced with the hostility of significant sectors of the bourgeoisie, its most implacable enemy is a powerful working class. Unlike in Brazil or Chile, the Argentine generals have been unable to dismember the organized labor movement, particularly at the base. Instead they have had to be content with "intervening" (placing in receivership) the unions which encompass 85 percent of the workforce. The left-wing political groups have been driven underground but not destroyed.

The stage has been set for a colossal confrontation by Argentina's continuing economic recession. Inflation reached 400 percent in 1976, but the conservative business experts charged by the junta with "restoring health" to the economy were able only to cut it to 170 percent last year. To do this they engineered a massive, almost unprecedented cut in the real wages of the working class, which have fallen by 67 percent since 1973. They have also embarked on a course of denationalizing public sector enterprises on a mammoth scale—a total of 770 state-owned or partially owned companies are currently on the auction block. However, these policies have failed to attract the U.S. and European investment which the regime had counted on, and Argentina's traditional agricultural exports (wheat and beef) have faced serious trouble in highly competitive international markets. Meanwhile domestic industrial production is stagnating for lack of a market.

While business sectors have been grumbling, the Argentine working class



Stern

Working-class resistance continues in spite of junta's repression directed against left and trade-union leaders.

has responded with repeated strikes. As early as September 1976 auto workers in Buenos Aires reacted to an insulting 12-percent wage increase with a rash of slowdowns and strikes. Though they were forced back by threats of repression, the electrical workers promptly walked out in October and the junta was forced to send troops to occupy the power stations. The next month it was the turn of dock workers at the port of Buenos Aires. However, most of these



Cerecedo/Cambio 16

Montonero press conference

were largely defensive actions. Last fall, for the first time since the coup, Argentine workers went on the offensive.

Industrial War

Argentine industry is a virtual battleground where workers must daily defy the military's decrees banning any organized labor activity simply to defend their physical safety. Labor leaders and militants have been picked

off like flies by the armed forces and rightist paramilitary gangs. Usually the incidents in this war are reported in the bourgeois press only when management personnel is kidnapped.

When workers at Córdoba's IKA-Renault plant struck in mid-October, however, the curtain of silence was broken. Leading newspapers warned of the threat of another *cordobazo*, referring to the insurrectional general strikes in that interior industrial center which shook earlier military regimes in 1969 and 1971. Earlier in the month the government had announced large price rises on public transportation and services, food, fuel and rents. In response to these measures and the runaway inflation, Renault workers demanded a 50 percent wage increase. When management countered with a ludicrous 15 percent offer, the workers launched a sitdown strike. The army occupied the plant and forced strikers back to work the following day at bayonet point.

According to an account in *Perspectiva Mundial* (21 November) a pitched battle then broke out. Troops gunned down four workers when an officer in one section of the plant enraged his captives with a lecture warning them not to demand wage increases just as soldiers don't strike for higher pay. This sparked a massive walkout by 6,000 workers, greeted with broad support throughout the labor movement. Protests and strike actions broke out in quick succession at Peugeot, Chrysler, Mercedes Benz, Lozadur and many less significant plants.

The IKA-Renault strikers were again forced back to work, however, after only four days as the industrial security act (Law 21,400), under which they faced dismissal and possible ten-year

prison terms, was invoked. Even so, Renault workers won a larger increase than the bosses' original offer, and many of those fired were reinstated. To head off further mobilizations auto workers in a number of plants in greater Buenos Aires were granted raises of up to 40 percent. But this was not sufficient to restore "calm and tranquility" to Argentine industry.

On October 26, 40 signalmen on the General Roca rail line running south from the capital struck for higher wages. This tiny spark ignited the entire public sector. In a chain reaction other state railway workers followed suit, then other transport workers, then other public employees. By the weekend the strike was national. In the Buenos Aires area bus lines and subways within the city and to the suburbs were effectively tied up. Striking municipal workers demanded a US\$200 per month minimum wage, restitution of social services, legal recognition of shop delegates' assemblies and the rehiring of fired and laid-off workers.

In Rosario, Bahía Blanca and Córdoba strikes affected railway workshops, metal and power workers, dockers and government workers. Actions were reported among oil workers, and even airline ground crews and pilots joined in. Retail and warehouse clerks and post office employees had threatened strike action as well when the government finally announced a general settlement.

The causes of the strike wave lay in the general economic policies of the junta. Economy minister Martínez de Hoz has targeted public employees in his attempt to rationalize the state sector. This has meant massive layoffs and starvation wages. Many of the striking workers barely earned the



Dictator Videla

Syigma

the government is searching desperately for the hidden hand of subversion. At the same time, the strikes are clearly led and coordinated, which suggests that the workers have successfully maintained clandestine representative structures, despite the government's best efforts to eliminate their leaders."

Finally, worried that the labor situation was getting out of hand, the junta decreed a "settlement" to the October strikes. The carrot was a 38-to-43 percent wage increase granted to the striking unions with promises of another big raise within 60 days and no reprisals. The stick was the threat to rigidly enforce Law 21,400.

Conflicts Within the Junta

The powerful strike movement spearheaded by auto workers and railwaymen alarmed influential sectors of the ruling class, who through their mouthpieces have begun to call openly for "reform" of the government's policies toward the labor movement. The English language *Buenos Aires Herald* (30 October), which had previously

to get his army colleagues to draw up a similar list of prisoners held in garrisons throughout the country. The president reportedly refused on the grounds that some army corps commanders would defy such an order and thus embarrass the regime.

The *gorila* admiral is hardly a humanitarian, and the navy is in fact known as the most reactionary and bloodthirsty of the armed forces. It is currently pushing a project for a South Atlantic Treaty Organization which would ally the dictatorships of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile with racist South Africa. But to ever-gullible liberals Massera now appears to be the leading candidate for their long-sought "dove" wing of the junta. Thus a U.S. liberal lobbying group, the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA) issued a statement on Argentina in late November which openly touts Massera as a "democratic" alternative to Videla!

"Indications are that the administration is aware that Admiral Massera may be more sympathetic to a return to civilian rule in the near future than Videla seems to be. Massera is now regarded as a firm leader who is able to meet whatever commitments he gives. This is in contrast to general Videla who has disappointed a number of Administration leaders by reneging on the pledge that he gave to President Carter when he visited Washington recently."

Thus the liberals (COHA's board also includes U.S. labor leaders such as Doug Fraser, Jerry Wurf and Patrick Gorman) seek to pressure the junta and to get Washington to back Massera over Videla (presumably a job for the CIA).

Massera's current ploy is the early introduction of a "fourth man" into the junta and the separation of the presidency from the army command. Under this plan the most likely outcome would be making Videla into a figurehead president removed from operational control of the army. At the same time Massera's name has been linked to talk of "dialogue" and an eventual "opening" (*apertura*) to civilian participation in the government. (The Caracas newspaper *El Nacional* has quoted the admiral as saying: "The military in Latin America do not know how to govern, and that is why various Latin American countries are discussing a return to democracy.") Hardline General Ramón Díaz Bessone resigned in early January reportedly out of disagreements over Videla's "aperturista" talk. However, all these plans in no way threaten junta rule, and Díaz Bessone has himself been mentioned frequently as a possible "fourth man."

While Massera appears to be motivated mainly by personal considerations (he will have to retire by March 1979 and seems to want a political career), other sectors of the military represent more ideological ultra-rightist currents, aiming at "moral regeneration." Díaz Bessone's planning ministry last fall produced a 120-page document calling for the creation of a leadership elite through four national three-year plans. This elite would be trained "in the basic values of the religious and moral traditions of Christianity" (*Der Spiegel*, 7 November). Others are openly fascistically inspired and reportedly behind the wave of anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi literature. However, none of these currents has shown sufficient strength to overthrow Videla. The *Latin American Political Report* of 3 June 1977 summarized the situation:

"The armed forces have managed to achieve a level of internal incoherence only equalled by previous military governments after about three years.... "No simple division of the armed forces into hard- and soft-liners, soldiers and sailors, liberals and fascists, or nationalists and internationalists, is sufficient to explain the daily confrontations and manoeuvrings of the various factions."

The Graiver Affair

The most spectacular product of the deep rifts within the junta is the bizarre Graiver affair which dominated Argentine politics for several months beginning last April. The scandal centered on

David Graiver, a 32-year-old financier who was reported dead in a plane crash over Mexico in August 1976. Graiver was named by the right-wing *Nueva Provincia* of La Plata as the banker for the Peronist guerrilla group, the Montoneros. According to military sources he laundered funds the guerrillas secured from kidnapping ransoms and "expropriations," channeling at least \$17 million through his banks in Argentina, the U.S., Europe and Israel. The Montoneros were allegedly receiving \$130,000 monthly in interest payments.

Several hundred people were initially rounded up in connection with the case, including Graiver's family and business connections, who had ties with the innermost circles of the Perón government and the New York financial establishment. The fact that Graiver and many of those arrested were Jewish was used by the headline generals to launch an anti-Semitic crusade to expose the "Zionist/Marxist/Montonero conspiracy" as the source of Argentina's ills.

Not coincidentally, many of those arrested were vocal supporters of *apertura*, among them military officials of high rank. The most prominent was former president, General Alejandro Lanusse, along with three members of his 1971-73 government: former navy commander Pedro Gnavi, former air force commander Carlos Rey and former defense minister José Cáceres Monie. During his administration Lanusse had called for a *gran acuerdo nacional* (GAN—great national agreement) and eventually handed power over to a Peronist government. Thus he has been a particular target of reputed pinochetista forces within the Argentine military. The latter, headed by Buenos Aires provincial governor General Ibérico Saint-Jean (who has close ties to *Nueva Provincia*), sought to use the Graiver affair as a device to sweep out "doves" from the military and strike at a significant sector of the bourgeoisie.

The *New York Times* (25 May 1977) raised a voice of alarm over the affair:

"Poised to claim power now is a group of extreme right-wing generals whose goals and methods are well expressed by their leader, Gen. Ibérico Saint-Jean: 'First we will kill all the subversives; then we will kill their collaborators; then ... their sympathizers; then ... those who remain indifferent; and, finally, we will kill those who are timid.' "In recent weeks, these generals have begun a series of 'investigations' aimed at intimidating and perhaps imprisoning some of the country's most distinguished moderates. Gen. Alejandro Lanusse, one of the most successful recent Presidents, is already behind bars. Also threatened are José Martínez de Hoz, the present Minister of Economy, and Alejandro Orfila, the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States. Argentina's significant Jewish community has been a special target of the campaign and several prominent Jewish families have been the objects of both legal and extralegal action."

Alarm bells also went off in Buenos Aires, in the junta itself. Lanusse and Videla share a similar outlook, and many of Videla's closest associates today first came to the fore as ambitious political colonels in the Lanusse government. So the president appointed a military court made up of officers from all branches of the armed forces to take the investigations out of the hands of Saint-Jean.

Lanusse was eventually charged with corruption rather than the original accusations of "ideological falsity" and "violation of the duties of public officials." Subsequently he and his associates were released when a court found no basis for charges of favoritism in the awarding of a contract for a monopoly of aluminum production in Argentina to a company (Aluar) in which José Ber Gelbard, a leading Peronist businessman and economy minister in the Peronist governments from 1973 to 1976, had a major interest. David Graiver had been a protégé of Gelbard, and was also undersecretary

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Argentine junta on parade

Der Spiegel

minimum wage, less than US\$60 per month. Thus the main demand of the railway workers was a 10 million peso monthly minimum wage as opposed to their base pay of 2.6 million pesos a month (US\$52). Bitterly the workers have nicknamed the economics minister Martínez de Hambre (hunger).

By the time of the October strikes it was evident, even among officers of the regime, that Martínez de Hoz's austerity measures threatened to touch off a wave of protests which could not be contained by simple coercion. Stating that an average family needed roughly US\$100 a month, labor minister General Horacio Liendo had admitted that wages were too low for workers to live on (a statement also heard from leading businessmen, who find no market for their merchandise), but the junta is caught in a dilemma: if it opens the door to concessions and bargaining with the old-line Peronist union bureaucrats, this leads to protests by powerful generals who see it as capitulating to "subversion"; but if, on the other hand, a hard line is maintained on wages through massive repression, the result is not passive acceptance but the outbreak of industrial actions totally beyond its control.

While the corrupt and reactionary Peronist labor bureaucrats (now being held in reserve by junta president Jorge Videla) have little authority in the eyes of militant workers, the gang of military intervenors who replaced them after the March 1976 coup is seen as the occupying army it is. The British business newsletter *Latin American Political Report* (4 November 1977) laid out the problem facing the government:

"its labour policies, and the generalized practice of kidnapping the most representative leaders of the working class, have made meaningful negotiations almost impossible.... The workers' motive in striking is economic, although

unconditionally backed Martínez de Hoz, warned:

"The railway union leaders... were not behind this strike, and to hear them tell it, they do not support it. This may be a tribute to these labor leaders' sense of 'responsibility,' but it is not necessarily a good sign. If even the most respected union leaders, backed up by the massive weight of the military government with its arbitrary anti-strike legislation, cannot keep the workers on the job, then things have taken a bad turn.... The long delay in carrying out a reform of the trade-union movement is dangerous."

This view, echoed by Videla backers within the military, places great store in General Liendo's attempts to play "soft cop" as against the "hard cop" economy minister.

However, in recent weeks the conflictive labor situation has played an even more direct role in a power play by a wing of the junta itself. The notoriously ambitious Admiral Emilio Massera, representative of the navy on the triumvirate, has reportedly been critical of Martínez de Hoz's policies for months. As a result of business dealings with former metal workers union leader Lorenzo Miguel, Massera has maintained close relations with the Peronist labor bureaucrats. Now he is trying to capitalize on this influence to undermine the power of Liendo, who is closely tied to Videla and Martínez de Hoz.

Massera also reportedly tried to upstage Videla on the "human rights" front at the time of Secretary of State Vance's recent trip to Argentina, when the latter reportedly brought a list of 7,500 political prisoners. The admiral met with President Videla arguing that the junta should make a gesture to Vance by disclosing the names of all detainees—of whom there are at least 18,000—held without charges. The navy, he reported, was willing to turn over such a list, and he called on Videla

How Arnold Miller Breaks Wildcats

Shootout at Cabin Creek

For United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller it will not be an easy task to shove the sellout pact he is negotiating with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) down the throats of the miners. Every summer since the 1974 contract was signed has been marked by wildcat strikes that have taken out more than half the union membership for weeks. However, the following interview with a participant in the most recent major walkout vividly shows the lengths to which Miller, elected on a platform of union democracy, will go to force membership compliance with the coal bosses' demands.

As last summer's 80,000-man strike against cutbacks in medical insurance went into its second month, the capitalist media stepped up their anti-strike propaganda, portraying the whole movement as the work of "belligerent roving pickets from Pike County, Ky." as the *Charleston Gazette* called them. But neither this nor the cajolery and threats of the union's International Executive Board (IEB) were sufficient to break the back of the walkout. So Miller dispatched a squad of well paid and well armed gun thugs to Cabin Creek, West Virginia—the stronghold of the strike—with orders to smash the picket lines.

Cabin Creek has long been a center of



Mine site near Cabin Creek, West Virginia.

WV Photo

BCOA restored full funding to the miners' health cards. As the last miners returned to work in early September, many did so in the belief that the IEB meant business. But the companies did not back down, and far from issuing a strike call Miller allowed the BCOA's steel and power industry customers to stockpile months of coal supplies to carry them through the current national

We were having a salt pile meeting [an unofficial strike meeting] that evening and we saw them come across the Chelyan Bridge, a big caravan of them, in vans and cars and trucks. So we went back down and started getting all the men together to go up there and break it up. When we got reinforcements, then they all took off through the tunnel and every other direction they could go to. They didn't stick around when we came back with reinforcements.

WV: The impression I had was that when they first got there there weren't many pickets and Miller's men ran them off.

A: That's right.

WV: And then about 80 people went back up there.

A: Maybe a few more than that.

WV: So you were still outnumbered but you ran them off anyway?

A: Yeah, we ran them out of there. Some of Miller's guys knew what was happening but other guys didn't know. Miller told them that the people in this area wanted to go to work and there were a few Kentucky pickets stopping people up there.

It was the people from this district. The Kentucky pickets—well, they'd been around here and then went back. We did call for them that morning but they couldn't come.

WV: When you got up there what was the situation?

A: They were still up there and the state police were there, about 15-20 of them, several carloads. They started searching cars and getting guns and everything. They didn't bother Arnold Miller's men about their guns and they knew they had guns. They must have taken six or eight shotguns and rifles from our cars. On the second run we didn't have any guns.

WV: So how did you get rid of Miller's guys?

A: When the first bunch of men came up there to run Miller's men off, that's when one of Miller's men fired the first shot and started everybody else shooting. I was headed up that way, but when we found out what happened we turned around and came back to meet the rest of the people that were supposed to show up here. Well, we just started running up the road, the whole damn bunch of us. The state police didn't shake us down for nothin'—of course, we didn't have anything anyhow. But when Miller's guys saw this big bunch coming at them, hell, they didn't know

continued on page 11



Roving UMWA pickets from Kentucky prepare to join pickets in Cabin Creek during wildcat strikes in August.

union militancy in the UMWA's huge District 17. It is also the home base of Arnold Miller, who worked for years at the Bethlehem Steel mine there. Carrying District 17 was decisive in Miller's re-election bid last year. After his vicious strikebreaking ploy, however, Miller's support plummeted: one miner after another told WV that they cursed the day they voted for him. This anger may well reflect itself in votes against a Miller contract.

On August 24 gunfire was reported at the Leewood fork leading to the Carbon Fuel company and Bethlehem Steel coal operations as well as several smaller collieries. Miller said he had sent in "good union men" to Leewood to ensure an end to the strike. But these hired strikebreakers not only failed to intimidate the pickets at Cabin Creek; as word of the shooting spread through the coal fields nearly 30,000 miners in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky dug in their heels while cursing their union misleaders.

The ten-week struggle was finally ended as the result of an IEB resolution to terminate the national bituminous coal agreement in 60 days unless the

contract strike. The Cabin Creek strikers' militancy cried out for a class-struggle leadership to oust the UMWA bureaucracy—which without exception opposed the wildcat—the biggest obstacle to victory over the profit-greedy coal companies.

WV: Were there pickets from out of state?

A: There were Kentucky pickets and pickets from District 17 all mixed in together. What they were doing was helping each other out. They were from Pike County. We had gone over there to help them out and they came over here and helped us out.

About three or four days before the strike ended Miller sent in his organizers, some people from Pennsylvania and some other guys from various locals around here in District 17. Some of them were local officers, some weren't. There were 131 of them altogether. They had a caravan up here at the crossroads of Leewood, where we always set up our picket line. They had shotguns and pistols and rifles. Some of them had clubs.

Thugs Murder Coal Strikers...

(continued from page 12)

western part of the state and federal authorities are examining damage done to Norfolk and Western railroad track in West Virginia. Local and state police along with the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms are seeking leads in a reported dynamiting of strip-mining equipment at the Davela Coal Company in Kentucky and another blast near Stearns. There near the Justus mine, which has been struck for 18 months in a UMWA organizing drive, the home of Donnie Waters was damaged by an explosion New Year's Day. Waters ignored the large bullet-scarred sign at the mine entrance which says "Warning: the Stearns miners have determined that scabbing is dangerous to your health" and crossed the picket line in order to work.

Whatever their excuse, the cops, state "investigators" and G-men are armed scabherders for the coal operators. The entire labor movement must demand: Cops out of the coal fields! Drop the charges against UMWA militants!

The BCOA's bargaining stance remains what it has been since talks began last October. As *Business Week* (16 January) noted, "Industry sources say, however, that UMWA bargainers know they can win much-needed increases in pensions and health care benefits—if they agree on a 'stability' package." "Stability" for the BCOA means saddling the miners with the equivalent of a no-strike clause, one way or another. It means shackling the nation's most combative union.

Miller's spineless negotiating and open backing of the companies' attempts to crush the mine-worker militancy will make it hard for him to sell a sweetheart deal to the ranks. However, this simply means that he will join the coal bosses in trying to wear down the resistance of the miners. Currently he is talking of a six-month strike. "The men know they're going to suffer," he told radio station WWVA in Wheeling. With Miller's backstabbing and defeatist tactics there can be no doubt about that!

The miners' heroic militancy can only go so far in the absence of an authoritative class-struggle opposition to Miller's treachery. None of Miller's foes on the International Executive Board have offered any direction for the ranks' proven willingness to fight. The election of district strike committees is the vehicle for spreading the roving pickets and systematically shutting down scab mines, the first step to bringing them under a UMWA contract. It is also key to efforts to link up with unions in related industries to stop the use and transport of coal. By debating and carrying out strike policy through democratically elected delegate bodies there are the maximum guarantees that a program for strike victory will be arrived at. That is why calls for elected strike committees will be fought tooth and nail by Miller and the rest of the UMWA bureaucracy, who must prepare their sellouts behind closed doors. ■

FORUM

Coal Strike in Danger What Strategy for Victory?

Date: Thursday, January 19

Time: 7:30 P.M.

Place: West Virginia University,
Room to be announced

Speaker: Mark Lance, WV
correspondent in West
Virginia and Stearns,
Kentucky

MORGANTOWN, W.VA.

Don't Handle Scab Coal!

The following resolution was presented to the December membership meeting of United Steelworkers Local No. 1104, U.S. Steel, Lorain, Ohio.

Whereas: The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is engaged in a strike in which the future of that union is at stake, and

Whereas: The UMWA strike is threatened by nearly 50 percent of the U.S. coal production that is non-union, necessitating labor solidarity actions to shut down the mines and refuse to handle scab coal, and

Whereas: The coal miners' central demand for the right to strike is a burning necessity for steelworkers, and

Whereas: This strike is of particular importance to steelworkers, given the close links between the steel and coal industries and the historic connections between our unions, and especially because it occurs at a time when the steelworkers are being hit with massive layoffs and plant closures, and

Whereas: Joint strike action between coal miners and steelworkers is critical to beating back the coal and steel bosses' attacks on both our unions, as opposed to the McBride leadership's chauvinistic protectionism campaign which pits American workers against foreign workers, and

Whereas: In the wake of the iron miners strike, which exploded the myth that "strikes don't work" by forcing limited concessions from the companies, McBride has signed a treacherous agreement with the companies to submit to arbitration future disputes over what constitutes "local issues," thereby extending the sell-out, no-strike ENA,

Therefore, be it resolved: That Local 1104 will not handle coal shipments for the duration of the coal strike and calls upon the entire USWA and rail and transport workers to do likewise, and

Be it further resolved: That Local 1104 calls upon our union to prepare for and organize industry-wide strike action jointly with the UMWA to both defend their union and win their demands, and to win for steelworkers:

- An end to the ENA and compulsory arbitration and for the unrestricted right to strike over all grievances,
- For a 30 hour work week at no loss in pay to create jobs and reinstate all laid off steelworkers,
- For the reopening of all closed steel plants and if the companies refuse, for nationalization without compensation,
- A cost-of-living clause that fully matches the rate of inflation.

Submitted by: Sam Hunt

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 2)

hauled into CIB headquarters for "questioning" and held incommunicado. Union headquarters were placed under constant surveillance, organizers were followed and they and their families terrorized in their homes.

Caballero disappeared on October 13. According to Teamster spokesmen he was detained by the CIB, and the police have since admitted having Caballero's car in their possession since the day after his disappearance. He was found twelve days later in a mountainous region of the island a short distance from a cabin purportedly used for interrogation by the police. He had been bound, tortured and then strangled with an electrical cord. The Tronquistas and Teamsters have a number of signed documents by witnesses stating that they saw Caballero at the house in the company of CIB agents Alejo Maldonado and Angel Torres.

The response of the government was to demand that the names of all witnesses be turned over to the district attorney. This demand was dismissed out of hand by the union, which fears for the lives of the witnesses. Currently leading Teamster officials face possible imprisonment for their courageous refusal to finger these witnesses. Charging that the administration of Governor Romero "lacks credibility and impartiality," they have, however, declared their willingness to give their information to an investigative commission headed by former D.A.'s (*San Juan Star*, 28 October). Fears that the witnesses may suffer the same fate as Juan Rafael Caballero are certainly not misplaced. But neither can the workers movement rely on the courts or any other arm of the bourgeois state.

The working class must be mobilized to demand that all charges against the Teamster leaders be dropped and that the CIB criminals be prosecuted instead. In a press statement at the November 11 protest march, Carrión declared:

"Breaking the Teamsters union would be an important achievement for American imperialism, threatening the stronghold of our labor movement. Consequently the Puerto Rican union movement has replied in a united fashion to prevent this from happening." At the initiative of the Tronquistas 27 unions formed a Trade Union Committee Against Repression (CSCR) which organized the demonstration. While no confidence can be placed in even the more left-talking bureaucrats, militants must demand that the CSCR, MOU and other union bodies demonstrate militant unity in action, by preparing for a general strike if the National Guard is once again ordered to suppress the UTIER strike.

The U.S. left and labor movement have a particular responsibility to denounce this colonial repression and demand immediate independence for Puerto Rico. Hands off the Puerto Rican left and labor movements! Jail the murderers of Juan Caballero! ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 16, Winter 1977-78

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- French Feminists Call for Class Collaboration
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Detroit Teamster Elections...

(continued from page 5)

strike the federal government and media suddenly discover rampant corruption in the IBT and open a campaign to "clean up" the union. The latest investigation began on the eve of the 1976 master freight strike, and after a year of snooping a Labor Department/Justice Department joint task force last April 30 forced Fitzsimmons and his fellow Teamster bureaucrats to resign their posts in the \$1.4 billion Central States Pension Fund.

This is the largest single private pension fund in the country and one of the few where the union had previously exercised significant control over the assets. Senate Committees, reminiscent of the Kennedy-McClellan hearings of the late 1950's, are regularly summoning Teamster chiefs to testify on allegations of kickbacks on pension fund loans, ties to the Mafia and general financial malfeasance. Fitzsimmons' son has already been indicted on charges of embezzling union funds, and the *Wall Street Journal* has hinted at a possible Justice Department deal demanding the IBT president's resignation in exchange for dropping prosecution on federal charges.

The wide publicity afforded Camarata, the TDU and other dissidents such as the Professional Drivers Council (PROD) serves an important purpose in these government probes. Justice Department attorneys, FBI agents and Labor Department spies posturing as defenders of the working trucker ripped off by corrupt officials need spokesmen inside the unions to justify and ask for government intervention. The G-men have found willing accomplices for this attack on the independence of the labor movement in Teamsters' for a Democratic Union.

Though the TDU claims to be for rank-and-file reform of the union, it has backed innumerable suits dragging the

Iron Ore Giveaway...

(continued from page 5)

pledged to enforce the hated ENA to 1980, called for the elimination of thousands of steel workers' jobs through automation and boosted "ethnic purity" Democrat Jimmy Carter for the U.S. presidency, all three fake-left groups heralded him as the greatest labor "rebel" since Eugene V. Debs.

From the beginning of the iron ore walkout, the Spartacist League called for the tactics necessary to win the strike: hot-cargoing of stockpiled ore and shutting down basic steel. Striking the steel mills was not merely a question of solidarity with the iron miners; it was in the immediate self-interest of all steel workers. It is workers in basic steel who are bearing the brunt of the industry's offensive to rationalize itself through the layoff of tens of thousands of workers, plant closures and brutal speed-up.

McBride parrots the steel industry's chauvinist line that protectionist import controls and tariffs are needed to force unemployment on Japanese and German steelworkers in order to protect American profits. But only a militant strike in steel, demanding the reopening or expropriation of shut-down plants and a shorter workweek to make jobs for all, could answer the industry's offensive to the benefit of all steelworkers, American, German and Japanese. And while ENA could be challenged on the iron range, it can be smashed only by a strike in basic steel, the heart of the industry. ■

IBT into the capitalist courts and applauds the feds' moves to more directly intervene in Teamster affairs. As the government offensive against the union was reaching a crescendo the TDU picketed a Teamster leadership meeting with signs such as "Expel the Crooks." TDU hailed the government pension fund grab as a "little step toward pension reform," and Camarata told *WV*: "I think the union is so corrupt right now that you need it [government intervention] for a while, at least till you get things straightened out." *WV* countered:

"We have no sympathy with Fitzsimmons and his shady cronies, who have imposed one sellout contract after another on the Teamster ranks in addition to trying to milk the pension funds dry. But the bosses' courts and government agencies will not throw out the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The last thing the bosses want is a really democratic labor movement led by class-struggle militants. If the government jails one corrupt labor leader, it will only be to replace him with another traitor to labor's cause. In the meantime, the government will tighten its grip on the only mass organizations of the working class."

"The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the major obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course.... The fools and charlatans of the TDU/PROD ilk who aid the government rape of the unions deserve the scorn of every labor militant."

— "Hands Off the Teamsters!"
WV No. 158, 20 May 1977

The social-democratic I.S. has a long history of opportunist maneuvering in the unions and tailing after militant-talking, do-nothing bureaucrats. Pete Camarata's campaign and TDU support to Karagozian are no exception. In fact, the I.S. has seen its Teamster work (centered on Camarata) as its chance to break into the "big time." But the government and the capitalist media, not to mention the trucking bosses, have no intention of actually helping even these milk-sop reformists into power in the largest U.S. union. As soon as Jimmy Carter's boys can put the hammerlock on the Teamsters—or should the TDU unexpectedly gain significant force in the union ranks—they will quickly drop Camarata, or get him to drop his "socialist" sidekicks. The only real way to sweep out the corruption, gangsterism and pro-company labor fakery from the Teamsters is to build a class-struggle opposition against both the Fitzsimmons crew and these out-bureaucrat "oppositions." ■

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Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Such tough talk and the hard-line proposals won Knesset backing for the "peace plan": 64 members voted in favor and 8 against, while 40 others, mainly opposition "Labor" Party members, registered a protest by abstaining. Their objection was not to continued military occupation of the West Bank but rather that Begin had not offered a direct administrative role for Jordan. Such a role was offered in the old Allon plan, which might allow Sadat to save face and permit the conservative Arab states to be more forthcoming in his support.

Former "Labor" defense minister Shimon Peres explained his party's argument in the Knesset debate:

"The advantages in turning our attention to Jordan are clear. It affords us the possibility of planning the security of our land against invasion from without and subversion from within. Taking up the Jordan prerogative would also place the problem of the PLO in the hands of the Jordanians...and they have shown they are capable of handling the PLO."

The reason that the "Labor" Party projects a direct Jordanian role in the West Bank is that these Zionists cannot see how Israel can assume control of 600,000 more Arabs without taxing beyond the breaking point the Israeli administrative and military capacity, especially in the face of Western imperialist pressure to withdraw. Ultimately it threatens to subvert the character of Israel as a Jewish state. Begin, however, envisions a South African solution for the West Bank Arabs in the short run, i.e., the creation of Arab Bantustans surrounded by Zionist settlements and policed by the Israeli army. In the long run, Begin hopes to reproduce the 1948 war (which turned one million Palestinians into refugees) and drive the large majority of the West Bank residents from their land.

Enter Carter

While the elation of the first Egyptian-Israeli contacts wore thin, all eyes turned to Washington, the only other country to join the Cairo conference. A senior foreign ministry official in Saudi Arabia, whose oil deposits speak louder than the Koran in Arab affairs of state, told foreign newsmen that, "the real support which President Sadat and Egypt need should come from the United States rather than from Saudi Arabia; that is the support which matters." He specifically called on Washington to "apply pressure on or advise" Israel to make concessions.

Caught off guard by Sadat's overtures to Israel in November, Carter has regained his balance and is attempting to assert the U.S.' ability to bring its major Near Eastern allies together (largely at the expense of the Soviet Union). Flying to Teheran in time for a New Year's Eve gala, Carter amiably discussed the negotiations with the Shah of Iran, the jet-set torturer, and with Jordan's King Hussein, butcher of thousands of Palestinians during the 1970 Black September massacres.

Hopscotching from Iran to Saudi Arabia to Egypt, Carter met with the flustered Sadat. That meeting produced a platitudinous, all-purpose statement on the "fundamentals" necessary to conclude "a just and comprehensive peace." These include "withdrawal by Israel from territories occupied in 1967 and agreement on secure and recognized borders for all parties" as well as recognition of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people...to participate in the determination of their own future." Carter and Sadat won applause from Begin by their careful avoidance of any mention of a Palestinian state.

A spokesman for the PLO in Beirut ridiculed the statement, bitterly demanding that "Carter tell us where he wants these rights realized—on the moon or on earth," and reiterating the PLO's demand for "a sovereign, inde-

pendent Palestinian state" (*New York Times*, 5 January). Its demand, of course, is only for a mini-state, little more than a West Bank Bantustan, but even this is too much for Begin, Carter and Sadat. With all their talk of "homelands," "self-rule," "participation," etc., they are dead-set against a Palestinian state, especially (as Carter put it in a television interview) "a fairly radical" one. Brzezinski told an interviewer from *Paris Match* (6 January): "We have done everything to encourage moderation on the part of the PLO... But they haven't taken us up. So it's bye, bye PLO."

However, to move from a common hostility to Palestinian national rights to a concrete plan for the West Bank is no simple matter. Israel and its Arab neighbors have fought three wars over who has the "sacred right" to carve up and dominate the Palestinian nation. In Washington the imperialist chief spelled out his proposed implementation: first, a joint administration of the West Bank by Israel, Jordan, moderate Palestinians and perhaps the United Nations; then, a referendum by the Palestinians "to decide their own future between whether they should continue that kind of administration or affiliate with Jordan" (*New York Times*, 8 January).

Such a plan is at sharp variance with Begin's position, but Carter's immediate concern seemed to lie elsewhere: "I think if we can evolve an acceptable set of principles, then it would be much easier for King Hussein and perhaps later on the Syrians to join in the discussions." He added that "the Shah will be supportive" and that "the Saudis were very encouraging." It seems hardly coincidental that Carter's West Bank proposal embraces aspects of the "Labor" Party's Allon plan. Washington's relations with Israel have been increasingly strained since the election of Zionist expansionist Begin, which severely set back plans for a general settlement in the Near East through a joint U.S./USSR-sponsored Geneva conference.

Carter's general approach now seems to be to keep the Israeli-Egyptian talks from collapsing by proposing a nearly meaningless set of general principles while pressuring Begin through tacit support for his parliamentary opposition and those Arab states willing to trade recognition of Israel for a pullback from the occupied territories by the Israeli army. On the CBS-TV program "Face the Nation" last Sunday, Brzezinski predicted that "the whole negotiating process, until the final resolution of all issues, might take us well beyond 1978." He might have added that by that time Begin's weak heart or turmoil within the heterogeneous governing coalition may have produced a change in Israel's leadership.

In contrast to the coalition government's unanimous backing of Begin's phony West Bank "peace plan," real differences have surfaced within the cabinet and the ruling parties over the Sinai peninsula, which had been dangled in front of Sadat as the payoff for an Israeli-Egyptian agreement. While promising to return the territory to Egypt, Begin has also announced plans to expand the 20 Zionist settlements in the northern district known as the Rafa salient and in the vicinity of strategic Sharm al Sheik on the Red Sea, and to keep them under Israeli military protection and administrative control.

This further demonstration of Israeli intransigence limits Sadat's ability to maneuver even more sharply. The question of the West Bank Palestinians only impinges on Egypt's ability to pose as defenders of pan-Arab interests; the question of the Sinai affects Egypt's actual borders. The Democratic Movement for Change, a bloc of former supporters of the "Labor" Party whose opportunism led it into Begin's government, has opposed the expansion of the settlements, while a more hawkish government faction led by ex-general

Ariel Sharon has denounced Begin for not building more. His position echoes the sentiments of Israelis like the Sinai settler who, while picketing a cabinet meeting, complained to newsmen: "I did not come from Miami Beach to live in Egypt."

The possibility of a separate peace seems more remote every day. And even if achieved on paper it would fundamentally rest on the financial largesse and diplomatic support of ultra-reactionary Islamic despotisms—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan—which are powder kegs of political instability and social revolution. Despite their sumptuous palaces and New York bank accounts stuffed with petrodollars the anachronistic regimes of the shahs and sheiks and kings are not long for this world. The very palace guards and officer corps they have built up to protect their thrones could easily overthrow them, as Farouk found out in Egypt. And in the wake of a coup, the masses could explode as occurred in Egypt in 1952 and especially in Iraq following the assassination of Faisal in 1958.

Sadat's "peace" gambit and its dismal results underscore the basic instability of all the Near Eastern regimes. On the one hand, they require social stability and a semblance of peace to attract imperialist investments. On the other hand, they need a state of permanent hostility and war mobilization to suppress the domestic class struggle. Hence their policies gyrate back and forth rapidly. Begin and Sadat, who flew into each other's arms only days ago, are now making propaganda for a new war.

In war and peace these butchers are mortal enemies of the Arab and Hebrew-speaking working masses. Today much of the fake left screams that Sadat has betrayed the cause of the Arab Revolution. But the "Arab Revolution" has never been more than a convenient fiction disguising the irredentism and racialism of the Arab regimes. Genuine peace, a solution to the Palestinian question and social liberation in the Near East require a struggle against both Zionism and Arab nationalism, led by Trotskyist parties who seek to mobilize the working masses to victory against all their reactionary exploiters. ■

Toronto Cops...

(continued from page 3)

only threatens the democratic rights of homosexuals; it is a menace to the labor movement and the oppressed because it strengthens and exercises the instruments of bourgeois state terror. The Anita Bryant reactionary crusade and the lynch mobs rampaging through Toronto streets screaming "Death to all perverts!" raise the spectre of fascist stormtroopers unleashed by capitalism in its death agony. These attacks must be met by militant opposition from not only homosexuals but all those with a stake in the defense of democratic rights, especially the labor movement, which has the social power to effectively champion the interests of all the oppressed.

Drop the charges against Pink Triangle Press! Abolish the Morality Squad! No censorship! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Stop Anita Bryant's vicious anti-homosexual crusade!

The legal battles resulting from the raid on *Body Politic* are expected to be long and costly. Contributions to the defense of those charged should be sent to: Lynn King, in trust for the Body Politic Free the Press Fund, c/o Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman, Barristers and Solicitors, 111 Richmond Street West, 3320, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5H 3N6. ■

Argentina...

(continued from page 7)

for social welfare in the Lanusse regime. Like Graiver, Gelbard was a Jew of Polish extraction.

Graiver allegedly branched out into international financial circles in the early 1970's by making foreign investments for officials in the Perón government. Currency speculation and Zionist connections helped make his fortune. They may also have been his undoing, as \$15 million was reported missing from his banks last year, and one after another they failed around the time of his reported death. (As befits such a strange tale, his body was cremated, never positively identified, and there are periodic reports that he has been seen alive in Israel, Brazil or elsewhere.) Left holding the bag, in addition to Mexican Jewish depositors and the Montoneros, were a diverse assortment of prominent U.S. citizens associated with Century National Bank and American Bank & Trust, Graiver's New York holdings. As to Argentine figures implicated in the Graiver affair, the Montoneros have distributed a letter pointing out that among them are: the second in command of the general staff, a cousin of economy minister Martínez de Hoz and a speechwriter for Admiral Massera (*Latin American Political Report*, 13 May 1977). Moreover, among the corruption charges pending against Isabel Perón is that of illegally depositing huge donations to a semi-public charity in her private account...at a Graiver bank in a Buenos Aires suburb!

On December 10 the wife, father and brother of David Graiver were sentenced by a military court to 15 years in prison. Five other relatives and associates received lighter terms. Another victim in this was Jacobo Timerman, an active Zionist and publisher of the leading liberal daily in Buenos Aires, *La Opinión*. Timerman's "crimes" are that his paper was too liberal and pro-Israel; that *La Opinión's* technical director (murdered by the government last year) had been Lanusse's press secretary; and that some Graiver capital may have gone into the paper in 1971. However, Timerman was never formally charged, yet he was placed under indefinite detention. As a government official explained according to the *New York Times* (20 November 1977): "There is a conviction in the military that there is a connection between Timmerman and Graiver, and that makes him a subversive."

What is the meaning of the Graiver affair? Like everything else concerning politics in Argentina today, there is little hard information and plenty of speculation. The intended targets of Saint-Jean and his cohorts were Lanusse and ultimately Videla. But in the process of attacking their rival officers the epaulette-clad inquisitors have lined up an influential sector of the ruling class in their sights. Those immediately implicated in the Graiver affair could easily be extended to include the entire CGE (the Peronist chamber of commerce, disbanded by decree last July), the "developmentalist" technocrats associated with former president

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Arturo Frondizi and the Jewish business/financial establishment.

This is a dangerous game for a narrow sector of the military which lacks any visible social support. The Argentine bourgeoisie was, by and large, happy to see the discredited and incompetent Peronist regime go. But in attacking the Gelbards and Lanusses the pinochetistas are biting the capitalist hand that feeds them. Why do they do it?

The military has certainly not spared the bullets since taking power. Chief of staff General Viola, Videla's closest associate, claims that 8,000 "guerrillas" have been killed in the first year and a half of junta rule. Even the U.S. government calculates the number of executions by the junta at almost 6,000 persons. And, in fact, the military has seriously crippled the principal guerrilla organizations in Argentina. Yet in spite of this "success" the generals have failed in their objectives. The economy is still in depression conditions and above all the junta has been unable to crush the working-class militancy. So the hardliners are looking around for "Judases" who supposedly have prevented the "armed institutions" from fulfilling their "Christian mission."

As the population begins to overcome the passivity instilled by the arbitrary kidnappings, pre-dawn arrests and street executions of the paramilitary bands; as the bourgeoisie draws back from the junta because of its bankrupt economic policies, and powerful interests are concluding that the killers must be stopped—Marxist revolutionaries must take advantage of the contradictions among the exploiters and generalize the workers strike movements into a

expression and association, for a constituent assembly. All of these demands must be focused on the central issue: the *smashing* of the junta through an uprising of the working people led by a Trotskyist vanguard party.

However, the principal Argentine left organizations have adopted a sharply different perspective. They seek to form a political alliance with a sector of the junta, either directly through support to Videla or Lanusse, or indirectly through a pact with "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie. The most shameless in this respect is naturally the Argentine Communist Party (PCA), which has one of the most despicable records of class betrayal among the Latin American Stalinists. For a long time the PCA sought to curry favor with the junta by making only the gentlest criticisms. (Argentina's main trading partner is the

Cabin Creek Shootout...

(continued from page 8)

whether we had guns or not. They all jumped in their cars and vans and took off. I think most of them had enough on the first run. It looked like flies. They just turned tail and ran and they didn't come back.

WV: Did those guys go around to any other areas besides this one?

A: No, just here.

WV: Do you recall previous times in UMWA history when the union actually mobilized people to break a picket line?

A: Yeah, they did it during the right-to-strike wildcat, over at Madison Mining. Another time they tried to get the organizers to come up and break up the picket lines, but those organizers wouldn't do it. They said it would be brother against brother.

WV: What about prior to the '74 contract?

A: Not that I know of. I haven't heard of any.

WV: How much money was involved, to pay Miller's thugs?

A: \$44,000. [Harry] Patrick [then UMWA International secretary-treasurer] said that if he were to sign the checks he could get in trouble himself. Then some way they proved it to him that he couldn't get in trouble personally and that he had to sign the checks. So he did.

WV: What was the major thing that got the men to return to work?

A: They got them down there in the Daniel Boone Hotel in a meeting, talking about canceling the contract. Arnold Miller and the [International] executive board agreed to terminate the contract. But the president of the BCOA has to have his signature down there right beside Miller's before that contract can be canceled and [BCOA president] Brennan said he was not going to terminate the contract until December 6. So they all believed Miller and that got them drifting back to work. After they started drifting back, there's no way you could hold them. Even some of the guys who'd been on the picket line started going back to work because they believed him.

WV: What was Miller's explanation?

A: Miller was supposed to have told them it was just a handful of radicals that was keeping these mines out. But Miller definitely knew what the situation was. And I believe he knew that if the strike had kept on going while we had 85,000 out we could have a new contract right now. We had over half of the UMW members out, and if they would have gone on and got the rest of them out, we wouldn't be sitting here in the kind of shape we're in right now. We had them down to eight days' supply of coal, and then we went back. We had 'em. ■

USSR, so the PCA figured it had a relatively privileged position on the left.) However, as even a number of its own members have fallen victim to the death squads, the Communist Party has adopted a more "nuanced" position. According to the *Daily World* (18 November 1977):

"the PCA sees two tendencies present in the Argentine military: one, represented by President Jorge Videla, is moderate and is interested in civilian-military dialogue on Argentina's future; the other...wants a Chile-style fascist dictatorship. It is this latter group that is the main enemy...."

In Chile the Communist Party played a treacherous role of tying the workers to the class enemy by preaching confidence in the "constitutionalist" armed forces and the "democratic" bourgeoisie. This popular frontism paved the way to the bloody 1973 coup. But in Argentina the PCA openly supports the junta while the military assassins and torturers are butchering thousands of working-class militants! This is a chilling betrayal which must never be forgotten—Trotskyists must use it to inoculate the working class against the Stalinist syphilis.

To many Argentine workers the principal ostensibly Marxist opposition to the despicable Communist Party apologists for the junta is the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) and its guerrilla arm, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army). The PRT/ERP is frequently falsely identified as Trotskyist, a fact which has caused great confusion in the minds of would-be communist militants. However last July the PRT issued a statement which made unequivocally clear its *Stalinist* policies.

The political bureau communiqué was directed to "democratic and progressive parties," small and "middle industrialists," "officers and junior officers of the armed forces who aspire to the restoration of a democratic regime" and "compatriots." Its goal is

the formation of "a DEMOCRATIC PACT, open to all who reject the repression, hate and death established by the fascist Military Junta...." And its first principle is "Respect for the National Constitution" (*Denuncia* [New York], September 1977). In sum it is a call for the formation of a popular front on the most minimal program of purely democratic demands. It would not only subordinate the workers to the capitalist parties, but it makes the Chilean Unidad Popular look like flaming leftists by comparison.

So abject is this capitulation before the bourgeoisie—the direct product of petty-bourgeois fright in the face of the tremendous losses which the PRT/ERP has suffered because of its adventurist terrorist/guerrillaist actions—that these pseudo-Marxists now stand to the *right* of the populist Montoneros in their immediate slogans. Explaining the difference between the "Popular Front" proposed by the PRT and the "National Liberation Front" of the Montoneros, ERP commander Luis Mattini told a Spanish newspaper: "It is the same strategic conception, although National Liberation Front means unity of the forces which have an interest in socialism.... Our opinion is that it is necessary to advance together with all the political forces" (*Diario 16* [Madrid], 8 December).

The October strikes in Córdoba and Buenos Aires point the way forward for the Argentine masses suffering under the yoke of junta rule. Taking advantage of splits in the bourgeoisie, prepared even to make episodic blocs with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces (such as the Montoneros) for joint actions against the military dictatorship under the slogan "march separately, strike together," Leninist communists unceasingly point out that it is only the *independent* mobilization of the working class which can rout the military regime and put an end to the cycle of junta repression and populist demagoguery in Argentina. Smash the junta through workers revolution! ■



Admiral Emilio Massera

Gente

proletarian offensive against the regime. The masses must be mobilized around the most combative sectors of the working class to fight for democratic demands that can win broad popular support: immediate release of the victims of rightist repression, end military intervention in the trade unions, for full democratic freedoms of

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Military police in Buenos Aires.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Not One More Life—Shut Down Scab Mines!

Gun Thug Murders Coal Striker

On January 6 a retired coal miner was murdered while talking to pickets near a non-union mine owned by Diamond Coal Company in eastern Kentucky. Sixty-five-year-old Mack Lewis was shot at least five times by an off-duty company security guard a quarter mile from the plant entrance where striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) had been picketing for weeks. Recalling the long history of cold-blooded murder by the coal operators, one union official said bitterly, "It was one of those damned gun thugs that shot him" (UPI dispatch, 6 January). Robert Carter, president of UMWA District 30, predicted the response of coal miners to Lewis' killing: "There's no doubt these fellows are going to continue to picket and they are not going to go out and let a fellow shoot and kill one of our men and just stand by" (Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 7 January).

Indeed Lewis' murder will inflame already angry miners who are determined to stop the production and shipment of scab coal and win this critical strike, now more than a month old. Fearful of the miners' wrath, District Judge Harold Stumbo charged the guard with murder and jailed him without bond in Lexington, 100 miles from the shooting. "You don't know what could happen. With a labor dispute, both sides get mad. We could have a storm on the jail," Stumbo said.

The tragic death of Mack Lewis is testimony to the savage measures the coal bosses are willing to take in defense of their sacred profits. But responsibility for this crime must also be laid at the doorstep of Arnold Miller and the UMWA leadership, who have allowed the owners to bloody the union and its members. Having attacked and undercut the miners' strength in every one of the massive wildcats which ripped the coal fields over the past three years, Miller had the gall to shed crocodile tears for Lewis in a January 6 plea to the bosses who walked out of negotiations on December 30, "to honor this UMW member who gave his life in the cause of his union," and "to return to the bargaining table in a meaningful effort to reach a just settlement."

The UMWA ranks, however, are more than tired of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association's (BCOA) "meaningful efforts." Deeply suspicious of their leaders as well, after five years of double-crosses and sellouts, the miners' fears were again confirmed in the first weeks of the strike. Reports circulated widely of a tentative union "compromise" with the BCOA on a "stability" package which would have effectively banned the right to strike, provided for the summary firing of roving pickets and assessed \$22 per day fines for participants in future wildcats. A flood of telegrams, protests and militant coal field meetings forced Miller and the UMWA bargainers to back away at least temporarily, prompting the BCOA to walk out of the negotiations. After a lull over the holidays, miners in the past two weeks have dramatically escalated their



Striking miners in Pittsburgh last week.

militant activities and the death of Mack Lewis is sure to steel their determination.

Pickets Stop Scab Coal

In one of the most significant developments to date, miners' roving picket squads have begun to take the strike beyond the coal fields to combat the crippling effects of coal stockpiling and transportation by other industries. Last week in Pittsburgh, headquarters of the U.S. steel industry which is a leading purchaser of coal for use in the mills, hundreds of miners blocked the entrance to the Shenango Incorporated coke plant. "There were about a thousand out there about six o'clock," Shenango's head of security reported. Early morning shipments were halted by the miners who remained at the site for over three hours.

Meanwhile in southern Indiana 194 militants were arrested January 7 after nearly 500 miners converged on the B&M coal dock in Rockport. State police claimed \$800,000 damage was inflicted on the company's equipment and loading dock where coal from two operating mines is transferred from rail to barge. B&M, the only such facility operating during the strike in southern Indiana, was targeted before by roving pickets. On December 9, 200 miners yanked scab bulldozer drivers off their machines as they tried to force pickets off the road.

The miners' attempts to focus on the huge coal stockpiles, particularly at the steel mills and coke ovens, is an important step forward which must be

extended and organized through the election of district-wide strike committees. But the key to making the strike's impact instantly felt on the big coal consumers lies with a miners' appeal to their fellow unionists in rail, longshore and steel to refuse to handle coal for the duration of the strike.

Meanwhile UMWA members have continued to fight the threat to their strike posed by scab operations which now produce nearly 50 percent of U.S. coal. On January 3, 600 miners patrolled eastern Tennessee vowing to keep the non-union mines closed. An Anderson County sheriff reported that every available cop was on duty but moaned, "...they outnumber us 40 to one and if anything happened there wouldn't be much we could do." The next day Kentucky state police monitored an estimated 500 strikers traveling in 150 cars. Several truck drivers hauling scab coal were forced to dump their cargo, leading in one instance to the arrest of five miners in Harlan County.

In Deer Park, Maryland, state cops guarded the Mattiki Coal Company as 200 strikers arrived set on seeing all work stopped. Operators in Indiana claimed that windows were broken and a bulldozer set afire at one mine and three pieces of mine equipment torched at another as 75 carloads of strikers descended on two non-union sites. And on January 6 in New Athens, Illinois frightened scabs huddled inside buildings owned by the coal-hauling Behnken Trucking Service as close to 75 pickets gathered beyond the company's fence.

"We all fear for our lives," a frazzled Joseph Behnken stammered. Officials announced that the firm will haul no more coal until the strike is settled.

"There are no neutrals there..."

The shooting death of Mack Lewis serves notice once again that the state is not neutral in the class struggle. While mine guards are armed to the teeth, one union official in District 30 complained that state police "won't let our people carry an open weapon and they don't do anything to those mine security guards." Moreover, government agencies are sure to use recurring coal field clashes as a pretext for increased surveillance and harassment of the miners. Already FBI agents have been investigating claims of "strike-related violence" and Carter's labor secretary, Ray Marshall, announced that government cops "will be watching for Federal violations" during the strike (*New York Times*, 22 December).

Kentucky state police are investigating a fire in coal storage facilities in the

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