

Zaire: The Phony War

MAY 16—The supposed invasion of southern Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) may go down in the history books as the all-time classic "war that wasn't." More than any previous armed conflict, the "war" in Shaba province (formerly Katanga) resembles the movie "The Mouse That Roared." In the film, "war" is declared in order to be lost, so that a bankrupt duchy can be bailed out by "reconstruction" aid. In Zaire's real-life version, phantom battles are "won" or "lost" in government news handouts for the purpose of pressuring negotiations in Washington or Paris for increased imperialist aid.

Although Western journalists hungry for a story flocked to Kinshasa, Zaire's capital, no one could ever find a front line. For weeks there was no indication whatever of invading troops, proof of alleged Angolan logistical aid and Russian weaponry, and not a single shred of evidence supporting the con-

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Moroccan troops disembarking from French transports in Zaire.

Der Spiegel

Saudi Oil and German Reactors

Imperialist Aims Behind Carter's "Energy Crisis"



Oil rig in the North Sea.

On April 18 Jimmy Carter unveiled his program to deal with the so-called "energy crisis." "The cornerstone of our policy," he said, "is to reduce demand through conservation." In keeping with his "moral" style, the U.S. president gave the citizenry a mock tongue-lashing, inveighing in puritanical tones that "ours is the most wasteful nation on earth." Having turned the temperature in government offices down to 65 degrees during the depths of last winter's cold snap (and declaring prohibition on hard liquor at the White House), Carter is pontificating like a latter-day version of Cotton Mather and Carrie Nation lecturing their flocks on the sins of loose living.

However, as in the case of his anti-communist crusade for "human rights," at the base of Carter's "moral" energy policy lie strategic imperialist goals. As he put it:

"Further delay can affect our strength and our power as a nation. Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and the Congress to govern this nation. This difficult effort will be the 'moral equivalent of war'."

The analogy is appropriate, for behind both his domestic energy plan and U.S. opposition to West European plutonium-based nuclear technology is the reality of exacerbated inter-

imperialist rivalries.

Of course, Carter's opposition to plutonium-fueled reactors allegedly aims at curbing the danger of nuclear terrorists, while fuel cost rises are supposed to cure a nation addicted to gas-guzzling monster cars and electric toothbrushes. But it is easily apparent that the rhetoric disguises a drive to reassert American dominance within the Western "nuclear club" (by tightening its near monopoly on the supply of reactor fuel) and to assure that the Pentagon will not be subjected to pressure from OPEC oil exporters in the event of another Near East war (by lessening U.S. dependence on foreign energy sources).

Sacrifices for the Workers, Superprofits for the "Seven Sisters"

Echoing Richard Nixon's ill-fated "Project Independence," Carter's domestic energy proposals pursue the chimera of energy autarky in three ways. They encourage conversion to coal and fission power, force oil and gas conservation through steep price increases and taxes and provide the energy trusts with "profit incentives" to develop domestic reserves. In other words, the plan offers the carrot to the monopolies—and the

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Oppose AFL-CIO Economic Chauvinism

Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War

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AFSCME Sabotages Atlanta Sanitation Strike

Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson has succeeded in smashing the strike of the city's predominantly black municipal workers. For the courageous strikers who had resisted a month-long assault of mass firings, anti-picketing injunctions and arrests, the final blow came from their own "leaders." On April 27 the International office of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) withdrew its support of the strike.

This stab in the back came the day after strikers had sustained ten arrests in a sit-in at the Mayor's office and, that evening, overwhelmingly voted down the recommendation of both the Local 1644 and International tops to end the strike and accept a humiliating defeat. Abandoned by the International, with

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funds to rehire strikers, since CETA monies are not supposed to be used for strikebreaking. Yet Jackson had used CETA workers to do struck work throughout the strike!

Their regular jobs filled by scabs, many returning strikers are being put on temporary CETA jobs and are being placed at entry-level wage scales, entailing up to 30 percent pay cuts. Local 1644 staff coordinator Ray Reliford told *WV* last week that of some 75 workers still not rehired about 50 who live outside Atlanta are ineligible for CETA fundings and may never get their jobs back. In addition strikers have been stripped of all but 30 days of accumulated sick leave which, in some cases, amounts to five or six months' pay.



Atlanta cops arrest AFSCME picket outside Mayor Jackson's office during sanitationmen's strike.



City employees demonstrating against mayor during recent AFSCME strike.

their Local officials urging a return to work, their ranks cut to 300 by workers who had already accepted Jackson's "offer" to rehire them, the strikers finally threw in the towel April 28 and began to return to work.

Jackson was out to break the strike and the union from the start. He refused to consider any union demands, which centered on a 50-cent per hour pay hike. He fired every striker on the fifth day of the walkout and began hiring hundreds of scabs, including strikers who were intimidated into going back to work. A court injunction limited picketing, and arrests were made both on the picket line and in a club-wielding cop charge that broke up the sit-in at Jackson's office.

Not content with having crushed the strike, the liberal black mayor wants the last pound of flesh. He delayed rehiring the strikers on the grounds that AFSCME's charge that he had broken the strike prevented the use of federal

The city has also refused to rehire those arrested during the strike who have court cases pending. AFSCME area director Leamon Hood told *WV* that while three of those arrested in the sit-in had their charges dropped—when no cops could be found to witness that they had done anything!—additional charges have been heaped on the other workers and union officials arrested, including Hood himself.

The strike of Atlanta's poorest-paid and 80 percent black city workers was undermined from the beginning by the illusions that had been engendered in Jackson by the AFSCME leadership. Leamon Hood admitted to *WV* that "we didn't expect that kind of anti-union tactic [mass firings] to be administered by this administration." AFSCME had supported Jackson in his 1973 election as a "progressive" black mayor. But just like his predecessor Sam Massell, who received AFSCME's support in 1969 only to try to break the last city workers

Letter

Anti-Arab Racism

Jerusalem, Israel
21 April 1977

The Editor of the "Workers Vanguard"
Dear Friend,

I want to express my pleasure and satisfaction with your article "Crisis in the Zionist Bunker", of your 15 April issue. It was a very accurate article.

I want however [to] add two points: The first is a minor one: Under the "Allon Plan" only "Samaria and Judea" and not Gaza Strip will be placed under King Hussein's rule. More than that his "rule" will under this plan be effective only in civilian matters, such as education etc. The "security supervision" and specifically the "right" to arrest people, will under this plan remain firmly in hand of the Israeli government. This is what is meant by the phrase so often invoked by the Israeli government, but never explained by the corrupt USA press, "The Jordan river should be the security border of Israel". The word "security" means in Israel both internal and military security. Annexation (as colony, not as part of the state) was announced by the military governor to the Gaza town municipal council already in February. I enclose their telegram of protest (of course many others were sent to various recipients).

The second point is much more important, in my opinion: that the situation you so correctly describe, first from its economic aspect, secondly starting from the fact that Israel is brimming over with the most sophisticated American weapons, while the Arab states are weaker militarily than in 1973, all this invites and presages war; a war in which the bankrupt Israeli leadership will try to attack the Arab states like in 1967 (or like in 1956 with the USA playing the part France and England played then). This is a very strong possibility in my opinion, and the wave of anti-Arab racism so strongly propagated in the USA from 1973-4, is designed to prevent, during the first weeks of such a struggle at least, any popular or worker's effective opposition to such a war. It is, I think, very

significant that the various bourgeois "civil rights" and "anti-racist" groups, including specially the hypocritical church groups, who have falsely pretended to be against anti-Black racism, did not raise one little finger against the anti-Arab racism, of the most crude and Nazi-like sort, prevalent now for some years in the USA. Such things do not come by "chance", they are organized and commanded from above for a set end.

Finally, I hope that you will be able in the future to show how the Palestinian workers are being divided from the Jewish workers by the Zionist racism and discrimination prevalent here. For only by knowing the disease we can fight against it. I enclose one of my older publications, whose first article deals with the racism in the construction trade.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

P.S. I do hope that you are reading my material sent out regularly to you. I certainly read your paper from cover to cover and benefit from this!

Israel Shahak is a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights. He is one of the most prominent and outspoken critics of Zionism in Israel and the foremost spokesman in defending victims of Zionist persecution.

Dr. Shahak has carefully documented the racist and anti-democratic character of Zionism, especially regarding the oppression and disenfranchisement of the Arabs living in Israel and the occupied territories. His publications include the Shahak Papers, which concern the expropriation and wholesale destruction of Arab villages immediately after Israeli independence, and The Non-Jew in the Jewish State.

As a young boy, Dr. Shahak was a victim of the Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp. He came to Palestine after World War II, living most of his life in Israel, and became an active anti-Zionist under the impact of the 1967 war.

strike in 1970, Jackson proved as anti-labor as any Dixiecrat.

Used to relying on liberal Democrats and civil-rights leaders for "support," AFSCME leaders sat dumbfounded when an alliance of businessmen, black church leaders and civil-rights groups lined up behind Jackson's union busting. Martin Luther King, Sr. led the "fire 'em!" chorus. Several AFSCME spokesmen told *WV* that the union pleaded with Coretta King to come out in support of the strike; she refused.

When asked how the strike could have been won, AFSCME International spokesman Don McClure claimed, "It couldn't have been won!" "The only way you can win it would be to have the newspapers give an honest accounting of both sides." If that were the key to success, obviously there would be no AFSCME at all, or any union movement to speak of. The lesson of the Atlanta strike is rather that the workers can rely only on their own strength and not on "sympathetic" bourgeois politicians or their agents within the ranks of labor.

The only alternative to the rout suffered by the union, which surely will enfold anti-labor forces throughout the South, would have been a complete break with the Democrats and militant defense of the picket lines. AFSCME should have called on the rest of Atlanta labor to come out in support of its strike

and urged the city's (largely black and low-paid) workforce to bolster the picket lines as the spearhead of a militant union organizing campaign. Waiting for a "better" Democrat to bail them out, bemoaning the absence of "fair" media coverage, the AFSCME leaders were impotent and the strike was crushed.

The rebuilding of Atlanta AFSCME, and progress for labor organizing throughout the South, demands leaders committed to a break with the labor-hating Democrats. Maynard Jackson has proved once again that black honchos in the Democratic Party are no less the foes of black and working people than their white counterparts. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

TDU/PROD Aid Federal Pension Fund Grab

Hands Off the Teamsters!

After more than a year of intensive government investigation and under threat of federal prosecution, International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Frank Fitzsimmons and IBT vice president Roy Williams, along with two management representatives, were forced to resign April 30 as trustees of the Teamsters' massive Central States, Southeast and Southwest Pension Fund.

Under terms of the agreement with a Labor and Justice Department task force and the Internal Revenue Service, the trustees stepped down in exchange for restoring the fund's tax-exempt status. The IRS revocation threatened bankruptcy for the fund and the loss of pensions for several hundred thousand Teamsters. The government also agreed to end its investigation of the management of fund assets, although it retains the right to prosecute for past infractions.

More importantly, the trustees of the fund were forced to hand control of the assets and investments of the fund over to outside firms; remaining trustees will have authority over only benefit payouts and eligibility. The Crocker National Bank of California and the Dallas-based Lomas and Nettleton Financial Corporation will now have total control of future investments. Jess Hay, Lomas and Nettleton's chief executive, just happens to be chairman of the Democratic Party's national finances, raised \$300,000 for Jimmy Carter last year and stands to reap a nice commission off pension fund deals.

The federal government action in ripping control of the pension fund from the Teamsters is an outrageous encroachment on the independence of the unions. It represents one of the greatest government invasions of union affairs since the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act was passed in 1959. And the current furor over the pension fund may be just the beginning of a new legislative assault on the labor movement.

Senate and House leaders are calling for an intensified Labor Department crackdown and new Congressional hearings to "explore" the Teamsters further. Scandalously, these labor-baiters are receiving active support from reformist "opposition" groups in the union, such as the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), who are acting as accomplices of the government attack. Their cries for "help" from the government are provid-

ing crucial publicity for the capitalist sortie into the union.

The fund, widely known as the Central States Pension Fund, has over \$1.4 billion in assets, covers 450,000 Teamsters in 33 states and is by far the largest of some 200 Teamster pension funds. It is, in fact, the largest pension fund in the U.S. and a major lender. It is also unique because of the hitherto high degree of union control of the fund.

Jimmy Hoffa established the fund in 1955, and virtually no loan could be made without the approval of either Hoffa or his right-hand man and financial consultant, Allen Dorfman. Widely reported to be one of the Teamsters' main links to organized crime, Dorfman went to jail in 1971 for accepting kickbacks on pension fund loans. Innumerable press accounts have reported millions passed to well-known Mafia leaders, friends of Teamster officials and even trucking employers.

Some of the better-known investments were in Las Vegas casinos and southern California resorts, most notably the La Costa Country Club, a reputed hang-out for Teamster and underworld figures. Some 75 to 90 percent of the fund's investments were in speculative real estate.

There is no question that the Teamster leadership's gross misuse of the fund's assets has been at the expense of the membership. Fund executive director Daniel J. Shannon recently told a Congressional committee that the fund does not have enough assets to meet its commitments, and the government estimates that \$400 to \$700 million may have "disappeared." Shannon's aides say that in the future full benefits will be obtainable only after 30 years' seniority instead of the 20 presently required.

Until last year, the fund did not even keep records, names or addresses on the Teamsters it covered! Through a maze of complex and stringent requirements, Teamsters are required to prove their own eligibility. In an industry with thousands of employers, frequent bankruptcies and mergers, Teamsters often work for many different firms. Retrieving records is a staggering task; often even a short break in service years ago may result in a union member being disqualified.

Two Decades of Government Intervention

Grand juries, congressional committees, Labor Department and FBI spies have been prying into Teamster affairs

for over 20 years. They have not "cleaned up" the union so far, nor will they do so now, for this is not their purpose. Under the fraudulent banner of "fighting corruption," the federal government is out to bridle the largest (2.2 million members) and potentially most powerful union in the U.S.

Robert Kennedy went on a decade-long vendetta to "get Hoffa," which even Chief Justice Earl Warren characterized as an "affront to the quality and



Jimmy Hoffa

fairness of Federal law enforcement." After a long string of acquittals and hung juries, Jimmy Hoffa was sent to jail in 1967. What disturbed the government was not so much Hoffa's dipping into the till as the enormous power he wielded as the authoritative and popular chief of the Teamsters.

Hoffa had reached out from the Teamsters' Midwest stronghold to organize the Southwest and southern states, at a time when no other unions could make headway in the South. From the Minneapolis Trotskyists who pioneered the organizing of long-distance trucking, Hoffa had learned and utilized the tactic of "hot carging" non-union cartage. By 1964 Hoffa had signed the first nationwide master freight agreement and had the power to tie up the country. That same year, the government finally managed to get a conviction.

The notorious McClellan hearings focused overwhelmingly on the Teamsters and produced the Landrum-Griffin Act, a sledgehammer against all unions. In addition to authorizing sweeping government and court powers to investigate and alter union finances, elections and other internal affairs, the act struck at the hot-cargo tactic,

declaring illegal provisions in Teamster contracts which gave workers the right to refuse to handle struck goods. Breaking union power, not "cleaning up the labor movement," was the real aim of government intervention.

The Nixon Connection

The Nixon administration helped prove that the government is not interested in honest union officials, just pliant ones. Frank Fitzsimmons avoided the legal hassles that had plagued Hoffa by maintaining close ties with the White House. "Fitz" was personal friends with Nixon, attorney-general John Mitchell and his successor, Richard Kleindienst, who, it was later revealed, got a \$125,000 kickback for arranging a pension fund loan to an insurance company while he was deputy attorney-general. The law offices of presidential assistant Chuck Colson received the Teamsters' \$200,000-a-year business when Colson left the White House during the Watergate scandal.

Despite Nixon's ignominious fall, things might have gone along quietly for Fitzsimmons. But the "disappearance" and certain murder of Hoffa in 1975 sparked renewed demands for federal investigation of the union. Hoffa's drive to re-enter the IBT leadership and reports that he was ready to blow the whistle on Teamster ties to organized crime created powerful enemies. Suspicion now centers on Anthony "Tony Jack" Giacalone, a reputed Detroit Mafia leader, Tony Provenzano, a Teamster vice president from New Jersey, and three of "Tony Pro's" boys, two of whom are Teamster business agents. A grand jury in Detroit has also subpoenaed Fitzsimmons' personal and union records in an effort to determine his whereabouts shortly before and after Hoffa's disappearance.

With the heat on, attention once again turned to the pension fund. Empowered by the 1974 Employee Retirement Income Security Act, Labor Department agents marched into the Chicago headquarters of the fund in January 1976 and demanded all the books. Last fall, the Ford administration conducted the first shake-up, forcing the resignation of all the trustees except the four who just stepped down. Carter's labor secretary, F. Ray Marshall, took over personal control of the continuing probe when he assumed office and pushed through the final purge.

Reformists Cheer On Government Control

With an avalanche of adverse publicity descending on him, Fitzsimmons called 2,000 Teamster leaders to Washington, D.C., on April 6 for a morale-boosting pep rally. But the meeting was a public relations fiasco. With the press excluded, dissidents from PROD and the TDU protesting outside the meeting walked away with all the publicity. Marching with such slogans as "Dump Fitz" and "Expel the Crooks," these reformists are backing the efforts of the capitalist state to further subordinate the union. Both PROD and the TDU parade as "democratic" and "honest" conduits for government meddling in the union.

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

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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TDU demonstrators in Washington chime in with government/press attack on Teamsters union. Class-conscious unionists demand bosses' state out of the labor movement. Only union ranks can clean out the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

UPI

Zaire...

(continued from page 1)

intention by Zairean strongman Mobutu Sese Seko that the whole business was a Cuban-led invasion.

On the other side, when the identity of the rebels was finally established, they turned out to be curious candidates for the role of "Marxist revolutionaries." Their leader, "General" (why not) Mbumba, was a former Katangan gendarme under the secessionist regime of Belgian puppet Moïse Tshombé, and later an anti-guerrilla commando leader for the Portuguese army in Angola!

Perhaps the only fact to emerge with any clarity is that Mobutu, who has proclaimed himself "the Guide" of Zaire, has scored a diplomatic success. By adroit stage-managing of news and pleas for a foreign bail-out, the self-aggrandizing dictator has garnered a wealth of military materiel from France, Belgium, the United States and China. In mid-April, France airlifted 1,500 Moroccan soldiers to stand guard duty over "recaptured" mud-hut villages under the supervision of French and Belgian "military instructors."

Also on the scene are Egyptian pilots and even a "Ugandan suicide striking force." Mobutu has won virtually unanimous endorsement from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for "defense of the territorial integrity" of Zaire, although there is no evidence that the insurgents intend to dismember the country. Meanwhile, from anxious international creditors he has reportedly milked additional millions to cover interest payments on a staggering external debt of nearly \$3 billion.

On the imperialist side there was initial embarrassment over coming to the rescue of such a blatantly repressive "free world" regime. At a press conference last month, U.S. president Carter was asked how he could defend the Mobutu dictatorship as "a defender of human rights." Carter replied:

"I've never defined Zaire as a defender of human rights. I know that there are some problems in Zaire with human rights, as there are here and many other countries. But our friendship and aid historically for Zaire has not been predicated on their perfection in the dealing with human rights."

—New York Times, 23 April

Certainly not! And Carter was well-advised not to advertise the Mobutu government's "defense of human rights," for U.S. hands are far from clean. The Central Intelligence Agency has been funneling large sums to their corrupt "number one man in Africa" since the early 1960's, even before he seized power in an army coup d'état. It was revealed last year that the CIA expended great efforts in an attempt to poison Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba (although disingenuously claiming non-involvement in his 1961 assassination). And in 1965, CIA dispatched Cuban exile mercenaries

flew air cover and supplies for Mobutu's forces against left-wing rebels.

Baille News Flim-Flam

The story of the "war" in southern Zaire to date has been manufactured in the government offices in Kinshasa, the ebb and flow of the "fighting" closely synchronized with the activities of Mobutu's lobbyists abroad. This can be seen by a simple glance at the parade of headlines in the *New York Times*. The chain of events was set off by a Kinshasa announcement of the "invasion" on March 10. The *Times* reproduced this as good coin:

"ZAIRE SAYS ANGOLA 'MERCENARIES' CROSS BORDER, SEIZE THREE CITIES" (11 March)



Mobutu Sese Seko

FLNC

The following day, to emphasize the battle-readiness of the rag-tag Zairean army, the official news agency reported that two of the "cities" were "recaptured." But lest Western capitals breathe a sigh of relief and forget about their ally, it announced that the goal of the "invaders" was the copper mining center of Kolwezi.

The State Department took the bait, and within days we read:

"U.S. FLIES SUPPLIES TO ZAIRE TO ASSIST IN HALTING INVASION" (16 March)

A million dollars in field equipment, fuel, C-rations, parachutes, etc. was being rushed to the scene. To forestall criticisms from Congressional liberals, the secretary of state chimed in:

"VANCE SAYS INVADERS IN ZAIRE THREATEN VITAL COPPER MINING" (17 March)



Zaire government troops rest after being flown in to Kolwezi in Shaba province.

The Times [London]

State Department aides reported that 67 percent of the "free world" cohort production, a third of the industrial diamonds and 7 percent of the copper supply hung in the balance. Belgium was reported to be sending up to 30 plane-loads of infantry weapons and ammunition to close the breach.

But what is a mere million? Still not enough for Mobutu, so he hit the panic button with a "leaked report":

"ZAIRE COPPER CITY REPORTEDLY TAKEN BUT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS NOT YET" (18 March)

Yet you can't keep those plucky Zairean troops down:

"ZAIRE FLYING TROOPS TO BATTLE AREA IN BID TO REPULSE INVADERS" (19 March)



French military advisors arriving in Zaire.

Apesleguy/Sipa

And, of course, the sequel:

"ZAIRE AGAIN APPEALS FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE" (22 March)

So it went. A few weeks later Washington coughed up an additional \$13 million in military equipment ("non-lethal," assured the State Department pressroom). France supplied 14 Mirage jets, and Zairean officials announced that the aircraft were immediately pressed into service and bombed "rebel positions." Each new infusion of materiel brought instant "victories," which, however, proved short-lived and were followed by more "urgent requests" fired off to Paris, Brussels and Washington.

Comic Opera

While Mobutu was drawing up his shopping lists, the conflict remained as murky as ever, with ambiguities and absurdities on every side. A dispatch from *New York Times* correspondent Michael Kaufman termed Zairean government information "conflicting and wrong"; reports began to filter through of incredible corruption and disintegration in the army. Towns "lost" were abandoned without a shot fired, often accompanied by mass desertion by soldiers who had not been paid in months; battles "won" turned out to be re-entry into those same villages, now heretofore of population and sometimes homed Vietnam-style.

Mobutu's initial response was to clamp censorship on all newspaper accounts leaving the country. But then, quickly shifting gears, "the Guide" allowed handfuls of reporters to make brief and carefully supervised visits to "the front." Soldiers would snap to attention for photographers, then relapse into lethargy. Guns were fired to supply the sounds of battle. To divert

attention from the sorry state of his army (the former Shaba commander was reported to have pocketed \$274,000 intended for troop pay), Mobutu sought to make folk heroes out of a company of several hundred pygmies, part of Zairean forces attempting to retake the former district army headquarters of Muthasa. The imperialist press had a field day, featuring reports of four-foot-high soldiers stalking through ten-foot-high elephant grass, drilling with blow guns and bows and arrows.

Meanwhile, in Washington it was revealed that Mobutu wanted his newly acquired C-130 filled with \$50,000 worth of Coca-Cola. (After all, Idi Amin has his C-130 filled up with Jaguars and fancy furniture on periodic

shopping trips to London.) A State Department spokesman commented that the troops had to drink something, and the water was probably bad. Coca-Cola had nothing to say, except that they were glad it wasn't Pepsi. For good measure, a *New York Times* (13 April) editorial, entitled "Zaire Made Clear," managed to get the name of the tribe of the Shaba rebels wrong (they are Lundas, not Lubas). *Newsweek* (25 April) reported that Zairean pilots were dropping their bombs from 4,000 feet, an impossibly high altitude, and hitting giant termite hills instead of rebel supply trains. Altogether it appears that well under 100 people have died in this comic opera "war."

Left Suckers...and Charlatans

While Washington has been regurgitating the line spun out by Mobutu's press agents, much of the left has been doing the same with interviews supplied by his opponents, the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC). The semi-Maoist *Guardian* (6 April), leading purveyors of "Third Worldist" bombast in the U.S., proclaims:

"The latest developments in Zaire confirm once again that the storm

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center of the people's struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism has shifted dramatically over the past couple of years to Africa."

Interestingly, despite the "storm center" hovering over Shaba province, two weeks earlier the *Guardian* had written that: "Insufficient evidence exists at this point to say whether the exiled Katangese are now a progressive force...." But it only took a couple of FLNC communiqués calling Mobutu a "fascist" and making occasional references to "socialist ideology" for the *Guardian* to conclude that the former Katangan gendarmes had been "radicalized" by their alliance with the MPLA in Angola after 1974.

If the aging New Left "Third Worlders" of the *Guardian* are taken in by the rhetoric of these former mercenaries of the Portuguese army, the reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) thinks it has spotted another Vietnam in the making. In the 28 March *Intercontinental Press* SWP leader Joseph Hansen writes, in an article entitled "Zaire—Beginning of Another Vietnam?":

"...the downfall of the dictator [Mobutu] could have an explosive effect, unleashing forces that could not be repressed or contained...."

"Carter's decision to take steps toward shoring up the Mobutu regime are reminiscent of those taken by Kennedy at the beginning of involvement in Vietnam."

The SWP's *Militant* (1 April), in turn,

carried a front-page headline, "U.S. War Danger in Africa."

Evidently as a result of its unending search for a "single-issue" gimmick to replace the anti-Vietnam war movement, the SWP has lost all sense of proportion. Already last year, when the *Militant* proclaimed Angola a new Vietnam, we pointed out that the United States had no strategic interests or commitments in central Africa comparable to those which motivated its bitter-end intervention in Indochina. To presume that 500-to-5,000 ex-Katangan mercenaries could trigger such a reaction from the leading imperialist power is simply absurd.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party, as could be expected, has concentrated on reprinting statements by the Angolan government denying direct involvement in the Zaire fighting. But the most cynical and incredulous of all are the Peking-loyal Maoists. They received their instructions when a 19 March dispatch of the Hsinhua News Agency took up Mobutu's anti-Soviet diatribes:

"The recent armed invasion of the Republic of Zaire by several thousand mercenaries from Angola shows that it is a premeditated and planned aggression engineered by the Soviet social-imperialists, another major step of the latter to intensify their infiltration and expansion in Africa."

According to the CP's *Daily World* (28 April), China has also supplied some 30 tons of war supplies to grease Mobutu's

palm, just as it came to the aid of the CIA-financed, South African-led FNLA/UNITA forces last year in Angola. In an interview in the 29 April *Jeune Afrique*, Mobutu confirmed that he has received "supplies and different materials" from Peking.

American Maoist groups, particularly the slavishly pro-Peking October League (OL), parrot the same line. The OL's *Call* (9 May) announced: "The evidence of Soviet Cuban masterminding of the Zaire invasion is extensive.... Two Katangans captured last week by the Zaire army admitted that they had been trained by Cubans." Some evidence! The article goes on to cite Soviet T-54 and T-55 tanks "rolling through Shaba" and "Spanish-language documents... found on the battlefield" as well as "white soldiers... observed fighting with the black Katangans" and "6,000 boxes of Soviet-made arms and ammunition" allegedly captured by Mobutu's forces.

Such ludicrous reports illustrate the lengths to which the Maoists will be forced to go as the mindless mouthpieces of the Peking bureaucrats. There is no evidence for any of these "facts" except Mobutu's own press releases. This article, and similar Maoist diatribes against "Soviet social-imperialist aggression in Zaire," is nothing but a shameless apology for U.S. and French imperialist intervention in support of

the murderous Mobutu regime.

In contrast to these professional cheerleaders for bourgeois nationalists, revolutionary Trotskyists hold that, "No basis exists for Marxists or the working class to take sides in the Zaire conflict" ("Cuba in Africa," *WV* No. 153, 15 April). At the same time we sharply oppose U.S./French/Belgian efforts to shore up the Mobutu regime and further entrench imperialist interests in central Africa. No military or "economic" aid to Zaire—no imperialist-led troops or advisors for the butcher Mobutu!

While the Maoists view such reactionary neo-colonial dictatorships as the vanguard of the struggle against Soviet "fascism"; while "Third World" enthusiasts hail former colonial mercenaries as the revolutionaries of the hour, and social-democratic reformists look for yet another alliance with the liberals on a "U.S. out of..." program—Marxists point to the vital role of the proletarian concentration in the copper belt of southern Zaire and Zambia. Only by mobilizing this force behind a Trotskyist party—linking it to the five-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa—can imperialist toadies like Mobutu be swept away and replaced with a workers and peasants government which will end tribalist conflict and imperialist oppression, establishing a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi

Something stinks in *News Line*, daily garbage organ of the British Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP)—and it's not simply that it continues these political bandits' unsavory record of sectarianism, Stalinist gangsterism and egregious opportunism. Ever since *News Line's* inception on 1 May 1976, it has been a mouthpiece for the megalomaniacal ravings and "people's democracy" pretensions of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi of Libya. Month after month articles in *News Line* have lauded the dictator in weirdly shameless fashion, hailing his "agricultural revolution," his support to the "Arab Revolution," detailing his every attack on the "high treason" of Egypt's Anwar Sadat, and so forth.

Thus a brief article in the 26 February

News Line hailed the London publication of the Libyan strongman's Green Book as "an uncompromising rejection of parliamentary democracy in favour of 'the authority of the people.'" Two Labour MPs who pushed the book were taken to task for giving it "a patronizing send-off"; their praise of the Green Book as "challenging, stimulating, moral" is evidently insufficiently fulsome for the WRP's taste. Qaddafi's Healyite press agents complain that his "writings and his drive towards people's democracy hardly received the attention they deserve."

The WRP has in the last year been making up for that with a vengeance. Over 20 articles on Libya have appeared in *News Line*, not to mention a considerable increase in "special reports" from Tripoli and attacks on Sadat's Egypt. *News Line's* castigation of Egypt, described as "near bankruptcy," for its repression of leftists is completely in accord with Qaddafi's feud with Sadat—and contrasts sharply with the Healyites' silence on repression in Libya.

An article in the 14 October 1976 *News Line*, for instance, discussed a BBC television interview with Qaddafi and dismissed the interviewer's inquiry into political prisoners in Libya as one of the bourgeois media's "stock-in-trade questions." *News Line* smugly added, "Qaddafi was unmoved, saying that they were 'enemies of the revolution'." The Healyites praised the program for having "broken at least part of the Gaddafi enigma and answered some of the US State Department and Zionist lies," but complained that the interview was not shown on prime time:

"Miss Kewley's profile rightly belonged in the BBC's prestige slot, 'Panorama'. It is a measure of the censorship on television that it was squeezed into the 'religious programmes' department where it could not do justice to the subject of Islam or its leading advocate."

What is perhaps most curious is that *Workers Press*, the previous Healyite daily—which folded in February 1976 with the presumption of "lack of

funds"—paid little or no attention to Qaddafi and his so-called "Revolutionland." In the six months prior to its collapse, we could locate only one article in *Workers Press* dealing specifically with Libya, and this was implicitly critical of Qaddafi, reporting a protest by Libyan students in London against the police slaughter of "at least 16 students" at a demonstration at Libya's Benghazi University (*Workers Press*, 14 January 1976).

On 8 September 1976 *News Line* carried a centerfold spread on Tripoli's "anniversary celebration" of Qaddafi's military coup. Boasting huge photos and snide comments about the bourgeois press' lack of coverage of the glorious event, *News Line's* spread on "Libya's Day" was a sharp departure from the silence of *Workers Press* the year before. Something has changed, and it wasn't the Qaddafi regime.

"Revolutionland"

We are more than happy to give Qaddafi's policies "the attention they deserve." Qaddafi is fanatical in his devotion to the Koran, which sanctifies the feudal enslavement of women and

prescribes legal punishments such as cutting off the tongues of liars and the hands of thieves. At least 700 political prisoners have been reported held in Libyan jails. Regarding one trial of 17 prisoners (acquitted in 1974) against whom Qaddafi personally intervened to impose new sentences of life imprisonment and death, Amnesty International recently noted: "The accused were allegedly Marxists, Trotskyists, and members of the Islamic Liberation Party" (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 April 1977). Qaddafi's 1973 "cultural revolution" laid out his "Five Principles," including:

"We must purge all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism, who make propaganda for the Western countries and advocate capitalism. We shall put them in prison."

And:

"We live by the Koran, God's book. We will reject any idea that is not based on it. Therefore we enter into a cultural revolution to refute and destroy all misleading books which have made youth sick and insane."

—*New York Times*, 22 May 1973

Qaddafi's idea of "refutation" is simple: he ordered "the burning of books that

continued on page 11

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Healyite *News Line* (8 September 1977) hails "Libya's Day."

Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War

The world capitalist economy has by no means fully recovered from the 1974-75 depression. In every major capitalist country unemployment is substantially higher than in 1973, and the rate of fixed capital investment stands below that of the 1972-73 boom. The major capitalist powers have responded to the weak recovery from 1974-75 by two significant changes in policy. One is a drive for fiscal austerity, seeking to transfer resources from government-provided social services to private capital accumulation. The other is an increasing trend toward trade protectionism.

Although the London economic summit of May 7-8 declared "the need to maintain our political commitment to an open and nondiscriminatory world trading system" (*New York Times*, 9 May), in reality protectionist measures, particularly against Japan, have recently proliferated. Furthermore, the London summit communiqué contains the usual escape clause upholding "the right of individual countries under existing international agreements to avoid significant market disruption." "Market disruption" is a euphemism for increased import competition; "avoiding" it means tariffs and import quotas.

Last August the Ford administration forced Japan to "voluntarily" restrain exports of specialty steel and then imposed quotas on European suppliers. This February the European Common Market slapped a 20 percent duty on Japanese ball bearings, claiming that the Japanese were dumping, i.e., selling exported goods at lower prices than in the domestic market. Two months later the U.S. Customs Court, in what could be a landmark decision, ruled that rebates of excise taxes for Japanese television sets were a hidden export subsidy. The immediate effect will be an additional 15 percent duty on Japanese TV equipment. If this ruling is applied generally, it will mean major tariff increases on almost all American imports, no doubt provoking foreign retaliation.

While the statesmen prefer to cloak the threat of trade war in diplomatic euphemisms, the business press has not been blind to what is happening. This past month, two of the most prestigious business-oriented journals in the English-speaking world—the *London Economist* and *Business Week*—have run feature articles on the rising tide of protectionism. As the *Economist* (23 April) article stated:

"There is a strong whiff of protectionism in the air, and the ground is increasingly littered with tariff and non-tariff barriers. A grim number of countries now want to check imports to protect domestic industry and fend off yet higher unemployment...."

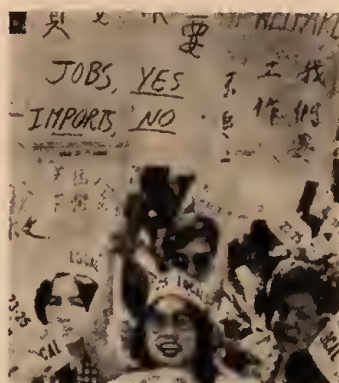
"The protectionist pack grew in number and strength during the 1974-75 recession. Now it is in full cry."

The main target of both U.S. and Common Market protectionism is

New York garment workers rally last month joined industry clamor for tighter protectionist curbs on imports.

Japan. Independent of American action, the Common Market has negotiated "voluntary" "orderly marketing" agreements with Japan covering carbon steel, television sets, calculators and shipbuilding. As a leading Japanese securities analyst bluntly put it: "Orderly marketing simply means, 'Cut exports'" (*Business Week*, 9 May). European protectionism against Japan fosters American action and vice versa. When the Common Market limits Japanese exports of a particular product, Japan, Inc. naturally seeks to sell more in the U.S.; this, of course, strengthens protectionist forces in the U.S. and so on.

Despite previous measures taken against it, Japan's international competitive superiority remains overwhelming. In 1976 Japan's exports to the U.S. increased by 41 percent and to the Common Market by 27 percent; her imports from the U.S. and Common



Neal Boenzi/New York Times

Garment workers at April protectionist rally in New York.

Market increased by 1.6 and 3.5 percent respectively (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 February!).

The American and West European bourgeoisies will not tolerate this kind of trade imbalance. Carter's Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Richard Cooper, sounded a veiled threat to Japan: "If Japan takes a policy to run a surplus, it imposes serious adjustment costs on other countries" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 January). Feeling the heat at the London summit, Japan's prime minister Takeo Fukuda, likened the present protectionist climate to that of the Great Depression.



Neal Boenzi/NY Times

What accounts for Japan's extraordinary competitive superiority? According to official spokesmen, it is capitalist virtue itself. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 March) quotes an anonymous trade official: "We work harder than the Europeans, we are more efficient, and still they blame us for all their troubles."

This is disingenuous. Japan, Inc. is no pillar of capitalist work ethic, free market virtue. To begin with, Japan strictly protects its own agriculture, one area where the U.S. and West Europe both enjoy a marked competitive advantage. When Walter Mondale visited Japan in early February, he made a point that it was the only country in the world which banned most American citrus fruit, claiming it constituted a health hazard because of chemical fungicides.

Japan has the most effective industrial monopolies in the world. Importing and distributing firms are closely linked to manufacturing and the banks through great monopolistic complexes, some, like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, stemming from the nineteenth-century *zaibatsu*. Japan's trading companies normally mark up imports far more than comparable domestic products. Thus Japanese industry protects itself from foreign competition without recourse to direct government tariffs or quotas.

The paternalistic system of lifetime employment in Japan's major firms is an important source of labor peace and social stability. Therefore, faced with falling export demand, Japanese firms tend to cut prices rather than cut back production. The accusation that Japanese industry dumps—sells in foreign markets cheaper than in its more protected home market—is true though undubitably exaggerated. In contrast to protectionism, pricing exports below domestic products is not against the interests of the international working class. For proletarian socialists measures to counter dumping are no more justifiable or supportable than any other form of protectionism.

U.S. Imperialism: From Free Trade to Protectionism

Just as mid-nineteenth-century Britain's overwhelming industrial superiority made it the leading advocate of free trade at the time, so after World War II the U.S. imposed free trade on its war-

damaged allies and the defeated Axis powers. Entering the war from a highly depressed economic condition, the U.S. was able to combine a vast armaments program with extensive capital renewal. In the late 1940's it was the war-damaged and more backward European economies which resisted made-in-America free trade. The free-trade aspect of the post-war American imperialist order was embodied in the 1948 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), whose preamble looks toward "the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce."

The first break from this liberal trade policy came in the early 1960's over textiles/apparel. Textiles and particularly apparel are relatively labor-intensive industries using simple technologies. Under a rational international division of labor, advanced countries would import much of their clothing and other textile products from backward countries. Japan itself imports a substantial share of its textiles/apparel from China, South Korea and other backward Asian states.

Under pressure from an unholy alliance of AFL-CIO unions and violently anti-labor Southern textile magnates (like Robert Stevens), the Kennedy administration in 1962 forced through the so-called Long Term Agreement in cotton textiles, a detailed market-sharing scheme. The main targets were Japan and its Far Eastern economic satellites like South Korea and Taiwan. In 1973 the cotton agreement was extended to all fibers and is now known as the Multifiber Agreement (MFA). AFL-CIO unions regard the MFA, which allows a 6 percent annual growth in imports, as too liberal and are actively campaigning to make it far more restrictive.

The main industrial force behind American protectionism is steel. Unlike textiles apparel, steel is a capital-intensive, technologically dynamic industry. There is no rational reason why foreign steel-mill products should take an ever increasing share of the American market. The uncompetitiveness of the U.S. steel industry results from monopolistic pricing and lack of investment in new technology since the mid-1950's. In 1956 imports accounted for only 1.7 percent of domestic steel consumption, but by 1968 imports

represented 16.7 percent (Thomas B. Curtis and John Robert Vastine, Jr., *The Kennedy Round and the Future of American Trade* [1971]).

In 1968 the Nixon administration negotiated the first of its famous "voluntary" agreements with Japanese and European steel producers. The 1968 agreement was a compromise which left the U.S. steel industry dissatisfied; it wanted a detailed inter-government market-sharing treaty. In 1972 the steel agreement was renegotiated and made more restrictive; the allowed annual rate of growth was cut from 5 to 2.5 percent. However, since the 1968 and 1972 agreements were stipulated in tonnage, foreign suppliers naturally concentrated on the more expensive special (stainless and tool) steels. So the U.S. industry started to scream that it needed protection for these products. Last August the Ford administration obliged with import quotas on special steel.

Divisions Within the American Ruling Class

Protectionism has produced a certain division between industrial vested interests, supported by the unions, and the more responsible representatives of American imperialism. The political leaders of the American ruling class realize that an all-out trade war with Japan, necessarily having repercussions in Europe, would fatally undermine the U.S.-led alliance against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Both the Nixon/Ford/Kissinger and Carter/Vance/Brzezinski administrations have resisted industry pressure for ever greater protectionist measures. Carter's chief trade negotiator, Robert Strauss, has stated, "there is no alternative to free trade" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 March).

Congress, which is more responsive to localized vested interests, has become increasingly protectionist. The 1972 Burke-Hartke bill, strongly supported by George Meany's AFL-CIO, was the most economically nationalist measure since the early 1930's. It called for import quotas on a broad range of products and also restrictions on the export of capital. The Nixon administration opposed Burke-Hartke and it was killed in committee.

However, the Trade Act of 1974 laid the basis for greater protectionism. The act created the International Trade Commission (ITC) whose function is "to determine whether an article is being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to be a substantial cause of serious injury, or the threat thereof, to the domestic industry." Since its creation the ITC has been a protectionist body. Its ruling on special steels in 1976 forced Ford's hand; in the past few months the ITC has recommended that the television and shoe industry be subject to import controls.

The most extreme protectionist measure to date has come from the third branch of the American government—the courts. When the Treasury Department ruled that excise tax rebates for Japanese television sets were not an export subsidy, Zenith appealed to the U.S. Customs Court. On the basis of an obscure 1897 law, the court found in Zenith's favor; the Treasury Department is appealing.

The unexpected Customs Court decision caused quite a stir in the world of international commerce. Treasury Department chief Michael Blumenthal commented:

"The decision, if allowed to stand, would have the most serious consequences for all trading relationships that have been built up since World War II. There is every likelihood that every domestic industry with import competition would come in with a request for countervailing duties on all kinds of things."

Business Week, 25 April

The Customs Court ruling illegalizes an important element of post-war international trade policy, one explicitly stipulated in Section XVI of GATT.

Clearly it should not have taken 30 years to discover this supposed legal contradiction. Increased protectionist sentiment is the real cause of the court ruling, and behind this lies the loss of the U.S.' previously unchallenged economic hegemony which had lasted since World War II.

Meany's AFL-CIO: Vanguard of Economic Chauvinism

The most important political force campaigning for extreme protectionism is the AFL-CIO. And the unions' campaign is based on grossly chauvinist demagoguery and even appeals to anti-oriental racism. Writing in the *American Federationist* (January 1977), AFL-CIO economist Elizabeth R. Jeger declares protectionism to be the highest form of patriotism:

"...we live in a world of managed economies, among friends and foes alike. We cannot continue to support a laissez-faire trade policy. The multina-

cous tactic attacks foreign workers, not the hosses, and fuels interimperialist rivalries that can ultimately lead to war.

Economic Nationalism Versus Socialist Internationalism

Many workers may believe that restricting imports is a means to job security and a floor under wages. While protectionist measures can provide some groups of workers a temporary advantage, the overall economic and political effect on the working class is disastrous.

Protectionism means inflation. Higher tariffs on television sets or quotas on shirts and shoes lead immediately and directly to higher prices for these items and to a fall in the living standards of all working people. The obvious contribution of imported consumables to the living standards of American workers represents the advantages of the international division of labor.



USWA billboard is part of union's treacherous campaign for import quotas on steel.

tional corporations have amply demonstrated that they have a higher calling than the national interest of the United States. Therefore, the people of the United States must turn to their government to protect them in ways that only a government can."

The current vanguard of the AFL-CIO anti-import campaign is the Committee to Preserve American Color Television, consisting of five companies and 12 unions. Jacob S. Clayman, co-chairman of the committee and secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department stated: "I think there is growing awareness in Congress that somewhere soon the line has to be drawn or America's industrial base will erode rapidly, and God knows where that will take us" (UPI, 14 April). Clayman's television committee and similar protectionist lobbies are an increasingly important form of political collaboration between the representatives of the workers and the capitalists who exploit them.

Import protectionism is not limited to the neanderthal Meanyite yahoos. The United Auto Workers (UAW), the closest thing to a social-democratic trade union in the U.S., is no less protectionist than the AFL-CIO. In early 1976 the Woodcock bureaucracy appealed to the ITC, claiming that all major foreign auto manufacturers were dumping in the U.S. market. The ITC ruled against the UAW at that time, but UAW chief Woodcock has continued to beat the protectionist drums.

The most blatantly anti-foreign and outright racist campaign comes from the textile/apparel unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). For years these unions have organized demonstrations appealing to the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism. For example, the ILGWU recently picketed department stores with its members masquerading as Chinese coolies.

The ACTWU adamantly refuses to call for a labor boycott of non-union products in its campaign to organize J.P. Stevens (see "Cowardly Legalism Disarms J.P. Stevens Workers," *WW* No. 154, 22 April), on the grounds that secondary boycotts are illegal. Yet much of the financial and other resources of the textile/apparel unions is used to pressure the government to boycott the products of Asian workers! This treach-

erous tactic attacks foreign workers, not the hosses, and fuels interimperialist rivalries that can ultimately lead to war.

The creation of a world market is historically one of the most progressive aspects of capitalist development. This development lays the basis for rational global economic integration, which will come only with socialist economic planning. Conversely, the twentieth-century tendency toward trade protectionism and national economic autarky expresses the decay of capitalism and is an attack on the productive forces of society. The most extreme example of economic nationalism was Nazi Germany. The Nazis regarded foreign manufacturers much as they regarded "foreign" Jews—as an impurity in the German economic body.

In an article entitled "Nationalism and Economic Life" (1933), Trotsky pointed to the reactionary nature of fascism in economic as well as political life:

"The policies of a closed economy imply the artificial constriction of those branches of industry that are capable of fertilizing successfully the economy and culture of other countries. They also imply an artificial planting of those industries that lack favorable conditions for growth on national soil. The fiction of economic self-sufficiency thus causes tremendous overhead expenditures in two directions. Added to this is inflation....

"The progressive task of how to adapt the arena of economic and social relations to the new technology is turned upside down and is made to seem a problem of how to restrain and cut down productive forces so as to fit them to the old national arena and to the old social relations. On both sides of the Atlantic, no little mental energy is wasted on efforts to solve the fantastic problem of how to drive the crocodile back into the chicken egg. The ultra-modern economic nationalism is irrevocably doomed by its own reactionary character; it retards and lowers the productive forces of man."

—Writings, 1933-34

The main reason we oppose protectionism is not that it is economically wasteful, although it is certainly that. The German Social Democrat August Bebel once said that anti-semitism was "the socialism of fools." By analogy, then, trade protectionism is the "economic planning of fools." Protectionism diverts the struggle for full employment and higher living standards from socialist collectivism to competition against foreign capital and labor in alliance with one's own bourgeoisie. The chauvinist, even racist nature of the AFL-CIO's anti-import campaign arises from the logic of protectionism itself.

It is an established historic fact that trade wars lead to total wars. The attempt to achieve commercial advantage through direct state intervention provokes counter-intervention by the affected state. Japan "got under" the British colonial tariff barrier when in 1941 Yamashita's 25th Army swept down the Malayan peninsula and took Singapore. The U.S. acquired a strong negotiating hand against German economic nationalism when Patton's Third Army crossed the Rhine in 1944.

The final tariff negotiators are generals. Those workers who campaign for tariffs and quotas against Japan today may find their sons fighting Japanese fellow workers by very different, bloodier methods tomorrow. Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed interimperialist war and the barbarism which such a catastrophe would bring.

The working-class answer to unemployment and competitive wage-slashing is not protectionism. It is the expropriation of American capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy. An internationally planned socialist economy would not only secure permanent full employment but would do so with a greatly reduced work year and a far higher standard of living for working people throughout the world. ■

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"Energy Crisis"...

(continued from page 1)

stick to the working people.

For the "consumer," Carter has a tax penalty/rebate scheme which would discourage the purchase of large automobiles, a tax on "old" oil which would eventually raise its price to the current cost of foreign crude, tax credits on insulating housing and solar heating equipment as well as progressively severe gasoline taxes if consumption of petroleum fails to drop to satisfactory levels.

For the trusts, Carter's plan promises an incremental increase up to the full 1977 world price for oil produced by new wells, the control of interstate and intrastate natural gas sales at a price tied to that of world crude (20 percent above the current controlled price), simplification of nuclear plant licensing procedures, total decontrol of the price of gasoline and myriad tax incentives designed to promote conversion by utilities and industrial plants to coal.

The officially anticipated result of this program is an energy growth rate of less than 2 percent a year, an increase in annual coal production by 65 percent and a reduction of oil imports from 16 million barrels to 6 million barrels per day.

Motivating the administration national energy plan is the bourgeoisie's desire to avoid what Carter euphemistically calls "future embarrassments," referring to a repetition of the 1973-74 OPEC embargo. Over the last decade the possibilities for such "embarrassment" have increased dramatically, as U.S. petroleum imports have increased from 12 percent of total consumption to 46 percent in 1976.

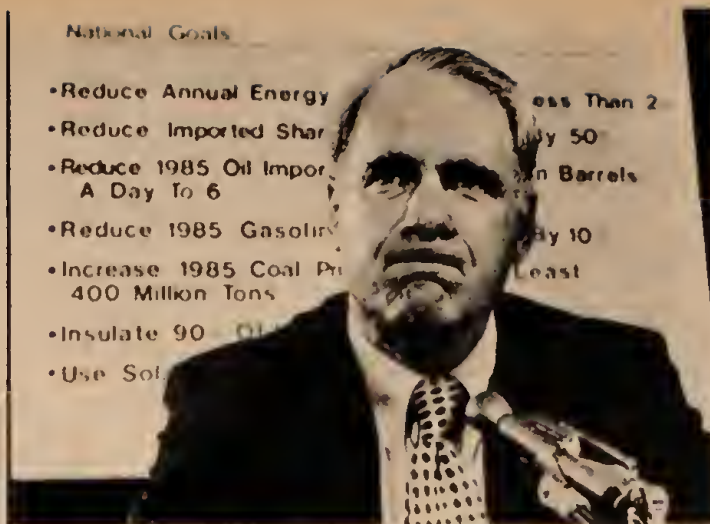
The push toward autarky, through a shift to increased use of coal and uranium, reveals significant fissures in the international imperialist order. As if to highlight this point, the Carter plan doubles the size of the U.S. "strategic stockpile" of oil to one billion barrels, a ten-month supply. It is also notable that with all the talk of conservation there is no provision in Carter's plan for improved mass transit. The government energy program resembles nothing so much as the sort of "austerity" measures ordered in wartime.

This should not come as a surprise, since the whole plan is the brainchild of energy secretary James Schlesinger, the former director of the CIA and Ford's secretary of defense until he was dumped for being too "hawkish." At Schlesinger's instigation, the Defense Department recently switched its retaliatory policy from inflicting "unacceptable" damage to achieving "a second strike capability which can do..." ("the enemy"), not significant or serious, but virtually irreparable damage as a modern nation and great power" (*New York Times*, 15 May). This "second strike capability" would in practice look curiously like capability for a preemptive first strike and is the basis for Pentagon plans for massive increases in weapons spending over the next few years.

The CIA "Study"

Clearly an austerity program which impinges on so sacred an American institution as the souped-up V-8 gas guzzler requires some high-powered salesmanship, particularly since all opinion polls indicate that most Americans do not even believe there is an "energy crisis."

Grabbing prime-time slots on nationwide television three times in a week, Carter did his best to glamorize sacrifice ("painful," to be sure, "but so is any meaningful sacrifice"). In the process he managed to plant his foot in his mouth more than once. On two occasions he predicted a favorable economic impact from his plan, a projection which Office of Management



James Schlesinger details energy plan.

and Budget director Bert Lance (a Carter crony) retracted and private economists disputed.

In addition, Carter promised the return of windfall tax revenues raised by the program's implementation, a promise which was quickly withdrawn by Schlesinger. Even the "taciturn energy czar" was moved to philosophizing, while posing with a scowl in front of a poster calling for endless reductions and cutbacks. He exhorted Congress, "make no small plans. They have no magic to stir the hearts of men" (*New York Times*, 4 May).

But Carter's real selling card was not quotations from William James, nor Schlesinger's trump the authority of Winston Churchill. The administration's ace-in-the-hole was a "secret" Central Intelligence Agency study showing that the Soviet Union would be forced to import 3.5 to 4.5 million barrels of oil a day by 1985 and that 90 percent of world petroleum reserves would be depleted by the year 2000. Thus Carter put forward the spectre of the U.S. and USSR fighting it out for increasingly precious Saudi reserves.

There were more than a few problems with this CIA "study." As it turns out, the agency has been erroneously predicting declining Soviet petroleum output regularly since 1970. The "study" places Saudi Arabian reserves at half the Saudi government's own estimates, and its figures for world reserves were based on those of the oil companies. Even Schlesinger's staff conceded that the "study" was bunk.

Thus there was little substance to Carter's public relations campaign to "sell" his energy plan. But why should there be? According to the rules of the capitalist game, the real "pitch" must be directed at the corporations and their spokesmen in the labyrinth of Congressional committees which will process the legislation. They certainly will not be bamboozled by talk of "meaningful sacrifices," and no program to increase the profits of the oil trusts could hope to win enthusiastic public support.

In fact, with the faintest populist aura of eventual anti-trust action and extension of regulation to intrastate natural gas sales, the administration had counted upon an angry response from the unpopular oil companies to rally support for its proposals. With uncommon candor, the *New York Times* (25 April) noted that this would "divert public attention from the fact that the essence of the Carter plan was higher energy prices."

The oil giants chose a more "subtle" course. Rather than a broadside attack on the Carter plan, three energy company executives appeared on Meet the Press to support the program with "caveats." Of course, there were more caveats than support. In reality, the "seven sisters" called for a policy, codified in a Republican Party proposal, which calls for the removal of price controls, a five-year moratorium on

clean-air laws and an increased commitment to breeder reactors.

Their fallback position has been to mount a major lobbying effort to increase the windfall already guaranteed under the Carter plan. This includes pressure on Congress to raise the controlled price of natural gas by an additional 15 percent over the administration figure, set aside environmental restrictions on strip mining and exclude imported cars from the fuel-efficiency rebates.

Behind the "Crisis"

The essence of Carter's national energy plan is conservation by cutting back demand through higher prices on the one hand and increased domestic supply through higher profits on the other. The purpose is strategic strengthening of U.S. imperialism, not "living within our means" or similar conservationist claptrap. And the "crisis" is a public relations gimmick to sell superprofits for the monopolies but the bitter pill of "sacrifice" for the millions.

CIA experts to the contrary, "total estimated world reserves" are a very elastic concept. As the conservative *British Economist* (23 April) put it, "World energy reserves are not running out in any long-run sense of that phrase. There is a lot of oil and gas in the ground which is thus far unpumped and unbound...." Under capitalism what determines available energy resources is above all whether or not corporations

can profit by producing fuel. When prices go up, new reserves are miraculously "discovered."

A few examples tell the story. U.S. domestic oil production has fallen over the last few weeks to a 12-year low of only half of total consumption. Carter ascribes this to "our rapidly shrinking resources." It is nothing of the sort. The long-term dependence of the U.S. on OPEC oil is due to the fact that the same oil companies make more profits by extracting Near East petroleum than by drawing from Texas wells. In the short term there is most likely a deliberate cutting back of domestic production in anticipation of the promised higher prices. The natural gas shortage last winter, for example, was the result of refusal by the producers to sell at the regulated interstate rate.

In fact, the alleged shortage of oil would disappear overnight if it became profitable to extract the more than one trillion barrels estimated to be contained in North American shale and tar sands. But the oil companies last year dropped research into extraction techniques from shale because at current price levels they offer no profit.

Carter's proposals to switch to coal and nuclear power, therefore, are not a response to any kind of final depletion of fluid fossil fuels. Behind the plan is geopolitics pure and simple. As we pointed out previously:

"In any case, what has the imperialist rulers more immediately worried is the prospect of a sudden drop of imported supplies, a very real prospect given the intense renewal of inter-imperialist rivalry."

"Among the Western powers, the move to nuclear fission power arises out of economic competition and is ultimately part of a trend toward economic autarky on the road to a new imperialist war."

—"Nuclear Energy and the Workers Movement," *WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977

These international rivalries have produced two Carter energy programs: one attempts to make the United States independent of OPEC by increasing reactor construction and domestic fuel production; the other attempts to make West Europe and Japan more dependent on the U.S. for uranium fuel supplies.

The West European bourgeoisies were even more acutely hit by the shock waves of the 1973-74 OPEC boycott, since the bulk of their oil comes from the Near East. This led to a drastic acceleration of plans for nuclear energy, predicated upon the development of breeder reactors which manufacture plutonium fuel. However, within recent weeks Carter has called for a halt in both the development of breeders and the deployment of reprocessing facilities. As a symbolic gesture he moved to defer construction of the Clinch River, Tennessee, breeder reactor.

Carter's stated objection is the danger of proliferation of atomic weapons to smaller countries should plutonium become too abundant. However, his NATO allies could not help but notice that a result of the deferral of breeder reactor and reprocessing plant construction would be to strengthen the U.S. position as the major supplier of nuclear fuels and the dominant force in the Western "nuclear club." In addition, the Europeans fear that with the abandonment of plutonium an increasing proportion of American-processed enriched uranium would be diverted from foreign sales to consumption by domestic light water reactors.

The Nuclear Tangle

These disputes over plutonium dominated both the recent London "economic summit conference" of imperialist chiefs and the ongoing Salzburg conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In London exchanges between West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt and U.S. president Carter were described as sharp. Schmidt had re-



Sacramento nuclear power plant

sponded to Carter's opposition to plutonium with the announcement of a four-year West German energy research budget of \$2.7 billion, more than half of it earmarked for breeder development. Accompanying this announcement was a statement that the Federal Republic intended to continue exports of both reactors and reprocessing facilities, despite U.S. opposition to a recent deal with Brazil.

Contributing to the tension was a naked display of U.S. muscle. Since last June all exports of enriched uranium from the United States had been frozen. Carter continued this freeze pending consideration of his plutonium proposals. As a result, eleven reactor stations in Europe, all dependent on American fuel, were threatened with closure. In a gesture to appease Schmidt and to give credibility to Carter's promise to supply enriched uranium to all countries

natives, such as a thorium-based fuel cycle, were rejected, as West Europe is well ahead of the U.S. in the development of plutonium breeders and reluctant to junk these efforts.

Involved in all of these machinations are strategic considerations, often directly military in character. Among all countries the move to nuclear power flows in part from the desire to develop an atomic weapons capability. In the case of several smaller capitalist powers this is the primary motive. Thus Pakistan wants reprocessing plants from France for one reason—to counter India's development of an atomic bomb. The virtually inescapable consequence of the projected deployment of reactors by 60 countries will be widespread nuclear arms proliferation.

The workers movement is not indifferent to the prospect of every tinpot dictator brandishing a nuclear

Times, A.H. Raskin, a leading hour-glass commentator on union affairs, noted:

"The prospect of a long coal strike at year's end is among the gravest threats to fulfillment of President Carter's energy program. White House officials are already pondering what action the Government might take to head off a stoppage that would impede the desired shift from oil to coal."

While the capitalists are plotting their strategy, however, the United Mine Workers (UMW) is in disarray, the leadership unable to organize the newly opened mines and Western strip mining. The UMW ranks must be prepared to wage a bitter fight this year if they are to avoid defeat at the hands of energy trusts temporarily backed by the entire ruling class.

As for the ostensibly socialist left, its response has been largely in workerist terms, seeing Carter's energy plan as simply the latest bosses' scheme to tighten the economic screws on labor. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for example, entitled its analysis of the administration program "Higher Fuel Prices Mean Fatter Profits" and proclaimed:

"The real aim of the bipartisan energy campaign is to roll back environmental protection, to break union opposition, to speed up production, and to undercut safety standards."

Militant, 6 May

The semi-Maoist *Guardian* similarly entitled its article "Energy Plan Fuels Prices, Profits," and the reformist content could easily have been switched with the *Militant* article.

The direct economic impact of Carter's energy plan, its threats to the jobs and living standards of American working people, cannot be ignored. Attempts to implement it could well lead to explosive battles, as occurred when independent truckers tied up the New Jersey Turnpike, and West Virginia miners struck against the gasoline shortages and sharply increased fuel prices following the OPEC boycott.

The program for a militant working-class struggle against the capitalist energy plans is not increased regulation or a price rollback, as the truckers demanded. Wielding a complete vertical monopoly, from exploratory drilling to sales at the pump, the oil cartel's control of production and distribution has repeatedly enabled it to escape governmental supervision. It shifts profits to lower-tax jurisdictions, withholds wells from production in order to drive up prices, engages in open price fixing where its market control is unchallenged, wages cut-rate gasoline wars to drive out independent distributors, purchases votes in Congress, withholds and/or falsifies statistics on reserves.

Governmental regulation of the oil monopolies is a pipe dream. Even "nationalization" of production in many OPEC countries has not altered the power of the real petroleum cartel, the "seven sisters." Workers committees must open the books of these imperialist ventures. The profit-crazed energy trusts must be expropriated without compensation. But the "friend of labor" Democrats such as Henry Jackson will not carry out such a program.

Whether couched in the "moral" rhetoric of Jimmy Carter or in more naked terms of corporate self-interest and imperialist domination, capitalist programs to meet the "energy crisis" ultimately lead to war. This is the inexorable logic of an irrational system based on production for profit rather than social need. A rational development and allocation of energy resources require the establishment of a workers government and socialist planning on a world scale ■

Labor and the Left

Almost universally within the left and labor movement the fundamental imperialist aims of Carter's energy program have been ignored. Instead we are treated to a barrage of populist propaganda making the simple point that the oil giants will be making money hand over fist while the workers pay more for their gasoline.

Since Carter is seeking to find common ground with the energy trusts in higher prices for domestic production, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock figured he could exploit the patriotic theme by joining the auto companies in opposing tax rebates on purchases of fuel-efficient imported cars.

If UAW members are threatened with job losses by Carter's energy program, mine workers are threatened by a government-backed employer offensive to meet the prospect of a massive increase in coal production. This offensive will be aimed at breaking or hamstringing the union, which is both historically militant and the one sector of the American proletariat which has engaged in significant struggles since the 1974 economic downturn.

In an article in the 27 April *New York*

Teamsters...

(continued from page 3)

lunds 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.

But PROD and the TDU's main complaint is that the government hasn't intervened enough! PROD spokesmen castigate the Labor Department for being too soft and have been meeting with representatives of the Labor and Justice Departments' task force for some time to help spur on the investigations. Having learned absolutely nothing from the bitter experience of the Wagner Act, Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, PROD is urging a new round of congressional hearings and an expanded Senate probe of the union, i.e., more repressive anti-labor legislation.

An offshoot of a Ralph Nader "public interest" project, PROD serves as little more than a coordinating center for lawsuits against the Teamsters. Although it claims several thousand Teamster supporters, PROD's main leader, Art Fox, is not even a member of the union. Fox is an attorney who sues the union as a full-time job.

The TDU claims to be for "rank and file control of the union," but like PROD, it relies on the government to do the job of "fighting" the bureaucracy. One cannot pick up an issue of the TDU newspaper, *Convoy*, without reading of new court suits filed against the union. The Detroit TDU's paper, *The Rank and File Speaks* (April 1977), lamented the government's "plodding half-hearted investigations," but hailed the removal of Fitzsimmons as a "little step toward pension reform. So far, so good."

Several days after the Washington rally, *WV* interviewed the TDU's main spokesman, Pete Camarata. Already engaged in a court suit to prevent his expulsion from Detroit Local 299, Camarata explained the TDU's position on the government's intrusion into the union:

"As far as what the TDU believes and what they think, they want the rank and file to put pressure on, but I'm sure they're willing to accept the government intervention. And they're certainly not going to work against it.... I think the union's so corrupt right now that you need it [government intervention] for a while, at least till you get things straightened out."

Camarata, who recently told the *Detroit News* that he is a member of the International Socialists, a social-democratic outfit which itself has a long history of supporting court suits against the unions, is merely explaining the logic of all liberals and reformists. For them, the racist, imperialist, strike-breaking government is an ally against the union misleaders. Acting as the cat's paw of reaction, they invite the government to tighten its stranglehold on the unions even more than it has already.

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 government of the corporations and hanks, which fights every outbreak of class struggle tooth and nail, will never be a "friend of labor." The fools and charlatans of the TDU/PROD ilk who aid the government rape of the unions deserve the scorn of every labor militant. Only a movement that begins by keeping the government out of the unions will be able to oust the corrupt, class-collaborationist bureaucrats and lead labor in the fight against the capitalists and their state. ■



Guy Mendes

By switching back to coal Carter hopes to limit the need for imported energy.

accepting U.S. guidelines, the exports were unfrozen in time for the London summit. But the point had been made.

Not surprisingly, little progress toward an agreement on nuclear energy policy was achieved in London. West German capacity to produce nuclear technology exceeds its own domestic needs, mandating exports to keep the industry viable. France, also, has hoped to finance its advanced breeder program through exports. Thus a joint Soviet-British proposal to the "nuclear suppliers club" to ban sales of "sensitive" equipment unless purchasers agreed to constant inspection was rejected by France. Similarly, U.S. attempts to attract interest in non-plutonium alter-

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UMW Elections...

(continued from page 12)

her office with the door closed caused the door to be removed so that "disloyal" behavior could be observed. In the middle of last winter's bitter cold, Patrick charged that Miller had turned off the heat in his office. All travel to the coal fields must now be personally approved by Miller.

All employees must sign in and out at the headquarters' front door and all staffers must get written permission to work on weekends or after 6 p.m.; all long distance phones are cut off at these times. In addition, Miller has hired three \$20,000-a-year "security men" to prowler the building and insure compliance with his directives. The lurking figures caused Patrick to shoot off a memo demanding that Miller's thugs be kept off "his" fourth floor.

In keeping with this atmosphere the quarterly International Executive Board (IEB) meeting held May 9-14 in Morgantown, was an almost uninterrupted session of bickering and backbiting. Miller had hoped to wrap up the meeting in "a day or so" to enable him to campaign for his supporters in elections held May 10 in Districts 17, 30 and 31. But the IEB majority tied the UMW president up in a week-long series of disputes in which he was the continual loser. About the only thing the Board agreed on was to adjourn for a day so that Miller could meet with Jimmy Carter on May 12. All of the squabbling bureaucrats are anxious to please the peanut boss in the White House. In turn, Carter, whose energy program calls for the expansion of coal production by two-thirds by 1985, wants guarantees of labor peace from UMW leaders.

The IEB has consistently fought Miller for control of the staff, vetoing his appointees and reinstating those he has fired. This meeting of the IEB overturned two recent Miller appointments. Louis Antal, a strong Miller supporter, had been designated to fill a vacant IEB seat from District 5. The Board, however, voted to leave the seat vacant.

In another maneuver, the IEB barred one member of Miller's slate from the elections. Since Patterson has not fielded a full slate, only Patrick would have had a complete list of candidates. The UMW constitution requires at least two full slates or else all candidates must run as individuals. Many of Miller's candidates are unknowns and dividing them from the incumbent president would significantly lessen their chances at the polls. However, the UMW tellers who are in charge of the elections (and were part of Miller's 1972 slate) declared the decision void later in the week. The IEB voted to "discuss" the matter further with the tellers.

As president and chief public spokesman for the UMW, Miller has had to take most of the heat for the bureaucracy's repeated efforts to squelch wildcat strikes. Now that Miller is despised by many militant miners who voted for him in 1972, his equally anti-strike opponents are trying to use his well-known strikebreaking actions as a factional club.

As the IEB got under way, several thousand Ohio miners from District 6 were wildcatting over new absentee policies being arbitrarily introduced and enforced by the Peabody Coal Company. The Peabody strike was the culmination of more than two weeks of separate strikes in Ohio and West Virginia over company discipline, safety violations and other grievances. By May 6, more than 22,000 miners were out and every UMW mine in Ohio was closed. As many as 7,000 miners from southern West Virginia struck in sympathy with the District 6 workers as did 1,200 in western Pennsylvania.

The Ohio strikers demonstrated



Arnold Miller

Joan Sydlow

typical resourcefulness in making their action effective. Following a May 2 meeting of 1,000 miners, car caravans were dispatched to shut down non-union coal operations. Two hundred strikers picketed the entrance to the Seaway River Terminal in Bellaire, Ohio, used by several non-union companies to load river barges. Some 15 coal trucks were turned back. Fourteen miners were arrested in western Pennsylvania where 200 tons of coal were dumped on a state highway.

But at the Board meeting, their grievance became an electioneering football. Predictably, Miller denounced the strike and said that since an injunction had been won against Peabody's absentee policy, "Therefore, there is no problem" (*Morgantown Dominion Post*, 10 May). This was not the opinion of the contingent of District 6 miners who came to the IEB and succeeded in getting the floor to defend their strike. The workers repeatedly hooted and jeered as Miller explained

his position. One miner was loudly applauded when he stated that the ranks would defend their president if he were under attack and then added, "But I don't know about you, buddy."

The District 6 miners asked the Board to declare the issue in their strike "national in scope." Such disputes can be resolved only at the national level between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Miller attempted to rule this motion out of order but was overridden by the Board which then passed the motion 12 to 8 with 2 abstentions. Both Patterson and Patrick, wanting to look "militant," jumped in to support the motion which Miller opposed.

This is the first time the "national scope" clause of the contract has been invoked. In effect, it calls for reopening the contract on the issue and sets the stage for a nationwide walkout, if it were seriously pushed, which, of course, none of the bureaucrats have in mind.

Miller highhandedly refused to implement the motion. He sent a vaguely worded message to the BCOA but did not even request a meeting to discuss the issue. He said the resolution from the IEB was "rather vague" and perhaps "illegal" and added, "It may be I'll ignore the board as I have sometimes done in the past" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 May).

As for Patterson, Patrick and their IEB cronies, they sought chiefly to use the grievance to embarrass Miller. They had no intention of declaring a national strike over the issue involved and stood by as rank-and-file militancy dissipated. At last report, only the originally struck mine in Ohio was still closed over the grievance, with one other pit striking over a separate issue.

Mudslinging and Strikebreaking

Trying to appear as the continuation of the "reform" movement, Patrick

admits that he has a hard time distinguishing himself from Miller. Patrick supporters will no doubt try to use Miller's flaunting of the IEB and District 6 miners to their advantage, but they are also engaged in guttersniping attacks on Patterson. A "fact sheet" being distributed by some Patrick backers points to Patterson's three divorces and asks scurrilously: "How do you expect to run a union of 270,000 members when you can't even organize your own household." With the least bureaucratic backing of the three candidates and true to the Miller tradition, Patrick has appealed to the federal government for help. On May 2, he made a request for Labor Department supervision of the election, which was declined.

Patterson has also brought the bosses' state into the union. He obtained a temporary federal court injunction barring publication of the *UMW Journal* for several weeks when, because of his partial slate, he and his running mates were declared "independents" and not allowed to pool their space in the paper to make a campaign statement. Thus, all three candidates are for bringing the anti-labor government agencies and courts into the internal affairs of the union.

Those who use the courts against their opponents in the union inevitably will use the same agencies against the rank and file. Time after time Miller has attempted to enforce compliance with federal court orders against wildcatting miners. And so also with Patrick and Patterson, who have consistently supported these measures on the IEB. All three voted for Miller's 10-point anti-strike program in September 1975. This draconian measure provides for harsh discipline against union members who strike without authorization. Sparked by a wildcat of 120,000 miners for the local right to strike, a vital demand

Stearns, Ky...

(continued from page 12)

put your head up above those sandbags, it was fair game."

Limited by a court injunction to just eight pickets on the road leading to the mine, the resourceful strikers bought property adjacent to the road. There they erected a small building as their "local hall," stacked up protective sandbags and have been meeting early every morning to bolster the pickets. While there are only eight picketers at the entrance, they are backed up by scores just across the road.

Reminiscent of the bitterly fought 1973-74 Brookside strike in Harlan County, the miners' wives, mothers and sisters have played a crucial role. They have joined the picketing and held protest demonstrations to bring public attention to Blue Diamond's use of gun thugs, injunctions and state troopers to break the strike.

The Kentucky state police are old hands at strikebreaking. Escorting the company goons across the picket line, they are a second wave of armed and "legal" terror against the strikers. On March 12, Sheriff Perry stopped seven security guards from entering the mine at 3 a.m. They were laden with pistols, rifles and, according to one UMW source, "enough ammunition to blow up the county." But the guards were released at the local courthouse without being charged and were escorted back to the mine by three carloads of state troopers in full riot gear. The troopers then arrested two strikers for violating the injunction limiting picketing!

But bullets and cops have not intimidated the strikers. Some of the cowardly security guards have charged the strikers with seeking to stop their bloody attacks. One gun-toting goon



United Mine Workers Journal

Striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

claims he was shot at the mine. The security company's president, Bob Storm, claims he was beaten up at the mine site. Blue Diamond vice president Frank Thomas was reportedly met by a group of the strikers' wives outside the county courthouse and left the encounter somewhat more tattered than he arrived.

Three of the guards say that late on the night of April 13, as they were leaving the mine, they were disarmed and given a ride around the county by a group of strikers in a pick-up truck. They were dropped off later minus their pants. When two armed and irate guards came to retrieve their embarrassed cronies, however, they set off a gunfight, leaving the two seriously injured.

A grand jury has indicted 31 people as a result of this incident, 27 of whom are strikers. Each is charged with three serious felonies: kidnapping (for the alleged "ride"); robbery (for taking the guns!) and assault.

These indictments are a scattergun attempt to break the strike. UMW spokesman Ben Elliot told *WV* that several of those indicted have not even been active in the strike and that one has been in military service in Texas for

months! The indictments have been obtained on the testimony of kill-crazy gun thugs, who would say and do anything their employer told them to, against courageous strikers simply trying to defend their picket line and their lives from these scum.

The United Mine Workers and the entire labor movement must rally to the defense of the Stearns strikers. The presidential candidates in the UMW seem, however, too busy to come to the scene. Only Harry Patrick has made even a token appearance. Perhaps the absence of Patterson and Miller can be explained by the fact that the Stearns miners, who cannot get a UMW charter until they win a contract, cannot even vote in the upcoming election!

A mobilization of the UMW's muscle is desperately needed to stop the anti-union terror at Stearns and to win this long and important strike. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee urge that donations for the legal defense of the indicted strikers be sent to: Miners Legal Defense Fund, 1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Stop the Gun Thug Terror! Drop the Indictments! Victory to the Stearns Strike! ■

which was abandoned by Miller in the 1974 contract bargaining, the new bureaucratic sledgehammer nevertheless failed to prevent a strike against court injunctions which spread to include half the union in the summer of 1976.

Now, hoping to contain the strikes they have been unable to prevent, Miller, Patrick and Patterson have all come out for a limited right to strike over local grievances when the current contract expires December 6. A Local vote would be held at a certain stage of



Harry Patrick

WV Photo

the grievance procedure which could result in an authorized walkout. The bureaucrats' real intention is to undermine spontaneous walkouts by isolating them and, especially, to stop sympathy strikes spread by roving pickets, a main UMW tactic. The tough contract language being proposed so as to insure that only local strikes take place is aimed directly at the UMW's most sacred and powerful principle—never cross any picket line.

Facing a National Strike

The election scheduled for June 14 was moved up from the traditional early December date by the last UMW convention. The switch was largely motivated by the desire to keep negotiations on the next contract out of Miller's hand. Though his term will still not expire until December, the convention stipulated that the new president-elect will be the union's chief bargainer.

There are enormous pressures for a national strike when the coal contract expires December 14. The ranks are restless and eager to fight. They know that coal prices have tripled in the last five years, that the industry is booming and that Carter's energy program promises tens of thousands of new jobs in the coming decade, plus enormous profits for the coal companies. In most circumstances, this situation would enormously strengthen a union's hand.

However, one major problem that looms before the UMW is the increasingly large section of the industry that remains unorganized. The output of unorganized mines has become so massive that it could seriously undercut a nationwide coal strike. The expanding coal industry has been able to outstrip the union by opening new mines and lighting off union organization. In 1972, over 70 percent of the bituminous coal in the U.S. was under UMW contract. Today, that figure has fallen to 54 percent and is still dropping.

The bitter 13-month struggle to organize Harlan County's Brookside mine in 1973-74 required a nationwide shutdown of the mines to finally win a contract. The drawn-out struggle at Brookside is now being repeated in an even more violent conflict at Stearns' Justus Mine in southeastern Kentucky (see accompanying article). More and more non-union coal pours out of the Appalachians.

But an even greater threat faces the UMW from the rapidly expanding high-output mines in the West. In 1975, Western coal accounted for about ten percent of total U.S. production. But within ten years, that figure is expected to reach nearly 30 percent. Most of these mines are non-union.

Many coal operators under UMW contract in the East are operating non-union mines in the West. They are resisting the UMW's principle of a single national contract covering all soft coal mines. A strike on since last November at the Stansbury Coal Company in Rock Springs, Wyoming, has been the scene of company-inspired gunfire, and scabs are resuming production. The UMW has also suffered NLRB election defeats at the hands of the Operating Engineers union, which promises the Western miners high base wages because of its even cheaper pension and medical plans.

Using the organized mines as a lever, it is possible to bring the non-union mines (including the Western strip mines, many of which are owned by Eastern coal companies) under the UMW contract. Brookside, despite the massive bureaucratic incompetency and needless delay, proved that the power of a nationwide shutdown is the key to organizing victory.

But none of the candidates for the UMW presidency want to pursue such militant tactics. Miller has done little to push Western organizing efforts. Patterson and his IEB supporters have balked at increasing organizing funds. Patrick, on the other hand, is ready to scrap the nationwide contract and says the UMW might even negotiate Western contracts on a mine-by-mine basis. This would open the door to destroying the gains Eastern miners have achieved and invite the coal companies to split the union in two.

Though the bureaucratic contenders in the UMW will be stooping to find new muck to throw at each other in the next month, they will not come up with answers to the problems facing the UMW ranks. The general response of the miners to the campaigning so far, in fact, seems to be a very understandable skepticism. Returns from preliminary sparring among the bureaucratic factions in recent elections for officers in several Districts have been inconclusive, with no wing of the bureaucracy decisively defeating another.

The coal miners' often demonstrated willingness to fight the bosses will be squandered by support to any of the bureaucrats seeking their votes. The dead-end of lesser-evilmism has been graphically demonstrated by the strike-breaking reign of Arnold Miller. A real breakthrough for the union demands the construction of a class-struggle leadership which can both channel the militancy of the miners in a united fight against the coal operators and overcome the parochialism and political backwardness widespread in the coal fields. The Pattersons, Patricks and Millers offer only new betrayals. ■

Healyites...

(continued from page 5)

contain imperialist, capitalist, reactionary, Jewish or Communist thoughts" (*New York Times*, 18 April 1973).

Grotesque

The sordid history of the Healyites is replete with examples of slaving enthusiasm for left-talking "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists. *Workers Press* gratuitously proffered "leftist" cheerleading to assorted petty-bourgeois anti-working-class formations, from the Maoist Red Guards to the Angolan MPLA. But the WRP's pandering to Qaddafi is surely a new low.

Perhaps the most disgusting was a full-page "special *News Line* interview" with Hamied Jallud, general secretary of the "Libyan trade union federation, equivalent of the British TUC" (14 September 1976). To *News Line* questions about collective bargaining and the right to strike, the Qaddafi bureaucrats replied, "The role of the trade unions in socialist countries is completely different from capitalist countries!" After all, "the responsibility of the trade unions is to educate the workers and increase production"; Qaddafi's "General People's Congress" will look after the workers' interests. The WRP's shameless presentation of Qaddafi's repression of the Libyan working class leaves no doubt of its utter subjugation before this capitalist dictator.

News Line hailed the "General People's Congress" held in early March in Shebha, a small desert village distinguished by Qaddafi's having gone to school there. Fidel Castro was the guest of honor as the "Congress" renamed Libya the "People's Socialist Libyan Arab Public" (sic) and kicked off Qaddafi's "Third Universal Principle" which he modestly claims solves "the problem of democracy."

The Healyites have had some "problems" with "democracy" themselves; their solution has generally been to beat up political opponents. Qaddafi, who—unlike the WRP—holds state power, has worked out a more elaborate schema. His little Green Book explains that "both administration and supervision become popular" through "committees everywhere"—while Qaddafi becomes head of the "General People's Congress" which runs everything and is so "popular" that it meets once a year. The sinister meaning of this "solution" comes out in the slogans pasted up around Shebha: "Parliaments are defunct," "representation is a fraud" and "Parties are treason" (London *Guardian*, 3 March 1977).

"Parties are treason"—what about the Workers Revolutionary Party? In this "People's Public" where communists are to be jailed and butchered and their books burned, ostensible leftists would have to do some pretty peculiar things to survive—and *News Line* has made it clear the WRP would be more than willing to do them. The London *Times* (6 September 1976) reported:

"The repression in Libya has not, of course, weakened the interest of left-wing groups in other countries. Repres-

entatives of Miss Vanessa Redgrave's Workers' Revolutionary Party, for instance, have visited Libya three times in the past twelve months. Nor has it diminished the affection of those countries like Malta, which feel, with some reason, that Colonel Qaddafi has proved to be their only friend."

Malta's reasons are obvious. About to be impoverished by the closing of NATO bases, Malta is now dependent on Qaddafi's aid to remain solvent. The mendicant guerrillas who flock to Tripoli seeking Soviet-made arms and Libyan oil money reportedly have included Muslim secessionists from the Philippines and Ethiopia, opponents of anti-Qaddafi Arab regimes (Sudan, Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco), the Provisional IRA and various Palestinian organizations. Naturally, such groups do not bite the hand that feeds them and have accorded Qaddafi a high place in the pantheon of "anti-imperialist" leaders.

Corrupt

Workers Press, which folded on 14 February 1976, titled itself the "Daily Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party." Heavy publicity in the preceding months for the paper's "Crisis Fund" and dire warnings that "the future of the paper is in doubt" would lead to the presumption that it closed up shop for lack of funds. Yet the "Final Edition" Editorial Board statement does not explicitly say so; instead, the Healyites tersely announce that their printing firm, Plough Press, will cease operations.

The Healyites, normally so fond of denying inconvenient reports on the grounds of their bourgeois sources, hid behind an abstract and irrelevant set of statistics from one of the great bourgeois interests, the British Printing Industrial Federation, on "rises in general expenses" increasing printing costs. For two and a half months no Healyite newspaper appeared. Then *News Line* sprang to life—but not as any kind of party organ—with a format which included paid advertising. At about that same time Healy was replaced by Mike Banda as WRP general secretary.

The WRP ranks have been kept busy with the usual treks across England—and lately the "Children's Crusade" across Europe—designed in part to keep them too exhausted to notice their corrupt leaders' maneuvering. But even a cursory look at *News Line's* year-long pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Wildcats in the Coal Fields

Backstabbing, Strikebreaking in UMW Elections

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—As the June 14 United Mine Workers (UMW) presidential election draws near, a bitter dogfight is raging in the union's upper echelons. "Reform" president Arnold Miller is squared off against former ally and UMW secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick and District 23 director Lee Roy Patterson, a longtime supporter of Miller's predecessor, the notoriously corrupt W.A. "Tony" Boyle.

The line-up of "reformers" vs. Boyle loyalists which polarized the last election has completely broken down. The "Miners for Democracy," held together by nothing but rhetoric and personal ambition, disbanded soon after the 1972

race. Miller has since discredited himself among the most militant miners for his four-and-a-half year record of opposing every outbreak of mine workers' militancy. Sensing a sinkingship, his former supporters have deserted him left and right. Patrick was a Miller stalwart in "Miners for Democracy" and now wants the top job himself; vice president Mike Trbovich ran with Miller in 1972 and now supports Patterson.

Miller has turned increasingly to right-wingers and ex-Boyle hacks to fill out his slate. Sam Church, Miller's vice presidential running mate, backed Boyle in 1969 and 1972. Another Miller candidate, James Blair, is a retiree who in 1968 was a Kentucky county chair-

man for George Wallace's presidential bid.

Miller has also lost a lot of support from the liberals who bankrolled his 1972 race and engineered the intervention of the U.S. Labor Department in his behalf. The proliferation of wildcat strikes and Miller's inability to control the ranks makes him a liability to his former liberal backers. Paul Fortney, Miller's new press secretary, who formerly worked for the Fred Harris and Jimmy Carter campaigns, told *WV* hopefully that "Rauh can unlock all the Eastern money." Joseph Rauh is the cold-war liberal who was the main conduit for liberal funds to Miller in '72 and for Ed Sadlowski in the United

Steelworkers election earlier this year. But the pickings have been slim so far. The Miners for Miller Fund has accumulated only \$28,000, less than a third of projected campaign expenses.

Increasingly isolated, Miller has resorted to petulant displays of his diminishing power, largely confined to administration of UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C. Paranoid-prone Miller has taken to grandiose historical allusions to describe his plight. "Julius Caesar had his Brutus," he told the *Wall Street Journal* (22 December 1976), "but I've got about a hundred Brutuses."

Rumors that Miller's secretary had been seen talking with Harry Patrick in

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State police escorted thugs through mine workers' picket line at Blue Diamond Coal Co. mine in Stearns, Kentucky.

Another "Bloody Harlan" at Stearns, Ky.

Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs

In the small town of Stearns in southeastern Kentucky a violent union-busting attack is under way. Some 160 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW), on strike for nine months, are facing a vicious assault by gun-toting thugs being imported from surrounding counties and states by the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

The Stearns Justus Mine was bought up by Blue Diamond three months after the workers voted for UMW representation. Owned by Gordon Bonnyman of Knoxville, Tennessee, Blue Diamond is one of the largest and most vicious scab coal companies in the country. Bonnyman runs three Kentucky mines: the Justus Mine in Stearns, the Scotia mine where 26 miners were killed in a mine explosion in March 1976, and the Leatherwood mine.

The UMW was broken at Scotia in 1965, at Leatherwood in 1964, and Blue Diamond is determined to remain non-union by breaking the strike at Stearns, which began last July as the miners attempted to get their first contract. After stalling for months, the company broke off negotiations on January 28. A letter was sent to every striker advising that the company would "seek permanent replacements" for the men. "Security guards" from the notorious Storm

Security strikebreaking outfit were brought in to break the picket line and pave the way for scabs to reopen the pit.

Heavy-caliber gunfire has been pouring out of the well-guarded mine site ever since. It is particularly intense at night, but the thugs have also opened up in broad daylight and have even gone "hunting" for miners. One striker was attacked by gunfire in his home. When he managed to drive away to seek help, he was ambushed and wounded in the shoulder.

"It's like a war," McCreary County sheriff Joe Perry told the *UMW Journal* (4 March 1977). "There are sandbags on the picket side of the road leading to the mine because there's been so much shooting." In a moment of candor, rare in his profession, the sheriff added, "Men on picket lines are not carrying guns. The guards are carrying sidearms."

Perry says he has been called to the mine to investigate reports of shootings almost every night since the guards started arriving. Striker Mike Cash described one day on the picket line: "I was sitting right there on the picket line yesterday around noon, when they suddenly cut loose. It was just like a turkey shoot for 15 or 20 minutes. If you

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