

Labor Must Win This Strike! Don't Handle Coal!

UMWA in Fight for Its Life

The battle lines are being drawn sharply as the country's 200,000 union coal miners prepare for a bitter strike to defend the very existence of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) from a bloodthirsty assault of the coal operators.

The UMWA is the oldest industrial union in the U.S. For the last three years it has been the one focus of sustained labor militancy as repeated wildcats sweep the coalfields. But now, due to incredible bureaucratic squabbling and the pro-company policies of the UMWA leadership under Arnold Miller, the union is faced with a life-and-death battle.

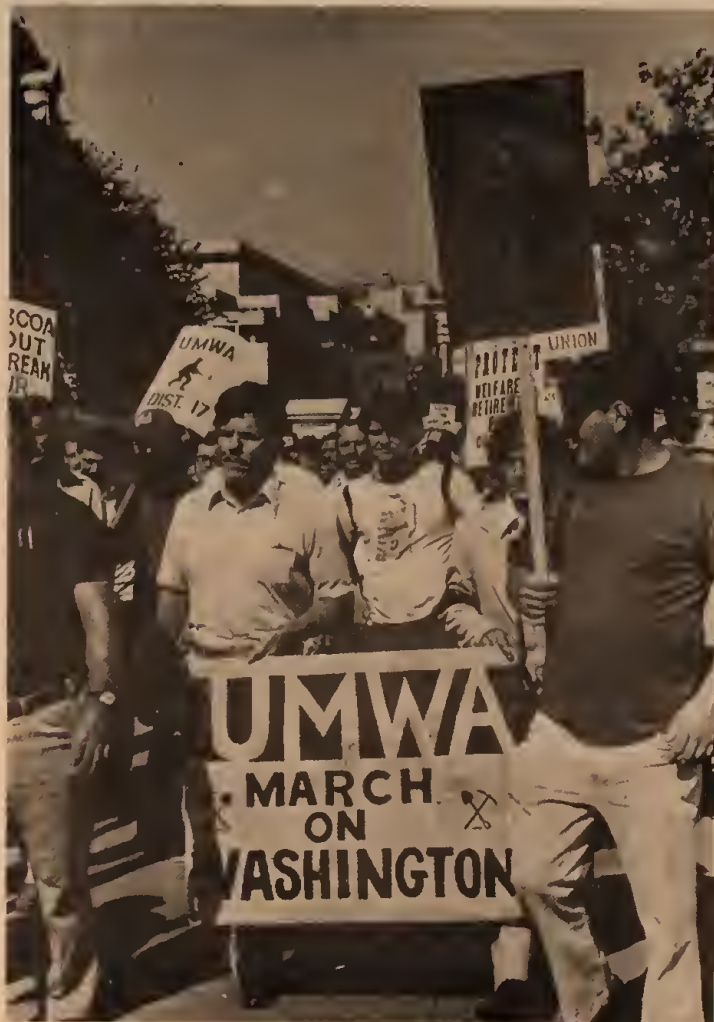
All U.S. labor has a stake in this struggle, for if the Miners union is broken it will open an offensive of union-busting throughout the country. The need for labor solidarity, particularly from the closely connected steel and railroad workers, is sharply posed; the possibilities for powerful joint action are enormous. What is criminally lacking is a leadership with the guts and the class-struggle program to pull together the miners' militancy into a mighty fist which can shatter the attack by the energy trusts.

The bosses are out for blood. Joseph Brennan, head of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), put it bluntly when he said in a bargaining session: "The UMWA is not the only show in town." The operators are absolutely adamant that "labor discipline" must be restored to the coalfields, and they have geared up to deliver a shattering blow to the UMWA. Their aim: to quash the militancy of the miners, which threatens the untrammelled right to extort profits under the projected mass expansion of coal production.

On the other side, rank-and-file miners are aware that they must stand and fight. The burgeoning expansion of non-union coal production and the exhausting wildcats which, thanks to the sabotage of the UMWA bureaucracy have not led to real victories, have weakened the position of the union. The relationship of forces is deteriorating for the miners. Unless the bosses are stopped now, massive defeats are in store.

For its part the weak-kneed UMWA bureaucracy under Arnold Miller is simply attempting to postpone the inevitable conflict. For the second time, on November 25, Miller walked out of negotiations, declaring that a "strike was inevitable." But only three days later he was back at the bargaining table, at the invitation of federal mediators, promising that he might even extend the contract if "substantial progress" was made in bargaining!

The harsh words of Brennan and the coal operators are not the usual tough talk thrown around lightly at contract time. The bosses are itching to humiliate the UMWA and if necessary destroy it as a national union. The expansion of coal production under Carter's energy program is projected to almost double by 1985, rising to more than one billion



WV Photo

Miners protest cutbacks in Welfare and Retirement Fund in Washington in August.

tons annually. For the coal operators this opens up vistas of massive new profits, but only if the traditional militancy of the coal miners can be tamed.

In the first eight months of 1977 alone, wildcat strikes cost the industry an estimated 21.8 million tons of coal and 2.3 million man-days of work, a lost-time rate that is ten times the average for all industries. Productivity in the union mines has actually fallen, largely as the result of union-enforced safety and crew-size regulations. The UMWA has become a serious hindrance to the BCOA, which is losing the race for profits to the non-unionized sector of the industry. As *Business Week* (28 November) noted, "For sustained profitability, the place to look is in the non-union mines."

The key issue is the right to strike. In furtherance of their demand for uninterrupted production, the operators are demanding: an explicit no-strike clause; financial penalties for miners who engage in wildcats, with bonuses for those who cross picket lines; elimination of the two-week summer shutdown with

trustees ruled that miners must pay the first \$500 of medical expenses, in retaliation for wildcats; this decision itself sparked a 10-week wildcat. The recent ruling once again demonstrates that administration of the funds must rest solely with the UMWA. The government-mandated pension and welfare "reforms" which supposedly guaranteed "responsible" administration of the funds through a tripartite body of union, company and "neutral" outsiders has been thoroughly exposed as a weapon for the bosses.

Stockpiles held by steel and power companies are high, with estimates averaging around three months' supplies on hand. During September and October the two leading coal-hauling railroads reported record volumes. The Chesapeake & Ohio, the top carrier, claimed that it moved more coal in this period than in any two-month stretch over the past seven years. The Norfolk & Western claimed similar achievements (*Journal of Commerce*, 21 November).

But the militant miners will not easily surrender the right to strike. They do not need convincing that the preservation of hard-won gains cannot be placed in the hands of the industry's arbitration system or the courts. That the courts belong to the bosses was demonstrated once again by an October decision of the Arbitration Review Board (ARB), which ruled that participants in so-called unauthorized strikes, whether picketing their own or other job sites, or even distributing literature in support of such a strike, could be fired on the spot. The courts, whether in Stearns, Kentucky or Cabin Creek, West Virginia, have baldly demonstrated time and again that they are tools of the companies; it was, in fact, the interference of the courts that sparked the 1976 wildcat.

When the miners returned to the pits last September after a ten-week wildcat against medical cutbacks, they did not go back defeated. Although the cutbacks have not been revoked, the operators' attempts to demoralize the miners on the eve of the contract battle did not succeed. UMWA militants are grimly determined to defend their gains.

The miners have been by far the most combative section of the U.S. proletariat. In recent years of relative quiescence in the labor movement, the miners have symbolized the fighting spirit of the American working class. Although the UMWA has more than once been reduced to virtually little more than a paper organization, the miners have rarely ceased fighting. Even in the dog days of the depression, miners' strikes

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IRSP Leader Assassinated in Dublin

Behind the Murder of Seamus Costello...6

"Red Scare" Whipped Up on Eve of Strike

Press, Miller, Coal Bosses Witchhunt Miners Group

On the eve of a national coal strike the big business press, backed up by the mine operators and the Miller bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), has launched a vicious red-scare campaign in the coalfields of West Virginia. In a series of lying, sensationalist "exposés" which would do the late Joe McCarthy proud, newspapers last week "uncovered" a small band of "communists" whom they claim have engineered the seething unrest in the union for the last three years. While the hysterical media barrage is now directed against the Miners Right to Strike Committee (MRSC), its real aim is to intimidate all militants who would oppose the sellout contract Miller & Co. hope to pawn off on the membership next month.

The press attack began when the *Huntington Herald Dispatch* reported November 18 that Mike Branch, an MRSC spokesman from Beckley, West Virginia, was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). United Press International picked up the story and the Morgantown *Dominion-Post* ran it that same day under the headline "Mine Strike Leader Linked to Red Party." A week later the *New York Times* devoted a lengthy article in its first section to the anti-communist scare. "Activities of Maoists Revive 'Red Baiting' in Coal Fields, 5 to 10 Organizers From Splinter Group Are Blamed for Turmoil in the Mines," screamed the 25 November *Times* headline.

The *Times* coal "expert" Ben A. Franklin performed his hatchet job with information so false as to be patently absurd to anyone remotely familiar with the U.S. left. The article claimed, for instance, that the RCP—"a small puritanically Maoist faction"—had denounced Hua Kuo-feng, the successor to Mao Tse-tung, "as a rightist." If this is the party line, one wonders how Franklin found out since the RCP, profoundly confused by the political upheaval in China since Mao's death, has not uttered one word publicly about the character of the Hua regime.

Franklin also stated that the RCP is "a schismatic splinter of the former Revolutionary Union [RU], an ultra radical Maoist group that grew and failed in southern California in the Vietnam war voicing a belief in immediate armed revolution." Aside from the bombastic distortion of the RU/RCP's

reformist politics, everyone knows that the RU and RCP are the same animal, having simply changed its name two years ago when it proclaimed itself a party. The crude "dirt" Franklin dug up has the unmistakable stench of FBI "intelligence" leading one to speculate, not on the background of the militants in the mines, but on the sources behind this redbaiting story. By anonymously floating such slanderous "news reports," the feds hope to get militants fired or driven out of the union by utilizing McCarthyite practices.

The present media campaign is not the first attempt to oust the MRSC from the UMWA. Last year Committee leader Bruce Miller was fired and jailed for three months for his involvement in a March 1976 black lung wildcat. In May 1976, while Miller was in jail, two other MRSC members were given one-year suspensions from the union by the International Executive Board. Miller eventually won his job back with an arbitrator's stipulation that he refrain from further strike activity for the life of the current contract. But he was fired again as a result of this summer's wildcat against medical insurance cutbacks. According to the Right to Strike Committee, local UMWA officials testified for the company at a subsequent arbitrator's hearing and Miller's firing was upheld.

Actually the presence of radicals in the mines is pretty stale news. According to the *Times* account Branch issued a statement that "...some members of the committee are Communists. This is no sinister secret and is common knowledge." *Revolution*, the RCP's newspaper, has openly endorsed MRSC activities for years. Besides, as even "a Government official familiar with investigative reports on the party" (i.e., a federal labor spy) admitted, the charge that last year's black-lung and anti-injunction wildcats or the August 1975 walkouts over the right to strike were caused by the tiny MRSC is ludicrous.

Another article by Franklin (*New York Times*, 27 November) makes it abundantly clear that it is the 1974 contract—particularly underfunding of the health/welfare funds and the unworkable grievance procedure—which lies behind the unrest in the UMWA. The wildcats were sparked not by "outside (or in this case, inside) agitations" but by the miners' bitter experi-

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Kentucky police guard mine entrance on Justus Road.

WV Photo

Blue Diamond Imports Scabs

Stearns Strike in Danger

Sixteen months after the bitter struggle against the Blue Diamond Coal Company began, the miners' strike in Stearns, Kentucky is in real danger of defeat. For more than three weeks now scabs under heavy police protection have been working in the Justus mine compound. So far only a few coal hoppers—idle since July 1976—have been emptied and new coal has not yet been dug. But United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) organizer Lee Potter told *WV* that he expects the company to attempt full-scale operations with strikebreakers as the next blow to the organizing drive. And the Bureau of Mines reportedly planned an inspection of the struck mine last Monday as a prelude to reopening it.

Following the massive police assault October 17 when, in defiance of a court order, virtually the entire 153-man local assembled to block Blue Diamond's first importation of scabs, 79 miners were arrested along with 20 women and four children. Many were beaten. The following week eleven workers were singled out for their militancy by circuit judge J.B. Johnson, Jr. and jailed. Except for a three-day Thanksgiving furlough eight of these miners have been behind bars ever since serving six-month terms. Sixty-eight others were fined and got six-month suspended sentences. Union officials filed an appeal November 28 for those still in jail, but with no results.

Two militants were freed only at doctors' insistence. One, picket captain Mahan Vanover, was released because of a multiple fracture to his arm, and another, Roy Keith, may have sustained a brain injury as a result of the clubbing he got from the Kentucky state troopers as he lay handcuffed on the ground. Most of the miners' injuries were received in the same fashion, but several cops were also hurt before the strikers were subdued.

With combativity that stands as a model for the entire labor movement the miners at Stearns have held out alone

for 16 months against each successive effort to break their strike. Gunfire from company thugs, night-rider attacks and cop assaults all have failed to break them, and last month's court order designed to cripple their picket lines was met with heroic resistance. Yet for all their militancy the Stearns miners alone cannot win against the combined union-busting drive of the bosses and the government.

Just as the 13-month organizing drive at the Brookside mine in nearby Harlan County could be won only by bringing out the entire UMWA (in a five-day "work holiday" in August 1974), so a victory at Stearns depends upon the aid of the class brothers and sisters throughout the union. With negotiations on the national bituminous coal contract deadlocked because of employer intransigence, militants must demand an immediate nationwide mine strike which includes as a key demand the inclusion of Stearns under the same contract. A victory over Blue Diamond here is crucial to organizing the largely non-union mines of the southern Appalachians. There must be no national settlement without bringing the Justus mine under the master contract! Moreover, with the union now controlling less than half the coal mined in the U.S., victory in the upcoming national strike depends on aggressive organizing and picketing to stop the flow of scab coal from the hundreds of other unorganized pits and western strip mines.

While the plight of the embattled miners at Stearns cries out for the mobilization of the entire strength of the UMWA behind the strike, the International has sat on its hands leaving the local in utter isolation. And if the Miller bureaucracy has its way the opportunity to win the Justus contract through the national coal strike will tragically slip by. A union spokesman at UMWA International headquarters in Washington told *WV* that the strike won't make "any difference one way or another" to the fight in Stearns.



Striking miners in Charleston, West Virginia, August 25.

WV Photo

For 16 months neither Miller nor his opponents in last June's union presidential elections—Harry Patrick or Roy Patterson—have called for the militant solidarity actions which would quickly bring Blue Diamond to its knees. Today while the pro-company court order is being observed in Stearns and scabs daily enter the mines unmolested, Miller's strategy is to try to "pressure" the very same government which has repeatedly shown which side it is on by the cop assaults and jailing of the strikers! After putting in a brief appearance at the McCreary County jail October 31 Miller met with Kentucky governor Julian Carroll November 4. However, all he "won" through such polite "jawboning" was the promise of an investigation and a reduction of the number of patrolling state troopers to 20. Meanwhile 30 Blue Diamond-hired gun thugs are "guarding" the mines while state cops continue to harass the strikers. Roadblocks have now been set up at the nearby Tennessee line where troopers hope to catch a miner with a six-pack of beer entering "dry" Kentucky.

According to the UMWA bureaucracy the Brookside strike was won through good public relations. Union spokesman Paul Fortney at International headquarters insists that the Eastover Mining Company at Brookside "caved in after they had that boy killed and they got all that bad publicity." The brutal gunning down of 23-year-old miner Lawrence Jones by an Eastover foreman certainly caused a wave of revulsion. But the strike was won not through organized media pressure, but when Miller finally pulled every UMWA miner in the U.S. out of the pits in a five-day memorial period following Jones' murder.

UMWA members must not wait for another tragic murder on the battle lines of the Kentucky coalfields, a possibility which even Fortney admits is ever-present. If the bitter struggle at Stearns is not to be squandered in defeat the nationwide solidarity which was key to victory at Brookside must be organized at once! Free the Imprisoned Miners! Drop All Charges and Injunctions against the UMWA! No National Settlement Without a Standard UMWA Contract in Stearns! Victory to the Stearns Strike! ■

Drop Charges Against Sandor John!

Chicago U. of Illinois Arrests SYL Spokesman

CHICAGO—Sandor John, a spokesman of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), was arrested November 22 while distributing literature protesting administration harassment of left and campus groups at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC). Directed by the University administration, armed campus cops turned John over to the Chicago police. He was jailed, charged with "criminal trespass" and then released later in the evening on \$1,000 bond.



Sandor John speaking at campus rally in 1975.

With this arrest the administration has enlisted the cops and courts behind its anti-communist ban launched on October 27 when the armed cops drove John off campus and threatened to "lock him up" if he ever came back. The administration declared him "permanently barred" as an "outsider, non-student."

This familiar redbaiting charge of "outside agitator," of course, is applied only to communists and union organizers. Last year the signed union cards of university employees were disqualified because they were collected by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) "outside agitators." On the other hand the invited guests of ROTC—the representatives of U.S. imperialism on campus—and the administration have the run of the campus.

In singling out the SYL for arrest the administration has targeted the most outspoken and openly communist group on campus, the one that has most energetically fought the anti-communist ban. The arrest is the most dramatic and provocative act in a McCarthy-style witchhunt which is clearly meant to intimidate and chill the entire campus, which the administration runs with seigneurial contempt for democratic rights. Not only do they arrest socialists for handing out literature, they have also conducted a campaign of harassment against radical professors, minorities programs and organizations, and threatened to take away office space from groups out of favor, including the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and even the student government. The administration attempts to decide by fiat what literature can be distributed, how many books can be sold, and now raises a menacing political test of who may set foot on the campus of this public institution.

John's arrest exposes the university's phony line that there was no ban, a line obediently echoed by a redbaiting article in the campus newspaper, the

Illini. These students of remedial yellow journalism blamed the SYL for making up the issue and proclaimed the anti-communist ban against Sandor John "non-existent." Perhaps they will now write that the arrest is also "non-existent."

The SYL, stressing militant campus protest, has taken the lead in fighting the ban and harassment campaign. It is no accident that the administration planned its arrest of John a few days before the Thanksgiving/Christmas

The defense of Sandor John is the defense of the left and other campus organizations at UICC. And it is also clearly the defense of democratic rights. This defense must be carried out through militant protests on the campuses and streets of Chicago, as well as in the courtroom. The SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment, formed on the UICC campus to oppose the anti-communist ban and to end the administration harassment of left and campus organizations, has adopted the slogans: "Defend Sandor John! Drop the Charges!" This Committee includes the SYL, Young Socialist Alliance, the student government and Circle Womens Liberation Union, as well as many students and professors who recognize the need to defeat the administration's witch-hunt. It has been active on campus publicizing and building rallies like the one at which John spoke in defiance of the ban.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, has taken up the defense of John and the cause of defeating the anti-communist ban. The PDC has endorsed the Ad Hoc Committee along with many others including: Ron Dorfman of *Chicago* magazine, Studs Terkel, Southside New American Movement, American Federation of Teachers Local 3500 and Bennie Lenard.

The university administration hopes that with this arrest they can defeat the rapidly growing resistance to their ban. On their side they have now enlisted, besides the threat of jail sentences, the added harassment of costly legal fees. To offset these costs the Sandor John Defense Fund is being administered by the PDC. The PDC asks its friends and supporters to send in contributions, making checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked for Sandor John Defense Fund), P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680. ■

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Ex-WLer Joins Spartacist League

Life in the Healyite Snake Pit

6 November 1977

Dear comrades:

I am in agreement with the program of the Spartacist League/U.S. and therefore would like to submit this application for membership in the party. More than seven years ago I came to the understanding that communism represented the force capable of freeing mankind from the various forms of oppression under which it lives. The succeeding years found me seeking to translate my aspirations for revolutionary change into practical activity.

The path to the Spartacist League [SL], the embodiment of the Leninist program, was unfortunately not direct and I took a detour called the Workers League [WL] from 1971 to 1974. Prior to joining the WL, I had had some contact with the SWP [Socialist Workers Party], read some of Trotsky's books, and considered myself a Trotskyist.

It was the Workers League's espousal of Trotskyist orthodoxy, in particular, that attracted me to the organization. My involvement in the anti-war protests and Black Students Union during my high school days had taught me to despise liberal pacifism and black nationalism, both defended by the SWP, as roadblocks to the development of a communist world outlook. The WL intersected my revulsion towards the SWP's reformism by calling for the victory of the NLF and maintaining a knee-jerk reaction against nationalism. With its anti-Pabloist pretensions, the WL seemed to carry the authority held by the leaders of the October Revolution. At a time when many New Leftists still claimed the working class was hopelessly reactionary, the WL's workerist orientation seemed a defense of principle.

Life in the Workers League was a continual series of crises, a perpetual zigzag between socialist posturing and adaptation to the most blatant backwardness in the working class. At Stanford we peddled our "maximum" program to the students. We screamed to them that capitalism's collapse and fascism were imminent, placing the socialist revolution immediately on the agenda. In East Palo Alto the Young Socialists recruited black lumpen youth who had no political understanding. TUALP, the WL's trade-union front, restricted its program to demanding higher wages.

This opportunist practice found a political rationalization in the crisis theory. This asserted that the acute crisis of capitalism made even minimal demands revolutionary. The inexorable march of the class struggle would force the trade union bureaucrats to build a labor party and take up revolutionary demands. In effect, the WL negated the task of revolutionists in the trade unions: breaking the grip of the bureaucrats and constructing an alternative class-struggle leadership.

My three years in the Workers League saw a revolving door of members, the trampling of democratic centralism by Healy's lackeys, and the cultivation of many anti-communist youth who became disillusioned by the WL's deception and manipulation. The 1974 summer camp marked a new low for these political bankrupts. Toward the end of the camp, scores of card-carrying Young Socialists armed themselves with clubs and other make-shift weapons. They roamed the camp grounds at night, terrorizing the Workers League.

They were recruited on the basis of dances and basketball games and were tired of having "politics" jammed down their throats. I received a bloody nose from a Young Socialist twice my size while trying to defend another comrade from attack.

After the summer camp I decided to leave the WL. Wohlforth had been deposed and I saw the organization making no serious attempt to assess how it got itself on such a disastrous course. I sensed something was vitally wrong with the organization. But because I lacked political development, I felt ill-equipped to carry out a factional struggle. So outside of the WL I read and thought.

The WRP's [Workers Revolutionary Party—the British Healyite organization] expulsion of the Thornett group broadened my understanding of Healyism to a certain degree. Attracted to the WSL's [Workers Socialist League—founded by Alan Thornett and others expelled by Healy from the WRP in 1974] politics I joined its American fraternal group—the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist). After a month I resigned, realizing that the SL (DC) had not fundamentally broken from Healyism. This minuscule circle continues the WL's mass posturing and unashamedly demands a reformist labor party.

Separating the Spartacist League from every other leftist tendency is its granite adherence to the Trotskyist program. With this program as its core, the SL has assembled an impressive group of cadres. In the WL-SL debate over "mass work" versus the regroupment tactic, the SL has proven its line correct by its ability to assimilate several political generations in one party.

John K.

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Scene outside Trenton Engine Plant during walkout in August.

WV Photo

PDC Holds Trenton Seven Defense Forum in Detroit

DETROIT—The victimization of the Trenton Seven by the auto companies and courts of Detroit "threatens the right to strike," Trenton Seven Defense Committee chairman Jim Barczyk told the audience at a Partisan Defense Committee forum held at Wayne State University November 17. The seven are members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 372 fired from Chrysler's Trenton Engine Plant for participation in a walkout over the firing of a shop steward and five line workers during the massive heat walkouts that swept Detroit auto factories last summer.

The intolerable conditions in the plants, with temperatures reaching 120 degrees on the assembly lines and even higher in foundries, caused the deaths of several workers. Of course, nothing was done to the companies who killed them by refusing to install adequate air conditioning. But on October 16 the Trenton Seven were declared guilty of "irreparable damage" to the Chrysler Corporation by Judge John Feikens (a Chrysler stockholder) and now face up to six weeks in jail and heavy fines.

Barczyk graphically described the events leading up to this blatant victimization by the company and courts. A walkout at Trenton took place on July 20 at the height of the intolerable heat wave. "We just got brand new electronic gates that they'd never used," he pointed out, "and the day that these guys walked out the electronic gates closed and they wouldn't let anybody out of the parking lot.... They kept everybody in, and told them they were going to be fired...."

Despite Chrysler's heavy-handed intimidation, on August 8 the Trenton plant again exploded, this time in a mass walkout over the firing of the steward and other workers. While thousands of UAW members participated in the heat wave protests, these seven members of Local 372 were singled out for special treatment because the Trenton walkout was the longest, largest and most militant job action in Chrysler's Detroit-area plants. Instead of the usual procedure of calling up the UAW International leadership and relying on them to end the wildcat, the company decided to make an example out of Trenton, going directly to the courts to obtain an injunction against seven workers deemed to be "instigators."

Barczyk bitterly condemned the inaction and cynical maneuvering of the International while insisting that the UAW as a whole must take up the Trenton Seven. "In 43 weeks they have not received a penny of unemployment [compensation]; they have not received anything from the union; they have not received help from anyone, except what they've got from people like yourselves," he said. The only reason Solidarity House has shown the least bit of interest in the case is that Chrysler snubbed

them in favor of the courts, thus depriving the International of the job of keeping the ranks in line. Fraser & Co. lost "the right to break up wildcat strikes," as Barczyk sarcastically put it.

The second speaker, union militant Frank Hicks of UAW Local 600 (River Rouge), who has been active in defending the Trenton Seven, emphasized the collusion of the company and courts in smashing workers' protests, and the treacherous role of "reform" union bureaucrats such as Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski in calling in the govern-



WV Photo

Jim Barczyk

ment against the unions. "You can't depend on the state in any way," he pointed out, emphasizing the need for independent and massive labor defense of the Trenton Seven.

The Trenton Seven Defense Committee received \$100 as a speaker's honorarium, and a collection was taken up from the audience. Much more is needed. This case is crucial for the working class as a whole and strikes at the very heart of the labor movement. As Hicks pointed out, what is necessary is an uncompromising fight on the part of the entire UAW demanding that all charges be dropped and the Trenton Seven be reinstated with full back pay. The case also raises auto workers' need for the unfettered right to strike without the approval of the International. The treachery of the union bureaucracy in this case shows that these labor fakers cannot simply be ignored but must be replaced by a leadership committed to a militant defense of the workers' movement against the capitalist state.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges all readers of WV to send urgently needed funds for the defense of the Trenton Seven to: Trenton Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2132, Riverview, MI 48192. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hicks Out in Boston Election

BOSTON—Louise Day Hicks, "Pixie" Paladino and John Kerrigan—the local bourgeois politicians most closely identified with the racist anti-busing movement here—lost their seats on the Boston City Council in the November 8 elections. Moreover former teacher John O'Bryant became the first black member of the Boston School Committee in 75 years. So liberals and reformists from the *New York Times* to the Communist Party's *Daily World* tentatively assessed the election results as a step toward progress in a city torn by racist violence since the initiation of court-ordered busing in September 1974.

One local liberal outfit, the City-Wide Educational Coalition, wrote an editorial bursting with enthusiasm: "Boston took a giant step toward respectability and reason on November 8.... The voters of this city delivered a message—that they are tired of demagoguery, empty promises and single issue candidates, and are anxious to move ahead to the critical issues facing the city.... The election of John O'Bryant is seen by many as a move away from the politics of fear and division of recent years..." (*Common Ground*, November-December 1977).

Such fatuous optimism overlooks a key fact: the professional anti-buser politicians lost simply because they had become irrelevant: the militant racists have won far more in the streets than at the ballot box. Meanwhile, the slicker reactionary politicians have broadened their repertoires to include attacks on abortion and homosexual rights. Typical of the latter is Raymond Flynn, who finished second in the election, sagely observing that "It's an attitude of change; people are looking for a change." This quick-change artist has identified himself as a leader of the state's vociferous anti-abortion movement while not in the least disclaiming his history as a kingpin in the anti-busing ROAR.

The frenzied mobs who stoned black youths in full view of TV cameras have temporarily retired from the streets because they have succeeded in putting large sections of the city permanently "off limits" to blacks. If they have not ended busing entirely, they have established their all-white enclaves as national symbols of violent resistance to school desegregation and vastly aided the gutting or total elimination of similar programs across the country.

The racism in Boston have effected a fragile deadlock, freezing the scope of busing at the level of the 1975 Phase II program and preventing its extension to East Boston. Unable to destroy the program altogether, they vent their rage in frenzied assaults on non-whites who venture into the white neighborhoods. Thus in the same week that "the voices of moderation" were victorious at the polls, Salvadorian emigré Maria Alvarado and her family were forced to flee their Dorchester apartment by rock-throwing thugs, and the home of Leclair Sylvestre, a Haitian, was assaulted by racists wielding bricks and baseball bats.

On November 15 fourteen black tourists from a Pennsylvania religious school were attacked near the Bunker Hill monument in Charlestown by whites brandishing golf clubs and hockey sticks. Earlier on October 29 two 12-year-old black female students were arraigned on charges of "assault with intent to murder" for allegedly pushing an (unharmful) 14-year-old white student out a window at South Boston

High School. During the arraignment, a hundred-strong racist mob surrounded the South Boston Court House, confronted the police and smashed a black man's car.

Enter the Respectable Moderates

The Boston City Council and School Committee have been dominated for the last ten years by a clique of unsavory, corrupt, racist demagogues who have been somewhat of an inconvenience for the major banks and insurance companies headquartered in Boston. The latter would prefer that "the Hub" have a reputation for Yankee moderation and innovation—a center of education—rather than a hotbed of racist reaction. The standard-bearer for the local reactionaries has been Louise Day Hicks ("You know where I stand") Hicks, who has maintained an international reputation as Boston's answer to George Wallace since the mid-1960's. Tied on the one hand to paramilitary anti-busing thugs such as the South Boston Marshalls, she is no less wedded—by an intricate network of patronage—to liberal mayor Kevin White. The shades of difference between reactionary Hicks and liberal White (a more circumspect opponent of busing) merely reflect the differences between the former's white ethnic community constituency and the latter's city-wide political ties and commitments. Both are essential components of the same local political machine.

Hicks and many of her political

attempting to use the beach. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Maceo Dixon, appointed chief marshal for the protest, urged "picnickers" to "bring tuna fish sandwiches." The SWP's viewpoint was (and is) simple enough: since blacks can supposedly depend on protection by the Boston police, they need equip themselves with nothing more than soggy sandwiches. But the cops played a very different role. While a giant mob of white racists hurled rocks and bottles, policemen on motorcycle and horseback drove blacks off the beach, arresting ten and injuring 40.

This summer Carson Beach was again the locus of a black-white confrontation. After a black child was injured while playing in front of an open fire hydrant, a group of Columbia Point parents decided to attempt to use the beach. Immediately assaulted by a screaming mob, they were driven off by cops on July 24 when they sought to defend themselves. After three days of the same, black parents "decided to go the nonviolence route" as the *Boston Globe* (3 August) put it. Police provided a semblance of "protection" only when blacks indicated a willingness to endure racist abuse and provocation in silence.

It is a testimony to the ingrained racism of the bourgeois state that only under these humiliating conditions were the police willing to defend even the elementary right of blacks to bathe on a public beach! What took place at Carson Beach this summer was not a "victory for the black community," as the SWP maintains. Rather, the just



Louise Day Hicks

UPI

voters behind a straight black ticket, including, interestingly enough, School Committee candidate Hattie McCutcheon of the Socialist Workers Party.

This effort paid off with the election of black School Committee member O'Bryant, one of whose campaign slogans was for removal of federal court involvement in running the Boston school system (this being, of course, a rallying cry of the white racists). The true significance of this "victory for progress" is indicated by the fact that Mayor White's electoral machine mobilized support for O'Bryant, Hicks and Kerrigan simultaneously. The SWP's McCutcheon, in turn, managed to garner over 6,000 votes after a campaign so utterly apolitical as to be indistinguishable from any liberal black Democratic Party politician. (A few years ago the Communist Party achieved a similar vote total running a black woman for School Committee.)

Interviewed in the SWP's *Militant* of 7 October, McCutcheon characterized the "vote Black" campaign as "positive," and failed to explicitly deny electoral support to her Democratic Party "running mates"! Thus the SWP, after three years of urging Boston blacks to rely on the capitalist courts and cops and liberal misleaders like NAACP president Tom Atkins, has finally achieved "respectability." For the sake of a few thousand votes, it has become a link on a political chain extending through O'Bryant to White, Hicks and her ROAR supporters. Reformist electoralism becomes just as much an exercise in class collaboration as the SWP's calls for reliance on the bourgeois state. Both spell defeat for busing and the interests of the oppressed black masses. ■



1975: Boston schoolbus escorted by cops.

AP

cohorts, who rode to office on the single issue of opposition to "forced busing," are now seen as political failures and quite dispensable. They have, after all, been unable to deliver, so they are being replaced by "clean, respectable" bigots like Flynn. Boston politics is now in the hands of "responsible conservatives" and "moderate liberals" like O'Bryant, White and School Committee chairman Kathleen Sullivan. These "moderates" all view with concern incidents of racist violence that garner too much bad publicity and could discourage tourism and investment.

Carson Beach—A Symbol

The facade of progress through reliance on "moderate" politicians and the state has also been projected in the case of Carson Beach, a public bathing area lying between South Boston and the black housing project at Columbia Point. In the summer of 1975 a "black community picnic and swim-in" protested vicious gang assaults on blacks

cause of Columbia Point parents was used by the racist Boston authorities to stage a media publicity stunt to clean up Boston's tarnished public image. The SWP shares responsibility with the NAACP and other black liberals who politically disarm the masses by their repeated calls for confidence in the forces of bourgeois "law and order."

Reformist Electioneering

The preachers, politicians, small businessmen and poverty program hacks who pose as "leaders of the black community" have systematically channeled all black protest against the ongoing racist violence in Boston into electoral reformism. During the Carson Beach incidents, not so much as a single protest rally was held in Roxbury. Instead "black community leaders" organized to "change the color scheme of the city council and school committee" (*Militant*, 7 October). The Organization for Voter Education and Registration campaigned to mobilize black

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Behind the Murder of Seamus Costello

LONDON—Seamus Costello, chairman of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), was murdered in Dublin's North Strand docks district on 5 October. The 38-year-old militant was reading a morning paper in a parked car when the gunman approached. Witnesses reported that the killer spoke to Costello before firing two rounds from a sawed-off shotgun point-blank in his face, then calmly reloading and firing twice again.

This brutal assassination made a sharp impact in Ireland as well as abroad. On the day of the funeral the streets of Bray, a port city in Costello's native county Wicklow, were thronged with thousands of mourners. The huge funeral, numerous tributes and "in-depth" press reports bespoke the IRSP leader's importance as a key representative of an entire generation of Irish left nationalists.

Costello's long history in the Irish Republican Army (IRA), his leadership of a major split from the "Official" wing and his militant anti-imperialist politics had quickened the hopes of "far-left" groups in Britain, Ireland and elsewhere that an organic fusion of "Republicanism" and socialism was on the agenda.

The IRSP at first enlisted not only ex-IRA members but also a section of the New Leftist People's Democracy, draped itself in the mantle of revolutionary Irish trade unionist James Connolly and criticised both the "Official" IRA and the "Provisional" IRA for separating the class struggle from the national question. But the inability of Costello and his comrades to transcend their roots in the "Republican" movement points to the inescapable conclusion that the programmes of revolutionary Marxism and petty-bourgeois nationalism are fundamentally incompatible. Indeed during the last year the IRSP has moved into the orbit of the sectarian, militarist Provisionals.

Who Killed Seamus Costello?

The most obvious question posed by this cowardly murder is "Who killed Costello?" There are two logical suspects: the British state and Costello's political opponents in the "Republican" movement. While it is not uncommon for political disputes between (or within) Irish nationalist groups to be argued in bullets and settled in blood, this does not appear to be the explanation for Costello's slaying. The Official IRA,

which has a history of internecine conflict with the IRSP, disclaimed responsibility without challenge by the IRSP leadership. Funeral eulogies were delivered by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, whose supporters split from the IRSP in late 1975; by Nora Connolly O'Brien, daughter of James Connolly and a supporter of the Provisionals; and by IRSP leader James Daly. Speculation that the assassination was the result of factional struggles inside the IRSP quickly subsided. The left-bourgeois Irish weekly *Hibernia* commented on 14 October: "The suspicions have since been greatly allayed, partly by the evidence of the funeral attendance, and partly by the obvious IRSP solidarity since the killing."

The finger of suspicion points at London, which had reason to fear the convergence of the IRSP with the Provisionals and Costello's potential role as unifier and leader of sections of the split-racked Irish nationalist movement. Even the *Times* of London (6 October) noted that Costello was "once regarded by British security forces as one of the most dangerous organisers on either side of the Irish border." Moreover, the *Times*' report referred to the sinister 1973 "Littlejohn affair," which may shed light on Costello's death.

In that incident a major scandal was triggered during the trial of two accused bank robbers who stated in a Dublin court that they had infiltrated the Official IRA on behalf of British intelligence. While in the IRA they had instigated an unprecedented wave of bank robberies and bombings in the South, which fueled the "anti-terror" campaign propaganda of the Fine Gael-Irish Labour Party coalition and aided the election of the most pro-British government in the Irish Republic's history. The Littlejohn brothers also testified that they had been ordered to kill Costello, at that time a leader of the Officials.

A Soldier in the Border Campaign

The key to Costello's prominence lies in a 20-year history as a leader in the "Republican" movement. He joined the then-United Irish Republican Army at the age of 16, committed to its one-point nationalist program: reunification of the six counties of the North with the 26 counties of the South. By the time of the

ill-fated guerrillaist "Border Campaign" of 1956-62, Costello already held a minor leadership position. He was extremely active in the campaign and led a column of men who burned down the courthouse at Magherfelt in the Northern county of Derry. He was interned for two years by the Irish government for his activities (J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*).

By 1962 the initial enthusiasm with which sections of the Irish Catholic population greeted the campaign had long since dried up, along with the financial backing of Irish Americans. Hundreds of IRA militants were interned, including the bulk of the leadership, by both the Ulster regime and the Irish Republic. On 26 February 1962 the IRA issued a proclamation "To the Irish People" calling off the campaign. This defeat shook the organisation. While part of the leadership blamed the faint-heartedness of the Catholic population and argued that a better prepared, more tightly organised military campaign would find new support, others argued for a turn from guerrillaism to involvement in social struggles.

In 1963 the president of Sinn Féin (the IRA's legal political organisation) was found shot in his garden under mysterious circumstances. A change in command took place. Cathal Goulding assumed leadership of the IRA from Rory Bradý (now a central Provisional leader), and Goulding's co-thinker Tomás Mac Giolla became the new president of Sinn Féin. They spearheaded a process of military disengagement and political reassessment, increasingly gravitating toward the reformist politics of the Irish Communist Party.

From Nationalist Guerrillaism to "Socialist" Reformism

The IRA's "new direction" of the 1960's involved an orientation toward parliamentary politics. Initially it contested local government posts because of old compunctions against participating in the Dail (southern parliament), Stormont (Northern Ireland), or Westminster. (The eventual decision of the Dublin IRA leadership to contest seats in the Dail became one of the issues in their 1970 split with the Provisional wing.) As the leadership dictated a turn away from the gun, many of the battle-hardened Belfast cadres



Seamus Costello

Rouge



Peress/Magnum

IRA checkpoint in the Bogside in Londonderry.

(for whom the IRA had always been primarily a defence force against the Orange gangs) dropped away from the movement.

Compounding the Belfast Republicans' fears that the communal defences of the Catholic minority were being undermined was the sense among the old boys like Billy McKee, Joe Cahill and Leo Martin that the IRA's "sacred traditions" were being gutted by the "Marxism" of the Goulding-Mac Giolla leadership. In this tradition "physical force" is more than a political strategy. It is a mystique with religious overtones. Central to the IRA mythology is the necessity for each generation to honour the memory of the Fenian/Republican martyrs by renewing the blood sacrifice in the name of a united Ireland. Many of the IRA veterans who left in the mid-1960's (and later joined the Provisionals) kept faith with their past by joining the National Graves Association, which maintains the burial plots of Republican heroes.

Along with the new "grass roots" involvement in local politics, public housing, co-ops and trade unions, the IRA adopted a more "socialist" rhetoric. At the 1967 Wolfe Tone commemoration in Bodenstein—the annual gathering where the major political statements of Republican groups are traditionally made—chief of staff Goulding announced the IRA's turn toward "socialist policies" and away from "physical force." The Communist Party exerted considerable influence in this development, but even the official wing of the IRA remains autonomous and quite capable of falling out with the Stalinists.

Just as Costello had been a model of the young "man of action" in the 1950's, he also became exemplary of the new trend in the 1960's. While rising to the upper echelons of the IRA leadership and working as a car salesman, he was active in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and was elected as a Sinn Féin member of the Wicklow County Council and Bray Urban District Council in 1967.

1970: Officials vs. Provisionals

The IRA played no leading role in the rise of the civil rights movement thrown up in opposition to the manifold discrimination against Catholics in the North but lent some assistance by providing stewards for mass marches. Its military capacity, however, had wound down to the point where it was totally unprepared to defend the Catholic areas during the virtual pogrom unleashed by the Ulster police forces during the summer of 1969. In his book, *The IRA*, bourgeois nationalist Tim Pat Coogan wrote:

"As far as can be reasonably ascertained, approximately six Republicans took to the streets of Belfast during the rioting which broke out after August 12 to defend the Catholic areas. One of these, at least, was a middle-aged man who had not been active since the 1940s.... There seems little doubt that had the handful of IRA men not been present, Orange mobs led by B-Specials would have burned the Falls Road to the ground and with it, every Catholic family which did not flee. But this circumstance, much as it may have redounded to the credit of the individuals concerned, redounded very badly indeed on the IRA's public image."

The bitter joke told in Belfast at the time was that "IRA" stood for "I Ran Away."

The events of 1969-70 led to the deep split between the Provisionals and the Officials. The break largely pitted besieged Northern IRA men against the Dublin command and its supporters. It was probably inevitable but appears, nevertheless, to have been hastened by secret offers of arms and money made by a section of the ruling Fianna Fáil party, offers contingent on the establishment of a separate Northern command and renunciation of "Marxist" politics (London *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Northern Ireland* [1972]). Conor Cruise O'Brien, as a Labour member of the Dail, also documented the complicity of

a section of the Republican bourgeoisie in the emergence of the "militant, anti-Marxist" Provos:

"It seems that some of the rich and of the influential not only welcomed the Provisionals, but helped them to come into being.... The exact extent and character of the involvement of members of Mr. Lynch's 1969-70 government with the I.R.A. and especially the Provisional I.R.A. in the North is still a matter of speculation.... Certain Irish Army regular officers sent into Northern Ireland on intelligence work at this time became active sympathizers and helpers of what became the Provisional I.R.A...."

—*States of Ireland*, 1972

The split was bitter but by no means clean; some joined the Provisionals because they favoured "action" whereas others joined because they opposed the Officials' pseudo-Marxist rhetoric.

Seamus Costello's decision to stay with the Officials perhaps surprised some. Yet he proved himself adept at the electoral manoeuvring and economist community organising characteristic of the Officials' activities in the South. He ran for the Dail several times and in 1974 headed the polls in the Wicklow County elections. Costello's ability to shift from the guerrillaist orientation of the 1950's to the ultra-minimalism of local politics (and such headline-catching stunts as "fish-ins" to dramatise the IRA's demand for nationalisation of the South's lakes and rivers) illustrates not so much the "cooling-off" of a young hothead as the Republican movement's search for a mass popular base.

1974: IRSP vs. Officials

Apparently Costello opposed the Officials' decision in May 1972 to abandon the military activities which they had reinstituted after the British imposed the notorious internment policy in July 1971. Frictions mounted inside the organisation, and Costello was charged with "criminal negligence" in running the Operations Department, which was responsible for buying weapons and financing. He was "court martialled" and "dismissed with ignominy," only to be subsequently reinstated.

The reinstatement did not signal an end to the bitter factionalising, however. The Officials' leadership combined accusations of "ultra-leftism" and Stalinist-style hints of imperialist involvement with a defence of their own economist policies against Costello's charge that they had abandoned the "ages-old national question." Finally Costello was expelled and took with him a section of the Officials' membership. He gathered some 80 delegates, including his closest associates, a group of former People's Democracy members headed by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and former leading members of the Derry Republican Club to found the IRSP in December 1974.

The IRSP denounced the Sinn Féin national executive for its position on the national question, "the lack of internal democracy," the decision to run candidates for the British-initiated Northern Ireland Convention and "the unprincipled betrayal of the internees arising from the decision to take seats on local councils in the North" (*Intercontinental Press*, 24 February 1975). The Goulding leadership gave its new nationalist opponents plenty to criticise. The Officials' call on Westminster for "withdrawal of troops to barracks" and passage of a "Bill of Rights" in Northern Ireland constitutes de facto recognition of the British imperialist presence albeit with demands for "democratic" reform of the sectarian Orange statelet.

Immediately after its foundation, the IRSP became involved in a lethal conflict with the Officials. Although provocateurs may have begun the fighting, there is strong evidence that the Officials did attack members of the IRSP in an attempt to prevent their

growth in Belfast. The IRSP generally denied any active retaliation, but in an interview (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 July 1975) Costello acknowledged that certain small "radical Republican" paramilitary groups had offered to "defend IRSP members against such actions and retaliate for such actions." He added that "as soon as we have some concrete indication that the 'Officials' are going to call off its campaign, there will be no difficulty whatsoever about ensuring that there are no attacks on members or supporters of the 'Official' IRA." Such murderous feuds are a fact of life in the petty-bourgeois "Republican" movement. In this poisoned atmosphere, a single killing by a provocateur can bring British imperialism the benefits of endless rounds of organisational vendettas.

"Republicanism" vs. Marxism

At the time of the formation of the IRSP, various revisionists (notably the ex-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat) hailed it as a "left split" from the Officials. The USec group in Ireland, then known as the Revolutionary Marxist Group, wrote:

"We welcomed the formation of the IRSP and we did so on two main grounds. In the short term in so far as they recognised the necessity for linking up the national struggle and the economic struggles of the working class we could foresee them playing a decisive role in organising the minority in the north to resist a Loyalist takeover and in mobilising the southern working class against the collaborationist policies of the Free State government i.e. as an important element in the current struggle."

"In the longer term in that they are a grouping of militants who have broken from the reformism of the Officials and who are oriented towards revolutionary socialist politics i.e. as an important development in the building of a revolutionary party."

—*The Plough*, Vol. 2, No. 19 [n.d.]

All of the groups which constitute the "Republican" movement are based on programmes which combine some mix of Irish Catholic nationalism and trivial sub-reformism. They differ chiefly in the proportions of these two elements and in the tactics which they employ in their pursuit. The Officials, who are strongest in the South, have since 1972 not



Bernadette Devlin

engaged in any military struggles with British forces in Northern Ireland. They are accused by the Provos of having resigned themselves to the continued existence of the Ulster statelet. But if they are perhaps less fanatically Catholic nationalist, the Officials remain petty-bourgeois "Republicans"—Green nationalists—whose position and entire tradition is that of forcible incorporation of the North into the Catholic-dominated Republic.

While many left groups, following the lead of the Communist Party, for a time portrayed the Officials as moving towards Marxism, in reality their direction has been towards a Labourite accommodation with whatever division of the island is favoured by British and Irish rulers. Thus similar criticisms of the Officials can be raised both by proletarian communists and by more militant "Republicans" such as the Provos and the IRSP. The Officials

attempt to "forge class unity" among Catholic and Protestant workers by liquidating the struggle against British imperialism in favour of the most timid brand of economist gradualism. An example repeatedly cited by IRSP leaders was the Officials' campaign against the "ring road" in Belfast whose construction threatened both Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods. More-over the Officials' reliance on the "democratic" conscience of the British overlords (especially the Labour Party) has led them even to flirt with the pro-imperialist pacifism of the Women's Peace Movement.

But the IRSP, on the other hand, proved unable to find a revolutionary solution to the national question in Ireland. In a speech in the Ardoyne Catholic ghetto in Belfast shortly after the IRSP's formation, Costello outlined a vague conception of "anti-imperialist unity" between the Protestant and Catholic ghettos:

"We want protestant and catholic unity—but on the basis of a principled political approach. That is unity on the basis of the effects of imperialist policy: There is absolutely no point in approaching the protestants on the 'ring road' only to have them a week later reject our position on the national question.... We want to unite on a broad front against imperialism. We issue a call for unity to individuals and organizations on short term demands such as these: end internment, British troops out, amnesty for all political prisoners and an end to bad debts accrued during the rent and rates strikes.... But our long term aim remains a socialist republic."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 3 March 1973

This amorphous notion, similar to the early ideas of People's Democracy, ignored a vital aspect of the Irish situation: the distinct identity of the Ulster Protestants. Opposition to "Republicanism," i.e., to forced unification with the Catholic South, among Protestant working people in Northern Ireland is not merely an expression of Orange privilege or support to British imperialism. There are also real and legitimate fears about the oppression of non-Catholics which would be inevitable in a united *bourgeois* Ireland. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has repeatedly stressed that the struggle to expel the British oppressors must be linked to a revolutionary working-class programme to overcome the communal divisions. Such a programme must recognise: 1) that historically the Protestants have defined themselves largely in opposition to Irish Catholic nationalism, and 2) that political unity among Catholic and Protestant workers requires a struggle against not only Unionism and incipient Ulster nationalism but also against Irish Catholic nationalism.

The concrete question posed for the IRSP militants was whether they would break on a class basis from their roots in the "Republican" movement. This would have led them in the direction of the Trotskyist programme uniquely defended by the iSt. A central task in Northern Ireland today is the organisation of anti-sectarian workers militias to protect working-class communities, both Catholic and Protestant, from the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie and from the marauding gunmen and bombers of the Orange gangs and Provisional IRA. Such militias can enlist support from *both* Catholic and Protestant workers (which is absolutely vital to their success) only if they are based on a programme of key democratic and class demands such as an end to all discrimination in hiring and housing and a sliding scale of wages and hours. The possibility of standing together with Protestant workers in a military confrontation with IRA men sharply focusses on the contradictions of "Republican" socialism.

One of the wellsprings feeding Orange reaction of the Paisleyite stamp is the preponderant influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the Dublin govern-

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UMWA...

(continued from page 1)

represented 32 percent of time lost to strikes of all American industry in 1931, the figure rising to an astounding 58 percent the following year. And this was achieved without a union that functioned on a national level.

The combativity of the miners cannot be questioned. Once again it is they who are bearing the brunt of the attack by the profit-hungry bosses. Ranged against them are the coal operators, who are increasingly dominated by oil and steel trusts, as well as the capitalist government, eager to clear the way for the unhindered expansion of coal production. The conflict in coal is of central importance to the entire U.S. working-class movement. It is urgent that the trade unions rally to the defense of the UMWA.

Organize the Non-Union Mines

The expansion of the non-union sector of the soft-coal industry has been meteoric. In 1974 some 70 percent of the industry was organized by the UMWA; today it is no more than 50 percent. The closing of the non-union pits could very well be the decisive factor in whether the strike is victorious. Certainly, the continuation of scab production during the strike will be a major demoralizing factor.

By no means, however, will the militant miners allow such production to continue unhindered, and the non-union sites could well be the sites of the most hard-fought battles of the strike. The difference between the union and non-union mines is recognized by thousands of non-union miners, such as those at Brookside and Stearns, who have waged months-long battles to win UMWA contracts. It is imperative that union militants raise as a major demand on their own leaders, "No settlement without standard UMWA contracts at the non-union mines." In such a fashion the strikers can cut through the anti-union propaganda of the scab outfits and demonstrate clearly to the non-

union miners that the strike is in their interest.

A major focus of the expansion of non-union coal has been in the western United States. In 1976 some 133 million tons or 20 percent of the 665 million tons of soft coal mined in the U.S. were mined in this area. The western pits, mainly strip mines, have been the hardest section of the industry to organize. The mines are new, the workforce lacks roots and the traditions of militancy of the eastern and Appalachian miners. Only 30 percent of the western miners are organized into the UMWA.

Not a single member of the UMWA International has fought for an aggressive organizing campaign of the western mines, and the bureaucracy has consistently weakened the appeal of the UMWA by signing substandard contracts. While contracts with western UMWA mines also expire on December 6, the agreements signed in the west are separate and distinct from the ones negotiated with the BCOA. And UMWA negotiators are now flirting with the idea of creating a separate western pension and benefits fund, supposedly to keep the loyalty of miners worried by the weakness of the national funds.

The existence of separate agreements and separate funds can only heighten the danger that western UMWA miners will arrive at a separate settlement and return to work while their union brothers and sisters continue the battle back east. This is tantamount to surrender in advance. The crucial and mostly non-UMWA western mines are relatively inaccessible; the key to shutting them down can only be the roving pickets of UMWA miners. Miners must demand: one industry-wide agreement and benefit plan! End medical and pension funding on a per tonnage basis—Full benefits for all must be contractually guaranteed! Only in such a fashion can there be real unity within the UMWA.

Even in the relatively backward west, a militant strike by UMWA members, combined with an appeal that the

UMWA contract be extended to the unorganized, can have a powerful effect in galvanizing the support of non-union miners. Many times previously non-union miners have walked off the job in solidarity with UMWA strikes, often from mines considered anti-union strongholds. This was the case in 1922, with the heroic rebellion by 75,000 non-union miners in the Connellsville coke region in Pennsylvania, where not a single miners local had existed in 30 years. The same happened with the



Arnold Miller

determined strikes by employees of the "captive" mines—owned by the steel companies—in the 1930's. It would be criminal to underestimate the bonds of solidarity that exist among miners. Even where organizational links are weak, a determined leadership with a clear program for militant action can elicit a powerful response from the unorganized workers.

Class Solidarity is Key

The accumulation of vast coal stocks, as well as the likelihood that these stockpiles will be augmented by scab domestic production and foreign imports, makes organized class solidarity a key element in the defense of the miners. The UMWA must not be forced to bear the brunt of the bosses' attack alone.

A major user of coal is the basic steel industry. No coal strike can be successful unless it threatens to shut down steel production. As an elementary act in defense of the miners, steel workers must refuse to handle all scab coal. All

shipments of coal to the mills must be boycotted by steel workers!

Railroad workers can play an equally crucial role in insuring that coal not be moved from scab mines and coal depots. Seamen and longshoremen must enforce the demand that no coal be imported into the country for the balance of the strike. Effective labor boycotts of scab coal can play a major role in foiling the bosses' strategy of starving out and demoralizing the miners through a protracted war of attrition.

That steel workers are still working while the USWA iron miners go it alone against the no-strike ENA is testimony to the criminal policy of both wings of the Steelworkers bureaucracy, the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs as well as the McBride clique. The massive layoffs in steel, the iron miners' battle against ENA, and the upcoming conflict on the railroads, where the contract expires December 31, necessitate the establishment of a solid alliance of steel workers, coal and iron miners and railroad workers. The immediate implementation of effective hot-cargoing measures in defense of the miners would be a major step in preparing the way for a joint strike of these workers until the demands of all are met.

The entire labor movement must demand that the capitalist government keep its hands off the miners. Should federal troops be marshalled or the National Guard be mobilized, it will only be for the purpose of defending scabs against pickets. Such actions, as well as strike-breaking Taft-Hartley decrees, must be countered by a solid show of strength by the entire trade-union movement in the form of general protest strikes.

The UMWA Bureaucracy

Although it is absolutely clear that miners can avoid a strike only by a complete surrender to the BCOA, UMWA president Miller continues to spend his time dawdling around the bargaining table instead of girding the union for battle. In his last-ditch efforts to avoid a real struggle, Miller has even declared his willingness to extend the contract past December 6, thus making a mockery of the historic UMWA slogan of "No Contract, No Work."

Serious strike preparations are entirely lacking. The UMWA leadership has simply ignored the most important tasks confronting the union. There have been no appeals to the Steelworkers union or railroad and transport workers, and the International has essentially turned its back on the non-union miners. Even at Stearns, Kentucky, where the UMWA has been conducting an organizing drive for 15 months, the International has declared that the contract battle will have no direct bearing on the fight for unionization.

Militant miners are rightfully suspicious of Miller's version of the "right to strike." In 1974 Miller narrowly rammed through a sellout contract which omitted this key demand. Since then he has consistently attempted to quash every rank-and-file strike against the bosses. He has opposed every single wildcat strike, demanding that miners return to work and imposing disciplinary sanctions against militants, and he did not utter a peep of protest against the ARB's recent ruling against roving pickets. While Miller claims that he will not submit a contract to the ranks for ratification which does not contain a right-to-strike provision, he has made it clear that he is only talking about the strictly "local" right to strike (and even then only around certain issues)—thus barring the roving pickets and district-wide and nationwide strikes that are absolutely essential in many instances to defeat the coal bosses. But despite Miller's explicit willingness to write a ban on roving pickets into a "local right to strike" provision, the bosses are not buying. They are firmly convinced that Miller is incapable of disciplining the militant miners, and they want an explicit no-strike clause, combined with

Jail Kill-Crazy NYC Cop!

"A psychotic episode caused by a rare form of epilepsy" is the latest defense that America's killer elite, the blue-uniformed enforcers of capitalist "law and order," has come up with for the cold-blooded slaughter of a black youth by one of their cohorts. On those rare occasions when a cop is actually brought to court for gunning down a helpless subject, "self-defense" or a plea that the victim was "shot while trying to escape" is usually enough to get the killer off the hook. But the cold-blooded murder of 15-year-old Randolph Evans on Thanksgiving night a year ago by Patrolman Robert Torsney of the NYPD's 75th precinct (East New York) was so grotesquely wanton and occurred in front of so many witnesses that this time the cop's defense had to try a new angle.

It was "the biggest shock of my life, getting collared," Torsney said at his trial, which began on November 9. "Obviously, I didn't do anything wrong" (*New York Times*, 18 November). Clinging to the usual story that the youth was pulling a gun (or at least "something shiny") out of his pocket, the cop defendant feels betrayed by his buddies. Even fellow police officers had to testify in court that Evans had done nothing threatening, and no gun was ever found. The incident occurred as Torsney was returning from investigating a family dispute in Brooklyn; Evans, standing in front of his building talking with neighbors, asked the policeman if he had visited an apartment there. "That's right," Torsney reportedly answered, then pulled out his revolver

and shot Evans in the head.

The final story took the defense almost a year to concoct, so obviously was this a case of cold-blooded murder. Torsney's lawyer, the chief counsel for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, had argued in winning his release on \$20,000 bail last year that his client was "sane and lucid" and used "proper police procedure" during the killing. However, after briefly toying with the standard "self-defense" plea, the defense has settled on legal insanity as a better bet.

Dr. Daniel Schwarz, chief psychiatrist for the defense, was forced to admit on the stand that it took him a year to reach the conclusion that "rare epilepsy" was involved. "I was troubled in trying to decide," he conceded under cross-examination. "For a long time I couldn't make sense out of the sequence of events as I was told they occurred" (*New York Times*, 23 November). The cop's sister described in heart-rending detail how the young Torsney had been beaten by his father; and if that wasn't enough to cause epilepsy, his wife went on to describe a motorcycle accident Torsney had in 1975, after which he just "hadn't been the same."

Torsney has stuck sullenly to his gun story, which the defense psychiatrist explains "was only a delusion." The poor killer cop, he claims, "had filled in his amnesia with a memory he could live with morally." The psychiatrists' ludicrous scramble to keep their stories straight with Torsney is a grotesque farce. But the murder of Randolph Evans is not the result of some obscure

"rare" disease. As we wrote at the time of the murder:

"Torsney is a fatigued member in the front lines of the cops' race war on New York's black population. That he, upon seeing a young black face, found himself apparently compelled to shoot it is the result of long conditioning of capitalism's hired thugs—racism transformed into reflex."

—"Point-Blank Racist Murder in NYC," *WV* No 136, 3 December 1976

Torsney's only real crime in the eyes of his fellow cops is stupidity, murdering Evans head-on in front of witnesses instead of beating him to death in the station house or shooting him in a lonely parking lot. Cops in America are used to literally getting away with murder. So long as their targets are poor, dark-skinned or socially helpless and the police observe a minimum of caution in their slaughter, their license to kill will be renewed indefinitely by their bourgeois masters. City governments that live in dread of explosions of ghetto frustration, as occurred during NYC's power blackout last July, recognize that their badge-toting gunmen require a certain *esprit de corps* and that they periodically give vent to frustrations born of enforcing a system that requires virtual military occupation of minority communities.

The murder of Randolph Evans must be avenged! We demand that Torsney be immediately jailed, and that the cops be disarmed! So long as they have an open-ended license to kill on behalf of capitalism, the killer cops will continue to claim new victims. ■



August 1975: Charleston cops attack demonstration protesting court injunctions ordering miners back to work after 120,000 wildcatted in defense of their right to strike.

draconian penalties to be levied on wildcatters.

While Miller's attempts to implement his conciliationist program are being snubbed by the BCOA, the Patterson and Patrick wings of the bureaucracy have counterposed absolutely nothing. The sudden quiescence of Miller's enemies in the bureaucracy is simple expediency: caught between a determined rank and file and an intransigent BCOA, Miller's position is unenviable. The Patricks and the Pattersons neither want to share responsibility with Miller for the outcome of the strike, nor do they have anything different to propose. The silence of these would-be "leaders" at this critical juncture demonstrates anew that the factions within the UMWA leadership are nothing but unprincipled cliques. There's not a dime's worth of difference among them.

While there exist smaller groups within the UMWA that claim to offer a more militant policy, none provide a real answer for miners. The Miners Right to Strike Committee, supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), must be defended from the vicious red-baiting campaign currently being boosted by the coal bosses, the bourgeois press and Miller (see article this issue). However, this vicious witch-hunting attack notwithstanding, the reformist policies of the Right to Strike Committee do not fundamentally break from those of the UMWA bureaucracy.

The Right to Strike Committee—along with the Mountain Community Union—has recently initiated a Miners Support Committee. This committee is circulating petitions simply calling for support to the miners and four contract demands: right to strike; full medical and pension benefits, contractually guaranteed; a big wage increase; and a strong safety program. The petitions are to be turned into such disparate entities as the BCOA, West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV, the U.S. government, Arnold Miller and the UMWA's International Executive Board! It should be obvious that the coal operators and the capitalist politicians will not be swayed one bit by these

pieces of paper; the class enemy will not be deterred from its union-busting drive by a mere petition. On the other hand, the contract demands cited are so vague that even the UMWA bureaucracy can claim to support them, while selling them out at the same time.

The fall issue of *Rank and File Unity*, published by the Miners Right to Strike Committee, contains a more comprehensive listing of contract demands, which include criticisms of Miller for his opposition to the wildcats and to an effective right to strike. But the strategy laid out is fundamentally the same as the petition campaign—namely, to pressure the bureaucracy. The Committee abdicates on the fundamental question: the need to counterpose a class-struggle strategy to Miller's defeatist policies. Missing from its literature are not only any political demands, such as the need to break from the Democratic and Republican parties, but even demands which are central to winning the strike—shut down and organize the non-union mines, joint strikes with steel and railroad workers, a labor boycott of scab coal, and the democratic election of strike committees by UMWA miners. Fundamentally, the Right to Strike Committee accepts the same trade-union reformist premises as the UMWA bureaucracy, and simply demands that it hold out for "more."

Meanwhile, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, supported by the Communist Party (CP), trumpeted in its November issue of *Labor Today* the formation of Miners for a Fair Contract (MFC). The MFC program contains a laundry list of the usual demands, including the right to strike, stronger safety clauses, a shorter workweek, etc., that everyone including the UMWA bureaucracy gives lip service to. *Labor Today* gives the following introduction to the MFC: "Unlike some of the phony 'rank and file' groups that have popped up in recent years to create disruption and disunity, Miners for a Fair Contract seeks to build the greatest possible unity within the faction-torn UMWA...."

In fact, what *Labor Today* means by

Costello...

(continued from page 7)

ment and fear that a united Ireland will lead to a reversal of the terms of oppression—turning the Protestants into a subordinated minority in a Catholic-dominated clericalist state. The espousal of a "32 County Irish Socialist Republic" by left nationalists like Costello does not undercut the Protestants' fears so long as so-called "Republican socialists" remain bonded to Catholic obscurantism. It is hardly coincidental that, when Bernadette Devlin's supporters left the IRSP in late 1976, the split issues included the question of abortion rights, a question which pitted the Trotskyoid New Leftism of Devlin against the Catholic sensibilities of Costello's supporters.

As Devlin and her associates (now called the Independent Socialist Party) spun out of the Costello group and into the impressionistic swamp of Irish "far-left" propaganda blocs, the IRSP moved onto a convergence course with the Provisionals. This was codified in the formation of the Derry-based Irish Front by the two organisations (and several local groups) in October 1976. The Irish Front's four-point programme focuses exclusively on defence of political prisoners and opposition to the British presence in Northern Ireland. The organisational pact includes the provision that members of the Irish Front's "central committee" will not participate in the local or central governments. Early this year the IRSP announced that it was conducting military activities against the British army. In August the Irish Front led a demonstration of thousands in Derry against Queen Elizabeth's visit to Northern Ireland. With this orientation, the IRSP has come full-circle from the Stalinist-influenced "socialist" populism of the Officials to the narrow nationalism of the Provisionals.

For Irish Trotskyism

Costello's political activity took him through a series of abrupt shifts in direction in his short life, and he threw himself into each with enthusiasm. Thus he embraced in turn the various faces of Republicanism: hopeless dead-end adventurism, reformist local government parliamentarianism and deadly sectarian infighting. Although his political career has been brought to a close by the

brutal assassination, Seamus Costello's life serves as a valuable illustration of how hundreds of personally courageous and dedicated men and women in Ireland, charged with a vision of freedom and social justice, end up squandering their lives promoting communalist politics or small-time reformism. Despite their willingness to struggle against British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie, these individuals are doomed to spend their lives in futility unless they can be won to a programme capable of intersecting today's struggles and directing them forward to proletarian revolution, the Trotskyist programme.

However, none of the variety of tiny fake revolutionary groupings which presently exist in Ireland are capable of politically breaking significant elements of the "Republican" movement from their petty-bourgeois nationalist programme. When they are not engaged in promoting low-level economism, they remain preoccupied with tailing whichever wing of "Republicanism" (Officials, Provos or IRSP) best suits their current appetites.

The Irish left is in an extremely fluid state with splits, faction fights, sharp turns and evident signs of tension on all sides. The key task for revolutionaries today must be to assemble the nucleus of a future Irish Trotskyist party. Such a party must be founded on a commitment to polarise both Protestant and Catholic communities along class lines through intervention with a revolutionary programme against murderous sectarianism and for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. Only this perspective offers a way out of the vicious cycle of communal warfare which reactionary Ulster Loyalism and all forms of "Republicanism" can only perpetuate.

Nationalism, Orange or Green, is the bane of proletarian communism which alone can unite the working masses of Ireland against their oppressors, from the British imperial state with its virulently anti-Catholic RUC and the killer commandos of the SAS squads to the Paisleyite Unionist bigots and their deadly hit-men to the "gombeen bourgeoisie" of the Republic, utterly submissive to Britain economically and politically and easily as vicious in their reactionary, anti-working-class repression. ■

opposing factionalism and creating "unity" is refusing to criticize the UMWA bureaucracy. Its statement is a thinly veiled attack on the Right to Strike Committee, for daring to criticize Miller even in a reformist fashion. To this day the CP continues to support both the thoroughly discredited Miller and Patrick, wishing only that the "good old days" of 1972 be restored when all the so-called "progressives" like Miller, Patrick and Trbovich were in the same camp. The MFC program pledges that "We resolve to support our negotiators...." No leadership can be expected from these insipid apologists for the labor fakers that run the UMWA.

Miners cannot defend their interests without a militant strike and they cannot afford to allow the conduct of such a strike to be left in the hands of the UMWA bureaucracy. Militants must demand mass district meetings to initiate democratically elected strike committees. The strike committee leadership, centralized on a national level, must fight for such crucial demands as:

- 1) Shut down all coal production—bring the non-union miners out and organize them! For working-class solidarity: shut down steel and the railroads, hot-cargo scab coal!
- 2) For the unlimited right to strike! No restrictions on roving pickets! End compulsory arbitration—Full power to resolve grievances through strike action!

3) A big wage increase! A sliding scale of hours and wages: a shorter workweek at no cut in pay with full cost-of-living protection!

4) A big boost in pensions, equalized at the highest level! End the dual-pension system negotiated by Miller in 1974! Abolish the \$500 medical deductible! Full health and pension benefits, contractually guaranteed—end funding on a tonnage basis!

5) Federal inspectors will never guarantee safe working conditions—For strong, full-time, company-paid union safety committeemen! For the union's right to shut down unsafe mines!

6) End all racial and sexual discrimination! End victimization of militants! For union control of hiring and upgrading! Promotions on a seniority basis!

7) As early as 1916 the UMWA called for nationalization of the mines, a demand which has long since been buried. Today the coal mines are increasingly dominated by powerful steel, oil and utility interests. Expropriate the mines with no compensation!

8) For a workers party to fight for a workers government! The Democratic and Republican capitalist politicians will fight unrelentingly to defend the bosses' right to impose labor discipline and inhuman working conditions, to extort their bloated profits. Miners, like other workers, need their own party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

Carrillo...

(continued from page 12)

ber 22 he was asked at a press conference how he had been received in the U.S. The PCE leader replied: "I would say that this 'red'—which is how I have been described in some American newspaper accounts—has received a very friendly and warm reception in this sector [the universities]." Thereupon the following exchange took place:

"WV: Mr. Carrillo, I believe that at Yale University you received a welcome that was not so friendly from the striking workers when you crossed their picket line. I would like to know—I'm speaking for *Workers Vanguard*, a Trotskyist newspaper, and we were there and confronted you when you crossed that line...

"Carrillo: You were there?"

"WV: Yes, but on the other side of the line from you."

"Carrillo: Ah, so there weren't any workers...

"WV: There were plenty of workers there, and even the U.S. Communist Party. Now you have seen the news accounts, and I would like to know, from all the statements that were made can you give one single indication of anti-communism on that picket line. We saw no evidence of anti-communism there."

"Carrillo: I was convinced that in that picket line which I crossed there were very few striking workers, and that by contrast there were a lot of people who had come from New York.... Also present in that picket line was a treasurer of the Communist Party of the U.S.... and there was also a member of some organization called Spartacist. But there were very few workers from Yale."

Carrillo also justified his scabbing by saying that educational activities continued as normal at Yale, that on the previous Sunday the union leader



WV Photo

Me? Cross a picket line?

(Sirabella) had "consented to my doing what I had been asked to do at Yale," that he had made a statement in support of the strike, that there were no more pickets to be seen after his press conference and that the "picket line was a political manipulation to prevent a Communist leader, a Eurocommunist leader, from speaking in the United States." In response the WV reporter exposed this string of slanders and distortions:

"As for the picket line, there have been other picket lines at Yale. Yesterday they arrested 26 striking workers at that university. Secondly, they have picketed other speakers, from the Democratic Party, for instance. And thirdly, it was not to prevent you from speaking in the U.S. We support your right to speak in this country. It was to prevent anyone from crossing the picket line, and that has been the very firm position of that union. There was no manipulation at all."

That same evening Carrillo was again

confronted over his strikebreaking by an SL supporter during a question-and-answer session after a speech given by the PCE leader at Harvard: "We of the international Spartacist tendency understand that the picket line is the line between the bosses and the workers. You make it clear that you would not disturb those bosses. How do you justify this atrocity?" Carrillo responded with the same slanders as before: "I have read in the *Wall Street Journal* exactly what you have said"; "...the picket line was made up mostly not of workers but of members of two parties whose names I could name, who... wanted to prevent a Communist from speaking at Yale"; etc. But this time he added something new: "I am convinced that what happened at Yale has been a political manipulation against Eurocommunism, probably by the CIA and the KGB, too."

This incredible charge shows that if Carrillo today espouses Eurocommunism as his particular brand of reformist class betrayal, he certainly has not forgotten his lessons in the Stalin school of falsification and slander. Exactly 40 years ago this same strikebreaking bureaucrat was branding the heroic uprising of the Barcelona workers as a "putsch" led by "Trotskyites" and anarchists in the service of Franco!

As to Carrillo's claim that the union had originally authorized his activities, WV asked Local 35 business agent Sirabella to comment. He replied:

"We sent him a cablegram about two weeks in advance of his appearance at Yale apprising him of the strike and urging him not to come under any circumstances.... Between the time we sent him the cablegram and the time we picketed him on Tuesday morning there was no contact whatever between him, his followers or his associates and our

ESTADOS UNIDOS

Vaias para Santiago Carrillo

Mas o socialista González é recebido em festa pelos sind



Santiago Carrillo, um líder de greve?

RA a primeira vez que um líder eurocomunista visitava os Estados Unidos. Para o secretário-geral do

entou mais uma vez o e que o eurocomunismo é e que ele prega uma ver compatível com a demo de mudanças de govern ponto de vista acaneta soviéticos e os comun Carrillo declarou tam partido se opunha a o tanto da Otan como apoiava, por outro li Mercado Comum E de Varsóvia são lux consumo petróleo burocracia militi custando muto di Enquanto Carrillo grevistas em Ne

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L'Espresso

Intanto Carrillo dalla cattedra di Yale...

VISITING SPANISH RED IRKS YALE STRIKERS

Carrillo, at the Start of U.S. Tour, Crosses University Picket Line

By DIANE HENRY
Special to The New York Times

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 15—Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish Communist Party leader, began a speaking tour of the United States here today by crossing a picket line at Yale University and criticizing American labor.

The New York Times

new in the United States and particular strike at Yale." But to explain why he chose to t lines set up by 1,400 striking workers at Yale, he remarked, can labor movement has done promote democracy in Spain "llo, who spoke for

Carrillo, Crossing Picket Line, Called 'Scab' by Yale Striker

NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nov. 15 (UPI)—Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist party, crossed a picket line today at Yale University and was called a "Spanish scab" by a union chief who said "he spits in the faces of workers."

Mr. Carrillo replied through an interpreter: "A leader from the left who for the first time has an opportunity to speak should not be denied (that opportunity). Although I agree with the strike, I hope that it wouldn't prevent a Spanish Communist leader from coming here to speak."

The Yale strike by 1,400 blue collar workers began Sept. 30. Mr. Carrillo is in the United States on a 10-day tour to lect at Yale, Harvard, and J-Hopkins Universities. It was first appearance of a W European Communist leader the United States since War II.

Earlier this month, Sen McGovern, D-D., Sec Labor Ray Marshall as Israeli Prime Minister Meir canceled plans to Yale because of the st

"In Spain, the the American labor more to the right than the Spanish right, Mr Carrillo said that his complaint was that labor unions, not

Señor Carrillo denounced as 'scab' by US striker

From Michael Bunyon Washington, Nov. 16
Sen. Ray Marshall, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party, denounced as a "scab" by the leader of striking maintenance workers at Yale University yesterday when he crossed a picket line to give a lecture of 1,400 employees who have been on strike for more than six weeks.

American unions, unlike Spanish unions, did not express opposition to the Vietnam war, he said.
Sen. Carrillo is in the United States on a 10-day tour to lecture at Yale, Harvard and Johns Hopkins universities. It is the first visit by a European Communist leader since the war.

THE TIMES

...but he agreed with the left, who for the first time an opportunity to speak at the picket line.
...through an interpreter, Mr Carrillo said that his complaint was that labor unions, not

THROUGH THE PICKET LINE—Spanish Communist party leader Santiago Carrillo confronting a striking Yale University employee before he crossed the picket line.

Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

union, none whatever.

"Now after he had already crossed our picket line...and had his press conference and we thoroughly embarrassed him with our picket line, which was predominantly members of our union—there were other groups there, of course...that's nothing new—it is true that someone came out of the house...and said Carrillo would like to speak to us. [We said:] 'It's too late, the damage is done. He crossed our picket lines; he's a fink; he's a scab, and from that point on there's nothing to talk about.'"

"We told him that Senator McGovern, Labor Secretary Marshall, Golda Meir and a whole host of other people had not come here under similar circumstances. We had picketed Mayor Gibson of Newark, a Democrat; we had picketed John Lindsay when he came through...."

"That's the unpardonable sin—especially from a so-called Communist leader—crossing a picket line, because that line is sacrosanct. The picket line in my background of the '30's was the difference between the friends of the workers and the enemies of the workers."

The fact that numerous Democratic Party politicians respect picket lines certainly does not make them the "friends of labor" they claim to be. Last spring on the West Coast even King Gustaf of Sweden refused to cross a picket line on the Bay Area Rapid Transit line. But the fact that "Eurocommunist" Carrillo felt no compunctions about flaunting his disregard for the battle line of the class war speaks volumes about his "revolutionary" credentials.

Eurocommunism Bared

Throughout his tour Carrillo went to great pains to espouse his "reasonableness" and good will toward U.S. imperialism. "If I am speaking here today," he reportedly told Yale students, "this is essentially due to the human rights policies of President Carter which made possible this visit" (*L'Espresso*, 27 November). He pledged, "American investors in Spain don't have anything to worry about" if the PCE joins the government and quoted Spanish prime minister Adolfo Suárez reporting that his party's conduct had been exemplary. Carrillo returned the compliment, stating: "The monarchy is playing a positive role in the re-establishment of democratic freedoms" (*New Haven Journal Courier*, 17 November).

Having reassured U.S. imperialism of the Eurocommunists' "responsible" attitude in his Yale speech, at Harvard he concentrated on expounding his views on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Carrillo's book *Eurocomunismo y estado* (Eurocommunism and the State) is a full-scale rejection of Leninism and Marxism on the question of the state, digging up every social-democratic shibboleth and misquote from Engels, propounding the most vulgar pacifism, declaring that democracy is classless, and pledging to support (bourgeois) parliamentarism. But in his Harvard speech he sank even lower,

appealing to the American nationalism and "democratic" commitment of the overwhelmingly liberal, anti-Communist audience.

The Eurocommunists, he said, by rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, rejected the right of the party to dictate tastes in "intimate questions" such as art and love. As to defense of the USSR in a war with the U.S., he said that no one would have time to choose sides in a war between the "superpowers." In the United States, he added, with its great tradition of respect for liberty (!), socialism could come peacefully. And to top off this revolting display of philistine reformism, when challenged by an SL supporter during the discussion period to confront the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as put forward by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, and not the deformation of this fundamental Marxist concept by Stalin, his only reply was: "If you [the Spartacists] want the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States and the American people agree with you, then you can have it."

At Yale the Communist Party reacted at first shamefacedly to Carrillo's scabbing, sending a couple of supporters with barely legible signs. The next evening it showed up in force, along with a press release by CP leader Gus Hall stating: "A strike is a strike and a strikebreaker is a strikebreaker, no matter who it is or how you look at it.... The actions of Santiago Carrillo are

indefensible. Santiago Carrillo crossed that class line by ignoring the picketline at Yale." Then came an official party statement linking the PCE leader's crossing the picket line to "defamation of Soviet socialism" (*Daily World*, 19 November), plus a number of articles in the CP press. But while the Communist Party found itself here in the unaccustomed position of at least verbally defending the class line (in contrast to its own notorious scabbing on the 1968 New York teachers' strike and its World War II scabbering against coal miners' strikes), it too had not forgotten its Stalinist tricks: a UPI photo of Carrillo crossing the picket line was carefully cropped in the *Daily World* to eliminate SL signs.

Pro-Moscow Stalinists and "Eurocommunists" alike have nothing to offer the workers but betrayal. During the Spanish Civil War, the Communist Party acting under Stalin's orders was the most vicious defender of the sanctity of private property against attempts by the working class to form their own militias and kick out the bosses. In the 1930's they did it by murdering Andrés Nin, Camilo Berneri and numerous anarchist and Trotskyist leaders; today Carrillo does it in praising Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade for the moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism. Brezhnev plays the same game with the Helsinki Conference, although seeking to strike a better deal since he—unlike Carrillo—has a

formidable state power to back him up.

The Spanish Communist Party leader claims that socialism can come in West Europe through the ballot box; all that is necessary is that the working class once again behave "responsibly." It must learn to "compromise" like he did—by crossing the class line! He offers the PCE for the role of policeman of the proletariat, and while the picket line incident at Yale caused some embarrassment, it was also an unmistakable seal of dependability to the bourgeoisie. The Trotskyists, in contrast, defend the picket line; we do not duck our responsibility to defend even the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state against imperialism; and we call all the Stalinists/"Eurocommunists" by their right name—scabs. It is the role that the Gus Halls and Santiago Carrillos all played in the Spanish Civil War: strikebreakers of the revolution. ■

Miners Group Witchhunted...

(continued from page 2)

ence of five years of the Miller regime. During this time they have seen their once-powerful union seriously weakened through the spread of unorganized mines, their grievances stacked up in a worthless arbitration system, their health cards rendered nearly worthless and their leadership on its knees before the BCOA.

For the capitalist press and the coal bosses the sudden interest in the political affiliation of UMWA oppositionists is merely a warm-up for the welter of anti-strike and union-busting propaganda they expect to churn out in the coming weeks. For Arnold Miller, whose concessions in recent negotiations with the BCOA have already given a taste of the sellout to come, the MRSC is the whipping-boy with which he hopes to frighten union militants into early surrender.

For Miller no slander is too bald if it helps intimidate and contain the angry miners' ranks. Thus he had the gall to suggest that leftists "within the union may be agents of the bosses." "These people were able to get jobs and even after layoffs get their jobs back," he told the *Times*. "This makes me wonder if the mine operators knew who they were and hired them on purpose to weaken the union."

This from the faker who once claimed to be the champion of democracy in the UMWA against the reactionary gangster regime of "Tony" Boyle! Ironically, in 1972 the RU along with most of the rest of the left was among Miller's highest supporters—until he turned around and stabbed them in the back with his anti-wildcat campaigns and rotten 1974 contract. Today these same fake-left groups, such as the International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party, which tailed Miller then now hail their newest bureaucratic "reformer," Harry Patrick, who goes around giving speeches (such as at the recent Teamsters for a Democratic Union conference) calling on militant unionists to stand up to redbaiting attacks. But when left newspapers, including *Workers Vanguard*, were excluded from the last UMWA conference in Cincinnati, Patrick didn't utter a peep of protest. Nor has he denounced the current witchhunt against the MRSC.

If the Right to Strike Committee is driven from the union, it is only a matter of time until every militant who dares to fight the bureaucracy's sellout policies receives some of the same treatment. This vicious witchhunt, fueled both by Miller and the coal operators, must be denounced as a threat to the rights of all UMWA members. Union militants must demand that Bruce Miller be rehired immediately and the anti-communist exclusion clause of the UMWA constitution be abolished. Redbaiting is a bosses' tool! ■

CPUSA goes after scab Carrillo. *Daily World* cropped UPI picture to eliminate SL signs (compare with opposite page).



Daily World

GUS HALL BLASTS SANTIAGO CARRILLO

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, today released the following comments on the actions and statements made at Yale on November 15 by Santiago Carrillo:

A strike is a strike and a strikebreaker is a strikebreaker, no matter who it is or how you look at it.

A picket line of striking workers is the dividing line between the working class and the corporations. The picket line at Yale is the dividing line between the poorly paid workers and the multimillion dollar corporation - Yale.

One cannot say one is for the workers, for their trade unions, and ignore the workers' picketline at the same time.

The actions of Santiago Carrillo are indefensible. Santiago Carrillo crossed that class line by ignoring the picketline at Yale.

His action is contrary to the policies and class behavior of Communists the world over.

I also reject Carrillo's slander of U.S. workers and trade unions. No amount of such slander will cover up for his anti-working class actions.

The only proper answer to the Yale corporation and Santiago Carrillo is greater support to the striking workers. They deserve the support of every honest citizen and worker of Connecticut. It is time the people of Connecticut, in no uncertain terms, tell Yale, the multimillion dollar corporation that covers up its non-payment of taxes behind classrooms, that, "You are not the high lord of New Haven or Connecticut. You have to deal with the people and workers at Yale with respect and decency."

Issued By: Gus Hall, 235 West 23rd Street, 7th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

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LOS ANGELES

WORKERS VANGUARD

Carrillo Scabbing at Yale Heard Round the World

The ten-day visit to the United States by Spanish Communist Party (PCE) leader Santiago Carrillo November 14-23 was intended to be a "Eurocommunist" tour de force. He was the first head of a western European Communist Party to have been permitted entry to the U.S. since the beginning of the cold war. Thus his trip was considered a major event by the European press, indicating that Washington no longer considers the PCE and allied parties "beyond the pale." It was expected, wrote the *New York Times* (15 November), that Carrillo would use the occasion "to enhance his image as a democratic-minded Communist independent of Moscow."

In return for this indication of toleration by the Democratic administration, the PCE leader would praise Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign, whose fundamental target is the USSR. Particularly following the snub administered to Carrillo by the Kremlin earlier this month at the official Soviet celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, unflattering comparisons were sure to be made between the repression of dissidents in Brezhnev's Russia and the vaunted "free exchange of ideas" in Carter's America. And by providing the occasion for an anti-communist propaganda heyday, he would give concrete proof of his reliability as a labor lackey of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Carrillo went through his paces with aplomb, hobnobbing with liberal professors, holding private discussions with the influential Council on Foreign Relations, praising Jimmy Carter and King Juan Carlos of Spain, reassuring American investors and making gestures to the Socialists at home. He gave every indication of "moderation" that could be asked for, and certainly proved that the PCE is no threat to capitalist rule. But the most dramatic proof of Carrillo's loyalty to the bourgeoisie, the one which suddenly became an international scandal, was something he probably hadn't reckoned on.

By crossing the picket lines of striking workers at Yale University with the protection of burly cops, Santiago Carrillo made it plain for all to see that he was not a communist but a despicable scab, not a revolutionary leader of the proletariat but a misleader and an imposter. His talk of commitment to "democratic pluralism" and "human rights" ultimately amounts to an apology for capitalism, and in practice comes down to plain and simple strikebreaking. So when this phony "Communist" chose to display his underlying contempt for the working class, the members of American Federation of University Employees (AFL-CIO) Local 35, on strike for the last seven weeks, jeered and booed him, giving him the reception appropriate to all scabs.

Caught in the Act

Carrillo was caught in the act by reporters and photographers of the wire services and major daily newspapers.



Carrillo being escorted through campus workers' picket lines by Yale cops.

WV Photo

Stories on the picket line incident were published in the *New York Times*, the *London Times* and the *Paris Le Monde*, and dispatches were sent out by at least the UPI, AFP, Reuters and the Spanish and German news agencies. Major weeklies such as the international edition of *Time*, *L'Espresso* in Italy and Brazil's *Manchete* covered the event, while both AP and UPI released wire photos of Carrillo's act of class treachery.

But while the bourgeois media had their own reactionary reasons to chortle over the predicament of Yale's newest Chubb Fellow, Carrillo's despicable attempts to slander the protesters as anti-communists are a transparent smear tactic. Present on the picket lines along with more than 50 strikers were members of the Spartacist League (SL) and of the U.S. Communist Party (CP). Moreover, Carrillo would be hard-pressed to find any red-baiting in the widely quoted remarks of local union head Vincent Sirabella; typical was the UPI dispatch which quoted Sirabella as saying, "I was astonished that he came. As a Communist he ought to have some sympathy for the worldwide struggle of the workers." In the *International Herald Tribune* (16 November) this news report was accompanied by a picture of Carrillo crossing the line in which one could clearly see an SL sign reading (in Spanish) "scabs on Yale strike."

Other stories revealed the same picture. The *New York Times* of the same date reported Carrillo's justifica-

tion for scabbing: "The American labor movement has done nothing to promote democracy in Spain." The union leader, it said, retorted by "denounc[ing] Mr. Carrillo for crossing the picket line and said that the Spanish Communist's words were 'a weak excuse for the most heinous act that a supposed defender of labor could commit.' Mr. Sirabella also scoffed at the 'irony of choosing to lie in bed with the capitalist host'."

On the next night Carrillo was scheduled to speak at Yale Law School. The location was changed "for security reasons" to another hall which has entrances through steam tunnels, thereby allowing the PCE leader to crawl under the strikers' picket lines. This time an even larger protest was covered by correspondents from AP, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the Italian dailies *La Repubblica* (Radicals) and *Avanti* (Socialist), the liberal Madrid daily *Diario 16* and Spanish and Italian TV crews. As at the press conference, reporters from *Workers Vanguard* and the CPUSA's *Daily World* were present on the picket line but did not go inside. The scene and its context was described by the Italian weekly *L'Espresso* (27 November):

"Arriving in the United States, Carrillo expected anything but a challenge from the left. But this country is full of all kinds of surprises. So on Wednesday evening, while the Spanish leader spoke at Yale University, the spectacle which unfolded before the eyes of many Italians present reminded them curiously of scenes from back home."

"Arriving from all over Connecticut, from Massachusetts, from New Jersey and New York, small groups of Trotskyists, Spartacists, Communists of the

old Stalinist tradition, veterans of the Lincoln Brigade who had fought in Spain, and trade unionists carried signs and chanted slogans against him. All things considered, a foreign observer might have thought that this was an attempt by usually marginal groups to bring out their own demands by taking advantage of a major event. However, this was not the case, for two reasons. First, Carrillo's trip was not arousing the slightest interest in America and no one was aware of it. [And second,] as soon as he arrived, Carrillo made a blunder which will weigh on the results of his American visit....

"And so it happened Tuesday morning that Carrillo, arriving at the building where he was supposed to hold his first press conference, found the strike pickets who called on him not to enter. At this point Carrillo, after a few general words of solidarity, made the following statements: that his diplomatic mission had more than local importance, that the American unions are notoriously rightist and tied to the system, that American workers had done nothing for the war in Spain, that the unions supported the war in Vietnam, etc.... But that was not the point stressed by the local press, beginning with the moderates. It was the fact that Carrillo had physically crossed the picket line."

Justifying the Unjustifiable

Carrillo's treachery in the Yale strike dogged him during the rest of his trip. In his Wednesday night speech Carrillo reportedly said lamely, "I would have preferred not to speak under these circumstances. But I had to compromise" (*New Haven Register*, 17 November). At Harvard University on Novem-

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